



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

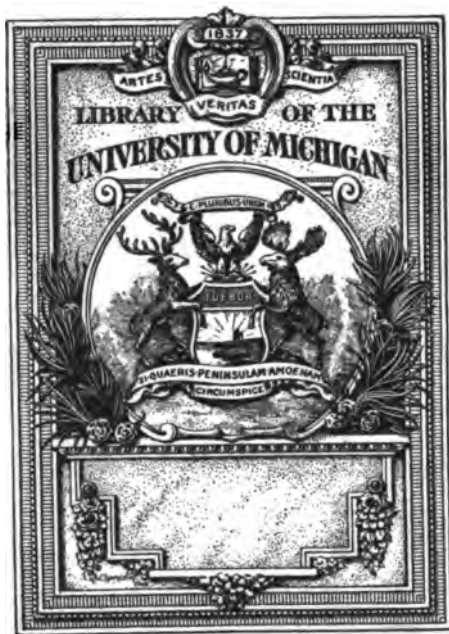




**COURIER**

**BOOK BINDERY,**

Ann Arbor, Mich.



AP  
4  
1786

















THE

7201

*brown*

# NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

=

MARCH AND ~~JUNE~~, 1869.

VOLUME L.

---

AMERICAN EDITION.

---

NEW YORK :  
PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY.

140 FULTON STREET, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND NASSAU STREET.

---

1869.



THE TROW & SMITH  
BOOK MANUFACTURING COMPANY,  
46, 48, & 50 Greene Street.

## INDEX TO VOL. C. L.

ARNOLD, Matthew : his "Culture and Anarchy" reviewed, 100 seq. See Man.

CHRIST, Dr. Hanna's Life of, 167 ; success of the two earlier volumes, 168 ; Dr. Young's "Christ of History," ib. ; the problem as to the religious significance of the life of Christ, one of historical philosophy, 169 ; the idea of rewriting the life of Jesus a modern conception, ib. ; Socrates and Christ, 170 ; psychological and critical study of the Gospels, 171 ; early efforts—Jeremy Taylor, ib. ; Hess, Herder, Paulus, 172 ; Schleiermacher, Hase, ib. ; Strauss's "Life of Jesus," 170, 173 ; his treatment of the supernatural, ib. ; the mythical theory, 174 ; the works of Neander, 175, and Renan, 175, 176 ; the latter replied to by Edmond de Pressensac, 176, 177 ; Ellicott's Bampton Lectures, 177 ; Dr. Kittó's Illustrations,—work of Rev. Isaac Williams,—and Ecce Homo, 177, 178 ; prerequisites to an adequate biography, 178 ; characteristics of Dr. Hanna's work, 178, 179 ; the influence of Nature on Christ, 179 ; Dean Stanley, ib. ; break and sequences in the Evangelical narratives, 179, 180 ; the soundings of moral evidence in Dr. Hanna's work, 180 ; indirect signs of the supernatural in Christ's life, 181 ; its consistent harmony shown, contrary to Renan, De Wette, Paulus, 181, 182 ; instances of Christ's unparalleled assumptions, if only human, 182, 183 ; the Great Commission, 184 ; problems underlying the narrative, 184, 185 ; the nature of our Lord's resurrection body, 185 ; the fundamental feature which distinguishes this life from those by Strauss and Renan, 186 ; the question of the miraculous, 187 ; the natural and supernatural, ib. ; the essential nature of a miracle, 188 ; the Ideal realized in One Human Life, 189.

DANISH Literature ; see Holberg.

EARLY History of Man: His antiquity—Ancient Egypt, 272, 274 ; China, 274 ; the "mother-tribe" of the Indo-Europeans, ib. ; archaeology, 276, 277 ; Primitive state, 277 ; definition of civilisation, 278 ; the grouping of men in societies, 278, 281 ; Sir George Grey's hypothesis, 281 ; progress in arts and sciences, 282 ; language—its origin, 282, 283 ; systems of religion, 283, 284 ; method of studying early history, 286 ; inequalities of development, 286, 288 ; symbols of law and ceremony, 288, 289 ; summary, 290.

English language, revolutions in its history, 34 ; the great creative period of English literature that of the Reformation, 35 ; contrast between it and the productive epoch of our literature, ib. ; spirit of nationality expressed, 86 ; reign of Henry VIII., ib. ; influence of the Reformation on our language, 37 ;—through translations of works by Continental Reformers, ib. ; and by the controversies it provoked—Sir Thomas More and William

Tyndale, Bishop Bale, and others, 37, 38 ; our early printers chiefly occupied with works in the vernacular, 38 ; translations from the classics, 39, and their influence on the language, 40 ; Shakespeare's dramatic works, ib., 44, 45 ; changes affecting the language during the period of the Revolution,—English literature after the Restoration, 40 ; fashionable Gallicisms, 41, 42 ; literature of Queen Anne's reign, 42 ; alleged refinement of the language, 43 ; Dryden, and his criticism of the Elizabethan dramatists, 43, 45 ; Addison and his writings, 45 ; his criticism of Milton's language, 46, 47 ; and protest against neologisms, 47 ; Alexander Pope, 48 ; Johnson, and his criticism of Shakespeare, 48, 49 ; Dryden's version of "Troilus and Cressida," 49, 50 ; influence of the events in the latter half of the eighteenth century on the literature of the nineteenth, 50,—exuberance of original poetic genius, ib. ; contrast between the close of the sixteenth and that of the eighteenth century, 50, 51 ; expansion of social and political interests, and its intellectual effect, 51 ; the work of reflective expansion in our native vocabulary, 52.

European Morals,—History of, by W. E. H. Lecky, 202 ; object of the work, ib. ; apparent inconsistencies in it, 202, 203 ; moral condition of the Roman Empire, 204 ; mortifying result of the teachings of Pagan philosophy, ib. ; contentions between the Stoics and the Epicureans, 205 ; influence of the conquests of Alexander, ib. ; the dogma of universal brotherhood, 206 ; Christianity in the Empire, ib. ; position of women under its influence, ib. ; success and ultimate triumph of Christianity, how accounted for, 207 ; two of the most important human causes—(1.) Doctrine of future life, 207, 208 ; (2.) Formation of a strong character, 208, 209 ; Constantine the Great, 209 ; the progress of moral ideas and practice in the first ages of Christianity, 210 ; excesses and perversions of its real force, ib. ; misapprehension involved in the charge brought against Christianity as to its discouragement of patriotism, 210, 211 ; the toleration of the Roman government, 212, as exemplified while conquering and triumphant, 212, and under reverses, 213 ; persecution of the Christians, ib. ; the full effect of Christian principle on domestic life under the Empire, unrecorded, 214 ; the history of European morals leaves no impeachment on the claim of Christianity to be divine, 215.

GEOLOGICAL Time, 215 ; trade-unionism in science, 216 ; Hooker on Lyell, ib. ; use of mathematics, 217 ; the anonymous writer in the Pall Mall Gazette, ib. ; the grand question in geology, 218 ; the Uniformitarian school, ib. ; Dr. Hooker's Address, 219 ; place assigned to mathematics in this controversy, ib. ; resistance to planets' motions, 220 ; resistance offered by the tides to the earth's rotation, ib. ; tidal reaction on the moon, 221 ; how

this bears on the speculations of geologists, *ib.*; argument from earth's figure, 222; the Uniformitarian hypothesis disproved, 222, 223; examination of Professor Huxley's Address, 223 *seq.*; British popular geology, 225; Sir W. Thomson's Reply, 226; periods required by Uniformitarians, 227; general survey of the subject, 228 *seq.*; Thomson's three arguments, 228, 231; answer to Huxley's charge of inconsistency, 231, 232; the reasoning in Thomson's arguments strictly cumulative, 232; triumph of scientific truth, 232, 233.

Germany, Reconstruction of, 133; the battle of Sadowa, and its results, *ib.*; exceptional position of Germany amongst her neighbours from the first dawn of her history, 133, 134; the French Revolution, 134; history of the Confederation of the Rhine, 135; its contract with France, *ib.*; the battle of Jena, *ib.*; the history of Prussia between 1807 and 1813 the turning point in the history of Germany, 135, 136; the war of liberation, *ib.*; Prussia and Austria, 136, 137; Prussia at the Vienna Congress, 137; King Frederick-William III., 138; neither freedom nor union for Germany gained at Vienna, *ib.*; Baron von Stein, *ib.*; Act of the Germanic Confederation, 139,—its distinctive character, *ib.*; the Frankfort Diet, 139, 140; policies of Austria and Prussia subsequent to the Final Act of 1820, 140; Germany's political professors, 140, 141; the "Staatenbund," 141, and the "Bundesstaat," *ib.*; the discussions of 1848-49 in the Frankfort Parliament, 142; the crown of Germany offered to the King of Prussia, but declined, 143, 144; the new Confederacy proposed by Prussia, 144; Austria summons the Diet to meet at Frankfort, *ib.*; the subsequent conflict, 145, 146; the Italian war gives the signal for the resuscitation of the German question, 146; the campaign of 1859, 147; the attitude of the several governments interested in the solution of the German question, 147, 148; incidents of the political campaign between the Great Germans and the Little Germans, 148, 149; the programme of reform issued by the Würzburg Coalition, 149; replies of Austria and Prussia, 150; formation of the Bismarck ministry at Berlin, 150, 151, and the legacies bequeathed to him by his predecessors, 151, 152; the two lines of policy taken up by him, 152; aspect of the conflict with the Würzburg Coalition at this time, 153; eventful conversation between Bismarck and the Austrian Minister at Berlin, 153, 154; interview between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, 154; a Congress of Sovereigns proposed shortly afterwards by Austria, *ib.*, declined by Prussia, *ib.*; the Austrian programme, 155, 156; reply of the Prussian cabinet, 157; independent action of the two great Powers, 158; the controversy interrupted by the death of the King of Denmark, *ib.*; subsequent events till the battle of Sadowa, *ib.*; reconstructed Germany, 158, 160; examination of the North German Constitution, 162, 166.

HAMILTON, Sir William,—Memoir of, 251; birth and parentage, 252; early studies, 253; at Glasgow and Oxford Universities, 253, 254; intimate friends, 254; Mr. Christie's Oxford reminiscences, 254, 255; additional particulars by Mr. Traill, 255, 256; final examination for his degree at Oxford, 256; studies for the Scottish Bar, and passes as advocate, *ib.*; adjudged heir-male to Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, *ib.*; the patrimonial estate, *ib.*; notice of his ancestors, *ib.*; career at the Bar, 257; his merits unrecognised, 257, 258; life in Edinburgh, 1813 to 1820—*anecdote of this period given by Professor Baynes*, 258, 259; candidature

for the Moral Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh, 259; election to that of Civil History, *ib.*; his marriage, and its influence on his character and subsequent career, 259, 260; researches in Phrenology, 260; Mr. Carlyle's reminiscences of him, 260, 261; his first appearance as a critic, in 1829, in *Edinburgh Review*, 261, 262; subsequent contributions to that Journal, 262; contest for the Chair of Logic in 1836, 263, 264; opening of the class, 264; description of the class-room, 265; sketch by Professor Baynes, 265, 266; reminiscences by Dr. Cairns, 266; work of the class, 266, 267; courtesy to his students, and the general effect and value of his teaching, 267; influence of his writings in America—*passage from a paper by Professor Porter*, 268; his edition of Reid's Works, *ib.*; honours conferred on him from abroad, *ib.*; small recognition of his claims in his own country, 269; struck by paralysis in 1844, *ib.*; the pension, 270; Sir William in his latter days, 270, 271; his edition of Dugald Stewart's Works, 271; unfinished literary labours, 271, 272; last years, illness, and death, 272.

Holberg, Ludvig,—the father of modern Danish literature, 233; no national literature before him, 233, 234; parentage, 234; visit to Holland, *ib.*; visits England, and studies at Oxford, 234, 235; returns to Copenhagen and lectures on his travels, 235; publishes his first work, *ib.*; his visit to Rome, and return to Copenhagen, where he is appointed Professor of Latin and Rhetoric, 236; period of literary activity, 236, 237; his illness and death, 237, 238; his simple mode of life, 238; distinctive features of his genius, *ib.*; his desire to found a national literature, 239; his strength as a moralist, and his weakness, 239, 240; his influence on the language, 240, 241; his three principal works—"Peder Paars," 241; "Niels Klim," 242, and the Comedies, 243; comparison between Holberg and Molière, 244; translations, from one of his comedies, "Erasmus Montanus," 244, 249; charges brought against his comedies, 249, 250; the "Epistles," 250; influence of his works on the minds of his contemporaries, 250, 251.

Hudson's Bay Company, The: origin, history, and present condition of the Red River Settlement, 83, 84; Sebastian Cabot—Henry Hudson—Prince Rupert, 84; nature of the Company's title, 84, 85; Parliament petitioned in 1690, by the traders, 86; the Company's failure, 86; the first legislative inquiry into its affairs, *ib.*; the North-West Fur Company, 87; rivalry and warfare between the Companies, and their subsequent amalgamation, *ib.*; the Charter of the Company denounced as illegal—*opinion of counsel as to its validity, ib.*; Lord Brougham's opinion, 88; Right Hon. Edward Ellice, *ib.*; misgovernment of Red River Settlement, and grievances of the settlers, 88, 89; the Hudson's Bay dispute, 90; the Company's pretensions, *ib.*; the portion of territory styled the Fertile Belt, *ib.*; the character of the country misrepresented by the Company's officials, *ib. seq.*; Sir George Simpson's paradox, 91; expeditions to explore the country, 91, 92; route to the Rocky Mountains, 92; testimony of the independent explorers, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, *ib.*; change of opinion indicated in the Company's last prospectus, 93; the Company and the Stock-Exchange, *ib.*; agitation in the Dominion of Canada as to the acquisition of the Company's territory, 94; Canadian forests, *ib.*; definition of the footing on which the Company was to stand in relation to the Dominion, 95; Mr. Gladstone's propositions, 95, 96; the "Rupert's Land Act, 1868," 96; Colonial administration, 96, 97; desirability of extinguishing the claims of the Company by

an immediate payment in cash, 97; our imperial policy, 98; Canada as a field for emigration, *ib.*; route to the East through the Dominion of Canada, 99; importance of having this controversy with the Hudson's Bay Company finally settled, *ib.*; probable issue of its settlement, *ib.*

**INDIA**,—Public Works in: want of roads, 119; application of the term "Public Works," 120; the means available for work,—forced labour, *ib.*; the idea of "Government" to a Hindu, *ib.*; compulsory labour under the Mogul Shahs, 120, 121; peculiar position of the British Government in India, 121; its results—much writing, little working, *ib.*; difficulties and drawbacks to the operations of the Public Works department, 121, 122; responsibilities of the officers, 122; their work, 122, 123; financial arrangements, 124; the American blockade and the supply of cotton, 125; need of assistance for works in India, *ib.*; inducements to lay out money in improving India, 125, 126, staff of the Department, 126; engineering Colleges, *ib.*; labour and labourers in India, 127; Major Chesney's "Indian Polity," 127, 128; State versus private enterprise, 128; operations connected with irrigation, *ib.*; road-making hindered by the want of suitable materials, 129; railways, tramways, and bridges, 130; the contract system, *ib.*; what is necessary to make the Public Works department really useful, 130, 131; administration of the department, 131; consequences of the minute system of supervision at present exercised, 132; the question of Russian invasion, *ib.*; importance and necessity of enlisting on our side the interests and sympathies of the people of India, 133.

**Irish Church Measure**, 300; Lord Salisbury on the functions of the House of Lords, *ib.*; his advice with regard to its present action, 301, 302; it is more than a Senate, 302; the attainment of equality between the confessions the present problem, 303; policy of Gladstone and Bright, *ib.*; the Irish Church Bill and its object, 303, 304; its character as passed by the House of Commons, 304, 305; examination of Mr. Disraeli's speech on the second reading, 305, 306; the question of endowments, 307, 308; position of the Church as contemplated by the Bill, 309; arrangements for the employment of the surplus, 310; Maynooth and the Regium Donum, *ib.*; tithes, *ib.*; general justice of the measure, 310, 311; present state of Ireland, 311; effect of the large majorities in the House on the great body of the people, 311, 312; the new Irish Lord Chancellor, 312; to what are the recent outrages in Ireland to be attributed? 313, 314; liberation of the Fenian prisoners, 315; the banquet at Cork, 316; demonstrations against the Bill in the North, *ib.*; amendments to be introduced in the House of Lords, 317; generosity and justice, 318.

**LANDOR**, Walter Savage,—Forster's biography of, 290; birth and parentage, 291, 292; his waywardness as a boy, 292; at Rugby school, 293; his year at Oxford, 294; Dorothea Lytton, *ib.*; becomes an author, 295; writes political articles—visit to Paris, 295, 296; residence at Bath—"Ianthe," 296; raid into Spain—purchase of Llanthony, 296, 297; marriage with Julia Thwaites, 297; settles at Florence till 1835, when he returned to Bath, 297, 298; acquaintanceships formed there—Forster, Dickens, Eliza Lynn, 298; death at Florence, *ib.*; description of his person, *ib.*; his love of children, 299; remarks on his genius, *ib.*

**Lunacy**, Increase of, 65; statistics of the asy-

lums in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, *ib.*; nature and causes of the increase, *ib.*; the numbers admitted into asylums during the last ten years, 65, 66; discharges and admissions unequal 66, 67; private and pauper lunatics, *ib.*; different classes of the discharged, 67, 68; the curable and incurable, 68; the question as to the possibility of providing for some of the insane poor otherwise than in asylums, with probable benefit, 69, 70; the Report of the Scotch Commissioners on this question, 70; desirability of providing for this class less pretentious buildings, 71; the additions in constant demand in County and District Asylums, 71, 72; remedies proposed: (1.) transference to buildings intermediate in character between work-houses and asylums, 73, 74; (2.) transference to the workhouse, 74; condition of the insane in workhouses, *ib.*—in England, 74, 75—in Scotland, *ib.*—and in Ireland, 76; (3.) transference to private dwellings, *ib.*; state of pauper lunatics so disposed of at present, in England, 77—in Scotland, 78; seq.—and in Ireland, 79; results of the examination of the three proposed outlets for the chronic insane in asylums, 79, 80; recent provisions of the law to keep down undue accumulation in establishments, 80, 81; other considerations affecting this question, 81; mad-houses and asylums, *ib.*; reform in treatment of the insane, 82; importance of early treatment of the disease, *ib.*; the relations between mental and bodily health, 83; importance of the whole subject, *ib.*

**MAN**, Early History of; see Early.

**Man's Chief End**,—What is it? 100; Mr. Arnold on "Culture and Anarchy," *ib.*; the ideal of culture and its realization, 101; thesis to be proved,—that culture prosecuted with a view to the entire perfection of our manhood and the reflex glory of God, is the one absolute and untransferable end of human existence, *ib.*; what are the essentials of human nature? 101, 102; "man's chief end" as defined by the Westminster divines, 102, 103; the educational schemes of so-called "practical men" vitiated by a fundamental flaw, 103, 104; this doctrine of culture not separative and exclusive, but intensely social, 104; a well-educated mind sympathizes with other departments of study than those it is specially acquainted with, 105; ideal of an educated life, 105, 106; the religious faculty, 106, 107; the relation in which religious culture stands to human perfection, 107; operation of the law of intellectual and moral habit, 108; three results of recognising the ideal, as here defined, 108, 109; can this ideal be realized? 109; obstacles and objections, 110, 111; summary of the laws of culture, 111, 112; Mr. Arnold's teaching on this subject, 112; Hellenism and Hebraism, 113; contrast between the two tendencies so designated, 113, 114; Mr. Arnold's doctrine lays too much stress on thought, and indefinitely postpones action, 114; his anticipations of the future somewhat sad, 115; and why, *ib.*; his range of culture unduly narrowed, 115, 116; his antagonism to "machinery," 116; the austerity of his attitude towards his own generation, 117; his classification of British society, 118; "whence do we come?" "whither do we tend?" 118, 119.

**Milman's** (Dean) "Annals of St. Paul's," 52; his early life, and literary labours, 52, 53; careless editing of the "Annals," 54; notices of early Deans, *ib.*; and Bishops of London, 55; the humour and urbanity of his writings, *ib.*; his style compared with that of Gibbon, 56, 57; characteristics of it, 57, 59; controversies in which he was engaged, 59; his "History of the Jews," 59,

60; his "History of Christianity," and Dr. Newman's review of it, 61, 62; his distaste for pure dogma, and preference for the devotional over the controversial, 62, 63; not chargeable with indifference towards his order, or carelessness for the religious truth he was pledged to teach, 63, 64.

REVOLUTIONS in the Queen's English; see English language.

Robinson, Henry Crabb,—Diary and Correspondence of, 189; his early life, and studies, 189, 190; visit to Germany, 191; interview with Goethe, 191, 192; residence at Frankfort, 192; matriculates as a student at Jena, *ib.*; life at a German University seventy years ago, *ib.*; notable personages whose acquaintance he made, 193; Madame de Staël, *ib.*; death of Schiller, 194; narrow escape from expulsion, *ib.*; Mrs. Barbauld, and Charles Lamb, 195; narrow escapes from capture on the Continent, *ib.*; becomes special correspondent of the Times during the Spanish Revolution of 1808, *ib.*; sketches of notable writers in the Times, 196; legal studies, *ib.*; Coleridge as a Lecturer, 197; anecdote of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, *ib.*; Wordsworth's dogmatism, 198; Robinson's opinion of Waverley, *ib.*; practice as a barrister, *ib.*; Brougham and Queen Caroline, 199; notices of Carlyle, *ib.*, and J. S. Mill, 200; Walter Savage Landor, *ib.*; Emerson's Lectures, *ib.*; old age, illness and death, 200, 201; the author's character, 201; his connexion with the Unitarians, *ib.*

Royal engineers, The: recent diffusion of the knowledge of military matters, 1; power of the newspaper, 1, 2; our military skill in modern campaigns, 2; Lord Napier and the Abyssinian expedition, 3; present position of our artillerymen

and engineers, *ib.*;—is it a just one? 4; Lord Napier invited to Chatham by the officers of the Royal Engineers, *ib.*; the Royal Military Academy at Chatham, 5; and the training received there, *ib.*; occupations of the corps in the time of peace, *ib.*; their work on service, 6—siege of Delhi, 6, 7; Sir Hugh Rose at Jhansi, escalating, 7, 8; disabilities of Engineers, and the unjust treatment they have received, 8; instances of services rendered by them in the field, 9; lessons to be gathered from the last struggle between Austria and Prussia, 10; necessity of army reform,—sale of commissions, *ib.*; social position of officers,—cost of a cadet at Chatham, *ib.*; injustice of excluding ordinance officers from commands, *ib.*

Russian Literature; see Turguenief.

TURGUENIEF's Novels: literature in Russia, 12; Turguenief's characteristics as a writer of fiction, 13; serfdom as depicted in "A Sportsman's Notes," 13, 14, *seq.*; illustrations of the dealings of proprietors with their serfs, 14, 17; manners and customs of the peasantry in their relations to each other, 17, 18; his descriptions of scenery, 19; stories illustrating various phases of Russian society—"Moomoo," 19, 20—"The Tavern," 20, 21; pictures of the higher ranks of society—"Faust," 21, 22; special merits of his novelettes, 22, 23; "The Diary of a Superfluous Man," 23, 24; plot of "Lisa," 24, 27; the new school of Radicals as depicted in "Fathers and Children," 27, 31—Nihilism in Russia, 28, 31; the novel entitled "Smoke," holding up to ridicule the patriotic party who have no need of Western culture, 31, 34; Turguenief's other writings, 34.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. XCIX.

FOR MARCH, 1869.

- ART. I.—1. *The Royal Engineer.* By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD. 8vo. London, 1869.  
2. *Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers.* London.

If the art of war has made no marked progress of late years among those of us who are soldiers by profession, it is certain that a considerable knowledge of military matters has recently been diffused through our community at large. Armies—their organization and their evolutions—are subjects which, little more than a dozen years ago, were surrounded with a halo of mystery penetrable by none but men bearing arms.

Few of those who held Her Majesty's commission ventured to express an opinion on such matters. The only literature in which they were noticed consisted of one or two periodicals whose circulation was limited to mess-rooms and military clubs.

But this state of things has disappeared. Along with the troops who undertook the invasion of the Crimea, there were a few Englishmen in no way trained in the avocations of fighting, but who not the less managed to furnish our newspapers with descriptions of every phase of that expedition; and this they did in terms so accurate and so graphic as to lead their readers to the conclusion that, after all, military affairs might prove capable of being understood by any man of ordinary education and intelligence.

Even the technical phraseology of warfare came by degrees to be appreciated by men who hitherto had shrunk from approaching what seemed to them an insurmountable obstacle to researches in this field. Its terms were soon discovered to be neither numerous nor hard of comprehension. Long before

Sebastopol had fallen most of us had mastered this little formidable vocabulary by no more difficult process than the perusal of our morning papers.

And while this sort of knowledge was being spread over England, there arose on all sides an increased interest in things military, which, under the influence of the Volunteer movement, eventually took a permanent place in our feelings.

Our soldiers, their equipments and their manœuvres, are now topics of daily talk, and are made subject to as free a criticism as any other matter which our journalists think fit to select for censure or approval.

In each modern campaign reporters for the Press accompany the combatants. The Special Correspondent is now an essential member of each well-constituted journalistic staff, and is held in readiness to be despatched on a very short notice to any theatre of war which may offer an opportunity for his pen. The importance of his duties has come to be recognized even by those who long looked upon him as a mischievous interloper in camps. No general officer meets with more attention than is now lavished on this news-writer by every prudent man of the force to which he is accredited. From the confidential documents of the chief of the staff to a seat at the mess-table of any regiment or battery that may be present—everything is pressed ardently on his acceptance.

The influence he is capable of exerting on the highest dignitaries of the army is great, so great at times as to lead to inconvenience, and even to acts of doubtful justice.

His widely-published dicta coming fresh from a field of battle are apt to produce on the minds of his readers an effect not to be

effaced by the more accurate despatch in which the commander of an expedition may tardily proceed to point out the proper recipients for the rewards of victory.

More than one Victoria Cross has been virtually awarded by a special correspondent, who contrived to describe in glowing terms acts of an individual which possibly remained unperceived by his regimental brethren.

Nor has the power of the newspaper been less surely established over the military authorities in England. That curiously-named corporation of army officials, the Horse Guards, has at length thrown open its long-closed doors.

Yielding to the modern craving for publicity, our army authorities have laid bare every source of information to the researches of the reporter. "What says the Times?" has come to be a question asked each morning in Whitehall with as much solicitude as a banker of twenty years ago used to display in demanding of the confidential clerk who ushered him into his business-room, "How are the Funds?"

Knowledge begets inquiry. As Englishmen have gone on increasing their acquaintance with their army, so have they ventured to investigate many matters connected with it which long appeared hard of comprehension.

In other countries they saw warfare cultivated as a science. The success of Sadowa and its preceding combats was secured, as they learned, by a system of tactics and strategy conducted by one man, on a principle as certain, and as regularly organized, as that which a skilful chess-player brings to bear on each movement he makes on the board. Throughout continental Europe, as well as America, the men selected to command armies appeared thoroughly conversant with the theory and practice of war.

It mattered not that the training had been obtained in any individual regiment or department. If the officer were capable he at once found opportunities of command.

Turning to England, our observers saw an entirely different policy pursued. Here they found prevalent the grand, simple idea of soldiering such as it existed in the flint period; a calm conviction of the incontestable superiority of the British army, which required no further aid from art than such as is imagined to be developed on a field of battle by the inspiration of that *ignis fatuus* of our country which goes by the name of common sense.

Nor did the results of this rudimentary apparatus for wielding the warlike resources of the nation bear a critical examination.

The Crimean campaign appeared to be

one long record of devotion, bravery, and blunders on the part of our commanders, almost every step taken in it involving a violation of the recognised principles of warfare—an invasion undertaken without information being obtained as to the country to be entered; the results of a battle thrown away for want of a reconnoissance to verify the defenceless state of the north side of Sebastopol; an English army made to file for a couple of days across an enemy's position; and, last crowning crime of war, a siege carried on against a place which was left entirely free from investment, and consequently open to constant reinforcements.

Nor did the Indian Mutiny furnish many instances of brilliant generalship. Itself a creature of our defective military organization, it brought to light a singular want of perception on the part of many officers as to the means best adapted to meet the end in view. The cumbrous columns, their deliberate movements, and the general system of strategy which characterized Lord Clyde's operations in Oude, might be admirably suited for European warfare, but seemed somewhat misjudged applications of art when brought to bear on opponents so bad at fighting and so good at flying as the mutineers on all occasions showed themselves to be.

Indeed, of the many officers who held important commands throughout that campaign, few but Lord Strathnairn and Lord Napier had the military discernment to recognise its circumstances to be of a nature in which strict tactics might well be set aside in favour of a bold course of action improvised for the occasion.

Our wars in New Zealand disclosed equally unsatisfactory examples of military skill. There again our generals appear to have been unable to grasp a proper conception of the special character of the combats on which they had to enter. There, too, operations such as are intended for troops acting in an open country, against an enemy equipped after a European model, were unwisely carried out against bands of brave but undisciplined savages lurking in the bush.

In short, without venturing to fatigue our readers by reminding them of the haphazard sort of tactics displayed by our generals in modern campaigns, we may safely say that results in each instance have not been such as to imbue Englishmen with a high estimate of their military commanders.

The first really successful expedition undertaken by a British army for many a day was that directed against Abyssinia. Of fighting, it is true, there was but little.

But on that score we have little cause to question the competency of English generals; so that the bloodless nature of this campaign did not affect its merits in the eyes of the country.

It was the perfect organization and administration of the force required to effect a hazardous operation in a most difficult country which called forth not only the approval of England, but of other nations who are chary in admitting our claims to military skill.

The man who planned and conducted this expedition was clearly above the ordinary calibre of British generals. Who was he? what were his antecedents? were questions asked by many.

To those who had already formed doubts as to the judicious award of our posts of military responsibility, a confirmation of their suspicions was now afforded by the discovery that Lord Napier had come to head this expedition by what must be described as a geographical accident. He belonged to the corps of Royal Engineers, and as such was, by the time-honoured traditions of Whitehall, rendered incapable, along with his comrades of the Artillery, of commanding a British army, or even a division of a British army. This professional ban has always held, and still holds, undisputed sway in England and her colonies. But India, under the old régime of the Sovereign-Company, was exempt from its operation; for the Directors in Leadenhall Street considered that as good horses are of all colours, so good generals may be of all corps. Even to this day this lax creed obtains in our Eastern possessions, although, in justice to English army officials, it is fair to say that a steady pressure has all along been exerted by them to purge these distant dependencies of this remnant of military nonconformity.

By reason, then, of this schismatic practice of the Eastern army, which may be designated the Great Ordnance Heresy, it chanced that Robert Napier, who had fought in the Punjaub campaigns, and who had been chief of the staff to Sir James Outram at Lucknow, came to command a brigade of the Central Indian Field Force in 1858; and as his work as a soldier was always well done, he afterwards commanded a division of the army employed in the last war with China, and there again with much success.

In course of time a Commander-in-Chief was wanted for the army of Bombay. Sir Robert Napier was considered a man eminently qualified for the post, and as the choice did not rest with the Horse Guards he was appointed to it. It was during his

tenure of this office that the release of the Abyssinian captives was resolved upon. Bombay was the point evidently best suited as a starting-point for this purpose. Again it happened that the command of this undertaking did not fall to be decided by the army authorities in Whitehall. And again it chanced that the choice of these charged with the selection fell on Napier.

Seeing how singularly successful he had proved himself as a general, men now began to ask how it came about that the country was prevented from availing itself of the services of the corps to which he belonged. What was its history, what might be its shortcomings in the eyes of our army officials?

Was it possible that some subtle insular idiosyncrasy did in reality render the English artilleryman and engineer different from their fellows in other armies of the world? Napoleon was an artillery officer; General Lee, the commander of the army of the Confederate States of America, is an engineer; so is Marshal Niel, so is Vaillant, so was Cavaignac.

In India, too, it was clear that both corps had shown capabilities of command. Sir George Pollock, who retrieved the disasters of Afghanistan, is an artilleryman; and Lord Napier, as we have already seen, is a good general although an engineer. How came it that the higher capacities of these Ordnance officers should be incapable of development outside the tropics? The position they held in the British army proper appeared to be this—that artillerymen do well enough to dash up and unlimber in face of an enemy's column, and so manage to break its formation as to enable the cavalry to be brought up to finish the work it had cost the lives of a good many gunners and drivers to begin. Engineers, too, were all very well in their way; very serviceable in riding ahead of the columns, and thus picking up intelligence at the expense of inconvenient warnings from an enemy's out-pickets. Occasionally, too, they were useful in pointing out to a puzzled general the conformation of a battle-ground, and the disposition of troops it might require. And no doubt they came in opportunely when a man was wanted to lead a storming party through a breach, or show the way up the ladders at an escalade. Within limits of this kind artillerymen and engineers might be employed. But not beyond them. For the higher work of British warfare they were held to be unfitted. Any claim urged on their behalf to exercise military commands was at once set at rest by the simple official procedure of reminding them that

they belonged to special arms of the service, that is to say, arms which in the United Kingdom are conceived to be specially incapacitated for all but subordinate posts, but which in other countries are considered to be specially well qualified to discharge the highest duties of the soldier.

Such, then, appears to be a fair statement of the position this day held by two corps of our army whose battle-roll is summed up in a single word—"*VEHICULE*."

Is this position a just one?

It is this question which Sir Francis Head has set himself to answer in a book just published by him, under the title of *The Royal Engineer*. Sir Francis naturally enough confines his efforts to a vindication of that one of the two corps of which he knows most; at the same time we do not doubt that, like every soldier who loves the English army, he feels that the principle for which he contends applies equally to both. Like him we shall restrict ourselves at present to considering the claims of the younger corps.

The occasion which seems to have fired anew the zeal of Sir Francis, and to which we are indebted for this fresh work from his pen, may be said to be the Abyssinian expedition.

Desirous of doing honour to the man who had so ably vindicated the capabilities of their corps in planning and carrying out this campaign in Africa, the officers of the Royal Engineers had asked Lord Napier on his return to England to meet them at their mess-table, at the headquarters of the corps, on the heights above Chatham.

Here were gathered together, red-coated records of almost every English battle of the present century. Veterans of the Peninsula and of Waterloo; the less mature soldiers of Sobraon, Chillianwalla, and Meeanee; a fresher group still representing those who laid out the batteries at Sebastopol; and here too were the sharers of the siege of Delhi and other operations of the Indian Mutiny campaign; along with engineers who had fought in China, New Zealand, and at the Cape.

In returning thanks for the words in which the Duke of Cambridge, as Colonel-in-Chief of the corps, conveyed the satisfaction which his brother officers felt in his success, Lord Napier took occasion to allude to various incentives to high aspirations which at different times of his career had influenced his efforts. He told his brother officers that as a very young subaltern one circumstance had made an indelible impression on his mind, as an example of the self-reliance and energy which ought to animate an engineer officer. The circumstance was one which some resi-

dents in Edinburgh may still remember,—that of the promptitude and skill displayed by a subaltern of engineers clearing away the dangerous ruins left by the disastrous fire which occurred in our old Scottish capital in 1824. In telling this story, in his own modest and earnest way, Lord Napier at length bowed his head towards an old gentleman whose black coat was somewhat conspicuous among the red ones which surrounded the table, and proceeded to say that although that example had ever been present in his mind, yet it was not till the day on which he now addressed them that he had had an opportunity of seeing his ideal engineer. This engineer was Sir Francis Head.

Taking advantage of this visit to the Royal Engineer Establishment of Instruction at Chatham, the veteran baronet seems to have set about to examine it with the old vigour which he brought to bear on every act of his life,—on his efforts to quell an insurrection in Canada, as well as on his rough ride across the Pampas. In the book now before us, which is the fruit of that visit, he has called into play the powers of perception and plain exposition which characterize his former works. Here again we find conclusions conveyed in the same forcible words, enlivened with the same abrupt divergent disquisitions which charmed the readers of *Bubbles from the Brummen of Nassau*.

The aspirants for the Royal Artillery and Engineers are, as he tells us, samples selected from the healthy intelligent youngsters of the upper classes of England. In approaching the competitive test which decides this selection, these lads must bring with them certificates showing that they are between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, that they are sound in wind and limb, and that they are of good character. Their matriculation test for the Royal Academy at Woolwich consists in a severe examination in History, Geography, Mathematics (mixed and pure), Classics, French, German, or Hindustani, and the Natural and Experimental Sciences. They must draw freely, and write well. In short, the qualifications prescribed for a lad desiring to enter the Royal Academy are considerably in excess of those possessed by the average of his fellows who each year complete the course of instruction afforded at our great public schools.

Once admitted to the Woolwich Academy, he has to undergo a course of study and training, extending over two years and a half. During this time he is subjected to periodical examinations in the many branches of knowledge which are there taught by an able staff of professors—civil as well as

military. Mathematics, fortification, military surveying and sketching, naturally occupy a prominent position in this course, which is all along supplemented by a rigid training in drill and discipline, and is eventually completed by a careful instruction in the practical part of an artillery officer's duties, carried out daily in the Royal Arsenal, among the various apparatus, models, and machinery stored in that repository of gunnery, which cannot fail to interest and impress the minds of the pupils. The cadets who have finished their course at this Academy undergo a final examination before leaving it. From the thirty or forty who pass this test at the close of each half-yearly term, the half-dozen\* who show the highest proficiency are selected for the corps of Royal Engineers. The remainder join the Royal Artillery. In the case of the lads who are at the top of this half-yearly list, it is of course optional to go to that corps which seems best suited to them; but the number who, having qualified for engineers, do after all become artillerymen, is not great.

The engineer, in the embryo state we now find him as he leaves Woolwich, is provided with as fair a knowledge of mathematics as is possessed by the average men who take a degree at Cambridge. With the theory of fortification he is well acquainted. In its application too he has made some progress, in the shape of throwing up an occasional fieldwork, or modelling some celebrated fortress on a smaller scale in sand. His hand and his eye have already acquired the experience and aptitude necessary to comprehend the conformation of a country-side, and to render this in an intelligible manner on paper. As regards drill and discipline, he has gone through a more severe training than most men in the ranks of the army.

It is in this condition that he joins the Royal Engineer establishment at Chatham. Here his efforts are now directed to appreciate and exercise the application of the principles which have thus far been instilled into his mind. In the operations of sapping, mining, throwing up batteries, laying out the works of a siege, and contriving expedients for a defence, he undergoes a thorough course of instruction. He is constantly practised in the duty of throwing bridges over ravines, or across the ditch of a fortress under attack. An admirable pontoon train, ready as it now stands to take the field at an hour's

notice, affords every opportunity for his acquiring a knowledge of this apparatus of war, and the many useful combinations of which it is capable. The survey of a portion of the neighbouring country, representing several square miles of field, forest, and river, is required of him, under conditions of exactness and artistic finish such as regulate the well-known Ordnance Maps. From time to time he is called upon to submit, at a short notice, a project for attaining some object that is prescribed for his consideration—the means of carrying on a siege against some specified fort or strong place—the method best adapted to repel an enemy landing at some defined point on our coast.

Meanwhile his training in the ordinary duties of a soldier is being enforced with as much attention as is bestowed on his brethren of the line. Attached as a subaltern to one of the companies of Royal Engineers present at their headquarters, he goes through the regular routine of the barrack discipline of our army. According to his place on the roster, he takes his turn of the duties of the corps and the garrison—of the work of "officer of the day" in his own barracks—of that of a member of a court-martial there or elsewhere.

In addition to the company and battalion drill in which he is exercised on his own parade, he takes a part in the brigade manoeuvres periodically occurring on the neighbouring lines of Chatham,—so that by the time he has completed his two years' course of training at the Royal Engineer establishment he may be said to have had altogether four and a half years of constant and careful drilling. Having thus completed his preliminary courses, the subaltern is in all probability drafted to do duty with one of the forty companies of the corps which are stationed separately in almost every part of the British dominions. In any case it is almost certain that before quitting the grade of second captain, the young engineer may yet have to go through more drill and more barrack work, so that it is not too much to assert that in the early part of his career he has been subjected to so severe a training in the purely mechanical duties of the soldier as to render him qualified for ever after in this respect. Henceforth he may be employed, without detriment to his military efficiency, in any capacity in which he may prove useful to the State.

And indeed he is called upon to perform very varied work. He is charged with the construction and conservation of the fortresses and defensive works throughout British territories, with the maintenance of barracks and other military buildings, and with car-

\* The precise number is fixed according to the requirements of the corps of Royal Engineers. Six may be considered the average half-yearly number; but at times more than this number are selected, and at times fewer.

rying out the Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom; while those officers who serve in India undertake labours of a still more comprehensive kind, in furnishing means of communication and of irrigation for that country.

And while these are the principal occupations of the corps during peace, there are others allotted to individuals among its seven hundred and fifty\* members, of which we may here mention a few in the order they occur to us:—Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Bombay; Governor of Bermuda; Governor of the Straits Settlement; Military member of the Council of the Viceroy of India; Chief Commissioner of Police in London; Consul-General in Egypt; Director of Works to the Lords of the Admiralty; Mint-Masters at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Australia; Government Inspectors of Railways in England and in India; Member of the Ordnance Select Committee; Director of Telegraphs in India; the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington.

Having thus seen how numerous are the duties cast upon the Engineers in time of peace, let us now look at some of their doings on active service in the field. And to begin with the work which common belief assigns as their sole occupation on service—that of siege operations,—it may be safely asserted that no duty of a soldier demands more energy, more resolution, or more readiness of resource than this task of the engineer. It is one thing for a man to gallop headlong into action, excited by the emulation and encouragement afforded by comrades, who ride stirrup to stirrup with him in the charge. And it is another thing to expose one's-self as a solitary target for the deliberate practice of an enemy's riflemen, as is the lot of the engineer who, in unimpassioned isolation, undertakes the reconnaissance of a fortress or the inspection of a breach. A man must have a clear head and a stout heart who can grasp the features of the ground and the fortifications he is called upon to scan under circumstances of this kind.

Nor is less quiet fortitude needed in the trenches. There the Engineers who lay out the batteries, and their old college companions of the artillery, who serve the siege guns, have a hard enough time of it, as the casualty lists invariably show. Of nineteen engineer officers employed at the siege of

Badajoz, four were killed and six were wounded. At the first siege of St. Sebastian the casualties were still more severe, four officers being killed and seven wounded out of a roll of eighteen. Nor have recent sieges been much less death-dealing: 550 officers and men having been killed or wounded among the 1650 of all ranks of the corps engaged in the Crimea. Indeed, throughout each phase of a siege the engineer is under more constant exposure to an enemy's fire than any other soldier of the army; and when at length the supreme moment of the attack has arrived, when the stormers have to make their short, sharp rush at the breach, here again we find him performing the duty of showing the way. What this duty means may best be understood by looking back at our siege of Delhi. Of the four engineers who led the columns which finally assaulted that place, three were struck down; and indeed of the seventeen officers of the corps engaged there on that day, only seven escaped unscathed.

One incident of that assault will long be remembered by every soldier who was present—the blowing open of the Cashmere gateway of the fortress. This operation constituted one of the main features in the projected attack. It was an awkward task to accomplish, for imperfect means had prevented our reducing the fire of the place to that condition of comparative harmlessness which is required for prosecuting the advanced operations of a siege. Our most forward trenches were yet far from the fort walls, so that any party attempting to approach the gate must pass over a wide space of open ground commanded by the ceaseless fire of a vigilant enemy. No such attempt could be made under the cover of night; for each evening, so soon as darkness prevented our riflemen from sweeping the glacis with their fire, parties of the enemy came out and kept strict watch at the foot of the walls. Whatever might have to be done must be done in daylight, in full view, under the very muskets of the men who guarded this important point.

In the corps of engineers that practice which is termed "calling for volunteers" is unknown. There, as duty falls to be done, it is allotted as a matter of course to the officer who heads the roster. In this instance two engineer subalterns were wanted to blow open the Cashmere gate. On Home and Salkeld this duty fell.

Assisted by Sergeants Smith, Burgess, and Carmichael of their corps, the two officers made their start from the advanced trenches, and moved down upon the gate with as much expedition as the burden of bearing the ex-

\* Within the last ten years the corps of Royal Engineers has been nearly doubled in number, by the enrollment of officers who, although educated at the Chatham establishment, were formerly reserved for service in India only.

placive apparatus enabled them to exert. Across the open space thus traversed by this little band, and afterwards on the spot they reached at the foot of the wall, a hot fire was poured from the parapets in front, from the gateway itself, and from both flanks. Yet the powder-bags were securely laid, and the hose carefully adjusted—chiefly in the end by Home, for by this time Salkeld was lying prostrate with two bullets in him. Sergeant Carmichael, in attempting to fire the hose, was shot dead. His place was taken by Sergeant Burgess, who succeeded; but he, too, at the cost of his life. At this point, Sergeant Smith, thinking that Burgess had failed, ran forward; but seeing the train alight, had barely time to throw himself into the ditch of the fort to escape the effects of the explosion. With a loud crash the gateway was blown in, and through it No. 3 column rushed to the assault, entering the town just as the other columns had won the breaches in adjoining portions of the defences.

Home, Salkeld, and Smith received the Victoria Cross for this day's work. But neither of the young officers lived long to enjoy their honour. Salkeld, who had lost an arm, and had a thigh broken, died after several days of lingering agony. Home on this day escaped unhurt, and afterwards displayed much skill and daring in blowing open one of the gates of the Delhi Palace, under somewhat similar circumstances of danger and difficulty. But within a fortnight he too was killed by an explosion which took place in the operations at the neighbouring fort of Malagurh.

To most men of a besieging force the capture of the beleaguered city brings a cessation of labour; but not to the engineers. While those of the stormers who live throw themselves down to rest after the day's toil, the engineer officer has to set to work to explore the interior of the captured place. Riding rapidly through its streets and lanes, pushing his horse into public buildings or courtyards, and greeted at times with a stray shot from the musket of some irrepressible patriot ensconced at a lattice window, the explorer has to gather a rapid acquaintance with the resources of the place, so as to be able to report to the commander of the force what quarters can be made available for housing the troops, and what measures may be necessary to adapt the buildings of the town to this purpose. Arrangements for water supplies must also be made; and roads must be opened out to afford free passage for guns, and, if need be, for giving their fire a free play through streets liable to be occupied by a rallying enemy. The damage done to the

defences of the place must also be looked to. If an occupation of it is intended, these must be repaired. Otherwise it may be necessary to proceed at once with still further measures of demolition. Then, too, accurate surveys and sketches have to be made of the scene of the operations as a necessary accompaniment to a report of the proceedings, which is now drawn up by the Commanding Engineer. And these different duties have to be done without delay. Time in such cases is limited, and in all probability other work lies not far ahead. Yesterday's task was blowing in a gateway of one fortress. That of next week may be the escalade of the walls of another.

Of this other form of an engineer's duty we may here mention a remarkable example which occurred at Jhansi, a stronghold in Central India occupied by the sepoy mutineers in 1858.

Pushing his onward way through the rebels who blocked the communication between Eastern and Western India, Sir Hugh Rose at length found himself in front of Jhansi, then strongly held by the enemy, and constituting a focus of insurrection for the districts west of the Jumna. Indeed, the Rāncee who reigned over the city and its dependencies was, although a woman, about the most formidable enemy the British rule encountered in that inland part of the peninsula. As a strategical point of great importance, no less than from the prestige attaching to its possession, it became essential to us to capture this fortress. Time pressed; Sir Hugh was eager to effect a communication with the army then operating in an easterly direction under Lord Clyde; siege materials were scanty. The expedients suitable for such a case were accordingly determined upon—Jhansi was to be attempted by escalade at one point, and by a breach battered from afar at another.

The escalade was to be undertaken by two columns, to each of which was attached a ladder-party composed of engineers. Lieutenant Meiklejohn commanded the party of the right column, Lieutenant Dick that of the left. Neither of the lads was well out of his teens.

Starting from the foremost trenches, the engineers moved well ahead of the columns, and bore down steadily on the point selected for their attempt, but so hot was the fire poured on them while crossing the open space thus passed over, and so many were the men stricken down, that out of thirteen ladders only three could be brought forward to the foot of the wall. In the midst of a storm of bullets and other missiles showered on them from the parapets and the adjoining

bastion-towers, the engineers raised their ladders against the wall. In an instant Dick was at the top of his ladder. In another instant he was lying at its foot with a bullet through his brain. Meiklejohn, too, was foremost of his party in reaching the top, and, as if to quiet the murmurs of "short ladders" which began to arise from the columns in rear, he laid about him lustily with his sword, striking at the defenders, with whom he now found himself face to face. But only for a few seconds. Seized by the hands of those behind the wall, he was torn off his ladder and hacked to pieces by the fanatics inside.

Meanwhile Bonus, a yet younger subaltern of the corps, although off duty that day, had strolled forward from the trenches to see what was going on. Finding himself alongside the third ladder, and observing no eagerness on the part of those present to make use of it, he at once set a good example by mounting it, notwithstanding the missiles hurled at him by the defenders. Rapidly reaching the top, he did his best to parry the blows struck at him. But soon a stalwart rebel, clubbing his matchlock, swung it with full force at the youngster, and hurled him senseless to the ground, at the same time that the ladder itself was knocked out of its position. By this time all the engineer officers and many men were *hors de combat*, and as the chances of success seemed faint, the word was given to withdraw from the attempt, an operation which was luckily counterbalanced by the success of the British troops on the left, who had meanwhile carried the breaches in that direction. Bonus fortunately wore a strong helmet that day, and thus escaped death. As it was, he lay long senseless on the spot on which he fell.

Such, then, are some of the duties of the engineer in connexion with the operations of a siege or an escalade. As regards the ordinary routine work of a campaign his labours are already varied; and if due attention were paid to his capabilities, his employment would assuredly become still more comprehensive than it now is. As Sir Francis Head very justly points out, the qualifications prescribed for officers serving in the department of the Quartermaster-General of the army are simply such as are possessed by every engineer subaltern on leaving the establishment for instruction at Chatham. The rudimentary knowledge of surveying, field-sketching, and other acquirements requisite for the preparation of reconnoitering reports which an infantry aspirant for staff honours contrives to pick up in leisure hours as an accomplishment,

can in few cases be so perfect as the acquaintance with those duties which early training and maturer practice cannot fail to impress on every engineer. Moreover, the engineer on whom this training falls has been chosen from a select band of young Englishmen, and is at least as likely to prove specially fitted to excel in this branch of military skill as his brethren of the line who happen to have developed some amateur aptitude for such pursuits. But, indeed, so entirely has this circumstance been recognised by our army authorities, that engineer officers are no longer permitted to contest in the yearly competition for entrance to the Staff College, it having been declared that their training renders such an examination superfluous. In other words, it has been admitted that engineer officers already possess qualifications for staff employment which can only be acquired by the rest of the army by means of a severe course of study at a college devoted to this purpose.

Such being the case, we might naturally expect to find many members of this corps employed on the army staff, above all in the Quartermaster-General's department, in which their capabilities for reconnoitering ground, for finding out the routes, rivers, fords, ferries, and bridges of the theatre of war, and their ability to turn these and other natural communications of the country to the best account would prove most valuable.

But in any such conjecture we should sadly miscalculate the value which the Horse Guards place on engineers. Notwithstanding this admission of their qualifications—which appears to have been elicited from the authorities as a means of relieving the officers of the line from the competing efforts of the engineers—the corps is practically excluded from all staff employment, only one officer of it being attached to the department of the Quartermaster-General, and he in effect in a somewhat subordinate capacity.

During one of our Caffre Wars, Sir Harry Smith, then in command of the troops at the Cape, ventured to place a couple of engineer subalterns on this branch of his staff. But no sooner had the news reached Whitehall than a peremptory order was addressed to the old General to displace the engineers forthwith, and to fill up the vacancies from the infantry.

The dictum of the Duke of Wellington, that artillery and engineers were impracticable fellows—all mad, married, or Methodists—has long been held to be a conclusive argument against employing them out of their own special spheres; and the old du-



ality of our army organisation, which assigned the troops of the line to the Commander-in-Chief, and the two Woolwich corps to the Master of the Ordnance, no doubt did much to keep their claims in the background.

But although thus denied an opportunity of showing their fitness for every branch of a soldier's duties in any campaign in which British troops have been engaged in Europe, officers of engineers have from time to time been able to burst through these official shackles, and thus assert the injustice to which their corps was subject.

During the Crimean War, Captain Simmons, as a general of division, assisted by Lieutenant Ballard as a brigadier, did good work with Turkish levies against the Russian troops stationed on the eastern shores of the Black Sea; and in truth the fighting material they had to make use of was indifferently good in comparison with the well-disciplined troops of the Czar with whom they had to contend. Deteriorated by the evil example of the enervated bullet-fearing Pashas who commanded them, these soldiers of the Sultan were at first but imperfectly reliable under fire. But when they came to find leaders who really performed the duty of leading, the old courage of Central Asian ancestors was once again kindled in these sons of Islam. The campaign in Mingrelia, including the passage of the Ingour river, may well stand a comparison as a piece of soldiering with any of the operations carried on at the same time in the Crimean peninsula.

In China, again, a young captain of the corps not long ago found himself gradually developing from an adviser of the Imperial generals into the position of Commander-in-Chief of their entire forces. In this capacity Captain Gordon raised armies, fought battles, and reconquered provinces. Here, too, imperturbable courage on the part of one man served to convert a mob of timorous Orientals into a really useful fighting force. And when at length his firmness and fearlessness had overcome the many obstacles he had to encounter, in the shape of an active enemy, unwilling recruits, and endless official thwartings offered by orthodox mandarins to this resolute white devil—in short, after the insurrection which threatened the very throne of China had been quelled by his personal efforts,—Gordon returned to his ordinary engineer duties without carrying with him any outward benefit. Having done his duty as an English officer, he now as an English gentleman refused the offers of service and of rewards made to him by the grateful Emperor of China. Although

a poor man, so high was his sense of honour that he declined gifts which seemed in his mind to carry with them the imputation of mercenary motives on the part of the recipient. As our leading journal justly remarked, on the occasion of his resigning his command in China, Charles Gordon there set an example of courage, of modesty, and of unspotted honour, of which his country may well be proud.

Lord Napier's services are so fresh in our memories that it seems unnecessary to recapitulate these further proofs of an engineer officer's capacity for command. Lest, however, some critics may consider that the success of the Abyssinian expedition indicates a talent for organization rather than a fitness for fighting, it may be well to refer to former services of this general; to his enterprising tactics while commanding the division which did the hard work of the last China war, and to his daring operations while commanding a brigade of troops during the Indian Mutiny. His action with the well-organized army of mutineers at Jowra Alipore was one of the most gallant affairs of the campaign of 1857-1858. One day at the end of a forced march he found his fatigued little force in the immediate neighbourhood of the rebellious army of the Maharajah Scindiah—an army composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, equipped from British arsenals and drilled by British officers. Without a moment's hesitation he made up his mind to attack at any odds. Taking with him a battery of horse-artillery and a few squadrons of cavalry, he worked his way in silence round the shoulder of the low hill that separated the contending forces, and suddenly making his appearance on the enemy's flank, plunged headlong into their dense ranks. A clear field and twenty-two guns were the reward of this day's work, by which Robert Napier effectually set at rest any doubts as to the calculating spirit of the engineer being in any way detrimental to the dash of the soldier.

In thus venturing to cite a few instances of services rendered in the field by Royal Engineers, we feel that we undertake what may seem to many a superfluous task. For ordinary reason and experience ought alike to teach us that such services are not likely to be below the level of those performed by men whose natural aptitude for military studies has not, in the first instance, been determined by the test of examination, nor has afterwards been developed by a professional education. The regimental routine prescribed as the sole training of most officers of our army is excellent as a means of teaching them habits of order and obedience, but be-

yond a certain limit its action is apt to be injurious. Long subjection to its monotonous restraint tends to merge the man into the machine—or rather into an isolated fragment of a machine,—useful so long as the entire apparatus is in gear, but helpless so far as individual movements are concerned. If any one doubts the evil effects of this system of cherishing the military attributes of an army at the expense of its warlike qualities, let him look at the last struggle between Austria and Prussia. No troops in the world are better disciplined than those of the Kaiser. None have higher courage. That they went down before the soldiers of North Germany was not due to the mere mechanical superiority of the needle gun. The same intelligent spirit of soldiering which supplied the Prussians with that admirable weapon was visible throughout every phase of their proceedings, visible in the strategy of their generals as well as in the individual efforts made by every man of the force. Sadowa, to use a well-worn expression, was simply the victory of mind over matter.

To our country that seven weeks' war in Germany ought to carry a special warning. If any lesson were to be gathered from it, it was assuredly this, that mere courage, active or passive, is no longer sufficient to save an army from defeat. The tactics pursued by our best generals in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, which almost invariably consisted in relying on the unflinching resolution with which English troops can endure the onslaught of assaulting columns, would be of little avail in a modern battle-field. The conditions of the combat are altogether altered by the use of arms of precision of the present day. Any general in the field attempting to handle troops after the time-honoured maxims to this day practised on English parade-grounds would never repeat the operation. Long before his cumbrous columns had taken up their alignments and dressed up to their points, his ranks would show sad gaps. An enterprising enemy might sorely violate his notions of "proper fronts" and "proper pivots" by falling headlong on him without regard to any other principle of war than that of securing success. In arms, as in all things, innovations invariably meet with the cry of "heterodoxy, heterodoxy," from the praisers of past times.

Napoleon and the other generals of the French Republic adopted methods of fighting utterly at variance with the good old types of strategy laid down in the ingenious treatises on warfare with which the Austrian commanders of the day were thoroughly conversant. Departing from the hallowed prescriptions of the old masters of the art mili-

tary, those young Frenchmen contrived somehow or other to beat their orthodox antagonists,—quite in opposition to the rules laid down for such cases, it is true,—but beat them they certainly did. The Austrians could of course console themselves with the reflection that their very defeat but the better proved their rigid adherence to established rules of procedure. With one of Molière's doctors they might even say, "Il vaut mieux mourir selon les règles que de réchapper contre les règles." Sentiments of this kind might very possibly have soothed the court circles of the Vienna of that time. But we doubt if Englishmen of the present day would be content with such an apology offered on behalf of a British army beaten under similar circumstances. We question whether the nation, on hearing that its flag had been so soiled, would be satisfied by an explanatory circular from the Horse Guards assuring us that the unpleasant result had been brought about in strict accordance with the regulations of the service.

That radical reforms are required in the organization of our army appears to be the conviction of the country, and symptoms are not wanting to show that the earliest efforts of its reformers are likely to be directed to the system on which it is supplied with officers. Already the movement against the sale of commissions has assumed formidable dimensions. Setting himself astride this hereditary *cheval de bataille*, a member of the present Administration has not hesitated to proclaim the necessity of abolishing this and other practices, which tend, in his mind, to make the army a creature of the Crown rather than a servant of the country. And doubtless many members of the House of Commons are prepared to support this gentleman in effecting important changes in this respect. How far the present purchase system may be beneficial, and how far it may be injurious to our army, we need not now inquire. Much may be urged in support of each view of the case. And we, who may now be set down as endeavouring to advocate certain claims of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, in which this systems does not obtain, may possibly be regarded as but partial judges of this matter.

At the same time, as it happens that these corps are the examples selected by Mr. Trevelyan and his school to prove the advantages of the principle they seek to promote, we may venture to point out what seems to be the secret of success in their instance. And at the outset we may mention that there is this radical difference in the Ordnance corps from the model organization which these abolitionists seem to have set be-

fore themselves, in so far that in them none of the officers have risen from the ranks. Moreover, although admission to the Royal Academy is nominally open to all competitors, yet the nature of the qualifications which are exacted does in reality restrict the candidates to certain classes of the community—classes, in fact, which can afford to pay £130 a year for their boys during their training at Woolwich, and can make them some annual allowance afterwards during their subaltern days at Chatham.\* In short, the officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers are the sons of the gentle folks of England. This condition of the question may no doubt seem of small moment to enthusiasts whose abstract notions of a perfect military organization may be summed up in the supposititious *bâton de maréchal* which each French soldier is said to carry in his knapsack. But to those who have an everyday acquaintance with the subject the circumstance is hardly capable of being overrated in importance.

Men who have mixed much with the English soldier well know that the respect and obedience he yields to an individual of the class which he designates as gentlemen are not to be obtained by persons of a lower social position. On service the display of courage will always insure a leader being followed, irrespective of birth or breeding; but in barracks—and barracks, be it remembered, constitute the normal scene of duty—the English soldier will usually be found much less tractable to the orders of the most meritorious officer that ever rose from the ranks than to the most careless of subalterns freshly set free from Eton or Sandhurst. In course of time a juster appreciation of human equality may possibly pervade the rank and file. At present, however, it is well that their existing sentiments on this subject should not be overlooked in any scheme devised for commanding them.

In addition, however, to the mere circumstance of social condition, the Engineer officer has, as we have seen, a professional education such as is seldom enjoyed by his fellows in the line. His future occupations, too, being of an ever-varying nature, are better calculated to develop his capabilities as a man than the monotonous repetition of one small round of mechanical duties which constitutes the military career of most officers of our army.

\* The cost of a cadet varies according to circumstances. The sons of officers are admitted on lower terms than those of non-military men; and, again, the lower may be the rank of the parent, the less is the amount required for the boy. £130 may be set down as the average cost.

When the elements of drill and discipline have been fairly mastered by a young soldier, it is right that he should acquire knowledge of the varied kind which is necessary for the application of these to the wants of warfare. A mere capacity for manœuvring troops is but a poor qualification for commanding an army; and yet, Heaven knows, this is about the limit of learning attainable by many of our officers, whose mornings are occupied in dawdling through drill and orderly-room duties, and whose afternoons are filled up by strolling in search of such *bonnes fortunes* as are to be met with in the streets of the country quarters in which they find themselves. Surely it is better for a man to be engaged in healthy occupation for the mind and the body than to be condemned to the life-long listlessness of mere barrack work.

If certain critics choose to cavil at the employment of engineers on duties which may seem to belong to the civilian rather than the soldier, we would ask these gentlemen to look at the many engineers who held high commands during the late war in America, and then to tell us if the usefulness of Robert Lee, of Meade, of Beauregard, and their brother officers, was in any way impaired by the varied callings of peaceful life which had occupied their previous years of military inactivity. We would even ask these objectors to look at the case of Lord Strathnairn, whose regimental work may be said to have ceased on his reaching the rank of captain, and then let us know whether his subsequent successful career as a general can be considered to establish the inferiority of a comprehensive course of training, civil as well as military, compared with that finite instruction which is comprised within the red boards of the Queen's Regulations for the Army.

We think most Englishmen will agree with us in considering that able generals are not sufficiently numerous in our army to warrant us in refusing to seek for them wherever they can be found. In making this selection, it seems unwise that the country should be denied the choice of some 2300 officers of artillery and engineers, whose military training has been more carefully conducted than that of any soldiers in its service. In justice to these ordnance officers, too, it is right that the mischievous ban which hitherto has excluded them from commands should now be removed. Its existence is the veriest mockery imaginable of the claim of intellect or of culture to appear arrayed in a red coat.

If, notwithstanding their early training and their after services, these officers shall still be denied this act of justice, then let

their regimental motto become their protest—let the legend which hitherto has been well obeyed by both corps on the field of battle be supplemented by an affix of interrogation, and be henceforth blazoned on their arms and accoutrements after this fashion—*QUO FAS ET GLORIA DUCUNT*?

ART. II.—RUSSIAN LITERATURE—TURGUENIEF'S NOVELS.

1. *Sochineniya, I. S. Turgeneva.*—[The Works of I. S. TURGUENIEF.] Moscow.
2. *Russian Life in the Interior.* Edited by J. D. MEIKLEJOHN. Black: Edinburgh, 1855.
3. *Fathers and Sons.* Translated from the Russian by EUGENE SCHUYLER. New York, 1867.
4. *Smoke; or, Life at Baden.* Bentley: 1868.
5. *Récits d'un Chasseur.* Traduits par H. DELAYEAU. Paris: 1858.
6. *Scènes de la Vie Russe.* Traduites par M. X. MARMIER. Paris: 1858.
7. *Nouvelles Scènes de la Vie Russe.* Traduction de H. DELAYEAU. Paris: 1868.
8. *Various French and German Translations of single Works.*

IN the days of old, when a new king of France was being crowned in the cathedral of Rheims, a certain ancient volume used to be brought forward at one period of the ceremony, and on it the new monarch was solemnly sworn in. This volume, which was known as the *Texte du Sacre*, was as remarkable for the splendour of its exterior as for the incomprehensibility of its contents. Its binding was a mass of gold incrustated with precious stones; when it was opened, a manuscript was revealed, beautifully written on parchment in two different sets of equally unknown characters. No one knew with certainty what it was, or how it came there; but tradition averred that it was a copy of the Gospels in some Eastern tongue, and that it possessed unusual claims on the reverence of the faithful. Successive generations duly revered it, but no one solved the question of its language until at last Peter the Great happened to pay Rheims a visit, and the treasures of the cathedral were brought out for his inspection. When the mysterious volume was opened before him, he at once exclaimed, "Why, that's my own Slavonic!" And so it really was, turning out, when it was examined a century later by a competent scholar, to be a copy of part of the Gospels, written in two columns, the

one in Cyrillic, the other in Glagolitic letters. The dignitaries of the Church had been paying unwonted honours to characters which had probably been traced by a schismatic pen.

That the study of Slavonic literature should have made little progress in France at the time of the Czar's visit is scarcely to be wondered at. But it does seem strange that it should always have been regarded in our own country with an indifference bordering upon contempt, and this carelessness is especially remarkable in the case of Russian literature. Some of the Slavonic peoples, such as the Czekhs, for instance, or the Bulgarians, do not form important nationalities, and have few interests in common with us. But this can scarcely be said of the Russians, and yet the language their many millions speak has always been thought utterly unworthy of our attention. As to the books they read, so little is known about them here, that the traveller who returns from Russia, and affirms that it really possesses a national literature, is often listened to with more astonishment than belief. Yet no one can have any doubt upon the subject who has ever spent an hour in the warehouse of any of the great publishing houses at St. Petersburg, or who has ever strolled along the Paternoster Row of Moscow, the long line of bookshops which extends from the St. Nicholas gate of the Kremlin to the northern angle of the "Chinese City." Merely by looking at the titles of the new books in their windows, it is easy to discover that the Russian publishers are by no means idle. It is true that many of these books are translations, but there are also numbers of original works, chiefly travels, biographies, histories, and critical, statistical, and philosophical essays, together with a good many novels, and a very few poems. Poetry is just now at a discount in Russia. Indeed, all romantic literature is to a certain extent discouraged. Young Russia is bent on studying natural science and metaphysics, and under its influence Fact has become inordinately hard of late years, and Fiction has taken to assuming an unusually reflective and studious air. In some modern Russian novels the romantic element seems to bear an unduly small proportion to that which at least affects to be philosophical, and the position of the artist to be unfairly subordinated to that of the teacher. In many instances this is of no importance, but it seems to be not a little unfortunate when the artist is one of real power. Of course, really great artists are but rarely to be met with in any country; but Russia at this moment possesses at least one writer who is worthy to be ranked among them, and it is to his

works that we now propose to call the attention of our readers.

Ivan Turguenief's\* writings have gained a great and widely-extended reputation in France and in Germany, but in England we fancy that they are but little known. It is true that two of his novels have been published in English, the one under the title of *Fathers and Sons*, and the other under that of *Smoke, or Life at Baden-Baden*, but the first appeared at New York, and is little known on this side of the Atlantic; and the other was translated in so singular a manner that M. Turguenief felt himself bound to protest against its being supposed to convey a just idea of his work. Another book of his was translated from the French, several years ago, under the title of *Russian Life in the Interior*; but unfortunately it differs considerably from the Russian original. No doubt it was made from that eccentric French version† against which M. Turguenief most vigorously protested at the time when it appeared. It is evident, then, that M. Turguenief has not yet had a fair hearing in England, otherwise we feel sure that full justice would long ago have been done to his merits. Of how great those merits are we hope to be able to give at least some idea in the following rapid sketch of his leading works.

Before commencing it, however, it will be as well to say a few words about the principal grounds on which rest M. Turguenief's claims to be considered a great writer of fiction. In the first place, he is original. In his careful studies of men and women he sometimes reminds us of Balzac, and sometimes of Thackeray; but there are few traces of imitation in his work. Then he has genuine creative power. His characters impress us with a sense of their vitality, their movements are natural, their talk is easy and unconstrained. And they have marked individuality, standing out clearly one from another. With him the same lay figure does not enter into a series of pictures, with merely a change of costume. There is great variety in his drawing. If it sometimes shows signs of mannerism, it is at all events clear that he has studied a multitude of models. In the next place, he is a most "sympathetic" writer. He enters, as if by instinct, into the feelings of the persons to whose ideas he gives expression. And this lends a great charm to the descriptions, in

which he excels, of men whose lives have been a mistake, whose careers have been a failure, and of women whose love has been unhappy, whose hopes have not been fulfilled. This same sympathetic feeling carries him even further. The dumb animals themselves become articulate for him. No one will doubt the truth of this who has read the different sketches of dogs which are scattered about his works. It is probably a somewhat similar feeling which accounts for another of his merits,—his singular power of describing nature. In this respect, among others also, he reminds us of the author of *The Village on the Cliff*. He has to a great extent her wonderful faculty of giving in a very few touches not only the outward presentment of a landscape, but also the inner meaning which reveals itself to the eyes of those who are represented as looking at it. Another great merit in his stories is the purity of their tone. In this they offer a refreshing contrast to the cynical sensuality of the modern French school, while at the same time they are utterly opposed to anything like insipid sentimentality. It is easy to trace in them the influence of a shrewd and sarcastic humour, but it is one which is also kindly. There is a touch of east wind in the air which breathes around the majority of them, but is healthy and invigorating. Vice is never made seductive in them, nor are apologies offered for crime. Some of the best characters introduced into them are those of pure-hearted young girls, whose lives one feels must be honest and true, and of men who, even if they have at times been weak or erring, have, on the whole, battled manfully against their lower tendencies, and at last attained to a nobler life. Along with this elevation of feeling should be classed our author's generous indignation against all oppression and wrong, and especially that sympathy with the so long trodden down masses of his countrymen which gives so much animation to his pictures of peasant life. It needed no slight courage in a Russian writer seventeen years ago to speak as M. Turguenief did about the sorrows and the sufferings of the common people. Last, but not least, in the list of M. Turguenief's merits, must be mentioned the great beauty of his style. Never redundant, never bald or poor, it serves equally well for all occasions. Even in a translation it is easy to recognise the felicity of his expressions, the neatness of his dialogue, and the richness of his imagery.

One of the most characteristic of M. Turguenief's works is that which first made his name known, the *Zapiski Okhotnika*, or "A Sportsman's Notes." The stories it

\* It is difficult to write a Russian name correctly in our characters. In French our author styles himself Tourguénief. In Germany he becomes Turgenejew, Turgeneff, etc. We have adopted the form employed by Mr. Michell, in his Russian Handbook.

† Not M. Delaveau's, which is excellent.

contains are exceedingly interesting, even when looked upon merely as ordinary narratives, and the descriptive passages scattered over its pages would in themselves be sufficient to attract any lover of the picturesque; but its special claim to lasting admiration and respect is based upon the striking picture it affords of the condition of the Russian peasant before he became a free man, and the resolute though quiet protest it offers against such oppression as was so long endured by the masses of the Russian people. It used to be a somewhat dangerous matter to call public attention in any but a very guarded manner to the peculiar institution of serfdom. Even in the days when such a misfortune was no longer to be feared as that which befell Radischef,—who, on the account of the impressions of travel in which he drew an unusually sombre picture of peasant life, was degraded from office by the Empress Catherine, and sent to Siberia—many unpleasantnesses awaited a rash apostle of freedom. The Government might make no sign, but society would be very likely to frown, if any daring enthusiast said too much about the bondage in which the upper class held the lower. A certain amount of liberal sentiment was allowed, was even admired, but it was supposed to be understood that the feelings of the “ruling caste” were not to be too rudely ruffled. When M. Turguenief’s sketches appeared, it was evident that he had not been withheld by any fear of what society might think of his proceedings. Quietly, and sometimes almost as if unconsciously, he laid bare some of the social cankers which were fretting away the strength of his country; in a few simple words he told this or that tale of sorrow and of wrong, then left the sad story to produce its own effect, and without a trace of indiscreet enthusiasm or morbid sentimentality, calmly, as it were coldly, passed on to another subject. There could be no doubt that the writer felt very keenly on the subject of the wrongs he described, but he had such thorough mastery over his feelings, that he was able to maintain the tone of one who was a disinterested narrator rather than a partisan. And so he produced a far greater and more permanent effect than could have been secured by any amount of hot and angry declamation. His quiet words sank deep into hearts that a storm of abuse would only have hardened; the subdued tone of his slight but thoroughly true sketches produced a lasting effect upon eyes which would merely have been offended by exaggerated and highly coloured pictures of suffering. Now that the old order of things has given place to the new,

—that the terrible tragedies of olden days are no longer likely to be repeated,—that the Russian proprietor is free from those fatal temptations which beset the man into whose hands is given absolute power over his fellow-men, and that the Russian peasant is no longer a mere chattel, something but a little higher than the beasts of the field, it is well that there should be some record of the mental degradation, the physical suffering, to which the old system gave rise. There is no lack in Russia, even among our own countrymen, of critics whose sympathies are with the past, whose tendencies are retrograde, whose leading idea is that the common people should be ruled by the stick, and who consider slavery so “patriarchal” an institution as almost to have acquired a religious character. For the benefit of readers whom those opinions about the emancipation might affect, it is very good that such pictures should be generally available as those which M. Turguenief has drawn of patriarchal manners.

Let us take a glance at a few of their more striking figures, beginning with that affable and judicious proprietor, Arcady Pavlich Penochkine. He is a young man who is well received and well spoken of in society, especially by the ladies, on whom the elegance of his manners has made a deep impression. He has received a good education, and he has some acquaintance with music. He dresses with taste, he affects French literature, and he plays cards to perfection. As regards his peasants, he is, according to his own account, severe but just. When he punishes them it is always for their good. “One must treat them like children,” he says, and if he has to strike a blow, it is done calmly, and without any sign of anger; it is even accompanied by gentle words of expostulation, only at such times he sets his teeth a little, and his mouth assumes a disagreeable expression. Such is the refined and polished gentleman at whose house M. Turguenief’s sportsman happens to spend a night. Everything is admirably managed there, and the servants are disciplined to perfection, only their countenances wear an anxious look which prevents the guest from being quite at his ease in their presence. At breakfast, in the morning, Arcady Pavlich appears to be in an exceedingly good humour. Presently, however, he lifts a glass of wine to his lips, and his face immediately darkens. “Why hasn’t the chill been taken off the wine?” he asks. The servant he addresses grows pale, but makes no reply. “Surely you hear my question, my good friend?” quietly continues his master, without taking his eye off

him. The unfortunate servant fidgets a little, but remains silent. Arcady Pavlich watches him for a minute as if he were deliberating. "You may go," he says at last, and then rings the bell. It is answered by a thick-set, brutal-looking man, to whom the master of the house—who has apologized to his guest, with a kindly smile on his lips, for entering upon this little matter of business in his presence—says in a low voice, and without the least trace of angry feelings,—"Let Theodore . . . be seen to." "It shall be done," says the thick-set man, and disappears. "Such are the inconveniences of country life!" says Arcady Pavlich, in French, and with perfect cheerfulness. Not finding his spirits raised by this little scene, the visitor is about to take his leave, but his host cannot think of losing sight of him. Arcady Pavlich has a small estate called Shipilovka, which he has not seen for a long time, and which is close to the ground over which his guest is going to shoot. So he offers to drive there with him, and makes him promise to sleep at Shipilovka, in the house of the Bourmister, the steward or manager of the property. Somewhat against his will the visitor consents, and the two companions find themselves that evening occupying the best room in the cottage of the manager, whom Arcady Pavlich is never weary of praising as a model servant. The next morning they go over the farm, which is in excellent order. Everything seems flourishing except the peasants, who all look pale and thin. The [proprietor is charmed with all he sees, and explains to his friend the advantages of the *obrok* system, according to which his peasants pay him money instead of giving him their labour. Suddenly there appear before him, and fling themselves at his feet, two peasants,—one a youth, the other an old man,—barefooted, miserably clad in coarse shirts, tied round the waist with pieces of rope. Arcady Pavlich asks them what they want, knitting his brow the while and biting his lip. They make no reply, only they blink their eyes, and draw their breath quickly. He repeats his question. The old man bends his sunburnt, wrinkled neck, his pale lips work, he cries with a broken voice, "Protect us, my Lord," and again prostrates himself, striking the ground with his forehead. The young peasant does the same. Their master looks down on them with a dignified air. At length they speak. They have come to complain to him of the way in which the Bourmister oppresses them. "He has utterly ruined us, my father," says the old man, whose name is Antip. "He has already sent two of my sons to the army out

of their turn, and now he wants to take this my third son from me. Yesterday, my father, he took away my last cow from me, and beat my wife; don't let him utterly destroy us, O our supporter!" The proprietor turns to his steward and asks what all this means. The reply is that the old man is idle, and a drunkard, and insolent, and that he is greatly in debt to his master. Arcady Pavlich turns with dignity to his suppliants, and reads them a lesson on the evils of drunkenness and sloth, and the extreme wickedness of not paying what is due to a landlord.

"Father, Arcady Pavlich!" cried the old man in despair, "have pity! protect us! I insolent! As before the Lord God, I declare that we are utterly ruined. Sofron Yakovlich [the Bourmister] hates me, and why does he hate me? God be his judge! He will utterly ruin us, father. . . . Behold this is the only son I have left—and him too . . ."—tears filled the old man's yellow eyes, over which the lids dropped heavily. "Pity us, my Lord, protect us."

"And it isn't us only—" the young peasant was beginning.

"Arcady Pavlich hastily interrupted him.

"And who spoke to you—eh? No one speaks to you, so hold your tongue. And what is the meaning of all this? Be quiet, you're told! be quiet! Why, good heaven, this is simply mutiny! No, no, brother! I don't recommend you to rebel against me. I'll—" Here Arcady Pavlich took a step forward, but then in all probability he remembered I was present; he turned back and put his hands in his pockets, "*Je vous demande bien pardon, mon cher,*" he said, with a forced smile, considerably lowering his voice, "*C'est le revers de la médaille.*" Well, very good, very good," he continued; without looking at the peasants, "I will give orders . . . very good, be off with you." The peasants did not rise. "Be off, I will give orders, I tell you."

"Arcady Pavlich turned his back on them. 'Always unpleasantnesses,' he muttered between his teeth, and went homewards. . . . The two suppliants remained where they were a little longer, gazed at each other for a moment, and then, without looking behind them went slowly home." \*

Soon after witnessing this pleasant scene, the narrator is shooting in the neighbourhood, and he asks the peasant who accompanies him a few questions about Arcady's estate. His companion gives him an account of how Shipilovka is managed. Sofron the Bourmister, he says, is its real master. All the peasants are in debt to him, and he does what he likes with them, uses them as he pleases, squeezes all their money from them,

\* It may be as well to state that the extracts in this article are translated from the original Russian.

and they dare not complain. Then the sportsman describes what had occurred in his presence. The peasant expresses his pity for Antip. "The poor old man will be utterly ruined," he says; "the Bourmister will have him beaten to death. The fact is, he has borne him a grudge ever since one day when the old man had words with him in the Communal Assembly, and he will never rest till he has eaten him up. He has already deprived Antip of two sons, heartless wretch that he is." And there the story ends, without a word of comment.

Here is another illustration of the working of that system which so often demoralized the lord as much as it degraded the vassal. It is taken from one of the stories in which M. Turguenief has depicted the position of a girl of the peasant class, whose youth and beauty only serve to bring sorrow upon her. The lot of women has always been a hard one in Russia, but as a general rule the peasant's wife or daughter has been inured to hardship all her life, and therefore may not feel it very keenly. Now and then, however, it has happened that she has been raised for a time from her position of humility and privation, and either from caprice or affection she has been well and kindly treated, and may even have grown habituated to a life of luxury. She has become conscious of feelings and emotions which had never manifested themselves before, new tastes have developed themselves, and a power of enjoyment has become hers which entails a corresponding capacity for suffering. And then, perhaps, without a moment's warning, in the very height of her new-born happiness, she has suddenly been deprived of everything which has made existence pleasant to her, and has been sent back with ignominy to the dull monotony, often the crushing misery, of the peasant's life. And to bring about this change, to inflict this punishment, and then tranquilly to watch its operation, was often the special delight of some mean nature, the favourite revenge prompted by feminine vindictiveness.

A proprietor named Karataef has fallen in love with a young peasant girl who belongs to one of his neighbours, an old lady of considerable wealth. It is more than a passing fancy, for Matrena is well fitted to gain and retain his affections; so he determines to purchase her from her mistress. One day, therefore, he calls upon the old lady, imagining that it is only a question of money, and that all he has to do is to pay some five hundred roubles; but, to his utter consternation, the old lady will have nothing to say to his offer beyond giving him a sound scolding, and some excellent advice about good

conduct. Not only does she absolutely refuse to sell Matrena, but she banishes the poor girl to a distant village among the steppes. Her would-be purchaser is in despair. The image of Matrena is always before his eyes, coarsely clad, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the blows of a brutal overseer. At length one day he rides over to her place of exile, and manages to obtain an interview with her. The poor girl has grown pale and thin,—the tears pour from her eyes. He tells her that she must not go on living there,—that he will carry her off. At first she refuses, although weeping bitterly, and the following conversation ensues:—"Why should you stay here?" he asks; "you couldn't be worse off than you are now. Tell me truly: you've felt the weight of the starost's\* hand, haven't you?" Matrena's cheeks grow red and her lips quiver. "But," she says, "it would be the ruin of my people at home." "Why, what would they do to your people—exile them?" "Oh yes! They would be sure to exile my brother at all events." "And your father?" "No, not my father; he is the only good tailor they have." "There, then, you see he wouldn't be hurt; and it wouldn't kill your brother." And so at length he prevails, and one night he carries her off to his house.

For some time he is perfectly happy. Matrena becomes dearer to him every day. She can play the guitar, and sing and dance; she even learns to read and write. Her father finds out where she is, and comes secretly to visit her. All goes well till one unfortunate day, when, while she is driving Karataef in his sledge, she takes it into her head to pay a visit to the village of her mistress. Unluckily the old lady meets them, and recognises her runaway slave. The next day she commences a lawsuit against her neighbour for stealing her live stock. He manages for a time to stave off inquiry, but the old lady is obstinate, and declares she is ready to spend ten thousand roubles on the suit rather than give it up. Things go badly with him. Costs accumulate, and he becomes crippled by debts; at last he falls ill from anxiety. One evening, when he is alone in his room—for Matrena has been hidden away in a farm at a short distance from his house—the door opens, and she enters. At first he thinks that she has been driven from her hiding-place, but she tells him that she has come of her own accord,—that she cannot bear to see him ruined for her sake, and that she is going to give herself up to her mistress. He remonstrates with her, but she says that her mind is made up, that she

\* The *starosta* is the head of a commune.



can never forget him, but that she will no longer be a trouble to him; and she keeps her word. She gives herself up.

This story is told to our sportsman by Karataef himself, whom he meets in a village posthouse. Just as it is finished, the postmaster announces to the two travellers that their horses are ready. As they are leaving, "What became of Matrëna?" asks the sportsman. Karataef makes no reply beyond a vague gesture. A year later the chance acquaintances meet again. Karataef has changed for the worse, and has acquired a thoroughly dissipated and disreputable air. A conversation ensues, in which he begins to talk about the stage, goes on to declaim a number of Hamlet's speeches, and ends by hiding his face in his hands. The words uttered by Hamlet when thinking of Ophelia have a special signification for him: "Ah well!" he cries at last, quoting an old proverb, "if any one recalls the past, let him lose an eye—that's true enough, isn't it?"

An equally sad story is that of Arina, the favourite waiting-maid of a lady who passed for an angel of goodness. This lady behaved very affably to her maids, but she never would hear of their marrying. One day she caught sight of a singularly interesting girl of fifteen on her husband's property, so she carried her off to the capital to wait upon her. The girl cried a good deal at first, but at last she became accustomed to her place, grew into a handsome woman, and became the lady's principal attendant. The rest of the story may be told in the words of her master:

"All of a sudden, one fine morning, Arina comes into my study without asking leave, and falls down at my feet. I may as well tell you frankly, that's a thing I can't bear. A human being ought never to forget its self-respect. Don't you think so? 'Well, what do you want?' I asked. 'Grant me a favour, my father.' 'What is it?' 'Let me marry.' I was thoroughly astonished; I must confess. 'Why you know, little fool, that your mistress has no other lady's-maid.' 'I will wait on the mistress as before.' 'Nonsense, nonsense; your mistress can't abide married servants.' 'Malania can take my place.' 'I'll trouble you not to argue with me,' I say at last. 'Your wishes are law, but . . . she begins to reply. I must confess I was utterly taken aback. You see I am a man of this sort: nothing so hurts me, I venture to say so deeply wounds me, as ingratitude. I'm sure I needn't tell you—you know yourself—what sort of a wife I have; an embodied angel,—one whose goodness no words can express. . . . Well, I drove Arina out of the room. I thought perhaps she would think better of it. You know one doesn't like to believe the human breast can harbour black ingratitude. What do you suppose? About six months later she does me the favour to return to me with the self-same request. On

that, I confess, I drove her from my presence indignantly, and I threatened her, and said I would tell her mistress. I was regularly upset. But conceive my amazement when, a little later, my wife comes to me in tears,—so agitated that I was actually frightened. 'What's the matter?' say I. 'Arina'—says she—you understand. I am ashamed to speak about it. 'Impossible!' say I. 'Who's the man?' 'Petruchka, the footman,' says she. I was beside myself. . . . Petruchka was not to blame. . . . As to Arina. . . . Of course I told them to cut her hair short, and put a peasant's dress on her, and send her into the country. . . . Now, just judge for yourself;—you know my wife, such a, a, a,—well, an angel! Why, she was quite attached to Arina, and Arina knew it, and yet wasn't ashamed. . . . But what's the use of talking about it? At all events there was nothing to be done. The ingratitude of that girl has grieved and wounded me in a way I shall not soon forget. Whatever you may say, it's no use looking for heart—for good feeling—in those people. However well you may feed a wolf, it will be always looking towards the forest. Well, it's a lesson for the future."

Next to these illustrations of the dealings of the proprietors with their serfs, the most interesting of the stories are those which describe the manners and customs, the thoughts and feelings, of the peasantry, in their relations to each other. No one has painted the common people of Russia more correctly than M. Turguenief, and from these sketches a very fair idea may be gained of what they are really like. Take for instance that called "Birouk," and study the scene it depicts in the interior of a peasant's cottage one night. The sportsman has been overtaken in a forest by a storm, and seeks refuge in a solitary hut. It belongs to a forester, a rough, taciturn man, of great physical strength, and reputed to be very severe in his dealings with all whom he catches stealing his master's wood. His hut consists of a single room, low, smoky, and with scarcely any furniture in it. The feeble and uncertain light of a pine-wood splinter just serves to reveal the ragged sheepskin hanging on the wall, the heap of rags in one corner, the two large earthenware pots near the stove in the other, and the cradle in the middle, rocked by a little girl, whose pale thin face tells its tale of hardship and want, and whose only covering is a scanty cotton dress. It is a sad picture that the interior of that lonely cottage offers, while the wind howls outside, and the rain beats against the narrow window-pane. Presently an incident occurs which yields an added touch of gloom to the scene. The forester has detected some one in the act of carrying off a tree, and brings him a prisoner into the cottage. The culprit is a peasant from the neighbouring village, a wretched-looking

man, clad in rage, which the rain has drenched. The feeble light which falls on him as he sits on a bench in the corner just serves to show his wan and wrinkled face, his restless look, his emaciated limbs. The child lies down on the floor at his feet and goes to sleep. The forester sits at the table, resting his head on his hands. A cricket chirps in the corner; the rain continues to fall heavily on the thatched roof, and to splash against the windows. For some time the inmates of the cottage remain silent. At last the peasant begins to plead for his liberty. "Let me go," he says; "it is hunger that has made me do it—let me go." His head shakes, he draws his breath with difficulty; a sort of ague-fit seems to have seized him. He and all his are utterly ruined, he says. It is the bailiff who has done it. If he is taken before the authorities, he is lost. "Let me go," he cries in a tone of utter despair; "in God's name let me go! I will pay for the tree, so help me God I will! It was hunger made me do it, I swear—the children are crying for food, you know that well enough. It's so hard to get a living anyhow." Then he begs the forester not to take away his horse—all that he has to live by—a wretched, half-starved creature, which is standing outside all this time, a captive like its master. It is the old story—bitter, hopeless, helpless misery—the petty tyrant (in the person of the bailiff) grinding the faces of the poor, and no hand ever stretched forth to help.

Such subjects as these have been described by many pens besides M. Turguenief's, but it would be difficult to find any writer who has so thoroughly succeeded as he has done in investing his work with an air of reality. He is a perfect master of the art of story-telling, knowing exactly what is wanted to bring a scene vividly before his readers' eyes, and never using a superfluous word in so doing.

In attaining a stage effect he never lets his machinery become visible for a moment, and the illusion he produces is therefore complete. Nothing careless or slovenly can ever be detected in his execution. In all the series of these pictures of country life no figure is ever out of drawing; there is never anything unmeaning or incongruous in the colouring. Take, for instance, the chapter called "Death," in which M. Turguenief relates several anecdotes in illustration of his remark that the Russian peasant dies "coolly and simply, as if he were performing some rite." They only occupy ten pages in the original, but in that small space five stories are told, each of which has its own distinct character. The first describes a

death in the forest. A falling tree has crushed the foreman of a band of wood-cutters, and, as he lies dying, he utters a few broken words to the peasants who surround him. It is his own fault, he says; he has worked and made others work on a Sunday; the Lord has punished him. He asks the men he has had under him to forgive him if he has ever injured them. They uncover their heads, and reply that it is they whom he has to forgive. He is silent for a time; then, with great difficulty, he says—"Yesterday I bought a horse—from Yefime—of Siehovo—I paid him the earnest-money—so it's mine—give it to my wife." His body quivers all over, "like a wounded bird," and then stiffens. "He is dead," mutter the peasants. The next story is that of a cottager who is dying from injuries received at a fire. A visitor finds him breathing with difficulty, and evidently fast approaching his end. The room is dark, hot, and smoky. A deathlike silence prevails in it. In one corner sits the dying man's wife, now and then shaking a finger of warning at a little girl of five, who is hiding in another corner, and munching a piece of bread. Outside, in the passage, there is a sound of steps and of voices, and a woman is chopping cabbages. The visitor asks if anything can be done for the sufferer, but they say he wants nothing. Everything has been put in order; the dying man is quietly waiting for death. The third describes a visit paid to the physician of a country hospital by a miller, a very powerful man, who has received an internal injury, of which he has unfortunately made light. The doctor tells him that he is in great danger, but that every attention shall be paid him if he will remain in the hospital. The miller reflects a moment, looking steadfastly at the floor, then gives the back of his neck a scratch, and takes up his cap. "Where are you going?" asks the doctor. "Where?" replies the miller; "why, home, if it's so bad a business. I must settle my affairs, if that's the case." "But you'll do yourself harm; I wonder you ever managed to get here; you'd better stop." "No, brother; if I'm to die, I'll die at home. If I died here, God knows what might happen at home." The miller pays the doctor half a rouble, takes a prescription from him, leaves the room, and gets into his cart. "Goodbye, doctor," he says; "don't be angry with me, and don't forget my orphan children if—" "Do stay," replies the doctor; but the miller only shakes his head and drives off. The road is in a wretched state, but the miller manages to get along it capotally, and never neglects to salute the passers-by whom he meets. These

days afterwards he is dead. The next story relates the quiet death of an enthusiastic young student who fills the post of tutor in a very unsympathetic family, and who, even when death is staring him in the face, maintains the cheerful enthusiasm, the unselfish interest in what others are doing, which had marked his earlier years. The last gives an account of the last moments of an old lady of the upper class :—

"The priest had begun to read the deathbed prayer, when suddenly he perceived that she was actually on the point of expiring; so he hurriedly pressed the crucifix to her lips. The old lady drew her head back with an air of vexation. 'What are you in such a hurry about, good father?' she said in a faltering voice. 'You will have time to—!' She kissed the crucifix, tried to put her hand under her pillow, and expired. Under the pillow there lay a silver rouble. She had wished to pay for her own deathbed rites herself."

If space permitted, we would gladly give a few extracts from some of the other sketches of rural life, such as the charming prose idyll called "The Bejine Prairie," in which the belated sportsman passes the early hours of the night in listening to what may be called ghost stories, told round their camp-fire by a number of boys who are in charge of the horses belonging to their village; or from that styled "The Country House," in which the narrator overhears a conversation carried on by the men employed by a landed proprietor to manage his estate, and so becomes acquainted with many of the secrets of their profession; or that entitled "The Singers," containing so poetic a description of the effect which music can produce even upon a village audience in Russia. Then there are also the illustrations of the life led by the small landed proprietors, a class about which the general public in England is almost as ignorant as it is about the peasants, and one which affords to M. Turguenief an opportunity of displaying his wealth of humour—that quiet style of humour which enabled Mrs. Gaskell to render so charming her descriptions of the somewhat monotonous life led by the good people of Cranford. All that we can now do is to attempt, by a brief extract, to convey some idea of M. Turguenief's style in those portions of his work which are devoted to descriptions of the beauties of nature—pictures which have somewhat in common with those which Mr. George MacDonald knows so well how to paint. The passage we are about to quote occurs in the account of Kasian, a strange being who belongs to one of the branches of dissent from the established Russian church, and who has grafted on

to his naturally eccentric character the peculiarities of sectarian fanaticism :—

"At last the heat compelled us to take shelter in the wood. I lay down under a thick hazel-bush, above which a slender young mapletree gracefully extended its high branches. . . . There, lying on my back, I began to amuse myself by noticing the quick play of the tangled leaves in clear relief against the brightness of the far-off sky. There is a strange pleasure in lying on one's back in a wood and looking upwards. You seem to be gazing into a profound ocean, which stretches far away beneath you, and the trees do not appear to be growing upwards from the earth, but, like roots of huge plants, to shoot downwards, hanging suspended in those crystal waves of light. As to the leaves, they are in some parts translucent as emeralds; in others they assume a denser green, here tinged with gold, there almost passing into black. Now and then, far far away, a solitary leaf that tips a delicate twig stands out motionless against a blue spot of limpid sky, and by its side another vibrates, with a movement that seems spontaneous, voluntary, and not attributable to the wind. Like magic islands submerged, round white clouds come slowly sailing by, and slowly pass away. Then suddenly across all that radiant aerial sea, all those twigs and leaves bathed in the dazzling sunlight, a tremulous shudder swiftly runs; the whole scene begins to wave to and fro, and there arises a soft whispering, like the rippling sound of suddenly-agitated waters. You gaze aloft without stirring, and no words can express the sweetness of that feeling of quiet happiness which fills your heart. You gaze, and the sight of these clear azure depths calls up to your lips a smile as guileless as they are themselves. Like the clouds in the sky, and as if together with them, happy memories pass in slow succession through your mind, and it seems to you as though your gaze pierced farther and farther on, and drew you yourself after it into that tranquil bright abyss, and that from that distance, be it height or depth, you will never return."

These *Notes by a Sportsman* are written by M. Turguenief in so concise a style that the first volume of one of the editions of his collected works contains them all, twenty-two in number. In the four volumes which follow, besides other writings, just as many more stories are included, each of them illustrating some phase of Russian society, and all of them abounding in those same good qualities which rendered the sportsman's sketches so attractive. They are all admirably told. Each has some peculiar feature of its own, and many of them contain studies of character as carefully elaborated as if they had been intended to occupy the post of honour in a regular novel. Instead of giving a mere string of all their names, we will say a few words about two or three of those among them which offer the most marked characteristics.

One of the most touching is that of "Moomoo," which has already been made known to English readers by Mr. Sala.\* Moomoo is a dog which has been rescued from drowning, and carefully brought up by Garasime, the deaf and dumb *stornik*, or porter, in the house of a selfish and whimsical old Moscow lady. Cut off by his infirmity from almost all society with his fellowmen, Garasime leads a secluded and cheerless life for some time after his removal from his native village to the town-house of his mistress. But after a while he becomes attached to Tatiana, one of the maid-servants in the family, and manages in his uncouth way, by signs and smiles, to let her know that he loves her. Unluckily his owner takes it into her head to marry Tatiana to another of her serfs, a drunken tailor. The superintendent of the household, who is ordered to get the couple married, is greatly perplexed how to manage it without offending Garasime, who is a giant in stature, and terrible when his anger is roused. At last recourse is had to a trick. Drunkenness is a failing for which Garasime has the greatest aversion, so Tatiana is induced one day to feign intoxication in his presence. The stratagem is crowned with success. Garasime is horrified at the sight of Tatiana's supposed degradation. He takes her by the hand and leads her, half dead with fear, across the courtyard and into the servants' hall. There he leaves her, waving a farewell to her with his hand, and then returns to his den, where he shuts himself up for twenty-four hours. After that he takes no notice of Tatiana till she leaves the house a year later, her husband's drunkenness having become intolerable. Just before she goes, Garasime comes up to her and gives her a red cotton handkerchief he had bought for her a year before. Up to this moment Tatiana has worn an air of indifference, but now she bursts into tears, and leaning forward as she sits in the telega, "she kisses him three times in Christian fashion." He accompanies the telega some way, then makes a sign of farewell, and returns slowly along the river side, his eyes fixed on the water. It is then that he saves Moomoo from drowning. The dog soon becomes for him the one joy of his life. It is his single friend, his solitary companion. Every day he becomes more and more attached to it. At last he may be said to be even happy, for he has found something to love. One day his mistress sees Moomoo and sends for it to her room. She tries to please it, but it only growls at

her, and at last she becomes vexed and angry. The next day she declares Moomoo has kept her awake by its barking during the night, and that it must be sent away. Of course she is obeyed, one of the servants secretly kidnapping Moomoo, and selling it in the marketplace. Garasime is almost in despair, but at night he is roused from an unquiet slumber by the return of Moomoo, which has escaped from its new master. The mute knows now the peril his favourite runs, so he tries to keep Moomoo concealed. His fellow-servants know that the dog has returned, but they say nothing about it. Unfortunately Moomoo betrays itself. It barks, and wakens the old lady. The dog's doom is sealed. The next day Garasime, who has been made to understand what his mistress wishes, carefully washes Moomoo and combs its fleecy coat, then carries it to an eating-house and feeds it daintily, and afterwards takes it on board a boat, rows up the river to a quiet spot, and there drowns the only friend he has in the world. That night he leaves Moscow, and makes his way back on foot to his native village. There he spends the rest of his days, always remaining as grave and reserved, as sober and industrious, as he had been in former years. The neighbours remark that he will never even so much as look at a woman, and that he does not keep even a single dog in his cottage; but they are not surprised at that, for, as they say, such a strong fellow as he is does not want a woman to work for him nor a dog to guard his hut.

There is one other story turning on the relations which used to exist between the serfs and their owners, which is worthy of special notice. It is called "The Tavern,"\* the scene being laid in a country inn which stands by the side of one of the high-roads of Russia. It is kept by a serf named Akim Semenov, an intelligent and well-informed man, who has travelled much, and benefited by his travels, and who has thriven and laid by money. Unfortunately he has made an unwise marriage, having chosen as his second wife a young and pretty servant-maid, Avdotia, some six-and-twenty years his junior. It is true that no harm comes of this marriage for several years, during which Akim is perfectly contented with the behaviour of his young wife, whom he loves devotedly; but misfortune only tarries, it does not forget to come. One evening a young commercial traveller named Naum Ivanov visits the tavern, and from

\* In the volume containing "The Two Prima Donnas," and other tales.

\* Translated by M. Xavier Marmier in the *Scènes de la Vie Russe*, under the title of *L'Auberge de Grand Chemin*.

that day Akim's sorrows date. Naum gains Avdotia's heart, and she not only bestows her affections on him, but she also gives him Akim's money, taking it from time to time out of her husband's secret hoard. When Naum has thus obtained the whole of Akim's savings, he goes to Akim's mistress and offers to give her two thousand roubles for the tavern and its contents. At first she hesitates, doubting if she has a right to sell Akim's property, but her confidential servant, whom Naum has bribed, points out to her that as Akim belongs to her, of course all that Akim has is hers also, so at last she yields. We can scarcely praise too highly the skill with which the scenes are depicted in which Naum makes his bargain with the lady, and Akim vainly strives to gain redress from her, and, gloomiest of all, that in which the poor old man, as he returns from his fruitless errand, is met by the wife who has betrayed him for Naum's sake, and whom Naum has now driven from the house. A little later comes another sombre scene, in which Naum discovers Akim in the act of revenging himself by setting the tavern on fire, seizes him and locks him up all night in a cellar. The next morning Akim is about to be handed over to the authorities, when a neighbour arrives, whose entreaties and arguments induce Naum to let his prisoner go, on condition that he swears he will give up all ideas of vengeance for the future. Akim swears as he is bid, takes a long silent farewell of the house and barns he has himself built, and which belong to him no more, and then slowly goes away. Another very sad scene follows, in which Akim forgives and takes leave of his wretched wife. Then he leaves the village in which he has lived so long, and sets out on a pilgrimage, with the view of visiting the chief holy places of Russia, and there "praying away his sins." Years go by, and he still wanders on, but every now and then he returns to his village, and on such occasions he never fails to offer to his mistress a consecrated loaf brought from some famous monastery, where he has offered up a prayer for her health. On her side, "she often mentions Akim's name, and declares, that ever since she had known his worth, she has thoroughly esteemed the Russian peasant." As for Naum, he keeps the inn for some time, and grows rich. At last he retires from it, and, if common report is to be believed, makes a great fortune as a Government contractor.

We will turn now from M. Turguenief's pictures of peasant life to those which he has devoted to the higher ranks of society. The only difficulty in dealing with them is

to know which to select as the most characteristic, so many of them have claims to be considered, which are embarrassing when only a small amount of space can be accorded to them. As a specimen of a romantic story, it may perhaps be best to select *Faust*, one of the most remarkable of the author's minor works, so far as his singular power of analysing character is concerned. Paul Alexandrovich B. is a young man who, at a very early age, falls in love with a young girl of sixteen, Viera Eltsouf. Viera is a rather strange being, who has been brought up in a singular manner by a mother who is also somewhat eccentric. Madame Eltsouf has a strong aversion to all that can excite the imagination, and will not allow her daughter to read a line of poetry or a page of romance. She very seldom smiles, and she scarcely ever addresses her daughter in the tone of fondness usually adopted by mothers, but Viera is devotedly attached to her, in spite of her cold manner and her hard and somewhat gloomy character. The young Paul is kindly treated by both ladies, but when he proposes for Viera's hand her mother declines the offer. He goes away, and, after the manner of very young men, forgets his love. Nine years later, on taking up his residence on his estate in the country, he finds that Viera, now Madame Priemkoff, is one of his neighbours. He soon renews his acquaintance with her, and she receives him with friendly frankness, and he finds her just the same as she used to be, with the quiet look on her face which it wore in olden days. Her life has evidently flowed in an even current; nothing has occurred to trouble the calm which always seemed to dwell upon her smooth brow. Paul and Viera become great friends, and soon chat away without reserve. He learns that her mother, who has been dead some years, gave her leave to read any books she liked as soon as she married, but that she has never cared to profit by her liberty, so that she is still ignorant of what is meant by the charm of poetry or of romance. This greatly astonishes him, and he offers to act as her introducer into the enchanted realm of fiction. She consents, and he begins by reading to her his favourite poem, Goethe's *Faust*. As she understands German thoroughly, he is able to read it to her in the original. Her husband and an old German friend assist at the reading, which takes place one evening in a summer-house in the garden, and at the termination they applaud loudly, but she rises silently, and quietly goes out into the night. When she returns, it is evident that she has been crying, a fact which greatly astonishes her hus-

band, who has scarcely ever seen her in tears.

So commences Viera's introduction into the land of romance. The result shows how right her mother had been in forbidding her to enter it. Though so calm and composed in appearance, Viera is really of a very nervous and excitable temperament, and endowed with all an artist's susceptibility. She has hitherto been unconscious of the existence of the chords which are beginning to thrill within her heart, but she finds it impossible to still their vibrations now. The change which takes place in her is very subtly analysed, up to the moment when she feels herself, as it were, irresistibly urged aside from the path of duty and honour, and she is on the brink of utterly falling. Then comes a most striking description of how, as she goes out at night into the park to keep a clandestine engagement, her heart throbbing, her brain swimming, she sees, or thinks she sees, the form of her dead mother coming towards her with open arms,—and how she never recovers from the shock, but falls ill and soon after dies. This is how Paul describes his last interview with her:—

"I have seen her once more before her end. It is the bitterest of all the recollections of my life. I had learnt from the doctor that there was no hope. Late at night, when all was still in the house, I crept to the door of her room and looked at her. Viera was lying on the bed, with closed eyes, thin, wan, a feverish glow on her cheeks, as if petrified. I stood looking at her. Suddenly she opened her eyes, turned them toward me, regarded me fixedly, and, stretching out her wasted hand, exclaimed,—'What seeks he in the holy place!'"\* uttering the words in so strange a voice that I fled from the spot."

A very different Viera is the heroine of another story, that of "The Two Friends." Hers is a quiet, simple, affectionate character, but she has no intellectual resources, and there is nothing romantic about her, and accordingly her husband, who is afflicted with a somewhat poetic soul, and has taken pains to cultivate his intellect, begins to get tired of her society soon after his marriage. At first he had imagined he was perfectly happy, but after a time he finds out that his wife, although an excellent manager and altogether a person of a thoroughly well-regulated mind, is but an unsatisfactory companion,—that she cannot enter into his plans, share his ideas, or sympathize with his enthusiasms. The account of his ardent hopes and his sad

disappointments is excellent, and so is that of the thoroughly happy life which Viera leads, when she has married again, after the death of the husband she never could comprehend, and has found a companion as irreproachably good and as utterly commonplace as herself.

Another story, in which the sorrows of a romantic and poetic spirit in its communion with unsympathetic minds are excellently described, is that which takes its name from its hero, Yakof Pasinkof. He is an enthusiast who is always indulging in day-dreams, from which he is rudely awakened by some unexpected shock, who is continually looking forward to some happy future, from the pleasant anticipation of which he is too often summoned to realize the unhappiness of his actual life. He is very ready to fall in love, but he bestows his affections without prudent discrimination. In very early youth he adores a sentimental German maiden, who rivals him in fondness for poetry, but all of a sudden she marries a thoroughly commonplace and commercial countryman, and that without evincing the slightest compunction. Some years afterwards he is so unfortunate as to fall in love with a Russian girl, whose character has afforded to M. Turguenief the subject of an interesting study. She is quiet and reserved, but she possesses singular strength of will, and is obstinate in the extreme. So when she has made up her mind to marry a certain officer of somewhat bad repute, nothing will turn her aside from her purpose, and the ill-starred Pasinkof is again compelled to witness the ruin of his hopes. And a similar ill-fortune attends his steps wherever he goes, until at last he dies, worn out before his time.

But it would serve but little purpose were we to attempt to give an account of each of the stories or novelettes which M. Turguenief has published at various times and in different periodicals. Suffice to say that there is not one of them which has not some special merit, besides exhibiting that general excellence of workmanship which is to be found in all that their author has produced. Some of them are very sad, a few of them are even terrible, from the gloominess of the pictures they present of vice and passion. Very sad, for instance, is the description of the unhappy love and the tragic end of the heroine of the story called after Pushkin's poem on the "Upas Tree," and terrible, even repulsive, are such narratives as "The Three Portraits," or the dramatic sketch which M. Marmier has translated under the title of *Le Pain d'Autrui*. The story of "A First Love," also, though it has much in it that is very beautiful, is non-

\* "Was will der an dem heiligen Ort?"—the words uttered by Margaret at the end of the scene which concludes the first part of *Feast*.

dered somewhat repulsive by the introduction of incidents, which although only too possible in Russia not very long ago, offend our English ideas of probability, as well as sinning against our canons of taste. And, in a minor degree, the same objection may be made to another and more ambitious work, that styled "On the Kiva."\* It contains a very carefully drawn portrait of a young girl whose character is by no means of a common order. She is one who takes life seriously. All her impressions become deeply engraved on her heart. She cannot endure anything that is false or mean; any one who has once lost her esteem instantly ceases to exist for her. But in those whom she respects she is ready to confide implicitly; and when she takes an interest in a person she does not readily give it up until he forfeits her good opinion. The description of the early part of her life is charming, but when we reach the chapters which describe how utterly she abandons herself to her love for a certain Bulgarian patriot in whom it is somewhat difficult for a non-Slavonic reader to take an interest, we cannot help feeling that the description is more in accordance with French than English taste.

It must not be supposed, however, that M. Turguenief is in the habit of copying the novelists of the French school. But if any writer were to describe with perfect accuracy the conduct of some Russian girl who has surrendered herself to the sweep of a headlong passion, and who clears at a bound all the barriers with which prudence and common sense, not to speak of morality and religion, ordinarily hedge women around, English readers would be apt to think he was drawing his ideas from French sources, inasmuch as it is from those sources that they generally obtain their knowledge of the subject. Women of Teutonic race are seldom given to such wild outbursts of the affections; even if they lose their hearts, they do not often think it befitting to lose their heads also. But the Slavonic woman is of a different nature, softer and more yielding, much more subject to impulse, far more prone to self-sacrifice. It is his acquaintance with these peculiarities of his countrywomen, and not any predilection for unhealthy romance, that has led M. Turguenief to tinge one of his most admirable studies of character with a hue that seems, to English eyes, to detract somewhat from its merit and its value.

*The Diary of a Superfluous Man* is the description of the unsatisfactory life of one who is always *de trop*. The diarist is an invalid

who knows that he has but a short time to live, and who whiles away the weariness of his almost solitary days by writing down some of his impressions of the past. The sad irony with which he describes how his life has been wasted, how useless have been all his attempts to share in the pleasures other men enjoy, to reach the level to which his companions readily attain, to press forward into the sunlight in which he sees them basking, must often have been only too fully appreciated by readers of the story;—there are so many similar failures in life; so many an organization well qualified for enjoyment has been denied all opportunity of enjoying; so many a heart, conscious of a great capacity for loving, has never known any but an unrequited affection. The writer of the diary in question is one whose childhood has been lonely and dull. The only pleasant memories it has to offer are those connected with the garden in which he used to play, and on which he still looks back with a fond regret. Years pass by, but they bring little happiness to him. Somehow or other, he does not know why, he fails to attach to himself friends. Wherever he goes, he seems to be in the way. There is never an opening for him in any joyous band; every place always seems to be already occupied whenever he appears. And, unfortunately, he has a craving for sympathy, a longing for happiness which he can share with others. He is morbidly self-conscious, and is always analysing his own thoughts and feelings; and he is afflicted with that excess of self-love which makes a man morbidly susceptible to all that is said about him in society, which consumes him with a feverish desire to distinguish himself, and which makes him feel with terrible bitterness the dull pains of failure, the stinging agony of disgrace. Once only his life seems to be about to undergo a change. He loves, and for a time he fancies that perhaps his love may be returned. For about three weeks he knows what to be happy means. His whole existence brightens at once, "like a gloomy and deserted room into which the light is suddenly allowed to enter." He feels for a time as if life were a luxury, contented "as a fly basking in the sunlight." Even in the dreary time which ensues, those few weeks preserve "a sort of sense of youth, of warmth, and of perfume;" they stand out from the rest of his dreary lifetime like the portion of a cold grey corridor on which a stray sunbeam has chanced to fall. But this happy time soon passes,—a rival appears with whom he has no chance of successfully contending, and he is obliged to stand by and look on, while the love for which he would have given his life is wasted

\* Translated into French by M. Deleveau, under the title of *Elena*, in the *Nouvelles Scènes de la Vie Russe*, the work which also contains *Un Premier Amour*.

on a fickle admirer who has no idea of its worth. Stung to madness on one occasion, he challenges the man who has come between him and happiness, but the duel which ensues only places him in a somewhat humiliating position, and utterly deprives him of even the friendship of her he loves. After this he gives up struggling with any spirit against the curse which seems to hang over his career; and after a time the constitutional weakness which probably has had much to do with his feebleness of character tells very perceptibly on his health. His lungs become affected, his strength utterly breaks down, and at last he retires to his modest little country house to die. The diary he leaves behind him is an excellent illustration of M. Turguenief's accurate insight into character, of the subtlety with which he detects, the delicacy with which he depicts, the hidden motives which sway an irregular line of action, the obscure train of thought which runs through and links in sequence a cloud of apparently incoherent fancies.

Over much that M. Turguenief has written, and on which we would gladly dwell, we must pass lightly and rapidly, for we wish to reserve the greater part of our remaining space for three of his most important novels, each of which demands particular attention; we will therefore do little more than mention such pieces as the charming story of *Asya*, full of Rhineland colour and music, and containing a most fascinating sketch of a sensitive and capricious, but passionately loving, Russian girl; or the fantastic series of pictures called "Ghosts," in which the author is carried by his poetic genius on the wings of the winds, and visits various parts of the earth—Black Gang Chine among others,—an idea which gives full scope to his great power of verbal landscape-painting; or the story of Dmitry Rudine, containing a carefully elaborated portrait of one of those exceedingly clever, but utterly unpractical and resultless, schemers and talkers whom M. Turguenief holds in such dislike; or the lively and dramatic sketch which describes the difficulties encountered by a provincial "Marshal of the Nobility," who tries to arrange an amicable division of property between two nearly related litigants; or many others which are not contained in the collective edition of M. Turguenief's works now before us.

By far the most interesting as well as the most artistic of the three novels we have reserved for special notice is that called in Russian *Droryanskoe Gnezdo*, a title meaning "A Noble Family's Nest," one for which, in speaking of the book, we will substitute, for simplicity's sake, the name of its hero-

ine, Lisa.\* Its merits are very high indeed. It contains a very interesting story, admirably told, and a number of studies of character most carefully worked out. And the style in which it is written may serve as a model for novelists. From the beginning to the end the same high level is maintained, the serious passages are related with genuine dignity and pathos, and those of a lighter nature with that quiet humour which the author knows so well how to keep exactly in its right place. Its plot is very simple. Fedor Ivanovich Lavretsky is a tolerably rich landed proprietor who has made an unfortunate marriage. At the commencement of the story he has been separated for some time from his wife. She lives abroad in France or Italy; he has just returned, after a long absence, to his native province in Russia, and is about to settle down there and look after the management of his property. Before he goes to his country-house he pays a visit to the chief town of the province, and there renews his acquaintance with one of his relations, a Madame Kalitine, a widow with two daughters, Lisa and Lénouchka, the first of whom is the heroine of the story. Lavretsky's education had been of a strange nature. Of his mother he had seen but little when she died. She had been originally a serf, one of the maid-servants of the house, whom his father had married, partly to spite his relations, and partly because he considered himself a philosopher and a liberal. By his father he had been brought up after a most singular fashion, part of that philosopher's course of teaching having been to inspire the boy with a sage's contempt for the other sex. The young Lavretsky grew up without having been subjected, since his mother's death, to any feminine influences worthy of the name, and the natural consequence was that, when he became his own master, he was thoroughly subjugated at once by the first attractive woman he happened to meet. Unfortunately, she was utterly heartless and base. It was some time before her husband learnt the truth, but at last he discovered only too certainly how completely he had thrown away his love. At first the discovery almost broke his heart, but time produced its usual effect, and before his return home, rather more than four years after his separation from his wife, he had become tranquil again, and was prepared, if not to enjoy existence, at least to lead a life which should be to himself tolerable, and to his neighbours useful. The skill with which this introduction

\* It has been excellently translated into German under the title of *Das edeliche Nest*, and into French under that of *Une Nichée de Gentilshommes*.



to the story is told in admirable, especially in the sketches of the four successive generations of the Lavretsky family, and in the picture of the utter dreariness of the life led by the boy Fedor for whom nobody ever thought of providing amusements, beyond giving him a dreary book of "Emblems" to look over when his lessons were done. The following extract will serve to give some idea of it:—

"In the company of his governess, of his aunt, and of an old servant-maid called Vasilievna, Fedor passed four whole years. Sometimes he would sit in a corner with his 'Emblems'—would continue sitting there without moving. In the low room, in which a scent of geraniums was always perceptible, a single tall candle burnt dimly, a cricket chirped monotonously, as if it too were bored, the clock ticked busily on the wall, a mouse scratched stealthily or gnawed behind the tapestry, and the three old maids, like the three Fates, went on knitting silently and swiftly, the shadows of their hands now scampering along, now mysteriously quivering in the dusk, while within the child's mind strange and equally dusky thoughts were being born."

Lavretsky has returned home a confirmed sceptic, and a little of a cynic, but his temper has not been soured by misfortune, nor has his natural kindness of heart deserted him. He makes friends with all with whom he is brought into contact, and especially with the members of Madame Kalitine's family. One day, some time after his arrival, he asks that lady to pay his country-house a visit, so she comes, and her daughters with her. Lavretsky has already taken a great liking to Lisa, for whom he feels, moreover, a profound respect, and he experiences great pleasure in finding himself at her side. In the evening he and his visitors go to the lake to fish, and as Lisa stands on the shore, holding the fishing-rod in one hand and in the other her straw hat, Lavretsky gazes "at her pure, somewhat severe profile, at her hair turned back behind her ears, at her soft cheeks, delicate in hue as those of a little child," and thinks for the first time how beautiful she is. He is by this time on a very confidential footing with his young relative, and she has even ventured to speak to him about his wife (the details of whose conduct her husband had never made public), and to urge upon him the duty of forgiving her. Here is an extract from their conversation by the side of the lake:—

"Tell me," he said, "have you kept your promise?"

"What promise?"

"Have you prayed for me?"

"Yes; I have prayed for you, and I pray

every day. But please do not talk lightly about that."

"Lavretsky began to assure Lisa that he had never thought of doing so, and that he profoundly respected all convictions. After that he took to talking about religion, about its significance in the history of humanity, of the true meaning of Christianity."

"One must be a Christian," said Lisa, with a certain effort; "not in order to recognise what is earthly or heavenly, but because every one must die."

"Lavretsky looked at Lisa with surprise."

"Why have you spoken about death?" he said.

"I don't know; I often think about it."

"Often?"

"Yes."

"One wouldn't think so, to look at you now. Your face is so happy, so bright, and you smile."

"Yes; I feel very happy now," replied Lisa simply."

When Madame Kalitine and her party return to town that night, Lavretsky rides part of the way by the side of the carriage; Lisa sits forward, looking out of the open window; Lavretsky keeps close by her, "never taking his eyes off the pure young face, listening to the fresh, soft voice which spoke simple, good words." As he rides home in the moonlight, and enjoys the balmy night air, he thinks of Lisa very tenderly, thinks also of what might have been if he had not made the one great mistake of his life. The next day he receives a newspaper containing an account of his wife's death.

In the interior of Russia news does not travel fast, and its progress was slow indeed seven-and-twenty years ago, the date assigned to his story by M. Turguenief. While waiting for further information about his wife, Lavretsky tells no one but Lisa what has occurred. The young girl is greatly affected by the intelligence, and induces Lavretsky to go with her to church next Sunday.

"Lisa was already in the church when he entered. He recognised her at once, although she did not turn her head towards him. She was praying fervently; her eyes shone with a quiet light; quietly she bent and lifted her head. He felt that she was praying for him; and a strange emotion filled his heart. He felt happy, but somewhat conscience-stricken as well. The sight of the groups of people who gravely stood around, the sound of the harmonious chant, the odour of the incense, the long sloping rays from the windows, the very duski-ness of the walls and arches,—all spoke to his heart. It was long since he had been last in church, long since he had turned his thoughts to God. And even now he did not utter any articulate words of prayer,—he did

not even pray without words, but yet there was a moment when, if not in body at least in mind, he bowed down and bent himself humbly to the ground. He remembered how in childhood he used to pray in church till he felt, as it were, a soft touch on his forehead. 'That,' he used to think, 'is my guardian angel visiting me, and sealing me with the seal of election.' He looked at Lisa. 'It is you who have brought me here,' he thought. 'O touch me, touch my soul!' She went on all the time praying quietly. Her face seemed to him happy, and again he felt his heart soften within him."

Over Lisa religion exerts a most powerful influence. She has even an inclination for its ascetic side. In her early years her chief friend was her nurse Agafia, a woman of a fanatical turn of mind in religious matters, and who, when she gave up her charge, retired into a convent. Almost all the members of Lisa's family are people of the world; but her nurse directs her thoughts into regions utterly foreign to the ideas of her relatives. Instead of nursery tales, Agafia tells her stories about the lives of the saints.

"Agafia spoke to Lisa seriously and humbly, as if she felt that it was not for her to utter such grand and holy words. Lisa used to listen to her intently; and the image of the omnipresent, omniscient God entered with a kind of sweet strength into her soul, and filled it with a pure and reverential awe; and Christ became for her, as it were, some one who was near at hand, and who was a friend, almost a relation. It was Agafia who had taught her to pray also. Sometimes she would wake the child with the early dawn, hastily dress her, and stealthily take her to matins. Lisa would follow her on tiptoe, scarcely daring to breathe. The cold morning light, the unaccustomed look of the almost empty church, the secrecy itself of these unexpected excursions, the cautious return home to bed,—all that combination of the forbidden, the mysterious, and the holy, agitated the child, and penetrated to the inmost depths of her being."

Next to her love for God, the strongest feeling in Lisa's heart is her love for her country. In the latter sentiment she finds that Lavretsky can sympathize with her; with respect to the former she knows that he differs from her, but "she hopes to bring the sinner back to God." Her relations with him gradually become more and more intimate; and at last, during an accidental interview with him in the garden behind the Kalitines' house, she discovers, and he learns, that she loves him. At last he thinks life is going to be worth having, the happiness of which he has long despaired is about to offer itself to him. The next day, when he comes home in the evening, he finds the hall redolent of patchouli, and littered

with trunks and handboxes. He goes into his room, and he is met by a lady who drops on her knees at his feet. It is his wife! The news of her death had been her own invention.

We pass rapidly on to the scene in which Lavretsky for the second time sees Lisa in church. He has previously had an interview with her, and she has induced him by earnest entreaty to forgive his wife, and even to make some outward show of reconciliation with her.

"The next day was Sunday. The sound of the church-bells reminded Lavretsky of that other Sunday when he had gone to church at Lisa's request. He rose in haste; a certain secret voice told him that he would see her there again to-day. He left the house noiselessly, and went with quick steps where the melancholy and monotonous sound called him. He arrived early, and found scarcely any one in the church. A lector was reading in the choir, and his voice, sometimes interrupted by a cough, now rose and now fell, but always sustaining the same note. Lavretsky stood near the door. The worshippers arrived one after another, stopped inside the door, crossed themselves, and bowed on all sides; their steps resounded loudly in the almost empty and silent building, and echoed around the dome. An infirm old woman in a worn cloak knelt down close by Lavretsky and prayed with fervor; her toothless, wrinkled, and yellow countenance testified to her strong emotion; her eyes, red with weeping, were fixed on the picture of the iconostasis; her bony hands kept incessantly coming out from underneath her cloak, and making the sign of the cross slowly and reverently. A peasant with a thick beard and a morose expression, his hair and his dress all uncared for, came into the church, and falling at once on his knees, began to perform his prostrations hastily, touching the ground with his forehead, and then throwing back and shaking his head. So bitter a grief showed itself in his face, and in all his gestures, that Lavretsky went up to him and asked him what was the matter. The peasant recoiled as if in fear, then in a hurried voice he said, 'My son is dead,' and betook himself anew to his prostrations. 'What suffering of theirs can be too great for the consolations of the Church?' thought Lavretsky, and he tried to pray himself. But his heart was heavy and hard, and his thoughts were afar off. He was still looking out for Lisa; but Lisa did not come. The church began to fill with people; she was not of their number. Mass was said. The deacon had already read the Gospel, and the final prayer was about to commence. Lavretsky moved forward a little, and all at once he saw Lisa. She had come in before him, but he had not remarked her. Standing close by the enclosure of the choir, she never moved, never once looked round. Lavretsky did not take his eyes off her till the last words of the mass were said. He was saying farewell to her in his heart. The congregation began to disperse, but she still kept her place. She seemed to be

waiting till Lavretsky left. At length she crossed herself for the last time, and went out without looking round."

In the street outside he speaks to her, and bids her what is to prove a final farewell. On her return home she tells her aunt, the only member of the family who knows what has passed between her and Lavretsky, that she wishes to leave her home and take the veil.

"I have made up my mind," she says; "I have prayed; I have asked God's advice. All is over now, my life with you all is ended. Such a lesson is not given one for nothing. And it's not for the first time that I think of this now. Happiness was not for me. Even when I looked for happiness, my mind shrank away at the thought of it. I know all, both my sins and those of others. I know how papa made our money. I know all. And all that I must expiate by prayer, by prayer. I am grieved at leaving you; my heart aches when I think of mamma and Lenochnka. But it cannot be helped. I feel that I can live here no longer. And now I have taken leave of everything in the house for the last time."

Eight years pass away, and one fine spring day Lavretsky pays a visit to Madame Kalitine's house, which he has not been near during all that time. That lady is dead, and the house is now tenanted by a younger generation. They welcome him hospitably, and after telling him all their news, and among other things that Lisa is still where she was in her convent, they ask him to go out into the garden with them. There they begin a lively game, provocative of much shouting and laughter, but he wanders about by himself, thinking of the days gone by, of the happiness that he had imagined he was about to grasp. The description of his feelings is very beautiful, and it is also very noble, exceedingly tender and pathetic, but quite free from anything morbid or exaggerated. His heart is not broken, though it has received a heavy blow. He has given up hoping for happiness, but he has not taken refuge in cynicism. He has found solace in employment, and he has not worked for himself only, he has striven to promote the interests of his peasants, and to benefit all who are in any way dependent on him. As to Lisa,

"they say that Lavretsky has visited the distant convent in which she has hidden herself—and has seen her. Crossing from one choir to another she passed close by him, passed steadily by, with the quick but quiet step of a nun, and did not look at him. Only her eyelids quivered all but imperceptibly, only still lower did she bend her emaciated face, and the fingers of her folded hands, enlaced with her rosary, clasped each other more firmly than before. What did they both think? what did they feel? Who can

know? who shall tell? Life has certain moments, the heart has certain feelings, on which it is not well to dwell long."

Besides the leading personages of the story, there are a number of minor characters which are excellently worked out, such as Lisa's brilliant but selfish admirer, M. Panshine, her mother and her aunt, the latter of whom is depicted with great spirit and humour. Better still is the sketch of M. Lemm, an old German music-master, who is devotedly attached to Lisa, and who is most charmingly, most sympathetically described. Besides these, there is an enthusiastic student, one of Lavretsky's college friends, to whom the chief part of one chapter of the book is devoted. That chapter certainly breaks the thread of the story in a manner with which a severe critic is bound to find fault, and therefore the French translator has omitted it altogether. But it is extremely interesting, not only as throwing considerable light on Lavretsky's character, but also as showing the commencement of a train of thought which M. Turguenief has followed up and fully developed in his later works. The student is a thorough enthusiast, utterly free from all consideration of his own personal interests, and passionately devoted to the study of the great questions affecting freedom and progress and civilisation. To him money is but as dross, rank and station are mere outward shows, success in life is a thing not worthy of a moment's consideration, as compared with the power of participating in the onward march of intellect, of helping to gather in the ripening harvest of knowledge. His appearance is represented as somewhat ludicrous, and his behaviour a little uncouth, so that he is evidently set up as a mark for some ridicule, but, at the same time, he is clearly intended to command a certain amount of not unkindly respect.

Very differently is the character treated of the student who plays the leading part in the novel which M. Turguenief next published, *Fathers and Children*.<sup>\*</sup> That work appeared in 1862. In the course of the four years which had elapsed since the appearance of *Lisa* a considerable change had taken place in the ideas of young Russia, a change which seems to have struck M. Turguenief as being decidedly for the worse. Indignant with the audacious disbelief and the thorough-going iconoclasm of the rising generation, and perhaps personally hurt by the invectives of a class of politicians who showed symptoms of an inclination to denounce as retrogrades all the gallant band of

<sup>\*</sup> Translated into English by Mr. Eugene Schuyler.

Liberals who had for so many years toiled and suffered in the perilous struggle for progress and reform, he set to work to paint a by no means flattering portrait of a representative of the new school of Radicals. As a moderate man, free from any viewy or crotchety ideas, he could not sympathize with the fantastic but violent projects of theorists who disbelieved in almost everything but their own infallibility; as a genuine artist, in the highest sense of the word, he could not avoid being wroth with philosophers whose realism led them to sneer at and to speak slightly of music, painting, and sculpture. Every army is impeded by a swarm of camp-followers, who often bring it into discredit, and the band of young enthusiasts who flocked around the banners of Liberalism in Russia counted in its number a good many social marauders whose zeal was somewhat prejudicial to its good name. The peculiarities of these objectionable members of the party M. Turguenief has hit off with admirable fidelity and rare humour, exposing them unmercifully to the very disrespectful recognition of the world. There can be no question about the talent displayed in the series of pictures contained in *Fathers and Children*, and its successor, *Smoke*. Whether they are to be looked upon as serious portraits or as humorous caricatures is not so clear. It is probable that the artist has only aimed at depicting the absurdity of certain extremes, without wishing to throw any ridicule upon what lies between them. M. Turguenief has done good service in exposing the insincerity and selfishness of some of the most plausible men, the hopeless imbecility of some of the most fluent women, who have imposed upon the young enthusiasts of the advanced school of liberal opinions in Russia; but he would have committed an injustice if he had stated that they were fair representatives of the whole of that school. But he has never done anything of the kind. He has painted certain pictures, and left them to tell their own tale. He has laughed at many extravagances, he has traced certain social aberrations to their logical end, but we cannot see that he has anywhere scoffed at generous enthusiasms, or that he has wished to cool the noble ardour which glows in youthful breasts. A satirist always runs the risk of being called a cynic; but there are times when the very warmth of a man's feelings, the very disinterestedness of his character, impels him towards the perilous realm of satire.

The hero of *Fathers and Children* is a young physician, who is a leading man among what has, since the appearance of the book, been called the Nihilist party. He belongs

to the large class of reasoners really existing in Russia, and numbering many members, who will take nothing for granted, who disclaim anything like a blind obedience to authority, and who refuse to accept any conclusions but those which have been arrived at by scientific processes. But he is also represented as belonging to the much smaller class of destructives, who for a time made themselves notorious by their somewhat blatant outcries against all social laws, all religious institutions. In some of his peculiarities he resembles one of the most eccentric of the young Russian philosophers, the author of the novel which describes that happy future time when, "by means of a reorganised community, people will live in perpetual enjoyment of happiness, surrounded by the perfection of all material comfort, making love without the cares and anxieties of family duties, and lodging in houses with floors of aluminium,"\* but his rudeness, his coarseness, and his outspoken contempt for all social laws seem to claim him as a member of the weaker-minded part of the followers of that really original and exceedingly clever enthusiast. Bazarof, the hero of *Fathers and Children*, is an uncompromising sceptic, as may be seen from the following passage, in which he is disputing with an opponent who asks him what are the principles in accordance with which his party acts:—

"We act in accordance with that which we recognise to be useful," said Bazarof. "At the present moment the most useful thing is denial, so we deny."

"Everything?"

"Yes, everything."

"What! not only art, poetry, but also . . . I am afraid of saying . . ."

"Everything," repeated Bazarof."

According to his opinion, "Raphael is not worth a brass farthing," and as to religion and morality he values them about as high as he does art. As to principles, he denies their existence, saying that we act in accordance with sensations only; that if a man behaves honourably, for instance, it is only because honourable behaviour happens to yield him an agreeable sensation. Altogether he is thoroughly sceptical, irreverent, defiant, and aggressive; but, on the other hand, he is brave and upright and incorruptible, and he is generally popular, especially among young people, although he never thinks of taking pains to please. One of his most loving disciples is a young student named Arcady Kirsanof, who has accepted all Bazarof's philosophy without ever having

\* An interesting account of "Nihilism in Russia" is to be found in M. Boborukin's article on that subject in the *Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1868.

taken the trouble to test it, and who sets up for being an original and a cynic, when he is in reality an amiable young man of a thoroughly commonplace character. At the commencement of the story we find the two friends staying in the country-house belonging to Arcady's father. Arcady has just taken his degree at the University, and his father, Nicolai Petrovich Kirsanof, is delighting in his presence, though somewhat unable to appreciate his son's new philosophical ideas, and very ill at ease in presence of his son's extraordinary friend. The elder Kirsanof is a simple, kindly gentleman, not very enlightened, of no great natural ability, and of somewhat confused ideas on the subject of morality. He has been looking forward with great joy to his son's return, but when it takes place he finds, to his extreme regret, that his son and he are no longer in accord, and that his son's thoughts seem to move in a sphere to which his own cannot gain access.

"'We have served our time, 'our song is sung,' he says to his brother Paul one evening. 'Well, perhaps Bazarof is right. But there is one thing, I must confess, which I find very hard: I had hoped that Arcady and I would have been in the most thorough friendly accord with each other; but it turns out that I have fallen behind, and he has gone ahead, and we cannot understand each other at all. . . . I fancy I do everything I can to prevent my falling behind our age. I have introduced the *métayer* system on my estate, and tried to give my peasants a better position than they had before, so that I have even got credit throughout the province for being a red republican. I read, I study, I do my best in general to rise to the level of the wants of the day, and then I am told that my song is sung; and indeed, brother, I begin myself to think that it really is sung.'

"'What makes you think that?'

"'I'll tell you. I was sitting to-day reading Pushkin. I remember it was his poem of 'The Gipsies' I happened to have opened at, when Arcady suddenly came up to me, and, without saying a word, with a sort of pitying tenderness expressed in his look, took my book quietly away from me, just as one would do to a child, and placed another in front of me, a German one, then smiled and went away, carrying off Pushkin with him."

The book which Arcady wishes his father to read is Büchner's *Staff and Kraft*, but the elder Kirsanof finds he cannot understand the learned materialist's work on Matter and Force, although he has not yet forgotten his German. The old gentleman fears the time has come for him and his equals in age to order their coffins and lie down quietly to die, but his brother thinks otherwise.

The character of Paul Kirsanof, the representative of another branch of the elder generation, has been carefully studied and portrayed by M. Turgenev. Like his brother, he prides himself upon being, what he really is, a thorough gentleman, in the English sense of the word, but his nature is harder than his brother's, and has received a higher polish. Formerly one of the most distinguished ornaments of the fashionable society of the capital, he has taken in middle life to leading a hermit-like existence in his brother's country-house. He reads a good deal, and chiefly English books. All his manner of life, indeed, is arranged in accordance with English ideas. He seldom visits his neighbours, and scarcely ever appears in public except at the elections of the Marshals of the Nobility, and on other similar occasions. Even then he rarely opens his lips, but if he does speak it is only to shock the Conservative proprietors by Liberal sallies, which, however, do not conciliate the representatives of the rising generation. Every one thinks him proud, but at the same time respects him on account of his thoroughly aristocratic manner and his exquisite taste in dress; also because he always occupies the best rooms in the chief hotels wherever he goes, and never undertakes a journey without providing himself with a portable bath and a silver travelling service, and perfumes himself with choice essences, and has once dined with the Duke of Wellington at Louis Philippe's table; and also because he is perfectly honest and honourable. Ladies recognise in his melancholy, which is due to an unhappy love affair, something very charming, but Bazarof scoffs at it. That hard utilitarian, cannot see the use of continually regretting a lost love, and declares that a man is unworthy of the name of man, "who, having staked all his life on the card of a woman's love, and having lost that card, is so cut up and upset that he becomes absolutely fit for nothing." He goes on to laugh at the idea of there being anything romantic or mysterious in the relations which can exist between man and woman, and then proceeds to fall in love with a great lady, who gives him a good deal of marked encouragement, and then suddenly treats him with unexpected coldness. Her strange character is very cleverly drawn, but the best part of the story is that which describes what takes place after her conduct has sent Bazarof home to his father's house in disgust with the world.

His father is an old retired army surgeon, as simple-hearted as the elder Kirsanof, and as devoted to his son, whom he adores, and

who has always behaved irreproachably towards him. Bazarof's mother is an old lady who ought to have lived two centuries earlier, being a perfect type of what the wives of the petty nobility used to be. She is very pious, very good, very superstitious. She believes religiously in dreams, in ghosts, and in evil spirits. She never reads, scarcely ever writes, but makes excellent preserves. She looks on the peasants as beings of a lower nature than her own, but is very kind to them, and never refuses to give alms to a beggar. Ignorant, prejudiced, and amiable, she lives in a very little world of her own, and does not take the slightest interest in what goes on outside it. It may easily be supposed that two such quiet, simple old people do not quite know what to make of their extraordinary son. And he soon finds himself tired of the dull life he leads under his father's old-fashioned roof. His first visit, after taking his degree at the University, lasts a very short time. The old people had counted on keeping him several weeks at least, but after a few days he goes off again. His carriage drives away, and they are left alone. His father, Vassily Ivanovich, waves his handkerchief briskly from the front door as long as the vehicle is in sight, then throws himself on a chair and lets his head fall on his breast, crying that he is alone indeed now; that his son has grown tired of him, and abandoned him.

"Then Arina Vlasievna (his wife) drew near to him, and said, resting her grey head on his, 'How can it be helped, Vasin? A son is a chip from the block. He is like a falcon. He felt inclined, he flew here. Again he felt inclined, and he has flown away. But we two never move, we are always at each other's side, like two lichen in the hollow of a tree. I only shall always remain just the same for you, and you too for me.' Then Vassily Ivanovich took away his hands from before his face, and embraced his wife, his companion, more warmly than he used to embrace her even in the days of his youth. For she had consoled him in the time of his sorrow."

The young Bazarof returns once more home, and his parents are for a time perfectly happy. The old doctor tells all the peasants who come to consult him how fortunate they are in arriving at a time when his son is able to assist him. He even keeps a tooth which his son had extracted, and shows it to his friends as something wonderful. After a while, however, he remarks that his son is sad and restless, and he talks the matter over very mournfully with his wife. One day young Bazarof cuts his finger while engaged in dissection. He applies in vain for caustic to the doctor of

the village in which the accident takes place, and before he can return home and procure some it is too late. A few days afterwards he dies. This part of the story is worked out with great power. The young man's defiant behaviour on what he knows to be his deathbed, the repressed grief of the poor old father and mother, the visits of the lady whose coldness had driven Bazarof to despair, and who comes to see him when it is too late,—all are related in M. Turgenev's most impressive style. It is thus that the scene ends:—

"Bazarof was never to wake again. Towards evening he fell into a state of complete insensibility, and on the next day he died. Father Alexis performed the last rites of the church by his bedside. At the moment when the sacrament of extreme unction was being conferred on the dying man, just as the consecrated oil touched his breast, one of his eyes opened, and it seemed as if at the sight of the priest in his vestments, of the reeking censor, of the candles burning before the sacred pictures, something like a shudder of fear passed for a moment across his fast whitening face. When at length he had breathed his last, and a general sound of lamentation began to make itself heard throughout the house, a sudden frenzy seemed to seize upon the father. 'I swore I would speak out,' he cried with a hoarse voice, his cheeks burning, and the whole expression of his face changing, while he shook his fists in the air as if he were threatening some one—'and I will speak out, I will speak out!' But the mother flung herself, all in tears, on his neck, and they two fell down together on the ground. 'Just like lambs in the heat of the day, they let their heads droop and fell down side by side,' said Anfsuchka afterwards in the servants' room."

Six months later a happy scene is to be witnessed in the house of the Kirsanofs. The young Aroady has been led astray from his philosophic studies by the bright eyes of a young lady who gladly consents to make him happy; and his delighted father is giving an entertainment in honour of the marriage. Aroady has not forgotten Bazarof, but he has entirely emancipated himself from the influence of that ill-starred materialist's theories. He has descended from those heights of speculation round which sweep keen winds, destructive of romance and earthly enjoyments, and he is content to dwell in the fat plains over which gentle breezes waft the scent of flowers and the song of birds. Life is now very pleasant to him; and he feels no longer the slightest inclination to den that cynical robe which had so easily slipped off his shoulders, but which Bazarof drew even more closely round himself before he died. The story ends with the following words:—

"In one of the retired nooks of Russia there is a small rural cemetery. Like almost all our graveyards, it has a melancholy look. The trenches by which it is surrounded have long ago been overgrown with weeds; the grey wooden crosses have swayed on one side, bending under the weight of their once painted roofs; the gravestones are all out of place, as if some one had been pushing them from underneath; two or three leafless trees can scarcely offer the slightest shade; sheep feed undisturbed among the graves.

"But there is one of the graves which no one ever disturbs, which no cattle ever tread under foot; only the birds sometimes perch upon it, and sing there at dawn. An iron railing surrounds it; a fir sapling is planted at each end of it. In that grave Bazarof lies. To it, from a neighbouring village, come two old people, already infirm with age—a husband with his wife. Supporting one another, they move with feeble gait. They approach the railing; and there, falling on their knees, they weep long and bitterly, and long and earnestly they gaze upon the silent stone under which lies their son. They exchange a few brief words, they wipe the dust from the stone; they set straight a branch of one of the firs, and then they begin to pray anew, unable to tear themselves from that spot, in which it seems to them as if they were nearer to their son, nearer to his memory. Is it possible that their prayers, their tears, can be fruitless? Is it possible that love, that pure and devoted love, can be other than all-powerful? Oh no! However passionate, sinful, and rebellious may have been the heart which lies hid in a grave, the flowers which grow above it gaze at us tranquilly with their innocent eyes; it is not only of eternal rest that they speak to us, of that great calm of 'careless' nature,—they speak also of final reconciliation and of eternal life."

In speaking of *Fathers and Children* we have said nothing of the female Nihilist who figures in the story. Madame Kukshine's portrait is drawn by a very unfriendly hand. M. Turguenief has evidently had a kindly feeling for young enthusiasts like Bazarof, even when he was most annoyed by their arrogant self-confidence; but with women calling themselves "emancipated" he has not the slightest sympathy; nor does he show them the least mercy. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the picture of their representative in *Fathers and Children* is a mere caricature, in which every natural defect has been exaggerated, and every good feature has been studiously kept out of sight. What we are shown is a woman who has deliberately given up all claim to the respect which her sex has been accustomed to enjoy,—who detests religion, who objects to marriage, who drinks champagne freely, who smokes all day long, and who never ceases to talk what she is pleased to call philosophy. Her appearance is the reverse

of attractive,—she dresses in the worst possible taste, she does not care about even personal cleanliness. But this picture is not quite fair. As a caricature it is well worthy of praise; but it must not be taken as a trustworthy representation of even a very advanced specimen of that class of Russian women which it is intended to typify—the class that has for years been striving to raise its members above the dead level of thought at which their sex has been generally content to rest. The same remark holds good also for M. Turguenief's story called *Smoke*, in which he has introduced three female characters, and has painted only one of them in favourable colours. There is a great lady, who is beautiful and clever and accomplished, but she is thoroughly unprincipled and selfish; there is a specimen of the class to which Madame Kukshine belonged, who is represented as utterly absurd and intolerably tiresome; and, lastly, there is a quiet simple girl, who has a sweet face and an honest, loving heart, and who is made to contrast very advantageously with the other two.

This story of *Smoke*,\* the last complete work published by M. Turguenief, has given rise to no little angry discussion in Russia. Nor is that strange, considering that a great part of it is devoted to scathing ridicule of a party which has lately grown very influential in that country, consisting of a number of scholars, politicians, and men of letters, who are perpetually singing the praises of their native land, declaring that it can suffice for itself, that it has no need of Western culture, and that, indeed, the whole West is rotten, and fast sinking into decrepitude. The useless, endless chatter of some of these fluent patriots seems to have given annoyance to M. Turguenief, who would prefer to see a little done rather than hear a great deal talked about, and he has hit off their peculiarities with irresistible humour, and exposed their shallowness with considerable success. But to judge of the rising generation in Russia from the singular specimens of Russian youth at whom M. Turguenief has not unfairly laughed in *Smoke*, would be like forming an unfavourable opinion of English girls in general from the very depreciatory criticisms on some of their number which created a certain sensation last year.

*Smoke* is not a novel which is likely to become universally popular. Too many of its pages are occupied by conversations and

\* Admirably translated into French (*Fumée*) and into German (*Rauch*). The French version has been translated into English—but not admirably.

descriptions which, although exceedingly clever, and of the highest interest to all who are acquainted with what is now going on in Russia, will prove tedious to the general reader who wishes only to be excited or amused. Russian novels very seldom have anything like a complicated plot, and *Smoke* is not an exception to the rule. The hero of the story is a young Russian of the proprietor class, Gregory Litvinof, who, in the year 1850, was studying at the University of Moscow. At that time he unfortunately fell in love with a princess, Irina Osinine, one of those puzzling women whom M. Turguenief delights in describing, and whom no one describes better. Underneath a cold exterior she conceals a passionate and fiery nature, which drives her every now and then to perform the most unexpected actions. On the other hand, with all her tendency to be led by impulse and swayed by passion, she has not only sufficient strength of will to control her feelings, but she has also that keen sense of her own interests which generally accompanies a colder disposition, and the power of stopping short, even in what seems to be her most impassioned career, whenever that sense conveys to her its sudden warning. A strange compound of ice and fire, it is impossible to say at any given moment which of the two ingredients of her nature will next make its influence felt. Her whole life is a series of enigmas, the only explanation of which seems to lie in her supreme selfishness. She may waver from it at times, but in the end she returns to her old allegiance. But however dubious may be the cause of her strange behaviour, there is no doubt about the evil results which spring from it, so withering is the effect she produces upon the hearts of those who become fascinated by her. She was only seventeen when Litvinof fell in love with her, but even at that age she had already learnt how to make herself feared and obeyed. For a long time she seemed to treat him with a disdainful indifference that almost drove him to despair. Then suddenly she changed her whole manner towards him, as if a long-restrained love had carried away all the barriers erected by prudence to stop it. She grew a model of kindness and amiability, she accepted his offer of marriage, and she seemed to be about to become the best of wives, when suddenly a second and equally unexpected change came over her. One evening she went to a court ball, and became the centre of attraction. A rich and influential relative thereupon offered to adopt her, and bring her out in the society of St. Petersburg. Her parents hailed the offer with delight, and she herself, though

not without a severe mental struggle, and the shedding of many tears, accepted it and went away from Moscow, leaving the man whom she really loved to recover as he best could from the effect of her desertion. After some time, she married a General Ratmirof, and became a leading member of fashionable society. As for Litvinof, he imagined his heart was broken, and, indeed, he suffered greatly at first. For a considerable time he could not think of her without intense suffering, but he was young, and of a vigorous constitution, so he survived the shock; his wound gradually healed, and after he had passed some years abroad, studying chemistry and farming, and all else that was likely to be of use to him in turning his estates to the best account, he determined to return home and settle down quietly as an agriculturist. It is on his way home that we find him when the story commences, at Baden, where he is awaiting the arrival of his young cousin, Tatiana and her aunt, Capitolina. He has long known his cousin intimately, and, as he thoroughly liked and esteemed her, he has asked her to marry him, and she has consented, and the two young people are looking forward to a quiet and loving country life. When we first see him, he is sitting by himself, regarding the gay scene before him with a calm and contented look. Life seems to lie open before him, his destiny to unroll itself at his feet, and he feels that he may well delight in and be proud of that destiny, as being to a great extent the work of his own hands.

A few days pass by, but his betrothed does not arrive. One evening when he returns to his hotel, wearied with the ceaseless wrangling of some of his compatriots whose acquaintance he has lately made, he finds that an unknown lady has sent him a bouquet of heliotropes. He wonders a little, and then thinks no more about it, but all night long the peculiar scent of the flowers troubles him, he cannot tell why. At last he suddenly remembers his having given a similar bouquet to the Princess Irina on the night of that ball which proved so fatal to his first love. A kind of instinct tells him that she to whom he was once so passionately devoted is not far away.

The next day he happens to go up to the Old Castle, and there, in the company of a number of extremely fashionable Russians, he finds the Princess Irina, and is gladly recognised by her. He is touched by her kindness, and he finds her looking even more lovely than before, but the conversation of her companions, a set of "young generals," cold-hearted and empty-headed hangers-on at Court, thoroughly disgusts him, and as he goes



away he feels sorry for Irina. He thinks of her as one condemned to live in uncongenial air, and then the image of his Tatiana rises before him, so good, so gentle, so pure—"O Tania, Tania!" he cries "you only are my good angel; it is you only that I love and shall love forever. And as to *her* I will not go near her. Good fortune be with her! Let her amuse herself with her generals!"

The next day Irina sends for him, and after some hesitation he goes to her. From that moment dates the loss of his hard-earned peace of mind. Gradually Irina regains over him the influence she used to exercise in the old Moscow days. It is in vain that he struggles against her fascination, in vain that he tries to shake off her spell. He feels that he is acting madly, dishonourably; he thinks of his past life, of the future from which he had hoped so much, of the gentle and trusting girl to whom he is betrothed; but it is of no use—he is in the toils, and the hand of a pitiless woman is drawing the cords daily tighter. Returning home one evening from a party given by Irina, he sits for some time without moving, his face hidden by his hands. At last he gets up and takes out of its case a photograph of Tatiana.

"Litvinof's betrothed was a girl of the regular Russian type, fair-haired, of somewhat too full a figure, and with features a shade too heavy, but with a singularly good and frank expression in her intelligent hazel eyes, and with a soft white forehead, on which a ray of sunlight always seemed to rest. For a long time Litvinof did not raise his eyes from the portrait, then he quietly put it away, and again hid his face in his hands. 'All is over,' he whispered at last—'Irina, Irina.'

"Then only, only at that moment, did he understand that he loved her madly and irrevocably,—that he had loved her from the day of his first interview with her at the old castle,—that he had never ceased loving her. And yet, how he would have marvelled, how incredulous he would have been, how he would have laughed even, if any one had said so to him a few hours before. 'But Tania, Tania! oh my God! Tania, Tania!' he repeated with anguish. And the image of Irina floated before him, in her black, as it were, funeral robe, the calm light of victory dwelling on the marble whiteness of her face."

A little longer and her victory is indeed complete. Litvinof lies in her power, morally bound hand and foot. "He was conquered, unexpectedly conquered, and what had become of his honour?" That question passes through his mind repeatedly as he stands on the platform waiting for Tatiana's arrival. She comes, and he tries in vain to speak to her in a natural tone, to look at her without constraint. She soon feels that

there is something amiss. (And here we may remark how refreshing it is to turn to her from Irina,—for the character of the Princess is one which is little in accordance with English tastes and feelings.) The scene in which Litvinof comes to an explanation with Tatiana is admirably described, especially that part of it in which she, with an air of calm but sad dignity, frees him from his obligation to her. Just before she leaves Baden she asks him to post a letter for her.

"Litvinof raised his eyes. Before him indeed there stood his judge. Tatiana's form seemed taller than usual, more rigidly erect. Her face was more than ordinarily beautiful, but in its stony majesty it resembled that of a statue. Her breast did not heave; her dress, to which its singleness of tint and the absence of undulation in the outlines gave something of the air of ancient drapery, fell to her feet, which it hid from sight, in long, straight folds, like those of marble robes. Tatiana looked straight before her, without taking any notice even of Litvinof, and her gaze too was calm and cold as that of a statue. In it he read his sentence; he bent his head, took the letter from the motionless hand extended towards him, and silently went away. . . . Litvinof dropped the letter into the box, and felt as if, with that little piece of paper, he had dropped all his past, all his life, into the grave. Then he went out of the town and wandered long among the vineyards, following the narrow footpaths. He could not rid himself of a constant sensation of contempt for himself, importunate as the buzzing of a fly in summer. There could be no doubt that in this last interview he had played a very unenviable part."

Tatiana leaves Baden, and a few days later Litvinof also hurries away thence, having been a second time thrown over by the incomprehensible woman whose love has cost him so dear. As he sits in the railway carriage which is taking him away from her, he long gazes unconsciously at the clouds of steam and smoke which come flying past the window from the engine, perpetually changing their forms, trailing along the grass, clinging to the bushes, melting away in the distance, but always keeping up the same monotonous kind of play. At length the idea to which the story owes its name comes into his head. As he thinks of all he has lately been witnessing, all his own hopes and efforts, all the ideas enunciated in his presence by the two sets of Russians at Baden,—the aristocratic retrogrades who declaimed against the liberty of the press and the freedom of the peasants, and the political and social reformers who used to worry him by their incessant and fruitless declamation,—he exclaims—

"'Smoke, smoke . . . steam and smoke.' And suddenly everything seemed to him to be

mere smoke—his own life, Russian life—everything human, especially everything Russian. All is smoke and vapour, he thought; all seems to be constantly changing, everywhere new forms appear, one semblance follows close upon another, but in reality all is just the same. Everything falls headlong—hastens away somewhere or other—and everything disappears, having achieved nothing, leaving no trace behind. Another wind blows, and everything flies over to the opposite side, and there once more begins the same untiring, restless, and unprofitable game."

Soon after his return home his father dies, and he finds himself engaged at once in the difficult task of managing the estate, which has fallen into great disorder. The period at which he returns is thus described:—

"The new order of things met with a bad reception; the old had lost all influence. Ignorance and dishonesty went hand in hand together. Shaken to its very foundations, the whole social order of things quaked like a vast peat-moss; only the one grand word 'Freedom' moved like the Spirit of God over the face of the waters."

There is need, above all, of patience—and that not a passive but an active patience—and at first Litvinof finds it hard of acquisition. He cares but little for life now; he feels still less inclined for exertion. But two years pass by, and the difficulties he has to contend with begin to diminish. The great idea of emancipation has begun to realize itself, and a change for the better has already made itself generally felt. Litvinof has succeeded in putting his affairs on a better footing, and his mind has gradually recovered somewhat of its former tone. He is still very sad, and he secludes himself from all society; but the deadly indifference to all human interests from which he used to suffer has left him, and he moves and acts now like a living man among living people. All that occurred at Baden seems like a dream to him now; and as for Irina her image appears to him only as something vaguely suggestive of dream, closely shrouded in surrounding mist.

At length one day he receives a visit from a relation who has been lately staying at Tatiana's country-house, and who talks to him a good deal about her. Soon after the visitor's departure Litvinof writes to Tatiana, and a few days later he finds himself driving rapidly up to her house. He rushes up the steps, through the dining-room, and into the drawing-room.

"Before him Tatiana stood blushing. She looked at him with her honest, loving eyes (she had grown a little thinner, but that became her well), and held out her hand to him. But he did not take her hand; he fell on his knees be-

fore her. That she had not expected, and she knew not what to do, what to say. Tears started into her eyes. She was frightened, but all her face grew bright with joy. 'Gregory Mikhailovich! why do you do that, Gregory Mikhailovich?' she said, but he continued kissing the hem of her garment . . . while he remembered with emotion how he had knelt before her in a similar manner at Baden. But then—and now!"

We had intended to enter into an investigation of those questions respecting the future of Russia, especially in its relations with Western Europe, to which so much prominence is given in the pages of *Smoke*. But our space is exhausted, and we can do no more than simply allude to them before closing this sketch of M. Turguenief's writings, of too many of which we have been unable to take any notice. We have said nothing of his comedies, although they are numerous enough to fill a large volume by themselves, nor have we even touched upon such of his works as the essay on *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*, having preferred to confine ourselves to his tales and novels. On the novel which he has most recently written, under the title of *Neschastnaya* (The Unhappy One), it is as yet impossible to pass judgment, as its publication in the magazine called the *Russian Messenger* has not long been commenced; but we may fairly prophesy that it will prove of no small interest. On the whole, we have utterly ignored much that is excellent, and we have not been able to do more than sketch a most hasty outline of many of the stories to which we have referred, but we hope that we have succeeded in at least giving some idea of the worth of M. Turguenief's writings, and in calling attention to the most characteristic merits of his works which have gained him the first place among the novelists of Russia.

#### ART. III.—REVOLUTIONS IN THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH.

THE standard language of literature and life is appropriately termed the Queen's English, from having upon it the stamp of national currency and use. It is the medium of oral and written intercourse through the length and breadth of the land, just as the royal currency or coin of the realm is the medium of commercial exchange. The words of the standard vocabulary, like the issues of the royal mint, have on them the image and superscription of national authority, of which the Sovereign is the natural

head and representative, and hence the apt designation, "Queen's English." But, taking a wider view of the matter, there is really more significance in the epithet Queen's, as applied to the language, than that arising from the accidental circumstance of the reigning monarch being a princess rather than a prince. A second reason of its special appropriateness is to be found in the fact that the most important changes in the language, or rather in the vocabulary of the language, have taken place under the three great English queens, Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria. If we throw out of account Queen Mary, who was hardly English either in character or policy, the reigns of the three English queens are identified with the most influential revolutions in the history of the English language. The Elizabethan age was the era of its fullest spontaneous development; the so-called Augustan age of Anne that of its critical restriction and refinement; while the Victorian age is the era of its reflective expansion, its conscious growth and reinvigoration. Each of these marked periods is heralded by half a century of preparation, in which the influences, literary and political, that helped to produce the change, were gradually acquiring direction, unity, and power.

The first of these periods, that of the Reformation, commencing with the earlier half of the sixteenth century, culminating in the Elizabethan age, and lasting in its characteristic influences till the middle of the seventeenth century, is justly regarded as the great creative period of English literature. It is the period in which the latent genius of the nation was manifested for the first time in all its freshness, strength, and exuberant vitality. But the next considerable epoch, that of the Revolution, which reached some of its most expressive forms during the reign of Queen Anne, has a character of its own, equally marked, though perhaps not so fully recognised. If the era of the Reformation was the creative, the productive epoch of our literature, that of the Revolution, extending over the greater part of the eighteenth century, is characterized by the predominant activity of the regulative, co-ordinating, or legislative faculty. It is pre-eminently a critical age—the age in which criticism appeared for the first time as a modifying power in our national life and literature. The Revolution Settlement itself was a criticism of the Constitution, a resolute and successful effort to reduce to precise terms, fix in definite propositions, and establish on a legal basis the political rights and liberties which had gradually asserted themselves amidst the vigorous but

irregular growth of the nation's corporate life. In almost every department of national activity the working of the same critical impulse may be clearly traced. There is manifestly, on all hands, a strong desire and persistent effort to measure in some way the achievements of the prolific past: to take stock, as it were, of the intellectual wealth the nation had so rapidly accumulated, and estimate according to some rule or principle the results of its enormously reproductive energies.

Very naturally, however, the working of this critical movement is especially seen in the literature of the time, and the contrast between the two periods in this respect is well illustrated in the early productions of their typical poets. This kind of index is peculiarly significant, because men of genius instinctively reflect, if they do not even anticipate, the foremost intellectual tendencies of their own time. In his early youth, Shakespeare, the representative of the first period, was exercising his fervid poetical imagination, his tender and passionate sensibilities, in the glowing imagery and musical verse of *Venus and Adonis*. Pope, the typical poet of the second period, while still in his teens, was reading Boileau, and condensing into the smooth couplets of his *Essay on Criticism* the sagest maxims of accumulated literary wisdom, mingled with the shrewd observations of his own keenly precocious mind. Great original works of imaginative genius were no longer produced. In place of these, critical editions of the great poets were for the first time undertaken, and critical dissertations on their special merits, as well as critical theories of poetry and literature in general, attempted. No doubt these theories were superficial and one-sided, the critical judgments often shallow, and the rule employed for the measurement of the intellectual giants of the previous age sometimes ludicrously inadequate for the purpose. But the important fact remains, that in every sphere of intellectual activity rules and principles of judgment were honestly sought for. Amidst the hard things that are often said against the eighteenth century, it must be remembered that its leading minds, if comparatively cold and unimaginative, were consciously animated by the desire of finding in every department of inquiry a critical or rational basis, and that in some departments, such as those of history, philosophy, and political science, this effort produced results of permanent value.

What is true of the literature during these two periods is equally true of the language. The epoch of the Reformation was the great period of the language as well as of the literature—the age in which its latent

stores of phrase and diction were for the first time brought out, and rendered available for the higher purposes of literature by current use. Then, too, the various tributary streams, Celtic and Scandinavian, Romance and Classical, that at different times have enriched our native tongue, may be said to have flowed together, and poured their currents into the broad and deepening river of our recognised and central English speech. But these secondary elements of copious and expressive diction, left as a heritage by races that had helped to give dignity and grace to the robust English character, were by no means the most important contributions made during this era to the standard national vocabulary. The scattered wealth of neglected words belonging to the root-elements of the language, the forcible and idiomatic Angle and Saxon terms, hitherto almost restricted to local use, were now, under the working of an irresistible influence, collected from their provincial sources, and poured into the national exchequer of words through a multitude of obscure and unnoticed channels. The powerful influence which thus developed for the first time the resources of the mother tongue was that of awakened nationality, of which the Reformation itself, in its early stages, may be regarded as the concentrated and energetic expression. The working of this national spirit, and its effect both on the language and the literature, is indeed clearly traceable as early as the fourteenth century. By the middle of that century the brilliant foreign wars and successful reign of Edward III. had very much effaced the bitter antipathies of rank and race produced by the Conquest, impressed on the national mind an exulting sense of unity and power, and diffused amongst all classes the proud glow of genuine patriotism. The effect of this awakened spirit on the language is seen in its immediate recall to the courts of justice, and other positions of dignity and honour, from which for three centuries it had been banished, while its intellectual reflex may be traced in the noble early literature of which Chaucer, Gower, and Wycliffe are the foremost representatives. In the fifteenth century the gallant but disastrous wars of Henry V. dissipated the vain dream of extended foreign empire which had so long dazzled the imagination of the nation, and helped to fix its attention on domestic interests, while the Wars of the Roses indirectly advanced the cause of the people by destroying the most offensive incidents of the feudal system and relieving the nation at large from the incubus of a turbulent and ambitious feudal aristocracy. During the long, prudent, and successful

reign of Henry VII., the growing elements of national unity and power consolidated themselves; and under favourable conditions of peace and public security the country steadily advanced in social comfort, political strength, and material prosperity. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, he had to lead a high-spirited and self-reliant people, proud of a European position gained by past achievement in arms, confident of its future progress, and resolved, if need were, to secure the conditions of that progress at the point of the sword. The very subserviency the early Parliaments showed on home affairs arose indeed, in part, from the strong feeling in favour of an energetic foreign policy, and the resolve of the nation to maintain at all hazards its position in Europe. The Reformation was just the movement to stimulate that resolve, as it appealed directly on its political side to the independent spirit of the people. In its early stages, indeed, as far as the people at large, or rather the town populations—the mercantile, trading and professional classes, who alone took an active interest in public affairs,—were concerned, the English Reformation was a national and political, much more than a religious or ecclesiastical movement. It was a national revolt against the authority of a foreign potentate, whose arrogant pretensions, haughty bearing, and arbitrary exactions of tribute had come to be regarded as alike insulting and oppressive. As the area of the conflict enlarged and its issues expanded, the great interest at stake stirred the heart of the nation to its very depths, and roused all its nobler elements of character to a pitch of intense and sustained enthusiasm. This enthusiasm reached its highest point in the tremendous struggle with Spain as the armed champion of Roman domination in Europe, the ruthless military representative of the despotic principle both in Church and State.

On the eve of that gallant struggle against such overwhelming odds, Queen Elizabeth, with the sure instinct of political genius, struck the key-note of the excited national mind in her stirring address to the army:—“Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my own recreation and disport, but having resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all—to lay down, for God and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and

feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm." The national spirit, thus appealed to, triumphed; and it is almost impossible, even at this distance of time, to estimate the magnitude of the result. The destruction of the Armada at once broke the aggressive power of Rome and Spain, beating them back to their continental seats, flushed with an exulting sense of victory the nation, that almost single-handed had ventured on such an unequal conflict, and crowned with European fame

"This scepter'd isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands,  
This blessed spot, this earth, this realm, this  
England,

This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear  
land,  
Dear for her reputation through the world."

Shakespeare had come to London two years before the destruction of the Armada, and the intense feeling of national exultation it produced beats with a full pulse not only in this passage, but throughout the whole of his historical plays. Britain, as champion of the Reformation, had, however, not only defeated Catholic Europe, and reached a position of peerless renown in the Old World. She had become mistress of the seas, and thus commanded the ocean-paths to the New World, the El Dorado in the far golden West, which successful maritime adventure had revealed, and whose untold treasures daring English navigators were beginning to explore. This acted as a powerful additional stimulus to the intellect and imagination of the nation. It enlarged men's minds, widened their moral horizon, and inspired them with the confident hope of destroying established forms of error, and discovering new continents of truth. The strong and sustained intellectual reaction of the whole movement produced, in the short space of a quarter of a century, those unrivalled masterpieces of literature which constitute the glorious Elizabethan age.

The direct connexion of the whole Reformation movement with the great productive period of our literature is well known, and has been pretty fully investigated; but

its influence on the language has never yet been traced with anything like careful accuracy and minuteness. Mr. Marsh, indeed, in his excellent work on *The Origin and History of the English Language*, points out one of its immediate effects in the numerous translations of theological and other works, by continental reformers, scholars, and divines which appeared in rapid succession; but his general description of these versions is hardly accurate, while his estimate of their effect on the language is, to say the least, one-sided and erroneous. He describes them as bringing in a "flood of Latinisms," as introducing new words and ideas, a special technical phraseology, which made "at once a very considerable accession of Latin words to the vocabulary of English." There is, indeed, a certain amount of truth in this statement. The new conceptions and forms of doctrine which the Reformation produced required a language of their own, and in some of the early English translations of foreign theological works a glossary of such terms is given at the end of the volume. But the remarkable feature about the translations, as a whole, is not their Latinisms, not their specially theological dialect, but their extraordinary wealth of genuine English words. To take a single illustration, we would refer any one curious on this point to the versions of Nicholas Udall, an accomplished scholar, author of the earliest comedy in the language, and successively head-master of Eton and Westminster. Amongst his other labours, at the instance of Queen Catherine Parr, Udall undertook a translation of Erasmus' voluminous paraphrase of the New Testament, and executed a large part of it himself. The work is not only clear and vigorous in style, but rich in English idioms, in expressive colloquial phrases, and pithy Saxon terms; and is accordingly frequently quoted in illustration of such words, both in Richardson's Dictionary and by Dr. Latham in his new edition of Johnson. Curiously enough, Mr. Marsh does not even mention Udall, although from his translations alone a list of Saxon words might be collected, in some respects more complete than is to be found in any existing dictionary or glossary of English.

Another way in which the Reformation had a direct effect on the language was by the amount of controversy it provoked, by the extensive literature of attack and reply, of polemical dissertations, pamphlets, and broadsides it produced. The appeal in these discussions being a popular one, had a two-fold effect on the language, helping both to simplify its structure and to give prominence to the strictly vernacular elements of the

vocabulary. Sir Thomas More, and John Bale, bishop of Ossory, represent the extremes of this controversial literature, the former being a bigoted Romanist, and the latter a rabid Protestant. In point of taste and temper there is perhaps not a pin to choose between them, both being singularly eloquent in the coarse rhetoric of vituperation and unmeasured personal abuse. Nor are they without points of resemblance in other and higher respects. The English Chancellor is the more quick-witted, learned, and accomplished disputant, as well as the more voluminous writer. In his great polemic against Tyndale he discusses the points at issue with an exhaustive minuteness of detail that would become wearisome but for the lively play of fancy, the grave wit and fertility of humorous illustration that relieve the tedium of his argument and soften the bitterness of his invective. He is, moreover, naturally fond of argument, cunning of logical fence, and displays even a kind of scholastic subtlety in defending against his opponent the use of images, modern Romish miracles, and the doctrine of the sacraments. The Irish bishop has none of More's dialectical skill, and hardly attempts anything like serious or sustained argument, his numerous polemical writings consisting rather of historical facts and loose declamation, passing not unfrequently into coarse but vigorous invective. But More and Bale have in common certain rhetorical characteristics that will entitle them to a place in the history of English prose during the first half of the sixteenth century. They both possess a great command over the resources of colloquial and idiomatic English, and write with an ease, animation, and freedom which is very rarely to be found at this early period. The necessity of popular appeal gives to their style a flexibility and directness that brings the written literary language much nearer to the spoken tongue than had hitherto been the case. The change is complete in those of the reformers who, like Latimer, helped the movement chiefly by oral discourse. What is true of More and Bale is true in a degree of the other early writers who took a leading part in the struggle, such as Frith and Barnes, Ridley and Tyndale; but none of their works—not even those of Tyndale, who writes with unfailing purity and vigour—have the vivacity and popular interest which belong to the style of More and Bale.

The important fact, however, is that in the whole controversy, as indeed in all the effective writing of the time, the appeal is made, not to the judgment or the prejudices of a sect or profession, but to the reason and conscience of the nation at large, the avowed

aim being to stimulate the one and inform the other. Translators and controversialists, historians and expositors, alike recognise the direct interest of the nation in the conflict of opinions, and maintain the ultimate authority of its judgment in deciding the questions at issue. This is true of all classes, from the headstrong monarch himself, who ordered that copies of the English Scriptures should be placed in all the churches of the land for public use, and the Queen, who caused Erasmus' paraphrase to be translated, "that all English people may to their health and ghostly consolacion, be abundantly replenished with the frute thereof," and to be circulated in a similar manner, down to the nameless authors of popular broadsides and satirical doggrel, written in Skeltonical verse. The free use of the vernacular speech was obviously indispensable to the progress of such a movement; and it may be said, without exaggeration, that the whole literature of reflection and instruction assumed a national dress in this country a century earlier than on the Continent.

How intense and influential was the awakened spirit of nationality which thus expressed itself in the Reformation, is further apparent from the striking fact, that it at once absorbed and turned to popular account the two great continental influences that for a time arrested the progress of the native literature in the other countries of Europe. These influences were those arising from the enormous revolution effected in the means and mechanism of intellectual culture by the revival of letters and the invention of printing. On the Continent, these influences operated for half a century at least as a powerful denationalizing force. The early presses of France, Germany, and Italy, but especially of the two latter countries, were largely occupied in the production of accurate classical texts, while many of the ablest minds were absorbed in the necessary work of textual revision, criticism, and explanation. But in England, for half a century after the introduction of printing, the works issued by Caxton and his associates were all, with insignificant exceptions, in the vernacular tongue, all identified with the native literature, either as original works or effective translations. These early English presses multiplied copies of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, of Trevisa's translation of Higden, and other prose works of interest, and thus supplied for the first time the materials of a literary culture at once national in its basis and popular in its range.

In the same way, under the over-mastering influence of what continental critics would probably call the insular spirit, the new

classical literature itself was speedily turned to national account, and converted into an instrument of general cultivation. The early English scholars betook themselves to the work of translating, and the effect of the new classical literature during the greater part of the sixteenth century must be measured rather by its popular influence than by its professional study or academic teaching. The systematic teaching of Greek was not firmly established in either Oxford or Cambridge till the second half of the century; and before that time several versions from classical Greek as well as Latin authors had appeared in English. But it was not until after the accession of Elizabeth that translations of standard classical authors were multiplied in sufficient abundance to supply the conditions of a new and stimulating national culture. Then the higher liberalizing influences of the period were welcomed, and had full scope to work under the most favourable conditions. The universal sense of relief from the gloom, oppression, and terror of the previous reign, the hopes inspired by the accession of a sagacious, accomplished, and popular monarch, the rousing of the national energies by the widening area and deepening issues of the Reformation conflict, and the liberation of learning from priestly or professional control, with the consequent secularization of the sources of knowledge which that movement had effected, all conspired to produce and diffuse amongst the active classes of the nation a sharpened intellectual appetite, and an eager desire for fresh and satisfying mental food. There was, in fact, a general thirst for some knowledge of the revived classical literatures, which the scholars of the time hastened to gratify. Before the end of the century, most of the great masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature were translated, and many with surprising spirit and accuracy. This is true of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the minor Homeric poems, translated by the poet Chapman; of *Museus*, translated by Marlowe; of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, translated by Arthur Golding; and of large parts of *Virgil*, as well as of *Horace* and *Martial*, attempted by different scholars. Not only the great poets, however, but the orators, *Demosthenes*, *Isocrates*, and *Cicero*; the historians, *Thucydides* and *Livy*, *Sallust*, *Cæsar*, and *Tacitus*; the moralists *Plutarch* and *Seneca*; the rhetoricians and writers on natural history and science, were all translated during this period. *Aristotle's Ethics* and *Politics*, and parts of *Plato*, also appeared in an English dress.

With regard to the versions from Greek authors, it is true indeed that *Thucydides*, *Aristotle's Politics*, and *Plutarch's Lives*

were translated immediately from the French. Of these, however, North's celebrated version of *Plutarch* has the idiomatic purity, vigour, and picturesqueness of an original English work, and occupies an enviable niche in our literary history as the mirror in which Shakespeare saw clearly reflected the grand proportions, heroic forms, and richly animated life of the old classic world. The translator of *Aristotle's Politics* states that he corrected the French version throughout by a comparison with the original Greek, though his own version has hardly profited to the extent that perhaps might have been expected from such a statement. The version of *Thucydides* is more archaic in form; and this is not to be wondered at, considering both the early date of its appearance and its authorship. It appeared in the middle of the century, having been published in 1550, and was executed by Thomas Nicolls, "cytezeine and goldesmyth of London." It has prefixed a special privilege from the young King, setting forth that "our faythfull well-beloved subject, Thomas Nicolls, cytezene and goldesmyth of our cytie of London, hath not onely translated the hystorye wrytton by Thucydides the Athenian, out of Frenche into English, but also intendeth continnyng in that his vertuous exercise, thereby to reduce and bring other profytable hystories out of Frenche and Latin into our said maternall language, to the generall benefyt, comoditie, and profyt of all our loving subjectes, that shall well digeste the same." It is dedicated to Sir John Cheke, commemorated in Milton's well-known sonnet, and at that time the first Greek scholar in England, the author in the dedication praying him "not onely with favour to accept this, the first my fruit in translatyon, but also conferring it with the Greke, so to amend and correct in those places and sentences which your exact learning and knowlaige shall judge meet to be altered and reformed." The translation fills a folio of 500 pages, and is, all things considered, respectably executed. But the fact that a London tradesman should have carefully translated an author like *Thucydides*, even from the French, though he seems also to have used the excellent Latin version of *Laurentius Valla*, well illustrates the living interest in liberal studies that had grown up outside the universities, and which, with little direct academic help, was gradually diffused amongst the people, especially the mercantile, trading, and professional classes of the town populations. The universities, indeed, yielding to a tendency too common in such corporations, obstinately resisted the introduction of Greek as a new-

fangled study, tried to expel the first teachers of the offensive tongue, and clung tenaciously as long as possible to their scholastic curriculum, in all its mediæval integrity. What the obscure monastic pedants of the universities were for a time characteristically slow to attempt, popular enthusiasm, with the help of a few liberal, enlightened, and industrious scholars, speedily accomplished. Before the end of the century, the substance of classical literature, the contents of the great masterpieces of antiquity, both in prose and verse, were placed within the reach of all who had any taste for letters, and could read their native tongue.

To meet the varied requirements of these translations, all the scattered and hitherto neglected elements of the language were not only called into requisition, but attained a certain degree of currency by being employed in works of general interest. All its accumulated stores of characteristic and expressive terms, provincial, archaic, colloquial, and professional, would obviously be required to render effectively such poets as Homer and Ovid, and such prose writers as Plutarch and Pliny. The influx of words during this period—some few exotics, but the great majority native—was indeed so great that no English lexicographer has been able even yet to collect and register them all. Nay, the works of a single industrious translator, Philemon Holland, master of the Coventry Grammar School, whose versions fill five or six dense folios, contain a mine of linguistic wealth which the recent labours of accomplished and zealous students, such as Archbishop Trench and Mr. Marsh, have not half explored. Not only the new literatures, however, but new discoveries and inventions, new ideas and conceptions, new aims and aspirations, new feelings, hopes, and imaginations, required new words and new combinations for their adequate expression. These requirements were fully met, and in a few years the language of reflection became as rich and copious as that of imagination. These accumulated materials of expressive diction prepared the way for the works of original genius and creative power that followed. The difficult task which Dante had to execute for himself, that of creating a literary language out of a number of rustic dialects, Shakespeare found done to his hand. At the time when he entered on his dramatic career, the language was exactly in the state best fitted for all the purposes of the poet,—rich, various, and expressive, but still plastic to the touch, yielding readily to the impress of genius, and capable of being moulded into forms of exquisite

beauty, grandeur, and power. His dramas illustrate the resources and capabilities, the matchless grace and loveliness, the fresh and exhilarating life, the muscular strength and sinewy flexibility, of the fully-formed English tongue. They exhibit the language in its perfect bloom and vigour, when for the first time it had become fully equal to all the demands of the thinker and the poet.

The period of the Revolution brought great changes to the language and the literature, and the change affected the language even more than the literature. Politically, it was a period of reaction after a violent and protracted struggle, towards the close of which, notwithstanding the gains and losses on either side, little real progress seemed to have been made. Not the licentious reaction of exhaustion and indifference that marked the Restoration, but the reaction of sobriety and vigilance natural to men tired of useless and disappointing experiments in government, and determined at all costs to establish the constitutional liberties of the country on a settled basis. But on its literary side the period retained and developed many of the characteristics impressed upon it at the Restoration. The domestic struggles incident to the peaceful revolution that changed the reigning dynasty, and the aggressive foreign policy it naturally produced, absorbed for a time the attention of the country, leaving its relaxed intellectual energies to follow the secondary influences of taste and fashion belonging to the Restoration period. During the interval between the Restoration and the Revolution, literature being no longer stirred by rational impulses, became an affair of society, of the Court, and of the town. Unfortunately the monarch and his Court were total strangers to anything like national sentiment and patriotic feeling, having spent their lives abroad, and acquired French tastes and habits at the very time when France was both politically and intellectually almost supreme in Europe. This increased the effect which the brilliant literature of the French Augustan age would naturally have had upon our own in a season of lassitude and reaction. The corrupt taste of the Court naturally tended, moreover, to bring into vogue the more superficial, witty, and licentious forms of contemporary French literature, and for a time the literary favourites of the Court, in their loose songs, impudent comedy, and fantastic inflated tragedy, fell into a servile imitation of degraded French models.

Lord Macaulay has indeed suggested that the French fashions of the Court affected the diction as well as the spirit and char-



characteristic forms of literature, and, after Johnson, has charged Dryden with introducing purely French terms into the vocabulary of the language. But the charge, while true to a certain extent of the fashionable conversation of the day, is inapplicable to any except the lowest class of writers, and least of all applies to the great chief of contemporary letters. The frivolous talk of fops and fine ladies was no doubt copiously interlarded with French terms, and Johnson's charge against Dryden is, that "with a vanity unworthy of his abilities," he introduced such terms into his writings, in order to show that he moved in high society. But in support of this sweeping censure he adduces only two instances, and these are wholly insufficient to prove any conscious or intentional departure from the thoroughly English diction which marks all his writings, both in prose and verse. It is true that Dryden occasionally uses French words, such as *bizarre*, *fanfaron*, and *nobless*; but he did not introduce them, the last being common to the Elizabethan writers, and used more than once by Shakespeare himself. With a thoroughly English instinct, indeed, he especially denounced and satirized the attempted corruption of the national speech by the reckless introduction of foreign words and phrases. In discussing the means of improving and refining the language, he condemns the motley speech in which exquisites and loungers who had crossed the Channel attempted to disguise their poverty of thought. "For I cannot approve of their way of refining, who corrupt our English idiom by mixing it too much with French; that is a sophistication of language, not an improvement of it,—a turning English into French, rather than a refining of English by French. We meet daily with those fops, who value themselves on their travelling, and pretend they cannot express their meaning in English, because they would put off to us some French phrase of the last edition, without considering that, for ought they know, we have a better of our own; but these are not the men who are to refine us. Their talent is to prescribe fashions, not words; at best they are only serviceable to a writer, so as Ennius was to Virgil. We may *aurum ex stercore colligere*, for 'tis hard if, amongst many insignificant phrases, there happen not something worth preserving, though they themselves, like Indians, know not the value of their own commodity." Again, in the comedy of *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, he introduces Melantha, an affected fine lady of the day, for the very purpose of ridiculing the vulgar rage for Gallicisms

that infected the fashionable conversation of the time. The breadth and vigour of the exposure may be gathered from the following extract:—

"*Mel.* O, are you there, Minion? And, well, are not you a most precious damsel, to retard all my visits for want of language, when you know you are paid so well for furnishing me with new words for my daily conversation? Let me die, if I have not run the risque already, to speak like one of the vulgar; and if I have one phrase left in all my store that is not threadbare and used, and fit for nothing but to be thrown to peasants.

"*Phil.* Indeed, madam, I have been very diligent in my vocation: but you have so drained all the French plays and romances, that they are not able to supply you with words for your daily expense.

"*Mel.* Drained? What a word's there! *Epuisée*, you sot you. Come, produce your morning's work.

"*Phil.* 'Tis here, madam. [*Shows the paper.*]

"*Mel.* O, my Venus! fourteen or fifteen words to serve me a whole day! Let me die, at this rate I cannot last till night. Come, read your words, twenty to one half of 'em will not pass muster neither.

"*Phil.* *Sottises.* [*Reads.*]

"*Mel.* *Sottises: bon.* That's an excellent word to begin withal: as for example: He or she said a thousand *sottises* to me. Proceed.

"*Phil.* *Figure:* as, What a figure of a man is there!

"*Mel.* *Naive!* as how?

"*Phil.* Speaking of a thing that was naturally said: It was so *naïve*. Or such an innocent piece of simplicity: 'Twas such a *naïveté*.

"*Mel.* Truce with your interpretations. Make haste.

"*Phil.* *Foible, chagrin, grimace, embarras, double-entendre, équivoque, éclaircissement, suitté, bevue, façon, penchant, coup d'étourdy, and ridicule.*

"*Mel.* Hold, hold; how did they begin?

"*Phil.* They began at *sottises*, and ended *en ridicule*.

"*Mel.* Now give me your paper in my hand, and hold you my glass, while I practise my postures for the day. [*Melantha laughs in the glass.*] How does that laugh become my face?

"*Phil.* Sovereignly well, madam.

"*Mel.* *Sovereignly?* Let me die, that's not amiss. That word shall not be yours: I'll invent it, and bring it up myself. My new point *gorget* shall be yours upon't. Not a word of the word, I charge you.

"*Phil.* I am dumb, madam."

It will be seen that many of the terms and phrases in this extract, stigmatized by Melantha's maid as French gibberish, have passed into the language since Dryden's day, and are now in habitual use. *Foible, caprice, grimace*, and *ridicule*, for example, are good English words, constantly employed by the best writers, probably without any suspicion of their comparatively recent introduction. This is true of many

other words emphasized as belonging to Melanthe's foreign vocabulary, such as *tour*, *chagrin*, *amour*, *repartee*, *rally*, and *embarrass*. Of the last word, now so thoroughly English, Melanthe says,—“Truce with your *douceurs*, good servant; you see I am addressing to the Princess; pray do not *embarrass* me—*embarrass* me! what a delicious French word do you make me lose upon you too!” Many more of Melanthe's Gallicisms, such as *menage*, *devoir*, *spirituel*, *belairissement*, *naiveté*, *équivoque*, and *penchant*, if still retaining in form and accent traces of their foreign origin, are in themselves so convenient and expressive, and so far supported by authoritative use, as to be well entitled to sue out their naturalization, if they are not already naturalized. To say nothing of their occasional employment by good early writers, some of them are given by Johnson as English words, while all appear in later English dictionaries. Indeed, many of the terms condemned by Dryden as neologisms are freely used by Addison and Pope. This illustrates a well-known fact in the history of all languages, that foreign words, unanimously condemned as harsh and impure on their first introduction, ultimately find their way into the language, if any good reason exists for their admission. Dryden himself refers to this in the passage already quoted, in saying that it would be hard if, among many insignificant phrases, there should not be some worth preserving. None the less, however, is it the duty of a sound English critic to resist the introduction of foreign terms, especially when the tide of fashion sets strongly in their favour. The language is periodically exposed to wholesale adulteration from this source, and while no hostile criticism, however incisive and unsparing, can ultimately prevent useful additions being made to the vocabulary, it may be of the highest service in saving the national speech from the depraving effects of vulgar thoughtlessness and fashionable folly. In the first half of the present century, for example, there was a marked tendency among a certain school of writers to introduce German compounds, and affect German idioms in their style and phraseology. In the judgment of many critics, the more recent danger is, that our national speech, like our national institutions, may become Americanized, as it is called. At such a period the office of the English critic is to resist the dominant tendency, and Dryden, as guardian of the language, discharged his duty in this respect with characteristic energy, as well as with rare critical intelligence. No charge against him, therefore,

can well be more unfounded or unjust than that of attempting deliberately to corrupt the vocabulary of his native tongue. But, while resisting the fashionable rage for Gallicisms, and thus preserving in its strength and purity the instrument of literature, he yielded almost completely to the vicious taste of the Court in the form and substance of at least one important section of his literary works. His numerous dramas, it must be confessed, illustrate some of the worst characteristics of contemporary French literature. In the stilted, unnatural sentiment and general didactic inflation of his rhymed tragedies, no less than in the colloquial shamelessness and indecency of his prose comedies, he deliberately followed the worst French models, and gratified to the full the depraved Court taste of the Restoration.

At the Revolution, with a purer Court, and the return of serious interests to the national mind, a better spirit prevailed, and the salutary working of the higher characteristic of French literature is apparent. This higher feature consisted in its critical spirit, not its critical theories, which were narrow and insufficient enough, but in the disposition to inquire into the grounds of literary excellence,—the effort to discover in all departments of intellectual activity rational canons of guidance and judgment. But this was so conformed to the temper of the English mind at the Revolution, and to the turn which English thought had taken, that the foreign influence during this period did little more than strengthen and confirm the dominant bias of the native literature. While the literature of Queen Anne's reign is of native growth, it is thus so far in sympathy with the literature on the other side of the Channel, that they have many characteristics in common. French literature, for example, like French life, has always been marked by its social, centralizing tendency. It is the literature of a special locality and a limited circle, produced by accomplished men living very much together, a kind of scattered club resident in the metropolis; and this is pre-eminently true of its most brilliant period. If politically, according to the *mot* of Louis xiv., the King is the State, so, for all literary purposes, the capital is the country, Paris is France. In the same way, the English literature of the Revolution period has a marked social, centralized, or urban character. It is, as we have said, pre-eminently the literature of the town, and this fundamental characteristic greatly affects both its substance and its form. Such a literature would be largely occupied, for example, with light social criticism and

humorous satire, with the witty exposure of fashionable follies, and the epigrammatic analysis of character and manners, with lively but superficial discussions on questions of literary taste and judgment. In a word, it would be, to a great extent, the literature of light didactic satire, of critical and colloquial essays both in prose and verse.

This limitation in the range of subjects and appeal would necessarily affect the language as well as the literature. As literature always employs the language of those it addresses, when restricted to the town, it naturally adopted an urban vocabulary, the dialect of society, and of a highly artificial and conventional society. No doubt this dialect had many special virtues, and was admirably adapted for effective social criticism. It was perfectly intelligible, clear, and transparent as crystal, with an easy flow, epigrammatic sparkle, and antithetical emphasis that excited the reader's attention, and kept up his interest by mere force of style, even when there was nothing in the thought to stimulate the intellect. But notwithstanding these virtues, the fashionable dialect was wanting in copiousness and variety, in imaginative range and reflective depth, as well as in tender and profound emotional expressiveness. Here again in the language we have a feature which, if not directly due to French influence, approximates the English writing of the time to the French type. As the literature of Queen Anne's time may be fairly said to have the virtues and vices of the best French literature, so the language has the excellences and defects of the highly wrought French tongue. While clear, spirited, and polished, it was at the same time marked by the comparative poverty of its poetical and reflective vocabulary. To what an extent this is true, even at the best period of Revolution literature, may be seen by comparing the vocabulary of Addison and Pope with the vocabulary of Shakespeare and Bacon. With all the irresistible charm of Addison's style, his luminous simplicity and grace, his purity, ease, and elegance of diction, it is impossible not to feel that his power of expression, however perfect within its range, is extremely limited both as to depth and extent. The great writers of the Elizabethan age, roused by commanding national impulses, and appealing to an awakened and excited people, used the entire national speech with the utmost freedom and confidence, counting none of its elements common or unclean. But the courtly poets and essayists of Queen Anne's

reign, yielding to the dominant critical tendency of their day, were fastidious in their choice of words, weeding their vocabulary not only of all obsolete and provincial, but of all obsolescent, unusual, and inharmonious terms and compounds. Any words not directly sanctioned by current use, no matter how vernacular and expressive they might be, were at once rejected.

This so-called improvement of the language had begun in Dryden's day, and he himself took an active part in forwarding the work, as well as in vindicating against cavillers its reality and importance. Whilst he protested vigorously, as we have seen, against the needless introduction of foreign terms, he was almost equally severe against the retention of the more archaic and obsolescent element of his native tongue. In the *Epilogue*, one of his most extravagant heroic plays, he thus pronounces judgment on the dramatists of the Elizabethan age:—

"They who have best succeeded on the stage,  
Have still conformed their genius to their age.  
Thus Jonson did mechanic humour show,  
When men were dull, and conversation low.  
And as their comedy, their love was mean,  
Except by chance in some one laboured scene,  
Which must atone for an ill-written play,  
They rose, but at their height could seldom  
stay.  
Fame then was cheap, and the first comer  
sped,  
And they have kept it since, by being dead.

If love and honour now are higher raised,  
'Tis not the poet, but the age is praised.  
Wit's now arrived to a more high degree,  
*Our native language more refined and free,*  
Our ladies and our men now speak more wit  
In conversation than those poets wrote."

And in an elaborate prose defence of the *Epilogue* he deliberately maintains that the language of the Restoration dramatists, including of course his own, is superior in grace, refinement, and expressiveness, to that of even the best dramatists of the preceding age, such as Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Fletcher. This superiority mainly consisted, he tells us, in rejecting such old words and phrases as were ill-sounding and improper, and admitting others more proper, more sounding, and more significant. He claims it as a special merit for the writers of his own age, that they had not merely rejected words antiquated by custom, and without any fault of theirs, as the refinement in that case would be accidental only, but whatever in the poetical vocabulary of the previous age they deemed ill-sounding and inappropriate. Curiously enough too, he brings the charge of employing a harsh, semi-barbarous, and obsolete dialect spe-

cially against Shakespeare and Fletcher, two of the most harmonious and musical writers in the language. Those who know only the just and discriminating estimate of Shakespeare given by Dryden in his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, will hardly be prepared for the disparaging terms in which he speaks of him when defending himself and his brother dramatists from the attacks of contemporary criticism. On the point of language, with which we are concerned, he delivers himself as follows :—

"But, malice and partiality set apart, let any man who understands English read diligently the works of Shakespeare and Fletcher, and I dare undertake that he will find in every page either some solecism of speech or some notorious flaw in sense; and yet these men are revered when we are not forgiven. That their wit is great, and many times their expressions noble, envy itself cannot deny. But the times were ignorant in which they lived. Poetry was then, if not in its infancy among us, at least not arrived to its vigour and maturity. Witness the lameness of their plots, many of which, especially those which they writ first—for even that age refined itself in some measure—were made up of some ridiculous, incoherent story. I suppose I need not name *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, and the historical plays of Shakespeare, besides many of the rest, as the *Winter's Tale*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *Measure for Measure*, which were either grounded on impossibilities, or at least so meanly written that the comedy neither caused your mirth, nor the serious part your concernment. . . . But these absurdities which those poets committed may more properly be called the age's fault than theirs. For, besides the want of education and learning, which was their particular unhappiness, they wanted the benefit of converse. Their audiences knew no better, and therefore were satisfied with what they brought. Those who call theirs the golden age of poetry have only this reason for it, that they were then content with acorns."

Dryden very prudently makes no direct attempt to prove the charge of being rude, obsolete, and obscure, which he brings so freely against Shakespeare's language. But he makes an indirect attempt to establish his position, which is worth notice, as showing how incompetent he really was to discuss the question. It was the fashion amongst the playwrights and critics of the Restoration to place Ben Jonson above all his contemporaries as the great master of correct and laboured comedy. He is always spoken of as learned, careful, and judicious, and the scholarly elaboration of his dramatic art is contrasted with Shakespeare's careless fertility of nature. Dryden attempts to establish his sweeping charge against the Elizabethan dramatists, by showing that

even Jonson's language is not unfrequently harsh and inaccurate, the conclusion being, that if a writer so careful and learned is found continually tripping, errors of all kinds must be expected in such ignorant and indifferent authors as Shakespeare and Fletcher. Dryden, indeed, formally draws this inference, and on the strength of it excuses himself from specifying any of the errors and solecisms to be found, as he tells us, in every page of Shakespeare's works. After specifying some of Jonson's alleged mistakes, "what correctness, after this," he asks, "can be expected from Shakespeare or from Fletcher, who wanted that learning and care which Jonson had? I will therefore spare my own trouble of inquiring into their faults, who, had they lived now, had doubtless written more correctly. I suppose it will be enough for me to affirm, as I think I safely may, that these and the like errors, which I taxed in the most correct of the last age, are such into which we do not ordinarily fall." The trouble, however, of specifying some of Shakespeare's errors was by no means so superfluous, as the examples from Jonson, on which he rests his whole charge against the Elizabethan dramatists, are all blunders. Instead of convicting Jonson of error, they simply convict his critic of ignorance. Seven instances of alleged error are given, but in each case Jonson is right and Dryden wrong. With regard to words, Dryden absurdly censures the use of *ire* as an archaism, an antiquated word; and the use of *port* in the sense of *gate*, as a novelty and "affected error," opposed to the English idiom, and introduced by Jonson in the spirit of mere pedantry. The fact is that *ire*, in place of being at all obsolete or antiquated, was freely used by Dryden's contemporaries, and even by himself, and that *port*, in the sense of *gate*, so far from being introduced by Jonson, is constantly used by Shakespeare and the Elizabethan writers, and was a good English word for a century at least before Jonson was born. Of grammatical errors he specifies the use of *be* in the plural for *are*, the double comparative, and the use of *one* in the plural *ones*, all of which, it need hardly be said, are amply supported by authoritative use up to Dryden's day, and the last continuously down to our own time. The remaining instance, illustrating, according to Dryden, errors both of etymology and syntax, is as follows :—

" 'Just men,  
Though heaven should speak with all his wrath  
at once,

That with his breath the hinges of the world  
Did crack, we should stand upright and un-  
feared.'

His is ill syntax with *heaven*, and by *unfeared* he means *unafraid*, words of a quite contrary signification." With regard to *his*, it is strange that Dryden should have been unaware that it was the regular possessive of the neuter pronoun, *its* being a comparatively modern formation, not generally used by good writers until after the Restoration. But it is clear that he was ignorant of this fact, which must have been in his own day a tolerably obtrusive one, as he raises the same objection against a previous passage, stigmatizing *his—his ire*—applied to a thunder-cloud, as a "false construction." It is almost equally strange that, having studied parts of Chaucer, and read with some care many of Shakespeare's plays, he should not have known that the English verb *fear*, like the Anglo-Saxon verb from which it is derived, was constantly used in the transitive sense of to frighten or terrify, and that *unfeared* in the sense of *unafraid* is therefore a perfectly legitimate compound.

The truth is, Dryden could not but perceive that there was a great difference between the poetic diction of his own day and that of the Elizabethan writers, and without having any definite or critical knowledge of the subject, he hastily concluded that the change was altogether for the better. This would be rendered all the more plausible from the fact that there was a marked improvement in some kinds of poetry, such as didactic satire and translation, in which he himself excelled. While even in his hands the drama had fallen so low, there is a vigour, a concentration and expressiveness about Dryden's poetical satires and translations that such works had not previously possessed. With the sure instinct of a masculine intellect and robust literary nature, he had seized the most expressive elements of current English, and turned them to admirable account in these works, and, with a pardonable self-love, he tried to maintain that the improvement extended to all departments of poetry. He knew that the dramatic vocabulary of his own day was greatly restricted, that it had lost the copiousness, variety, and luxuriance of the Elizabethan drama, and he persisted in regarding the restriction as an improvement. Under the stimulus of foreign influences and foreign example, he had moreover vague notions of refining the language by subjecting it to the formal revision of a central authority or academy, and at one time actually proposed a plan for carrying the notion into effect. The French language

had been permanently impoverished by this process of so-called refinement, and yielding almost unconsciously to the contagion of French classical theories and French academic influence, Dryden was anxious that the English language should be subjected to the same process and share the same fate.

Addison sympathized even more fully with French tastes and French classical theories of criticism. He was naturally, too, more refined and fastidious than Dryden, and his diction accordingly is more limited and select. He has far less acquaintance, moreover, with the great Elizabethan writers who had displayed in such noble forms the full resources of the language. From the evidence of his writings it seems indeed very doubtful whether he had ever read Shakespeare at all, or had any knowledge of his writings beyond a theatre-going acquaintance with one or two of his best-known plays. Mr. De Quincey broadly asserts that no reference to Shakespeare is to be found in Addison's writings.

"In particular," he says, "we shall here proclaim a discovery which we made twenty years ago. We, like others, from seeing frequent references to Shakespeare in the *Spectator*, had acquiesced in the common belief that, although Addison was no doubt profoundly unlearned in Shakespeare's language, and thoroughly unable to do him justice, yet that of course he had a vague popular knowledge of the mighty poet's cardinal dramas. Accident only led us into a discovery of our mistake. Twice or thrice we had observed, that if Shakespeare were quoted, that paper turned out not to be Addison's; and at length by express examination we ascertained the curious fact, that Addison has never in one instance quoted or made any reference to Shakespeare."

This statement is however altogether inaccurate, and the alleged discovery no discovery at all, Addison having quoted and criticised Shakespeare in the *Spectator*, as well as referred to him in some of his other writings. In his paper on "Stage Devices for Exciting Pity," he quotes a long extract from the ghost scene in *Hamlet*, and speaks of the appearance of the ghost as "a masterpiece of its kind, wrought up with all the circumstances that can create either attention or horror." And in a previous paper on English tragedy, as well as in his criticism of Milton, he repeats the commonplace Restoration reproach against Shakespeare, that his thoughts are often obscured "by the sounding phrases, hard metaphors, and forced expressions in which they are clothed." But Addison's writings contain no evidence of his having possessed any but the most superficial knowledge of Shake-

speare—the kind of knowledge naturally derived from seeing on the stage two or three of his more popular tragedies, “curtailed, adapted, and improved,” by such dealers in turgid sentiment and tawdry ornamentation as Tate and Lee. It is a noteworthy fact that many of the most accomplished and popular writers of the time, such as Addison and Shaftesbury, author of the *Characteristics*, hardly ever refer to Shakespeare except to point out his defects, or openly sneer at his “rude, unpolished style, and antiquated phrase and wit.” The truth is, all the dominant literary influences of the time were classical; either directly classical, flowing from the study of Greek and Roman writers, or indirectly classical, filtered through contemporary French literature. And these influences, while favourable to critical nicety, as well as to a certain finish and completeness in the imitative and secondary forms of literature, were unfavourable not only to the development of original genius, but to its appreciation in forms so unlike the approved types of classical excellence as the passionate dramas and romantic epics of the Elizabethan age. Addison represents these influences to the full, working under the most favourable conditions, and his choice vocabulary, his limited selection of words, must be regarded as an indirect criticism of the license of the older writers.

His direct references to language indicate the same verbal fastidiousness in the direction both of the old and the new. In his celebrated criticism of *Paradise Lost*, for example, he censures Milton for employing words and phrases too mean, familiar, and poor for poetic use. Of this alleged defect the following is the chief instance, the italics being Addison's own:—

“Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars,  
White, black, and grey, with all their *trumpery*,  
Here pilgrims roam.”—Bk. iii. 474.

Here the words in italics are objected to as mean and familiar. But the real question for criticism is not whether they are familiar, but whether they are appropriate and expressive; and this is soon answered. Nothing, surely, could be more appropriate than for the poet to follow the universal custom in designating the different orders of friars by the different colours of their dress. In no other way could he at once so briefly and vividly bring the motley groups before the reader's mind. The main force of Addison's objection to the passage is however most likely to be found in the word *trumpery*, which he knew probably

only in its secondary sense, in its more trivial and ludicrous associations,—the sense in which he himself uses it in the *Spectator*, as applying to mere fashionable vanities, to empty and worthless display. But in its primary meaning as an English word, as well as in its authoritative use for a century before Milton wrote, it had a deeper, more serious, and special signification. While it always carried with it the notion of parade and display, in its early use the parade and display were always made for the special purpose of craft and deception. It thus involved the idea of hollowness and imposture, and it was specially applied to the various expedients, sleights, and devices,—the vestments, genuflections, and ritualistic machinery of religious imposture. This central notion of fabrication and imposture is still retained in the verb to *trump up*, as when we say of some plausible but baseless narrative palmed off for purposes of deception, “it is a *trumped-up* story.” Like the French word from which it is derived, and its German cognates, the leading idea of the term is that of deception by means of hollow, worthless display, either to the senses or the mind. Thus, in Hackluyt's voyages, the writer, describing a Mahometan prophet or impostor, says, “He carried in his hand ‘a flagge or streamer set on a short spear painted,’ and at his back ‘a mat, bottels, and other *trumpery*.’” Again, in a popular theological work published during Milton's youth, we have, “The proudest Pharisee that ever shoud to the Lord all the pedlar's pack of the *trumpery* of his own justitiarie workes, we have him in the temple as busy as a bee praying, or prating at the least.” And Bishop Hall, referring expressly to the Romish ceremonial, exclaims, “What a world of fopperies these are, of crosses, of candles, of holy water, and salt and censings! Away with these *trumperies*.” A good example of its early use in the sense of craft or treachery occurs in the preface to Raleigh's *History of the World*. After commemorating the various unlawful means, the schemes of policy and violence, of fraud and force, by which ambitious English princes had seized the crown, and dwelling in detail on the stratagems and treacheries of Richard III., the diabolical cunning of his policy, and his ruthless murders, the author begins his summing up with the sentence, “Now as we have told the successes of the *trumperies* and *cruelties* of our own kings and our great personages, so we find that God is everywhere the true God.” And again in the sixth chapter, referring to the corruptions of the Biblical story of creation to be found amongst Pagan traditions, he

says, "The Greeks, and other more ancient nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the story of the creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sense, wrapping it up mixed with their own *trumperie*, have sought to obscure the truth thereof." Now, considering the light in which Milton regarded the tawdry Romish ceremonial, and the solemn masquerade of its monkish orders, no single word probably could have been applied to them at once so compendious, descriptive, and appropriate as the word *trumpery*. At the close of the passage from which the extract is taken, the full significance of the allusion is expanded in harmony with the central meaning of the word as follows:—

"And now St. Peter at Heaven's wicket seems  
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot  
Of Heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when  
lo !

A violent cross-wind from either coast  
Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues  
away,

Into the devious air. Then might ye see  
Oowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers,  
tost

And fluttered in rags; then reliques, beads,  
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,  
The sport of winds; all these upwhirled aloft,  
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off,  
Into a limbo large and broad, since called  
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown  
Long after, now unpeopled and untrod."

—Bk. iii. 484-97.

In a further criticism of the same passage, Addison again unconsciously reveals his ignorance of the great writers of the previous age. He suggests that Milton fabricated the word *eremite* out of *hermit* for the convenience of his verse. But the form "*eremite*," so far from being peculiar to Milton, is in common use amongst the Elizabethan writers. In the same criticism he tells us that there are in Milton's great poem several words of his own coining, and gives *embryon* and *miscreated* as illustrations. Both words are however to be found in the Elizabethan poets, the latter being used by Shakespeare himself, as well as by Spenser in his "*Faëry Queene*."

The limitation of Addison's urban dialect is further seen in his urging as a fault in Milton's style the use of such technical terms as *Doric pillars*, *cornice*, *frieze*, and *architrave*, in the description of buildings, and such phrases as *dropping from the zenith*, and *culminating from the equator*, in describing the appearance of shooting stars and the sun's noonday rays. In objecting to such words and phrases, Addison clearly has no perception of the true law with regard to the literary use of technical terms.

A poet is at perfect liberty to employ descriptive words of this kind if they have passed into general use, and so far lost their purely technical character as to be at once understood by all intelligent readers. The words and phrases condemned by Addison as unfit for poetry belong to this class. With regard to the architectural terms, *architrave* is perhaps the only one retaining anything of a specially technical character. But Pope does not consider even this term of art too technical for poetical use, as the following lines show:—

"Westward a sumptuous frontispiece appear'd,  
On *Doric pillars* of white marble rear'd,  
Crown'd with an *architrave* of antique mould  
And sculpture rising on the roughen'd gold."

*Frieze* again occurs in one of Shakespeare's best-known and most beautiful passages, celebrated by Sir Joshua Reynolds as a fine example of what in painting is called *repose*—the short dialogue between Duncan and Banquo as they approach Macbeth's castle:—

"This guest of summer,  
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,  
By his lov'd mansionry, that the heaven's  
breath

Smells wooingly here: no jutty, *frieze*,  
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird  
Hath made this pendent bed and procreant  
cradle."

With regard to the astronomical terms and phrases objected to by Addison the same reply is to be made. All of them, and many others of a like nature, are in common use amongst the poets, and especially amongst the more distinguished of Addison's own day, Dryden being specially fond of astronomical allusions.

Addison applies the same restrictive rule not only to words and phrases tinged with an archaic or technical hue, but to words and phrases of comparatively recent introduction, but which from their convenience had already come into general use. In a lively *Spectator* paper he complains of a jargon of French phrases describing military operations, and introduced by the late war, which are now to be found in every newspaper and gazette, as well as in conversation and private letters; and he gives as specimens of them,—*reconnoiter*, *pon-toon*, *defile*, *marauding*, *corps*, *gasconade*, *carte blanche*, *fosse*, and *commandant*. He virtually admits, however, that the protest against these and other neologisms was too late in emphasizing the fact of their universal use. Many of them were indeed employed as good English terms by more than one of his own literary contemporaries.

Pope had the keenest natural instinct for language, and, as a natural result of his active poetical labours, his range of expression is wider than Addison's. He is more tolerant both of the older and newer elements of expressive diction; and with all their exquisite finish, there are words and phrases to be found in his poems which Addison would probably never have used. But a poet cannot wholly dissociate himself from the dominant influences around him; and Pope still reflects the relative limitation that marks the literary and poetical vocabulary of his day. In a criticism of Phillip's Pastorals, for example, he censures the words *sheen*, *whilom*, *welkin*, *younglings*, *nurslings*, *witless*, as antiquated English; and elsewhere he condemns as archaic, *emprise*, *nathless*, *dulcet*, *paynim*, and *umbrageous*, with other words and phrases still belonging to the poetical vocabulary of the language. On the other hand, in the preface to his translation of Homer, he rejects amongst other terms the word *campaign* as too modern to be used in an epic poem.

Johnson's vocabulary and style constitute an indirect criticism of the language quite as one-sided as Addison's, though in a very different direction. In his horror of colloquial barbarisms and anxiety to avoid a too familiar style of writing, he adopted the over-Latinized swelling and sonorous diction that is identified with his name. In the words of Dryden criticising the style of his namesake, Ben Jonson, "he did a little too much Romanize our tongue, leaving the words which he translated almost as much Latin as he found them, wherein, though he learnedly followed their language, he did not enough comply with the idiom of ours." But, unlike Addison, he could relish styles wholly different from his own, and appreciate forms of literary and poetical excellence opposed to the current taste of his day, and in many cases openly condemned by its more artificial canons of literary judgment. His defence of Shakespeare's dramatic art against the charge of being rude, irregular, and incongruous, urged by classical purists and pedants on both sides of the Channel, shows a much wider range of critical insight than was common at the time. But in dealing critically with language he does not always show an equal freedom from contemporary prejudice, and some of his incidental criticisms of Shakespeare's diction strongly illustrate the exclusive notions that prevailed. To enforce the criticism that poetry is degraded, and the reader's mind alienated and disquieted by low and mean expressions, he takes the following example:—

"When Macbeth is confirming himself in the horrid purpose of stabbing his king, he breaks out amidst his emotions into a wish natural to a murderer—

'Come thick night,  
And pall thee in the dunest smoke of hell,  
That my keen knife see not the wound it  
makes,  
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the  
dark,  
To cry, Hold, hold!'

In this passage is exerted all the force of poetry, that force which calls new powers into being, which embodies sentiment and animates matter. Yet perhaps scarce any man now peruses it without some disturbance of his attention from the counteraction of the words to the ideas. What can be more dreadful than to implore the presence of night, invested not in common obscurity, but in the smoke of hell! Yet the efficacy of this invocation is destroyed by the insertion of an epithet now seldom heard but in the stable, and *dun* night may come and go without any other notice than contempt."

That Johnson should have been capable of thus deliberately attributing to her husband Lady Macbeth's celebrated soliloquy, shows, perhaps, a less intimate acquaintance with the play than might have been fairly expected from an author who had recently published a criticism of it, and already issued proposals for a new edition of Shakespeare. But, apart from this, the criticism itself is singularly unfortunate. The names of colours have in themselves no inherent dignity or meanness, but depend for their suggestive significance on the object to which they are applied, and Johnson might just as pertinently have objected to this particular colour because it is associated in popular sayings, as well as in poetry, and that even by Shakespeare himself, with the "magnanimous mouse." With regard to the word *dun*, the truth is that, so far from being unfit for poetical use, it is habitually employed by our best poets to paint a dusky brown or dark grey, the heavy mixture of white and black with a faint tinge of colour. Thus Chaucer applies it to the eagle's feathers, other writers to the dark marbled hue of the sea-lion, the larger kind of seal, and others to the dusky tinge belonging to natives of the East. But the word has a special appropriateness in this passage, because it is chiefly used in poetry to describe heavy masses of moving cloud, especially as seen in the obscurity of dawn or evening, when faint light begins to fleck the darkened east, or the sombre west "still glimmers with some streaks of day." Chaucer uses it to describe the gloaming, and Milton, both in *Comus* and in *Paradise Lost*, to picture the deepening shades of night. From its use in this connexion *dun* was very nat-



urally employed to describe the dense rolling columns of artificial cloud produced by the sulphurous smoke of hidden fires, and of its application in this sense, the same as Shakespeare's, we have many good examples in modern poetry. Thus in Bowles' *Battle of the Nile*—

"But now the mingled fight  
Begins its awful strife again  
Through the *dun* shades of night  
Along the darkly-heaving main  
Is seen the frequent flash:  
And many a tow'ring mast with dreadful crash  
Rings falling: Is the scene of slaughter o'er?  
Is the death-cry heard no more?  
Lo! where the East a glimin'ring freckle  
streaks,  
Slow o'er the shadowy wave the grey dawn  
breaks."

And in the better known poem of *Hohenlinden*—

"Tis morn, but scarce yon level sun  
Can pierce the war-clouds rolling *dun*,  
Where furious Frank and fiery Hun  
Shout in their sulph'rous canopy."

A similar reply may be made to a further criticism of Johnson's on the same passage. "We cannot surely," he says, "but sympathize with the horrors of a wretch about to murder his master, his friend, his benefactor, who suspects that the weapon will refuse its office, and start back from the breast which he is preparing to violate. Yet this sentiment is weakened by the name of an instrument used by butchers and cooks in the meanest employments. We do not immediately conceive that any crime of importance is to be committed with a *knife*; or who does not at least, from the long habit of connecting a knife with sordid offices, feel aversion rather than terror?" It need hardly be said to those who know anything of our early poetry, that the word *knife* is employed in exactly the same way, to designate the instrument of a murderer, by Chaucer, and continually by Spenser, to say nothing of its abundant use by Shakespeare's contemporaries, the Elizabethan dramatists. It has, moreover, a peculiar appropriateness, being, from its facilities of concealment, specially employed in connexion with stealthy crime, with swift and teacherous assassination. Shakespeare himself speaks more than once of "treason's knife," "treason's secret knife," and in Lady Macbeth's terrible invocation no other word could be substituted for it without weakening the effect of the passage. But from want of familiarity with the truth and freshness of our earlier poetry, these, and numberless other simple and expressive terms, had lost their special significance even to

the more cultivated readers, not only of Johnson's time, but of the whole period to which he belonged. Even Dryden, for example, seems to have a fellow-feeling with Johnson in his objection to the poetical use of the word *knife*, for in remodelling Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, he substitutes the word *sword* for it, and the change must be assumed to rank amongst the improvements which he claims to have effected in Shakespeare's language. In the preface to his revision, Dryden says, "I undertook to remove the heaps of rubbish with which many excellent thoughts lay wholly buried;" adding, "I need not say that I have refined his language, which before was obsolete." The passages in question are worth quoting as a specimen of the manner in which Dryden did his work, and as throwing light on the taste and feeling of the time, as represented by its foremost poet and critic. In Shakespeare, Troilus says:—

"I tell thee, I am mad  
In Cressid's love: thou answer'st 'She is fair,  
Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart,  
Her eyes, her hair, her cheek, her gait, her  
voice;  
Handlest in thy disconrse, O, that her hand,  
In whose comparison all whites are ink,  
Writing their own reproach; to whose soft  
seizure  
The cygnet's down is hard, and spirit of sense  
Hard as the palm of ploughman!—This thou  
tell'st me,  
As true thou tell'st me, when I say I love her;  
But saying this, instead of oil and balm,  
Thou lay'st in every gash that love hath given  
me,  
The *knife* that made it."

This exquisite passage is improved and "refined" by Dryden as follows:—

"Oh, Pandarus, when I tell thee I am mad  
In Cressid's love, thou answer'st she is fair;  
Praisest her eyes, her stature, and her wit;  
But praising these, instead of oil and palm,  
Thou lay'st in every wound *her* love has given  
me,  
The *sword* that made it."

In Shakespeare the two last lines are a grand personification of intense elemental feeling, expressed in the simplest, most direct, and poignant words. According to the commonplace poetical machinery, Cupid is said to pierce the susceptible bosom with his arrows, but this cold and distant fancy pales before the white heat of Troilus' passion, and love, transformed to a mortal foe, armed with the murderer's weapon, rushes on his defenceless victim, and with reiterated stabs gashes the suffering heart. But in Dryden's version, the whole force of the conception, as well as the fire of the words, is lost, by the mere introduction of the pronoun, and,

the passion gone, the further changes simply reduce the concentrated utterance of intense emotion to a conventional sentiment clothed in incongruous phrase. This illustrates the process of improving Shakespeare's diction by excluding common words "connected with sordid offices," which found favour not only with the dramatists of the Restoration, who could hardly be expected to appreciate the language of real passion, but to a certain extent with Johnson himself. At least, as we have seen, Johnson unites with critics of the same age and school in condemning the use of such terms. The great critic was indeed haunted with the notion, common to many of his immediate predecessors, of refining and fixing the language so as finally to exclude all rustic and vulgar elements from the authorized vocabulary of the lettered and polite. Dryden, as we have seen, had a vague idea of establishing an academy for this purpose, and Swift formally addressed a letter to the Earl of Oxford, suggesting that, as a member of the Government, he should take the initiative in devising some means for "ascertaining and fixing the language *for ever*, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite." This notion of circumscribing the language within some artificial boundary was indeed the dominant conception on the subject of the whole period, from the days of Dryden, who reigned at its commencement, to those of Johnson, who saw its close, and whose Dictionary, the partial realization of his original plan, was published about the eighteenth century.

Early in the second half of the eighteenth century the tide of conventional restriction began almost imperceptibly to turn. In the works of Collins, Goldsmith, and Thomson, the despotic influences of the town and the Court are somewhat relaxed, and there is, at least, a partial return to the simplicity of nature—to the varied charm of rural sights and sounds, and the moving realities of a more homely human experience. The works of Percy, Crabbe, Cowper, and Burns fed the rising tide until the fountains of the great deep were once more broken up by the French Revolution following the American War. The criticism of the eighteenth century, cold and negative as it sometimes appeared, had at length done its work, and a work of unexpected magnitude it proved to be. It struck a mortal blow at theories of feudal privileges and divine right, which had become prolific sources of evil; and gradually undermined the despotic institutions that were fatal barriers to human progress, until at last they fell with a crash, and there swept over them the wild tumultuous tide of

emancipated humanity. These great events stirred the intellect and heart, not only of England but of Europe. But one of the most striking effects on our literature of this moral upheaval is the exuberance of original poetic genius that marked the opening decades of the present century. The names of Scott, Byron, Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Campbell, Shelley, Keats, not to mention others of equal rank though of more recent fame, represent an age of original imaginative power and productiveness second only to the Elizabethan. The literary influence of the profound reaction produced by the critical movement of the eighteenth century has however been often traced, and in its general outline is tolerably well known to the majority of intelligent readers. But, as in the case of the Elizabethan period, the influence on the national speech of this great original movement of the national mind, has never yet been carefully analysed, and only noticed at all in a very partial and imperfect manner. As might, however, have been expected from the circumstances of the case, the movement had a direct and powerful influence on the vocabulary of the language. The change is, moreover, well worth detailed notice, both for its own sake, and for the sake of the deeper tendencies and characteristics of the modern period of which it is a striking sign and index. Though, like all natural developments, gradual and for the most part unperceived, it nevertheless represents a revolution in the resources of literary and current English, greater than any that had taken place since the formation of the language, with the exception of the Elizabethan era. As the causes affecting the national mind in the two periods were to some extent similar, so there is a likeness in the effects. In both, the national intellect was roused by the commanding impulse of great public events, the national heart stirred to its depths by fresh interests and more generous sympathies, and the national imagination quickened by the exciting stimulus of new and glorious hopes. But in the modern period the national movement had a wider sweep, and was naturally of a more self-conscious and reflective character. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the dominant feeling was a national one, the strong desire to secure and maintain complete independence,—scope for the free manifestation of the nation's energies, and the full development of its civil and ecclesiastical life. But at the end of the eighteenth century, wider thoughts and sympathies, quickened by the stirring of new life in other lands than our own, modified the isolated conception of nationality that had hitherto

ruled the English mind with undisputed sway. Under the liberalizing stimulus of larger vital interests, the limited notion of nationality, of national welfare as an exclusive end, broadened, deepened, and expanded into that of humanity at large. The more open, sensitive, and eager minds of the time, as well as the more far-seeing and reflective, were stirred with a truer and more enlarged notion of liberty and justice as the indispensable conditions of real progress everywhere. They were kindled to righteous indignation against bondage of every kind, social and political, intellectual and spiritual, and keenly sympathized with the rising struggles of long oppressed European peoples to throw off the yoke of hereditary despotic rule, and secure for themselves the national liberty and independence essential to the development of higher individual character and progressive national life.

This new conception of nations being bound together by common interests and relationships, soon enriched our own language with a new word for its expression. Coleridge justly says that any new word expressing a fact or relationship, not expressed by any other word in the language, is a new organ of thought; and this is true of the term *international*, a coinage of our own century, which aptly expresses one of its most characteristic and operative conceptions. We are now so familiar with the term, and the idea it expresses, that it is difficult to realize fully the extreme recentness of both. Hardly any conception is however at once more thoroughly novel, and more expressive of the modern spirit, than that represented by the term *international*. For though the word, it is true, does not necessarily denote friendly interests and relationships, it was originally introduced to express them, and since its introduction has been largely used for the same purpose. It was not, indeed, until the perception of common interests and connexions between nations had risen into importance, and occupied the attention of public writers and speakers, that the want of a term to express them was generally felt or adequately supplied. A more advanced phase of the same conception is expressed by another word, wholly new, and less suited, perhaps, to the genius of the language, but which, nevertheless, has already passed into reputable use, and will, probably, on account of its convenience, be ultimately adopted. This is the word *solidarity*, as in the phrase "solidarity of the peoples," first popularized by Kossuth during his visit to this country after the revolutionary movement of 1848. It is employed to denote essential community of interest and obliga-

tion between nations, to express the fact that different peoples, so far from being, according to the traditional view, rivals and antagonists, are one in the higher conditions of welfare and progress, have common duties and responsibilities, and, as members of the same family, ought to unite in efforts for the promotion of the common good; or, to vary the metaphor, as soldiers fighting under the same banner share together the hardships and perils to be encountered in securing the triumph of the common cause.

This expansion of social and political interests had a powerful intellectual effect, and helped directly to widen the horizon in every department of inquiry, in history and philosophy, science and literature. In pure literature the effect was perhaps most immediately seen in the opening up of fresh and living sources of interest in every department of imaginative activity. The poets, in particular, looked at nature and human life no longer through the medium of books and traditional representations, or artificial lights and conventional draperies, but face to face; and in the growing light and kindling rapture of that open vision, the whole universe of life, including its most familiar objects and experiences, was completely transfigured. The obscuring veil of custom was rent, the indurating scales of indifference fell away, and this goodly frame, the earth, o'ercanopied with this majestic roof, "fretted with golden fire," and peopled by this quintessence of breathing dust, so noble in reason and infinite in faculty, appeared once more, as it ever does to the purified and observant eye, in all the dewy freshness and beauty of a new creation. The multitude of new thoughts and feelings and experiences arising from this quickened creative activity of the intellect, imagination, and affections, demanded to some extent, at least, a new vehicle for their full and appropriate expression. The limited vocabulary of the satirical and didactic poetry of the eighteenth century was, in fact, almost ludicrously inadequate to the larger wants and requirements of the lyrical, descriptive, and dramatic poets of the nineteenth. Some of its more conventional elements were moreover unsuitable from their artificial character. Hence Wordsworth's vigorous protest against "what is usually called poetical diction," the adulterated phraseology arising from a lavish but wholly mechanical use of figures of speech and stereotyped metaphorical phrases, as simply a hindrance and a snare to the true poet of nature. Throwing aside this useless lumber, the representatives of the new and natural school of poetry sought in all directions, wherever they could

be found, the materials of a more simple and expressive, as well as of a more rich, copious, and varied imaginative diction. Some, like Wordsworth and Southey, recalled to poetical use the homely but significant terms belonging to the dialect of rustic and common life. Others, like Coleridge and Keats, passing over the uncongenial school of the previous century, betook themselves to the living study of the Elizabethan poets, especially Spenser and Shakespeare, and in their own writings recalled to use many picturesque expressions belonging to that noble school. Others, like Scott, and even Byron, roamed at will amongst the literary treasures of the past, visiting the byways as well as the highways of its poetic literature, and enriching their vocabulary from various sources, but especially from the fugitive lyrical and ballad poetry north and south of the Tweed. The modern lyrical poets, Burns and the Ettrick Shephard, and a number of less distinguished bards, such as Leyden, Bowles, and Clare, Beattie, Graham, and Wilson, fed their poetical feeling from the same living springs, and helped in the same way to vitalize the vehicle of their poetic art. From these various sources large additions to the plastic medium of poetry were gradually made; and in the first quarter of the century a stream of expressive words from the older language of feeling and imagination passed into our current speech. In the second quarter of the century, this process of enriching the language by recalling to use its neglected stores of expressive diction has been carried still further by a new generation of poets and writers of fiction. This important work of a reflective expansion is still actively going forward, and as the result of it we have now in use hundreds, and even thousands, of words that were neglected or unknown during the greater part of the eighteenth century. The late Professor Craik, for example, who was on many grounds well entitled to speak on such a question, says, in discussing this very subject and period—the diction of the last half-century—that when a word has, from whatever cause, dropped out of use, it seems “nearly as impossible to recall it to a really living and working condition as to raise the dead in any other case.” And he concludes with the broad statement that “very little of genuine revivification has ever been accomplished in human speech;” adding, “You will sooner introduce into a language a hundred or a thousand new words than you will re-establish in the general acceptance ten old ones that have been sometime thrown aside.” What is here suggested with regard to the ease with which new words are introduced is no

doubt true. During the last half-century our vocabulary has been enlarged by the addition of a vast number of new words and fresh forms. In particular, the inherent vitality of the language has been vindicated by the formation of a number of new and expressive compounds that have already passed into general use, and enriched the resources of literary and current English. But the largest additions of all have been made from the very sources which Professor Craik regards as least likely to furnish any,—the nervous diction of older thinkers and poets. We venture to say, as the result of a somewhat careful and prolonged study of the materials essential to a judgment on the question, that the words from this source—from the more archaic and obsolescent element of the language—added to the vocabulary during the present century, must be numbered not by tens but by hundreds, if not by tens of hundreds. This is a sweeping assertion, but it admits of detailed and rigorous proof. The details of this proof, however, it would be impossible to comprise even in outline within the already exhausted space of the present article, and they must therefore be reserved for a subsequent paper.

---

ART. IV.—*Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral*.  
By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., late  
Dean of St. Paul's. London: Murray.  
1868.

IN welcoming this last fruit of a noble tree, we are naturally led to look back over the older memorials of the author's long and distinguished labours. Born early in 1791, the son of a Court physician, who “was honoured during his professional career,” as his son was happy to commemorate, “by the distinguished favour of” his sovereign,\* Milman enjoyed the best opportunities of culture which England then could furnish, under Dr. Burney and at Eton and at Oxford. His reputation dates from a time when the present leaders of thought had not begun their course, and recalls or anticipates the age of many who have passed away before him full of honour. He records with some emotion that Heber was his “early friend” (p. 488); and he contributed to Heber's Hymnal some of its most cherished and familiar pieces. It is nearly fifty years since

---

\* Dedication of Milman's Bampton Lectures to George IV., 1827.

his longer poems were attaining the highest point of their popularity. Dr. Newman, his junior by nine or ten years, looked up to him in his youth as "a rising man of brilliant reputation."\* In the Oxford class-list his name stands next to that of J. G. Lockhart. In the prize-list it is surrounded by such names as those of Sir J. T. Coleridge, Lord Derby (eight years his junior), Whately, Keble, Arnold, and Hampden. His Bampton Lectures furnished illustrations for Archbishop Whately's *Rhetoric*.† He held the chair of Poetry before Mr. Keble. His *Annals of St. Paul's* are full of recollections which carry us back among scenes and persons now belonging to history. He was confirmed at Eton by Pretyman, then Bishop of Lincoln (p. 472). The "ineffaceable memory" of the voice of Bishop Porteus dwells on his ear "after a lapse of nearly seventy years" (p. 468). He "heard, or fancied that" he "heard, the low wail of the sailors" who bore the body of Nelson to his grave (p. 485). The name of Hallam is "dear to" him, "from long reverential friendship" (p. 491). Yet no man ever kept up to the last a more living connexion with every passing movement of the intellect; so that all men felt him to belong to the present by sympathy and interest, as fully as in memory and reputation he belonged to the past. And whatever he did was well done, and was crowned with appropriate success. His clerical life was full and prosperous, from his Reading vicarage, through a canonry of Westminster and the rectory of St. Margaret's, to the deanery of St. Paul's. But his earlier Oxford life was equally complete and rounded. A first class, when a first class was a very high distinction, every one of the four great annual prizes, a fellowship, the Bampton Lecture, and the Poetry professorship, together form an outline of an Oxford career which could scarcely be surpassed. Dean Stanley calls his Newdigate "the most perfect of all Oxford prize-poems;" and Dean Stanley himself wrote a Newdigate, which a third illustrious winner of that prize, Professor Wilson, called "the best prize-poem since Heber's 'Palestine.'"<sup>‡</sup> These four names, Heber, Wilson, Milman, and Stanley, are about the brightest in the series of the Newdigate prizemen, and Milman stands out as, upon the whole, the foremost of the four.

But beyond all this, Dean Milman was a

rare instance of that kind of growth which widens and strengthens with its stature; carries up breadth, as we may say, along with height, so that his end was even greater than the promise of his outset. Excepting the few hymns to which we have referred, his poetry has already passed away from the ear and memory of the nation. Excepting, and scarcely excepting, one or two passages, his Bampton Lectures are forgotten.\* His earliest historical work was an anonymous contribution to the unpretending series of the Family Library; and the outcry raised by the novelties of its style and mode of interpretation was not kept in check by any special signs of massive strength about the workmanship. No one could have foreseen that it would have formed the prelude, through an intermediate publication of mixed character, to a production like the *History of Latin Christianity*, a book of grand proportions and comprehensive scope; a book which soars above its rivals (if indeed it has any in English) like the dome of St. Paul's above the London churches; a book which must always be counted among the few works holding the highest rank as masterpieces of the English tongue.

Eminent as he was, alike as poet, scholar, essayist, and preacher, it is as historian that he fills the largest space in our literature, and will secure the most enduring place among great writers. It was his good fortune to find a distinct place unoccupied, and to occupy it with a completeness which has made him its master. If Gibbon first built a strong bridge between the ancient and the modern world, compacting into that stately fabric all the wrecks and fragments of information which had survived the deluge of barbarian inroads, Milman raised another structure of scarcely less imposing grandeur, — to trace the human aspects of Church history through the long period of its greatest splendour, as it was carried on by the strong practical energy of the Latin race from the point to which it had been advanced by the more speculative Greek intellect. A third task still awaits its architect, but Milman foreshadowed its place and its plan, — a history of Christianity as it was shaped at a later date by the peculiar characteristics of the Teutonic races, to form a platform for the history of the Church of the future.

The *Annals of St. Paul's*, with their narrower subject and their nearer interests, formed an appropriate work for his old age. Never did he write a more attractive volume; but his editors are surely to blame

\* *Apologia*, p. 76.

† Bampton Lectures, p. 269 seq.; Whately's *Rhetoric*, p. 451, ed. 1846. Compare *History of Christianity*, i. 428, note, ed. 1863.

‡ *McMillan's Magazine*, Jan. 1869, p. 168; *Blackwood's Magazine*, Oct. 1837, p. 556.

\* We observe, however, an instance of reference to them in a recent work, Dr. Roberts' *Discussions on the Gospels*, 1864, pp. 10, 24.

for the state in which it is published. The book is everywhere disfigured by errors of the press, to an extent which the long list of errata by no means covers.\* We should gladly make excuses for broken sentences, miscopied dates, and small confusions between one name and another, rather than have wished to task the eye of the venerated author by imposing on him the tedium of revision. But surely he had relatives who should have found a pleasure in discharging so pious a duty. A young man's memory could not fail to supply the lapses into which an old man's memory, however wonderful, would sometimes fall. Here is an instance, or rather two instances together:—

"The wiser defender of the Church of England, Richard Hooker (*I wish that I could find the name of Hooker among the preachers at the Cross or in the Cathedral*), had not yet come forward; the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' appeared in 1594. Richard Bancroft rose to London and to Canterbury; Richard Hooker died *Master of the Temple*" (p. 303).

To use his own phrase (p. 31), the Dean is not well up in his Walton. Within a very few pages he refers to "those charming popular biographies by Isaak Walton, which will last as long as English literature lasts" (p. 323). How could author or editor forget that curious narrative in one of those biographies, which tells how Hooker went to London "*to preach at St Paul's Cross*;" how he stayed at "the Shunammite's house," with the unlucky sequel of his visit; how the Bishop of London was among his hearers; and how "the justifying of his doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold"?† For the other point, it is well known that Mr. Hooker left the Temple for the seclusion of a country parsonage several years before his death,—a correction which would even strengthen the argument of the passage.

Considering the grounds of Dean Milman's chief claims to distinction, it is not unnatural that his main interest turns on the more lettered of his predecessors in the deanery of St. Paul's. There were other

Deans for whom he shows much less respect. As for the Canons, a most important element in that great corporation, he tells us very little about them individually, except when he passes a strong condemnation on their behaviour towards their illustrious architect. We begin by quoting a few passages in which he gives expression to his personal predilections and antipathies:—

"Radulph de Diceto built the Deanery of St. Paul's, inhabited after him by many men of letters; before the Reformation by the admirable Colet, who may compensate for many names; after the Reformation, by Alexander Nowell, Donne, Sancroft, who rebuilt the mansion after the fire, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, W. Sherlock, Butler, Secker, Newton, Van Mildert, Coplestone [*read Copleston*]. As a lover of letters, I might perhaps without presumption add another name" (p. 39).

"According to the theory of Colet (strange that the Dean of St. Paul's in the nineteenth century should find the views which he has long held so nearly anticipated by the Dean of the sixteenth!)" etc. (p. 116).

"The Dean of St. Paul's of the present day thanks God that he is spared such trials as leave a blot, at all events a dark suspicion, on the fame of his pious and learned predecessor," viz., Nowell, in his conference with Campian (p. 308).

"Donne is the only Dean of St. Paul's, till a very late successor, who was guilty of poetry" (p. 324).

"In this respect alone, I am not heartily ashamed of my clerical forefathers. With all my admiration of [Wren's] first design, I cannot regret the prolongation of the nave, or its expansion into the Latin Cross" (p. 403). For their conduct to Wren "I would willingly draw a veil over the shame of my predecessors; but the inexorable duty of the historian forbids all disguise, all reticence" (p. 436). "My Etonian reverence for the good provost (Godolphin) will hardly mitigate my strong reprobation of his conduct to Sir Christopher Wren while Dean of St. Paul's (p. 458).

It might console the shades of those whom he has neglected to note, that he thinks just as little of many of the Bishops of London, who pass across his page like the figures of a pageant, or like the phantoms of a dream, which "come like shadows, so depart:"—

"We have a long barren list of Teutonic names of Bishops, barbarously Latinized, not one of whom has left his mark in history, or even in legend. St. Dunstan alone passes over the throne of London on his way to Canterbury. . . . The list of deans is even more dreary, obscure, and imperfect; a few Saxon-sounding names, and no more" (p. 12).

"Robert [*read Richard*] de Belmeis," the second of that name, "was bishop for ten silent years" (p. 28).

"During the sixty years of the thirteenth [fourteenth] century," 1304-1364, "seven bishops passed over the see of London," of whom

\* c. g., p. 168, for "it was overlooked" read "it overlooked;" p. 286, for "Gulls' Handbook" read "Gull's Hornbook," etc., etc. Many other errors have been already pointed out elsewhere. But for one so-called "slip" which has been charged against the book the critic who complains is himself responsible. Dean Milman has been accused of calling Waller "the best of poets," p. 342. The words are a quotation from *Denham's verses* inserted just before, and they ought to have been distinguished by quotation marks. The irony is sufficiently obvious.

† Keble's Hooker, *Life by Walton*, pp 22, 23 ed., 1841. "That which I taught was at *Paul's Cross*."—Hooker, *Answer to Travers*, *Works*, iii, 576.

"hardly one has left his mark in history" (p. 69).

"After the long episcopate of Thomas Kemp followed a rapid line of prelates, mostly undistinguished, and who passed over the throne of London to higher places" (p. 111).

"The majestic figure of Wolsey passes, on more than one occasion, over the pavement of St. Paul's (p. 175). (Mentioned as if by way of contrast.)

"The Bishops of London during the reign of King James I. (with two exceptions) were not men of great distinction even in their own day" (pp. 315, 319).

"Before the Elizabethan Reformation, the Deans of St. Paul's (with three exceptions) . . . left no mark on their age, and have sunk into oblivion" (p. 322).

"Of the eight bishops who filled the see of London during the eighteenth century, three only have left a name. . . . The rest were decent, worthy prelates, and from their quiet thrones have sunk into quiet oblivion" (p. 456).

"There was then (1761-1777) a rapid succession of decent prelates, who no doubt discharged their functions with quiet dignity, and lived their blameless lives in respect and in esteem" (p. 464).

A leading charm in all Dean Milman's writings, is their chastened humour and urbanity; and especially the gentle irony through which he suggests a regret or disapprobation which he does not wish to express:—

"Dr. Hampden, who . . . promised to be the English historian of this remarkable chapter in the history of the human mind, has *sunk into a quiet bishop*" (*Hist. Lat. C.* ix. 101, note, ed. 1864).

"I have read the splendid quarto volume of M. Carle, *Histoire de la Vie et des Ecrits de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, of which I much admire the *—type*" (*ib.* 137, note).

"Bishop Fitz James had watched with keen jealousy all Colet's proceedings, and with still gathering alarm at the popularity of the Dean. The Bishop reposed in pleasant indolence at Fulham (*except for an occasional persecution*)" *St. Paul's*, p. 121). He had just before called Fitz James "one of those high-born churchmen, *piously ignorant and conscientiously blind*, with whom a hair's-breadth deviation from established usage and opinion is insolence, sin, *worse than sin—heresy*" (p. 120).

"Many causes conspired to break up this magnificent theory of cathedral worship. . . . Throughout the good old rule prevailed, that there should be one to perform the duty while the other secured the emoluments" (p. 134).

King John of France "gave the Dean five florin nobles, of which the petty canon officiating had his share. *What share we are not told*" (p. 152).

"It appears that the audacious vergers and bell-ringers of the Cathedral had the evil habit of appropriating to themselves the countless wax-lights and tapers, after they had burned long enough on the shrines and tombs. The Dean and Canons put an end to this godless

profit of their servants, and ordered the extinguished lights to be carried to a room under the chapter-house, and there *melted for the benefit of the Dean and Residentiaries*" (p. 154).

"The whole body of St. Mellitus, of which the Cathedral once boasted, seems to have dwindled down to his two arms, *one large and one small*" (p. 155).

"The Ritualist of our day may read in Dugdale—if he can read for tears of fond but vain regret—the pages which recount the gorgeous robes," etc. (p. 229).

Granting that every side should be well represented in the conflict of opinion, it is every way a gain that the party of progress and freedom should have had a representative like Milman, the graces of whose style had a tendency to deprive opposition of its sting. Vehement as he sometimes was in condemning past abuses, yet when dealing with the more exciting topics of existing controversies, his style more commonly exemplified the balanced judgment, which was free from the impatience and precipitancy by which popular verdicts are too often degraded. It is the danger of popular leaders to be irritable and captious; sometimes over-eager,—sometimes, on the other hand, too cold and unsympathizing. Dean Milman showed no wish to lead at all. But whenever his position and pronounced opinions forced him to the front, he brought a temper to the contest which seemed all but faultless. He always declared himself to be peculiarly averse to ecclesiastical controversy. He shows it by waiving off disputed questions with a courteous smile, rather than an eager contradiction. As one might say, he rather *bows out* an opponent, than dismisses him with rude decision. Thus he had no love for "the sterile debates of Convocation" (p. 289), which he shows by saying that "St. Paul's acquiesces, *with more than submission*, in the loss of her ancient dignity," by its removal to Westminster (p. 179). He has as little belief in the value of its censorial judgments; so he remarks, on the condemnation passed upon a book of Bishop Hare's, that "it must be supposed that the censure of Convocation had the same effect then as now. The copy of the obnoxious work now before me is *of the ninth edition*" (p. 459.) We may observe, throughout his notices of the Reformation, how quickly his temper resumes its habitual balance, after it has been stirred by the excesses of either party. "The worst enemies of the Reformation were," he says, "the Reformers" (p. 220). Yet "if the Reformers saw not how or where to draw the fine and floating and long obscured line between religion and superstition, who shall dare to arraign them?" (p. 231.) On one side, again, let us not transfer the blame for

a hateful policy to the present Roman Catholics; "they have a right to cast off the terrible heritage bequeathed to them by darker ages" (p. 295). On another side, let us not "avouch" too readily "Mr. Buckle's dismal view of the religion of Scotland;" though "there is too much truth in the darker part," he "deliberately closed his eyes to all its better influences" (p. 269, note). He kindles into enthusiasm when he speaks of the advantages which have flowed from the Royal supremacy in England, pointing out with gratitude how "it has saved" the English Church "from sacerdotalism in both its forms," as well from episcopal as from presbyterian Hildebrandism; how it "has settled down into the supremacy of law—law administered by ermine, not by lawn, by dispassionate judges, by a national court of justice; not by a synod of Bishops and a clamorous Convocation" (p. 269).

But we are diverging too soon from the consideration of his style, with its peculiarities, which invite further comment before we pass to deeper questions. It is instructive to compare it with the style of Gibbon, on whose pages he was long and usefully employed as commentator, before he happily assumed the position of an equal. He seemed to catch a reflection from the mind with which he was so long in contact; though indeed his varied sympathies have veined his pages with reminiscences of many other writers. When he tells us, for instance, that Edmund Rich fled from the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and ended by "*sinking into a saint*" (p. 47), we are reminded of Byron's line, "The hero sunk into the king." When he speaks of the "dreary November day" on which a Council gathered at St. Paul's (p. 49), or of "the dull, dubious light of a November day" (p. 492), we suspect, perhaps more doubtfully, an echo from the style of Mr. Froude (*e.g.*, *H. E.* vi. 283-7). It would be easy to pick out sentences which are tinged with the peculiar rhetoric of Lord Macaulay. But Gibbon is the writer to whom, in this as in many other respects, he bears the closest relation. Not that he was in any sense a servile imitator. His burnished paragraphs, his mazes of parenthetical clauses, his complex constructions, are peculiarly his own. His style is less monotonous than that of Gibbon. His rhetoric is in general as much more flexible as his tone is invariably more pure.

It was Gibbon's favourite habit to cast his epigrams into the form of triplets; as in the familiar instance where he says that "the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered as *equally true*, by the philosopher as

*equally false*, and by the magistrate as *equally useful*" (i. 165, ed. 1854). Compare the following sentence of Dean Milman's:—"The sins of the citizens of London must have been *surprisingly light*, the penances *surprisingly easy*, or their faith *surprisingly weak*, if from this time the cathedral was wanting in ample and copious support" (*St. Paul's*, p. 160). It would be difficult to decide from the isolated quotations, whether Gibbon or Milman wrote such sentences as the following:—"I believe in the columns, I doubt the inscription, and I reject the pedigree" (Gibbon, v. 121, note). "The past he regretted, he was discontented with the present, and the future he had reason to dread" (vi. 23). "The rector of Honiton has more gratitude than industry, and more industry than criticism" (vii. 350, note). Froissart "read little, inquired much, and believed all" (viii., 32, note.) We often find sentences as terse in Milman:—"Faith makes martyrs; fanaticism makes martyrs; logic makes none" (*St. Paul's*, p. 96). But as a general rule they are lengthier and less condensed in their construction. "The *slow*, perhaps not yet *complete*, certainly not *general*, development of a rational and intellectual religion" (*Hist. Christ.*, i. 47. "Now what was the *clear*, I may say the *manifest*, I may almost say the *declared* aim and object of the framers of our Articles?" (*Fraser*, March, 1865, p. 274.) "Men have *begun to doubt*, men are under the *incapacity of believing*, men have *ceased to believe*, the absolutely indispensable necessity of the intervention of any one of their fellow-creatures between themselves and the mercy of God" (*Hist. Lat. Christ.*, ix. 354).

Here is a different kind of sentence, cast in another of Gibbon's familiar moulds:—"The productiveness of the shrine may account for the richness and vitality of the legend. The legend no doubt fostered the unfailing opulence of the shrine" (*St. Paul's*, p. 12). Compare Gibbon:—"Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade" (viii. 147). And compare Macaulay, *passim*; *e.g.*:—"The error of judging the present by the past, and the error of judging the past by the present" (*H. E.* ii. 236). He followed Gibbon also in many of his Latinisms, sometimes of word and sometimes of construction; in his inversions of clauses so ill suited to the genius of a comparatively uninflected language; and especially in his omission of conjunctions in enumerations of particulars—a habit which grew on Milman, if we mistake not, in his later writings, and produced something of the unpleasant effect of a mannerism.

In Gibbon's *Memoirs of his Life and Writ-*



*ings* he describes his mode of composition thus:—"It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a single mould, to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory, but to suspend the action of the pen till I had given the last polish to my work" (p. 104). We have not yet been favoured with Dean Milman's autobiography, if it exists, and we have no personal acquaintance with his literary habits; but so far as the paragraphs themselves are evidence, we should conclude that in writing them out he departed widely from Gibbon's example, unless his ear was set to an unusual rhythm. He rather gives the impression of one who crowds in his thoughts and facts as he is writing, or who even interlines them after his sentences are finished. The following is no unusual instance of the mode in which his data are packed together by parentheses:—"On the trial of Rogers in St. Mary Overy (Southwark), (he had been imprisoned in Newgate), Gardiner the Chancellor (Southwark was in the diocese of the Bishop of Winchester) began the examination with the question of the Papal Supremacy" (p. 242). He intercalates in the same way even in his shortest sentences:—"In 1596 (*he was born in 1573*) Donne embarked with the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Spain" (p. 324). "Their attachment (*a secret marriage took place*) endured to the end of their lives" (*ib.*) We might copy from these *Annals of St. Paul's* complex examples which sometimes fill a whole entangled paragraph; but it can scarcely be doubted that the more exaggerated specimens would have been smoothed out on the revision of the press.

Let us note yet one other minor characteristic,—the way in which, like an energetic speaker, he repeats a word again and again, with emphatic additions, till he has succeeded in driving it home upon the hearer:—"Colet and Erasmus were in some respects closely *kindred*:"—the word is repeated at the head of at least six fervid sentences. Amongst other things they were "kindred in their contempt for that grovelling superstition which, especially under the countless degenerate, *ignorant*, obstinate, arrogantly *ignorant* monks and friars, had suffocated the higher truths of religion" (p. 112). Savonarola was "a *monk*, an impassioned *monk*, an Italian visionary *monk*, a fervent mediæval Catholic" (p. 114). In Ridley's disputation at Oxford, on questions where "there ought to have been the most perfect knowledge," etc., "there the *worst* of ignorance, *learned* ignorance, was to decide, aided by the shouts of a rabble of *monks*, of *monk*-taught men, and boys *monk*-educated, if it may be called education" (p. 246.)

But it is time to pass to broader features than these minor details of construction. In one of his notes he praises Gibbon for the "vigour, rapidity, fulness, and exactness" with which he had drawn the history of the Paulicians\* (*H. L. C.* v. 399). The terms might have been chosen to describe what seems to have been his own ideal. They certainly suggest the leading excellencies which he ever sought to realize. He evidently thought much of *rapidity* of movement. In a part of one of his old prefaces which we have not observed in the reprint, he apologized for brevity on the ground that he was bound "to keep up the *rapidity* of his narrative." Thus he always carries on his reader from one point to another with springing and elastic step. "I trace *rapidly* the history of Eastern Christianity until the reunion with the West;" and then in a few pages, "We are again in the West, reascending and passing in review Latin Christianity and its primates" (*ib.* i. 305, 320). Such rapidity, in fact, was an essential condition of such fulness. A slow and lingering guide could never have conducted the reader through the "vast circumference" of the history, in which, as Dean Stanley says, he has embraced "the whole story of mediæval Europe."†

His vigour, again, like most valuable qualities, was reflected, as we may imagine, on his writings from his life. It is instructive to mark the eager interest with which, as his notes show, he caught at all new books, worked up all fresh knowledge, and availed himself even of the least kindred sciences—of geology, for example, to illustrate the foundation of St. Paul's (p. 406). His keen sympathies enabled him to find living attractions even in quarters that might have seemed least promising. Among the many charmed spectators of the Ammergau mystery-play in 1860, few can have been more remarkable than that distinguished old man, bending under the weight of nearly seventy years, as he watched, with an eye trained to every form of excellence, and a temper most averse to mediæval superstition, the mode in which mere peasants discharged a task of the utmost delicacy and difficulty. "During my early life," he says, "I have seen the drama in all its forms, as exhibited in the most splendid theatres of Europe. I have never witnessed a performance more striking from its scenic effect. . . . There was nothing, I think, which could offend the most sensitive religiousness. . . . I never passed a day (it lasted from seven in the morning till three

\* There is a keen analysis of that chapter of Gibbon in Newman on Development, p. 190 *seq.*

† *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, vol. i. Introd. p. xxxi.

in the afternoon) in more absorbed and unwearied attention" (*H. L. C.* ix. 180, note).

With these characteristics we may connect his custom of making *life* the great test of excellence in composition. In the outset of his chief work, he promises that it shall "at least attempt to fulfil the two great functions of history,—to arrest the mind and carry it on with unflagging interest; to infix its whole course of events on the imagination and the memory, as well by its broad and definite landmarks, as by the *life and reality* of its details in each separate period" (*H. L. C.* i. 21). Speaking of popular or ballad poetry he writes:—"Its whole excellence is in *rapidity* of movement, short, sudden transition . . . in, above all, *life*, unrepining, unflagging, vigorous, stirring *life*" (*Memoir of Lord Macaulay*, p. 19). And of Macaulay's own style he says, that "the *vigour and life* were unabating" (*ib.* p. 22). He applies the same test on kindred subjects, such as Painting. Thus of the angels, etc., in Fra Angelico's pictures he writes:—"Not merely do they want the breath of life, the motion of life, the warmth of life; they want the truth of life, and without truth there is no consummate art. They have never really *lived*, never assumed the functions nor dwelt within the precincts of life" (*H. L. C.* ix. 338). And of mosaic:—"The interlaying of small pieces cannot altogether avoid a broken, stippled, spotty effect: it cannot be *alive*." But after a time, "the religious emotions which the painter strove to excite in others would kindle in himself, and yearn after something more than the cold immemorial language. By degrees the hard flat lineaments of the countenance would begin to *quicken* themselves," etc.; "the mummy would begin to stir with *life*" (*ib.* 327-9).

Of his fulness and exactness numerous illustrations could be given from passages where his well-stored memory and swift hand enabled him to sweep together illustrations from distant quarters, so as to condense, as it may be said, an essay into a page. It is thus that he enlivens a dry subject—the difficulties presented by the numbers in the Hebrew Scriptures:—

"If accuracy in numbers is to determine the historical credibility and value of ancient writers, there must be a vast holocaust offered on the stern altar of historic truth. Josephus must first be thrown upon the hecatomb without hope of redemption. Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote must lead up, with averted eyes, the first-born of Grecian history. The five millions and a quarter in the army of Xerxes must de-

stroy all faith in the whole account of the Persian invasion by our venerable Herodotus. Diodorus, with all that we know of Ctesias and that class, must follow. Niebuhr and Sir George Lewis, if they agree in nothing else, must agree in the sacrifice of Livy. I must confess that I have some fear about Cæsar himself. At all events, there must be one wide sweep of, I think, *the whole of Oriental history*" (*Pref. to Hist. of Jews.* 1863, p. xxxi).

What precision of observation and rapidity of combination are shown in the following summary of the characteristics of the chief English cathedrals:—

"Are we to mourn with unmitigated sorrow over the demolition of old St. Paul's? Of England's more glorious cathedrals, it seems to me, I confess, none could be so well spared. . . . Old St. Paul's had nothing of the prodigal magnificence, the harmonious variety of Lincoln, the stately majesty of York, the solemn grandeur of Canterbury, the perfect sky-aspiring unity of Salisbury. It had not even one of the great conceptions which are the pride and boast of some of our other churches; neither the massy strength of Durham, 'looking eternity' with its marvellous Galilee, nor the tower of Gloucester, nor the lantern of Ely, nor the rich picturesqueness of Beverley, nor the deep-receding, highly decorated arches of the west front of Peterborough. . . . Even in its immediate neighbourhood, though wanting a central tower, and its western towers, not too successfully afterwards added by Sir Christopher Wren, the Abbey, with its fine soaring columns, its beautiful proportions, its solemn, grey, diapered walls,—the Abbey, with its intricate chapels, with its chambers of royal tombs, with Henry VII.'s chapel, an excrescence indeed, but in sufficient harmony with the main building, in itself an inimitable model of its style, crowned by its richly fretted roof,—the Abbey of Westminster would have put to perpetual shame the dark, unimpressive pile of the city of London: Westminster modestly reposing in its lower level,—St. Paul's boastfully loading its more proud, but more obtrusive eminence." (*St. Paul's*, p. 888.)

One more characteristic before we close the subject of his style. He never forgot that he was a poet. Every now and then his prose rises into a strain of poetry, which gives to his descriptive passages a colouring of rich and gorgeous beauty. Take an instance from his account of the death of Otho III., than which "no Nemesis more awful ever darkened the stage of Greece." Stephanian, the widow of Crescentius, had been the victim of the basest usage. "With stern self-command she suppressed her indignation, her loathing, within her heart. At the end of three years she had nursed up her fatal beauty to its old exquisite lustre. Otho himself, the religious Otho, was caught in her toils, which she spread with consummate art." Through the poison which she ad-

\* He knew the value of mosaic in its proper place, and would have employed it, as it seems, to replace the paintings inside the dome of the Cathedral.—*St. Paul's*, pp. 436, 441, 498, note.

ministered, "the hand of death was upon the bright, hopeful youth." "Heaven, it is to be hoped was more merciful than the wife of Crescentius. Deeply must Otho, cut off at the age of twenty-two years, have rued his fatal connexion with Rome" (*H. L. C.* iii. 346-7). Or take an instance from his picture of Languedoc before the fatal crusade against the Albigenses; of Languedoc, "the land of that melodious tongue first attuned to modern poetry," where "life was a perpetual tournament or feast;" where "religion was chivalry, but chivalry becoming less and less religious;" where "the cities had risen in opulence and splendour;" where "literature, at least poetry, had begun to speak to the prince and to the people,"—"the song and the music in the castle hall, at the perpetual banquet," while "the chant in the castle chapel was silent or unheard." "So basked the pleasant land in its sunshine; voluptuousness and chivalrous prodigality in its castles, luxury and ease in its cities: the thunder-cloud was far off in the horizon." (*ib.* v. 404-7). For a longer example of his descriptive power we may turn to his account of the gathering of the multitudes to the Council of Constance (*ib.* viii. 227-9):—

"In June the quiet streets of ancient Constance were disturbed by the first preparations for the great drama which was to be performed within her walls." "In August came the Cardinal of Viviers, the Bishop of Ostia, with a distinguished suite, to take order for the accommodation of the Pope and of his cardinals. From that period to the Feast of All Saints, the day named for the opening of the Council, and for several months after, the converging roads which led to this central city were crowded with all ranks and orders, ecclesiastics and laymen, sovereign princes and ambassadors of sovereigns, archbishops and bishops, the heads or representatives of the great monastic orders, theologians, doctors of canon or of civil law, delegates from renowned universities, some with splendid and numerous retainers, some like trains of pilgrims, some singly and on foot. With these, merchants, traders of every kind and degree, and every sort of wild and strange vehicle. It was not only, it might seem, to be a solemn Christian council, but an European congress, a vast central fair, where every kind of commerce was to be conducted on the boldest scale, and where chivalrous or histrionic or other common amusements were provided for idle hours and for idle people. It might seem a final and concentrated burst and manifestation of mediæval devotion, mediæval splendor, mediæval diversions;—all ranks, all orders, all pursuits, all professions, all trades, all artisans, with their various attire, habits, manners, language, crowded to one single city.

"On the steep slope of the Alps were seen winding down, now emerging from the autumn-tinted chestnut groves, now lost again, the rich cavalcades of the cardinals, the prelates, the princes of Italy, each with their martial guard or their ecclesiastical pomp. The blue spacious

lake was studded with boats and barks, conveying the bishops and abbots, the knights and grave burghers, of the Tyrol, of Eastern and Northern Germany, Hungary, and from the Black Forest and Thuringia. Along the whole course of the Rhine, from Cologne, even from Brabant, Flanders, or the farthest North, from England and from France, marched prelates, abbots, doctors of law, celebrated schoolmen, following the upward course of the stream, and gathering as they advanced new hosts from the provinces and cities to the east or west. Day after day the air was alive with the standards of princes, and the banners emblazoned with the armorial bearings of sovereigns, of nobles, of knights, of imperial cities; or glittered with the silver crosier, borne before some magnificent bishop or mitred abbot. Night after night the silence was broken by the pursuivants and trumpeters announcing the arrival of some high and mighty count or duke, or the tinkling mule-bells of some lowlier caravan. The streets were crowded with curious spectators, eager to behold some splendid prince or ambassador, some churchman famous in the pulpit, in the school, in the council, it might be in the battlefield, or even some renowned minnesinger, or popular jongleur."

We pass with some reluctance from the quiet province of literary criticism to the less inviting controversies in which Dean Milman was from time to time unwillingly engaged. His three historical works bore more or less directly on three such controversies, each connected with and to some extent overlapping the others: the Divine authority of Scripture, the supernatural element in Church history, and the claims of dogma to be regarded as the chief condition of Church union.

1. As a representative of the more free interpretation of Scripture, he lived to remind us how much times have changed since his own position, at least in England, seemed to lie on the extremest frontier. The rising tide rolled far beyond him long before his death. It is curious to turn back to the indignant reclamations of the old *British Critic* in 1830, or to the not altogether needless warnings which Dr. Faussett addressed to the University of Oxford in his sermon against the *History of the Jews*. The weakest point in his assault upon him was the common one, of not knowing exactly where the real danger lay, and of mingling childish and trivial charges with retorts which still retain their grave importance. His chief external offence was the studied freshness of his language; the attempt to realize more vividly the sacred scenes and narratives by bringing "fresh eyes" to bear upon them, and by expressing Scripture history in less formal and conventional phrases. In this respect the startling novelties of 1829 have become the mere commonplaces

of 1869. The change may be traced in the altered language of his assailants. To take only a single specimen:—When Milman called Abram “an independent Sheik or Emir” (i. 8), the critic of 1830 retorted,—“that is, if the latter word is strictly and properly interpreted, he wore a green turban, and was one of the descendants of Fatimah, the daughter of Mahomet. We really wonder he did not at once call him a turbaned Turk. It would have been much more intelligible, and not at all less irreverent, nor at all more inconsistent with chronology” (*B. C.*, vol. vii. p. 337). We believe that the *Ecclesiastic* in 1859 held a position not unlike that of the *British Critic* in 1830; and thus it accepts as probable what its predecessor had rejected as irreverent and absurd:—

“We think that it cannot fairly be denied that there is a certain amount of truth in the representation there set before us of Jewish history. In other words, we admit that Jewish history has an earthly no less than a divine aspect. Abraham probably, in Dr. Milman’s words, was like a modern Sheik or Emir, and the Israelites in the desert like the Bedouins.”—(Reprinted by its author, the Rev. W. Houghton, in *Rationalism in the Church of England*, p. 35.)\*

But the real question lies far deeper. It is briefly this—whether a frank recognition of the local, national, and personal colouring of the different books of Holy Scripture is compatible with a profound conviction of their inspiration, and of that Divine authorship which made use of very different instruments to express an unchanging purpose through their varying tones. It can scarcely be denied, we think, that when Dean Milman wrote the *History of the Jews* this problem had not presented itself to his own mind with sufficient fulness and distinctness; that his forms of speech are often open to serious objections; that he does not always allow its proper weight to the miraculous element in the history; and that in many cases he permits the alleged defects of the human element to corrode the substance of the narrative. He never, so far as we know, formally renewed the controversy, though the prefaces and notes to his new editions, and his

\* Dr. Newman’s intermediate treatment of the point in 1841 is an instance of unintentional injustice. He says that Milman “evidently considers that it is an advance in knowledge to disguise Scripture facts and persons under secular names. He thinks that it is so much gain if he can call Abraham an Emir or a Sheik” (*British Critic*, vol. xxix. p. 86). To attempt to bring out sacred facts more vividly by placing them under a broader daylight may become a great mistake if it is done irreverently, but can scarcely be said to “disguise” them.

University Sermon of 1865 on Hebrew Prophecy, re-state his position, and defend his opposite frontier against those who have gone far beyond him. Thus of the Tübingen school, and their speculations on a later part of Scripture, he says, that “their criticism will rarely bear criticism (Pref. to *H. C.* p. vi.); of the modern German schools in general, that his “difficulty is more often with their dogmatism than with their daring criticism” (Pref. to *H. J.* p. xxiii.); of Ewald, that he “seems to have attempted an utter impossibility,” and that he “should like an Ewald to criticise Ewald, (*ib.* pp. xxiii.–iv.) In another place he says, “Ewald’s assignment of Deuteronomy to the reign of Manasseh seems to me more utterly wild and arbitrary, and its Egyptian origin wilder still” (*ib.* i. p. 136, note). Of Bunsen, whom he mentions “with friendly affection,” he says that “he seems to labour under the passion for making history without historical materials;” and adds, “I confess that I have not much sympathy for this, not making bricks without straw, but making bricks entirely of straw, and offering them as solid materials” (*ib.* p. xxiv.–v. cf. p. 132, note). With regard to Dr. Davidson, he “might have wished that this author with German learning had not taken to German lengthiness, and to some German obscurity” (*ib.* xxvii.) “A recent view” which “assigns the Pentateuch to the age of Samuel” is dismissed as “by no means a happy conjecture” (*ib.* note), and he maintains at length the early date for Deuteronomy (pp. 208, 215, notes). Of Strauss he writes, that “Christianity will survive the criticism of Dr. Strauss” (*H. C.* i. 110); and of Renan and Strauss together, thus—

“I cannot apprehend more lasting effect from the light, quick, and bright-flashing artillery of the Frenchman than from the more ponderous and steadily-aimed culverins of the German” (*H. C.* Pref. p. v.) “To some it may seem a formidable, a distressing, a discouraging sight—a German Professor, with all his boundless learning, his honest industry, undermining what many of us have thought the very foundations of our faith; a distinguished French man of letters, with all the brilliancy of his world-wide language, sentimentalizing the Saviour (not without homage to His moral greatness) to the central figure of a Galilean Idyll. Still, I believe firmly we are on the advance; each of these is less anti-Christian than a Spanish bishop, on the tribunal of the Inquisition, dooming to the fire a holocaust of victims, perhaps of the meekest and holiest lives. Christianity has survived the one, Christianity will survive the other” (*Hebrew Prop.* p. 38).

On the general subject of the controversy we find fresh interest, but scarcely fresh

light, in the notices which are scattered through his *Annals of St. Paul's*, especially in connexion with the names of Dean Colet (p. 112), Bishop Francis Hare (pp. 459-62), and Bishop Lowth, whose "Lectures on Hebrew Poetry make an epoch unperceived, perhaps, and unsuspected by (their) author:"—

"This appears to me what I will venture to call the great religious problem. We have had a Hooker who has shown what truths we receive from revelation, what truths from that earlier unwritten revelation in the reason of man. We want a second Hooker, with the same profound piety, the same calm judgment, to show (if possible to frame) a test by which we may discern what are the eternal and irrepealable truths of the Bible, what the imaginative vesture, the framework in which these truths are set in the Hebrew and even in the Christian Scriptures" (p. 467).

But it is not probable that the opponents of Dean Milman's opinions would acquiesce in this proposal to regard them as a natural sequel of Bishop Lowth's teaching.

2. His history of Christianity under the earlier empire received the formidable compliment of a review from Dr. Newman, on whom, as we learn from the *Apologia*,\* it made a deep and disturbing impression, as "a sort of earnest" of the approaching conflict with Rationalism. The review is written with great courtesy, but with the distinguished author's usual force and earnestness, as well as with his usual unsparing logic. The argument is twofold, criticising first the writer's plan, and then his execution; and showing that the errors committed in the execution only realized the dangers which might have been expected from the plan.

In drawing this out, Dr. Newman makes great use of the original Preface, in which Milman stated that he meant to write "rather as an historian than as a religious instructor," and "as if in total ignorance of the existence of" some "discussions" then under debate in our Church, and having their roots in Church history (Newman, pp. 73, 87, 90). He thus makes it his object "entirely to discard all polemic views," and to confine himself as closely as he can to the task of exhibiting "the reciprocal influence of civilisation on Christianity, of Christianity on civilisation" (*H. C.* i. 46, ed. 1863); in short, as Dr. Newman says (p. 78), of viewing "the history of the Church on the side of the world." It is his declared

intention, then, to exclude theology as much as possible, and rather to deal with the "temporal, social, and political" aspects of Christianity than to regard it "in a strictly religious light." The result is natural—that this external view is too often allowed to fill nearly the whole canvas, while comparatively little room is left for the more essential topics of the internal and spiritual. With such an issue before him, the critic seems justified in discussing, and deciding in the negative, such questions as the following—Is it possible to write the history of Christianity in its external aspects only, without treason to its supernatural claims? Can we state the facts as dis severed from the doctrines, and yet escape the danger of seeming to deny altogether what we only wished to dismiss from our thoughts for our immediate purpose? Is it allowable, for instance, for a Christian believer to set forth Christ's humanity, His crucifixion, and the moral improvement introduced by Christianity, without connecting those facts emphatically with the religious truths of His divinity, His atonement, and the forgiveness of sins through supernatural grace?

No one can doubt that in the case of a man so religious as Dean Milman such questions related solely to the book, not its author; to his method, not his motives; to his literary performance, not his personal belief. Under this limitation, it can scarcely be denied that a large part of the accusation was established against him. The social aspects seem, in his work, to overshadow the more strictly religious; the natural makes inroads on the claims of the supernatural; the doctrinal tends to wither away from the side of the historical. Not to attempt, at this distance of time, to enter on details, it may be enough to refer to the way in which he treats such topics as angelic appearances (*ib.* 86, 123-4, etc.), or the three voices from heaven (*ib.* 143-4, 240, 284), or the temptation of Christ (*ib.* 145), or demoniacal possession (*ib.* 217, note). On points of this kind, the tone usual among Christians may be lowered for the supposed benefit of either believers or doubters; in the one case, to bring home the history more vividly by connecting the mysterious with ordinary and recognised realities; in the other case, to propitiate the doubter by approaching more nearly to his own position. It has not been found in practice that either of these designs has met with much success. It is scarcely possible to avoid some shock to Christian reverence, if Christianity is treated on the bare level of any other history; and concession has only produced its ordinary effect, that of being accepted mere-

\* "Anyhow, a great battle may be coming on, of which C. D.'s book is a sort of earnest" (p. 240). Milman's name is supplied in the smaller edition, p. 136. The review is in the *British Critic* for January, 1841 (vol. xxix.), and is acknowledged in the list of works annexed to the *Apologia*.

ly as the ground for fresh demands. For example: the disinclination of scientific men to admit the miraculous is not in the least degree removed by our resigning the literal interpretation of angelic messengers, of heavenly voices, of embodied evil spirits, if we still insist on all the greatest miracles, like the resuscitation of Lazarus and the resurrection of Christ, even though we leave them "standing alone" as Dr. Newman puts it (p. 86), "like the pillars of Tadmor in the wilderness."

It is not to be supposed that Milman would assent to the justice of these representations, though we are not aware that he made any direct reply to his distinguished critic. In his new Preface (1863) he merely says that he has "not found much, after a period of above twenty years, which" he "should wish to retract or to modify." As a devout believer, he condemns in words already quoted the *Lives of Christ* by Strauss and Renan; and of the later he adds, in terms which may have been chosen to repudiate what he had felt to be a misconstruction of his own History:—

"I cannot think that eventually the book will add to the high fame of M. Renan. To those who see in Christianity no more than a social revolution, a natural step in human progress, the beautiful passages on the transcendent humanity of Jesus (unhappily not unleavened) may give satisfaction and delight; to those to whom Christianity is a *religion*, Jesus the author and giver of eternal life, it will fall dead, or be a grief and an offence" (p. v.)

We may suppose that to his own mind, his design took the shape of a wish to show that the external relations of Christianity were an essential and important part of its history; and to extend the faith on which his own hopes rested by doing what he could to keep it abreast of each successive living movement. In his eyes, Christianity was no unbending formula, doomed by its very definition to maintain an unalterable opposition to the spirit of the age. Rather recalling the greatest of the images under which its birth was described, he would regard it as like the fresh breeze, the flowing stream, the penetrating fire; everything that contrasts most strongly with the dead rigour of an iron rule, fixed once for all in relation to conditions which have long since departed. It might be taken as a natural consequence of this faith in its vitality, to consider it as meant to adjust itself to all the fresh relations which the energy of mind has generated, and which the constant movement of history imposes. Milman might thus have sought his defence from principles which are common to himself and his opponents; the truths that heaven must mix with the

mass it has to modify; that salt must be mingled with what it has to season; that the world, as well as the Church, is the workmanship of God; and that the office of a revealed religious system is to reclaim, not to destroy. But if all this were conceded, the original question of the degree in which the internal history may be lawfully modified to meet the demands of the external would continue to give rise to great differences of opinion.

8. At this point the subject connects itself with that distaste for pure dogma which is traceable throughout his *Historie*. His strong feeling on this question led to one of his rare appearances as a controversial speaker, when he addressed the Royal Commission on Clerical Subscription in 1864, to recommend that, on condition of conformity to the Prayer-book, subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles should be dropped.\* The chief reasons which he alleged were these: that the Articles "are throughout controversial, and speak the controversial language of their day" (p. 270); that "the doctrines of the English Church" are taught "more simply, more fully, and assuredly more winningly" in the Prayer-book (*ib.*), where they appear as "the effusion of the pious heart, not the cold, abstract theorems of the understanding" (p. 276); and that the Articles fail to fulfil their purpose because they are out of date, in consequence of the changeableness to which all but "the simplest and most elementary truths of our religion" are exposed (p. 271). The answer is obvious: that the Prayer-book is no more free from the traces of controversy, or confined to "the simplest and most elementary truths" than the Articles. It contains, as he admits and urges, all the three creeds, which are marked in every line by the vestiges of conflict, and bear witness to all the great ancient struggles of religious speculation, in its efforts to adjust the forms of the human intellect to the analogy of faith. The devotional beauty of the Prayer-book is the very reason why we should be unwilling to deprive it of its more dogmatic companion, and expose it to bear the chief brunt of inevitable controversies. Thus it would be no advantage for the sacramental offices to be called in at every turn as the sole appeal on the most difficult and sacred questions. Rather it is a clear gain to religious feeling that our possession of the Articles makes it less necessary to disturb the calm of the sanctuary by seeking our polemical weapons from the language of devotion.

\* The speech is printed as a paper in *Fraser's Magazine* for March 1865. Sir J. Napier's answer was published as a pamphlet.

The Dean found, we believe, no supporter in this curious application of Pope Cœlestine's principle, that "the law of our prayer constitutes the law of our faith." The proposal had in fact no seconder, and was not pressed. The Dean's argument was ably answered by Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Napier; and the two great formularies of the English Church, both prized, but on very different grounds, and with widely dissimilar degrees of estimation, retain their stand on the same level in the Act to amend the law of clerical subscription.\* But the paper remains as an interesting record of that preference for the devotional over the controversial which seemed the final result of Milman's historical inquiries. In the closing paragraph of his latest History, he clearly shows that he should think it no drawback if the Church of the future allowed some portion of "the ancient dogmatic system" "silently to fall into disuse, as at least superfluous, and as beyond the proper range of human thought and human language" (*H. L. C.* ix. 357). We did not need the assurance of this paper to convince us of his deep affection for the English Prayer-book—

"The best model of pure, fervent, simple devotion, as it were, and concentration of all the orisons which have been uttered in the name of Christ since the first days of the Gospel; that liturgy which is the great example of pure vernacular English, familiar, yet always unvulgar, of which but few words and phrases have become obsolete; which has an indwelling music which enthralls and never palls upon the ear, with the full living expression of every great Christian truth, *yet rarely hardening into stern dogmatism*; satisfying every need, and awakening and answering every Christian emotion; entering into the heart, and as it were welling forth again from the heart; the full and general voice of the congregation, yet the peculiar utterance of each single worshipper" (*Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 228).†

\* 28 and 29 Vict. chap. 122.

† Compare the companion picture of the English Bible in the *Dublin Review*, which is commonly ascribed to Dr. Newman:—"It lives on the ear like music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of the church-bell which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the gifts and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of the English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of righteousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

Milman's undisguised distaste for the more hard and exclusive side of his profession may have led some to think that, in his own case, he allowed the literary to overshadow the clerical character. There might be some colour of truth in such a suspicion, as we have remarked before. He was, as he said himself, "more of a writer than a public speaker" (Speech in *Fraser*, as above, p. 269); and he showed a decided aversion to what may be called the platform side of public life. He possessed in a high degree that scholarly polish which is one of the chief ornaments of a lettered clergy. He was familiar with the literature of many nations, and displayed a keen appreciation for the works of art in all its forms. Scholars will long prize his *Horace* as a charming book of luxury, and value the volume of translations, in which he connected his youth and age together, as a graceful relic of his early culture. But it would be most unjust to make such facts as these the basis for a charge of indifference towards his order, or carelessness for the religious truth which he was pledged to teach. The devoutness of his early hymns must never be forgotten. His deepest thoughts for nearly fifty years seem to have been occupied on questions closely connected with his profession, and on the mode in which the history and faith of Christianity could be presented most "winningly" in the eyes of the world. To his love for crowded and effective services we owe the restoration of the nave of his cathedral to the use which the architect originally contemplated (p. 441, note). He set himself, not unsuccessfully, to blot out the disgrace of Hanoverian days, when "the terrible religious tempest, which for nearly two centuries had raged throughout Western Christendom, had cleared off into a *cold serenity*" (p. 450); when St. Paul's "had subsided into a state of dignified repose, which perhaps at a later time stagnated almost into lethargy" (p. 454); and when, in the stead of the fiery old Paul's Cross sermons, "unimpassioned preachers gave good advice to unimpassioned hearers" (p. 455). Yet we trace a reflection of his own calm ideal in the temperate eulogy which he pronounces upon Tillotson, whose "character" he venerates as "nearly blameless;" who was "profoundly religious, unimpeachable as to his belief in all the great truths of Christianity, but looking to the fruits rather than the dogmas of the gospel," and "dwelling, if not exclusively, at least chiefly, on the Christian life, the sober unexcited Christian life" (p. 419-20).

Among all his varied services, Dean Milman's career has left no more characteristic lesson than this, that clerical freedom of

thought is developed most completely, as well as most safely, from within the ranks of the clergy themselves. Of churches, as of individuals, it holds true that the new life springs best out of the ashes of the old; that the soundest reformation ever comes from within—

"That men may rise on stepping-stones  
Of their dead selves to higher things."

The opposite opinion has been widely fostered by the hatred for innovations which is naturally cherished by the more conservative part of such body as the clergy, leading in darker days to fierce persecution, and often expressed in gentler times with hot and unceremonious harshness. But whatever may have been the force of the resistance to the current, the very writers who show the strongest bias against the clergy are often forced to bless them against their will, by proving the strength of the steady onward stream which is traceable within their borders, bearing witness to their vitality and mental energy in almost every period. Mr. G. H. Lewes, for example, declares that throughout the middle ages, "the Church, both by instinct and by precept, was *opposed* to science and literature," and that "during the nine centuries of her undisputed dominion, not a single classic writer, not a single discoverer whose genius enlarged the intellectual horizon, not a single leader of modern thought, arose to dignify her reign." Such is the preface to a chapter in which the quickening line of intellectual activity is traced from one ecclesiastic to another; through Erigena, Berengarius, Roscellinus, Abelard, even St. Anselm; "Anselm, the saintly archbishop, helped the good cause in an indirect way; he consecrated the privileges of Reason by showing the harmony between Reason and Faith." Turn over a few pages and we come to Friar Bacon, connected with "a group of independent thinkers, who were his 'teachers and friends;'" "towering above them all is Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln." The very Pope had "scientific yearnings." William of Occam, "our brilliant and rebellious countryman," the "politician" of the schoolmen (*H. L. C.* ix. 121), was a leading Franciscan. "The Inquisition was vigilant and cruel, but among its very members there were sceptics." As liberty moved on, "in the vanguard of its army we see Telesio, Campanella, and Bruno," ecclesiastics to a man.\* Look where we will, we find the same phenomenon; old and new struggling within the fold of the

Church for the ascendancy which, under Providence, was to guide the course of intellectual freedom. Let us revert once more, and for the last time, to the *Anna's of St. Paul's*. Erasmus and Colet were the "two great reformers before the Reformation" (p. 112), and both were in orders. The great preachers of the liberty of prophesying in England, Hales, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, all were clergymen, and all three were on terms of personal friendship with Laud, and enjoyed his constant and efficient protection. If there is any man whom Milman names with a special energy of dislike, it is Archbishop Laud (pp. 331-2); yet Laud, as he mentions with just praise, was Jeremy Taylor's earliest patron (p. 344). Hales, as Heylin tells us, was once summoned to Lambeth for a long private debate with the Archbishop on his speculative difficulties, was made Laud's chaplain at his own request, and was "promoted not long after, by the Archbishop's commendation, to be prebend of Windsor, and to hold the same by special dispensation with his place in Eton."\* Laud was the godfather of Chillingworth, and befriended him cordially, as long as his own power lasted, at every stage of his chequered course. Tillotson, "almost the father of true religious toleration" (p. 419), was an exemplary Archbishop. And so we might go on, alleging proofs to the same tenor from the history of liberal thought in every period. Surely our own days formed no exception. If some men fancied, many years ago, that the golden gate of preferment would be closed against the author of the *History of the Jews*, they have been sufficiently refuted by Milman's prosperous and honoured career. He would have been the last man to resent the opposition which he met with and which he confronted most effectually by the simple expedient of overlooking its impetuosity and living it down. He had no right to complain, and we are not aware that he *did* complain, that there are barriers, inevitable barriers, beyond which the members of his sacred profession cannot pass. The English Church cannot be thought to have lost its large comprehensiveness in times which, to mention only the departed, have seen the liberal side of thought represented by Whately and Hampden, by Arnold and Milman. A writer affords no example of the ingratitude of contemporaries who secured the universal recognition which rewarded Dean Milman for the services which he rendered, both by works and life, to his Church and to his age.

\* *History of Philosophy*, ed. 1867; ii. 4, 5, 12, 76, 78, 86, 94.

\* Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 362.



- ART. V.—1. *Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor.* 1844.
2. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy for England to the Lord Chancellor.*
3. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the State of Lunatic Asylums in Scotland.* 1857.
4. *Annual Reports of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.*
5. *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Lunatic Asylums, etc., in Ireland.* 1858.
6. *Annual Reports to the Lord Lieutenant on the District, Criminal, and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland.* 1857.
7. *Statistique des Asiles d'Aliénés de 1854 à 1860.*

THE leading fact regarding Lunacy disclosed in our Blue-books is its great increase.

At the beginning of 1867 there were 31,917 lunatics in the asylums of England and Wales. At the end of the same year their number had risen to 33,213. These are large numbers in themselves, but it is to their difference that we draw attention—a difference amounting to 1296. In other words, the number of persons placed in asylums was greater at the close of the year than at its commencement by nearly 1300, being an increase equal to the population of two large asylums.

When this fact arrests attention, the question which naturally suggests itself is—Was the year 1867 an exceptional one? The answer is, that it was not, and that the same rate of increase has been going on for many years. During 1866 it was 1046; during 1865 it was 1444; during 1864 it was 1140; and so on for the twenty years which went before. The average annual increase is about 1000, and it gives no indication of a tendency to pause, but holds on from year to year with remarkable steadiness.

If we examine the effect of this at the end of a long series of years, we have a result which cannot fail to startle. Going back, for instance, to 1849, at the beginning of that year we find 14,560 patients in the asylums of England and Wales, and 33,213 at the beginning of 1868, being an increase of about nineteen thousand in nineteen years, with nothing to indicate that there may not be a like increase in the nineteen to follow.

This is what we learn about the insane who are in asylums in England. What we learn about the same class in Scotland differs only

in degree,—for there also a steady, though a slower, rate of increase is taking place, giving in the nine years from the beginning of 1858 to the beginning of 1867 a total increase of 1244.

In Ireland, too, we have the same progressive increase, showing a difference of 1784 between the number of lunatics in asylums on the 1st of January 1857 and the number so provided for on the 1st of January 1868. As regards the numbers of the insane in asylums, therefore, the same increase is taking place in England, Scotland, and Ireland, though at different rates. And in this matter these countries do not stand alone, for what is true of them is true also, to a greater or less extent, of all the countries of Europe regarding which we have trustworthy information. In France, for instance, there was an average yearly increase of 750 for the twenty-six years before 1861, giving a total difference of 19,700 from the 1st of January 1835 to the 1st of January 1861—that is, a difference between 10,539 and 30,239.

So much, then, for the fact of the increase and its general occurrence; what are we told as to its nature and causes? Does this great annual growth of the number of persons found under treatment in asylums imply that there is a great and constantly progressing increase of the liability to insanity among the people of civilized Europe? At first sight it certainly appears to do this, and we have a ready explanation in the damaging effects of the racing, bustle, and competition of modern life, which sends so many of the weaker among us to the wall. It will be comforting, however, if we find, on a closer examination of the figures, that they give no evidence of any marked increase in the production of insanity; and we think that this is a comfort we may safely take.

But before looking at what the Blue-books and Yellow-books reveal to us on this point, it is necessary to state that the increase of the numbers of lunatics in asylums is far beyond what would be due to any increase of the population, great as that has been; and that strength appears thus to be given to the theory of a growing proclivity to insanity. Take the English numbers, and selecting the years 1857 and 1867, when the estimated population of England and Wales rose from 19,256,516 to 21,429,508, we find that for the first year lunatics in asylums were 1 in 902, and for the second year 1 in 671 of the general population. This statement shows a vast increase in the amount of insanity *thought to require asylum treatment*; but it does not follow that there must be a greater frequency in the occurrence

of the disease, in order to explain the greater amount of it, so provided for, at a particular time. That this is not the explanation of the increase, which is taking place, will be rendered more than probable if we examine the number of those who enter the asylums from year to year—a number which may be regarded as a fair expression of the rate of production. The result of such an examination will show that the annual number of admissions does not vary much. Such a number of years, however, must be dealt with as will not involve any great change in the general population within the period; for it is clear that if the admissions of early years are compared with those of later or remote ones, there will probably be an increase due simply to a greater population. Take the five years from 1859 to 1863, and we find the admissions into the English asylums to be as follows:—

In 1859	there were	9104	admissions.
" 1860	"	9243	"
" 1861	"	8955	"
" 1862	"	8803	"
" 1863	"	8588	"

There is certainly no evidence within this period of a progressive advance in the number for whom admission is sought; but if the total admissions during the five years are contrasted with the total admissions during the preceding five, then there is, as there ought to be, a considerable increase, being in round numbers from 38,000 to 44,000. So also, going farther back for a period of five years, we find a rise from 36,000 to 38,000. More than one-half of this increase in the admissions may be regarded as a reasonable result of the increase of the population. The very sensible effect which the growth of the population may be expected to have on the number of admissions will be apparent when it is stated that the population rose from 17,150,618 to 21,429,508 during the twenty years before 1867, being an increase of about one-fourth.

The steadiness, however, of the numbers admitted into asylums from year to year, during this period, between 1859 and 1863, may possibly have been accidental. But we find that the same thing occurs during other short periods of consecutive years. Thus, for instance, the four years which follow the quinquennium already referred to, show that—

In 1864	there were	9,367	admissions.
" 1865	"	10,841	"
" 1866	"	9,970	"
" 1867	"	10,488	"

So also in Scotland, with the exception of the last two years, a like steadiness is displayed in the production of insanity, judged

of by the number of those for whom admission into asylums is sought. Thus—

In 1858	there were	1448	admissions.
" 1859	"	1422	"
" 1860	"	1444	"
" 1861	"	1496	"
" 1862	"	1374	"
" 1863	"	1388	"
" 1864	"	1421	"
" 1865	"	1472	"
" 1866	"	1567	"
" 1867	"	1711	"

The increase during the last two of these years in the number of those admitted into the asylums of Scotland is decided, and is probably referable to the operation of causes of a temporary nature, such, for instance, as may arise from the opening of the district asylums. At present we are only concerned to point out that these figures, *as a whole*, give no evidence of a progressive increase of admissions from year to year, corresponding to the progressive increase of the number resident. It will be enough to give one illustration of what is meant by this, though it would be easy to give many from the figures relating either to England, Scotland, or France. We select the five years 1859 to 1863, during which, as the years went on, the admissions, so far from increasing, became less. Thus during

1859	there were	9104	admissions into the English asylums, and at the end of the year an increase, in the number of patients resident, of	3800
1860	there were	9243	" " "	1124
1861	"	8955	" " "	1354
1862	"	8803	" " "	1139
1863	"	8588	" " "	1047

The very considerable yearly increase of the number of patients, who are in the asylums of England, is not shown by these figures to be related to an increased production of lunacy, if that may be estimated by the number of those who are admitted into asylums. On the contrary, the yearly increase of the numbers resident did not rise and fall with the admissions, but maintained a progress which, if not wholly independent, was clearly so to a great extent.

The official documents at the head of this article appear, then, to furnish materials for the following conclusions: that there is an enormous increase of the numbers of the insane in asylums; that this increase is steadily progressive, and gives no indication of a tendency to pause; that the demand for admission into asylums is greater than it was; that the increase of the population accounts for much of this, but not for the whole; and that the part so unaccounted for is not such

as to indicate any marked growth in the people's liability to insanity.

That it is desirable to go over this ground, and to show what is taking place in reference to the numbers of the insane in asylums, will be apparent as we advance. It supplies information which is generally needed, for the much that is written about lunacy is not much read. Closely as the subject concerns us all, it is not one which proves attractive in whatever shape it presents itself, but especially when it comes before us in the serious shape of Blue-books.

Reverting, then, to the question of the increase of lunatics in asylums, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the annual *discharges* must be less than the annual *admissions*, by an amount which shall exactly represent the yearly increase of the number resident. In other words, the increase takes place by a process of this kind:—There are say 30,000 lunatics in the asylums of any country at the beginning of any year, and during that year 10,000 patients are admitted, but only 9000 discharged;—it is clear that at the end of the year we shall have 31,000 patients in the asylums, or 1000 more than at its commencement. If next year there be again 10,000 admissions, and only 9000 discharges, we shall have 32,000 patients resident, or an increase of 2000 in two years, and so on. This is more or less exactly what appears to be taking place in the various countries of Europe. More or less exactly, we say, but not exactly, since the demand for admission is also increasing somewhat beyond the increase due to a growing population. Still, such growing proportion of *admissions* to the population is not to be compared with the growing proportion of *residents* to the population. The last advances more rapidly than the first, and may even go on, at a considerable rate, when no increase is taking place in the admissions;—as happened, for instance, in the asylums of England during the period of five years referred to in the last tabular statement, which shows a decline in the annual admissions, yet gives at the end of the period, notwithstanding this decline, an increase of 5533 in the number of patients resident in asylums.

If the yearly admissions and the yearly discharges were equal, the increase of residents would of course cease, and the population of asylums would remain stationary. Such a result can only be brought about in two ways—by increasing the discharges or diminishing the admissions. Is there anything, then, to show that either or both of these can be done? There is much in the documents under review bearing on the question, which is one that presses on public at-

tention, for the constantly recurring demand for increased asylum accommodation is leading many to ask if there is no way of avoiding it without injury to the insane.

The official documents before us abound, as we stated, in allusions to the subject, and display on all hands a desire to discover a remedy for what is generally felt to be an evil. Before referring, however, to these opinions, we must examine one or two points in the character and movement of asylum populations, for the purpose of making such a reference more easily understood.

*First*, then, it must be borne in mind that lunatics in asylums are divided into two classes—*private* and *pauper*; and we have to point out that the increase is almost entirely confined to the last, or pauper class. Thus, the total increase of lunatics in the asylums of England and Wales, between the 1st of January 1861 and the 1st of January 1865, was 4095; and this increase was composed of 4040 pauper, and 55 private patients—being an increase in five years of about 20½ per cent. on the starting number for pauper, and of about 1 per cent. on that for private patients.\* The same thing is observed in Scotland, and is commented on by the Commissioners.

*Secondly*, discharges are made up of three classes, namely, *recovered*, *not recovered*, and *dead*. To augment the first and diminish the last of these classes seems everywhere to be earnestly aimed at; but with regard to the number of the middle class—the discharged unrecovered—there is a difference of opinion as to whether it should or should not be made larger. If it could be made larger, there would of course be *pro tanto* a check to the growth of the population of our asylums. And here we are led naturally to inquire whether the slow advance in the number of private patients in asylums, as compared with that of the number of paupers, can be due to a more frequent discharge of the unrecovered among the first than among the last. Whether it be or be not due to this, it appears that there is actually a constant and considerable difference between the proportion of the unrecovered to the total discharges in the two classes of patients, and we find the point thus discussed in the last Report of the Scotch Commissioners.

“The number of private patients annually brought under our cognisance is, as we have stated, more than a third of the corresponding number of pauper patients. The recoveries are nearly in the same ratio; but it appears that

\* After 1865, the inmates of the Naval, Military, and State Criminal Asylums are included in the English returns, and are all entered as private patients.

the proportion of private removed unrecovered from our registers is so much higher than that of pauper patients as to afford an explanation sufficient to account for the difference in the degree of accumulation of the two classes.

"This difference is a matter of so much practical importance that we may be excused for further illustrating it by reference to the Twenty-first Report of the English Commissioners in Lunacy. Of 24,590 patients in the county and borough asylums of England at 1st January 1867 only 216 were private. On the other hand, of 6694 patients in hospitals and licensed houses 5070 were private. In contrast, the number of patients discharged unrecovered from the county and borough asylums in 1866 was only 894, against 1106 similar discharges from the hospitals and licensed houses. The influence of this result on the accumulation of pauper patients in asylums is very remarkable. At 1st January 1866 the private patients in English asylums were 5276, and the pauper patients 24,995. At 1st January 1867 the private patients were 5286, and the pauper patients 25,998. There was thus in 1866 an increase of only 10 private patients against an increase of 1003 pauper patients. The proportion of private to pauper patients, estimated on the numbers resident, was as 1 to 5, whereas their rate of increase was 1 to 100."

This difference in the proportion of private and pauper patients discharged unrecovered may depend on certain private patients being improperly discharged, or on certain pauper patients being unnecessarily, and in that sense improperly, detained, or it may depend on other and more obscure causes. But so far as regards the increase of lunatics in asylums, it is clear that we are chiefly interested in learning whether there is any ground for the conclusion that it depends on certain pauper patients being unnecessarily detained in asylums. With this object, the first thing we have to do is to examine the constituents of the pauper population of our asylums, and the Twenty-first Report of the English Commissioners in Lunacy supplies the best information we have on the *description and state* of pauper patients in asylums. From it we find that "of the 24,748 pauper patients in public asylums in England and Wales on the first of January, 1867, as many as 22,257 are returned as probably incurable, only 2491, or 10 per cent., being considered as offering any hope of recovery." The two Middlesex asylums, with a pauper population of 3759, had only 139 curable patients, or 3.7 per cent. That this, or something closely like it, is the state of the case in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, etc., is not generally known. As regards England, it is no exaggerated statement, for in the same Report the Commissioners say,— "In distinguishing the probably curable from the incurable cases we suggested that those

which were regarded as doubtful should be included in the former class, so that their return may be regarded as in no degree exaggerating the chronic or incurable pauper population of our public asylums." We are accustomed to think of asylums as hospitals for the treatment and cure of mental disease, but it is not easy to understand how the huge asylums of Hanwell and Colney Hatch, with their 3.7 per cent, or the Surrey Asylum, with its 2.4 per cent., of patients giving "any hope of recovery," can be regarded in that light.

Of these two classes, the curable and the incurable, the latter was further divided into the *quiet and harmless*, and the *excitable, violent, or dangerous*. This gives us, in the 22,257 probably incurable cases, 14,620 returned as "excited, violent, or dangerous;" and 7637, or nearly a third of the total number, as "quiet and harmless." So that out of the whole number (24,748) of pauper patients in the public asylums of England and Wales on the 1st January 1867, there were 7637, or about 31 per cent., who were both *incurable*, and *quiet and harmless*. Great as this number is, there is little doubt, from what the Commissioners say, that it is below the number of those who might properly have been returned as *quiet and harmless*. Eleven of the asylums, for instance, show only 8 per cent. of the *quiet and harmless* in their 4467 incurable inmates. If we deduct these figures, the remaining asylums show no less than 41 per cent. of the *harmless* in their 17,790 incurable inmates. One of these eleven asylums returns 42 probably curable cases. The probably incurable thus form nearly the whole population, and of these about 95 per cent. are tabulated as *excited, violent, or dangerous*. We turned to the reports made by the Commissioners at their annual visits to this asylum, and were gratified to find that they spoke of nothing but quiet and order, and not of what might reasonably have been expected from a crowd of lunatics, with a character so much worse than that given of the insane generally in the public asylums of England. We conclude, therefore, that this, and such exceptional returns, must have been due to some misapprehension of what was meant in asking them; and we think we may safely assume that at least 7637 of the pauper insane in the public asylums of England in 1867 are properly described as both *incurable* and *quiet and harmless*; and among these chiefly we must look for patients unnecessarily detained, if there are any.

It appears to us necessary that all should be said which has been said, in order to secure the reader's being made sufficiently master of the situation. We have endeavoured

to maintain a sequence in the statement, so as to make it easily followed by those who are not familiar with the questions involved. With the same object, we now repeat the conclusions already given, and add to them such other conclusions as seem to be warranted by the further stage of the inquiry, at which we have arrived.

We have found that there is a great progressive increase of the insane in our asylums, with no prospect of an arrest; that admissions into asylums are rising with the growth of the population, and somewhat beyond it, but not in such a way as to account for the great advance in the numbers resident, or to give grounds for the belief that men are in any marked degree more liable to insanity than they were; that the growth of the population of our asylums is mainly composed of paupers, and that men conversant with the subject have accounted for this by the more frequent discharge of the unrecovered among private than among pauper patients; that 90 per cent. of the pauper inmates of our asylums are probably incurable, and that only 10 per cent. offer any hope of recovery; that of the 90 per cent. of incurables, one third may be regarded as quiet and harmless; and that if we have more patients in our asylums than need be there, we may expect to find them among this last class.

We have seen, in short, that the great bulk of the pauper inmates of our asylums consists of chronic and incurable cases, many of whom are quiet and harmless, and that the continuing growth of the population of our asylums results from an accumulation and storing up of this class of the insane. If, then, the growth is to be checked, and the pressure for asylum accommodation relieved, one of the ways, by which we may hope to accomplish this, must be by a larger withdrawal of the incurable, or, in other words, by an increase in the discharges of the unrecovered. There are difficulties, however, in the way, and in practice these are neither few nor trifling. "It is very natural," the Scotch Commissioners say in their Seventh Report, "that superintendents of asylums should acquire the conviction that the insane can nowhere be under more favorable circumstances than in such establishments, and that they should even doubt the propriety of discharging any one who has not recovered." The Commissioners themselves, however, do not appear to be much troubled with this doubt, for further on in the same Report they say: "We are not of opinion that insane patients must necessarily be better cared for in asylums than anywhere else, and we are accordingly opposed to the view that, as a matter of course, lodgment in an asylum should always

be resorted to. The fact that there are many patients who cannot be satisfactorily cared for except in such establishments should not be allowed to lead to the belief that this manner of disposal is in all instances the best for the patients." "Viewed even in the most favorable light," they say in their Tenth Report, "detention in an asylum partakes a good deal of the character of imprisonment. There is a necessity to conform to the rules of the institution, to sacrifice individual inclinations, and to obey the orders of the officials and attendants." In spite of this view of asylum life, which is undoubtedly correct, when we read the Reports of the Commissioners and Inspectors of Lunacy, and see how much is done to promote the well-being of the poorest patient in an asylum, and how freely skill and time and money are expended to secure his comfort, we do not wonder that superintendents should hesitate before recommending the removal of a patient, even though incurable and inoffensive, from so much care. Yet they may be wrong, and the Scotch Commissioners right. If such a patient, for instance, were to pass from one of the magnificent county asylums of England to the ordinary wards of a workhouse, there are few who would not regret that so great a down-come had been regarded as necessary. But it appears that the regret may be about a loss which turns out to be no loss, but a gain; for the English Commissioners tell us in their Eighteenth Report, that "there is a class of patients among the idiotic and weak-minded, whose quiet habits and tractable dispositions not only permit of their living in all respects with the ordinary paupers of workhouses, but even render them very often the most trustworthy and useful of all the inmates in employments about the house. In very many of the smaller country workhouses, where the practice is encouraged of so mixing them with the sane, and, as far as possible, of employing them, the result is so satisfactory in all respects that their condition is, in our opinion, even preferable to that of the same class in some well-ordered asylums." To such patients, therefore, if this be correct, removal from the workhouse to an asylum would be a loss of happiness, and if that be so, why should the loss be sustained?

Suppose, again, that the patient went from the asylum to the care of his friends—poor working people—where he would live in a rough and perhaps dirty way, and where the outside of the aid he would receive from the parish would be 6d. or 9d. a day. Who of us would not pity him? Yet it appears that the change would probably give him a chance of living longer, for the Scotch Commission-

ers, who know more about their pauper lunatics in private dwellings than is known of the patients so disposed of in England, or Ireland, or France, tell us that the rate of mortality among them is lower than among patients in establishments, and they make the following remarks on this subject:—"That it should be less than the mortality among private patients is not surprising, considering the amount of active disease in such establishments; but that it should be so considerably less than what occurs in the lunatic wards of poorhouses must appear remarkable, especially when it is taken into account that the patients in such wards are, for the most part, like those in private dwellings, idiots and demented, and that, as a rule, the physical wants of the former are more amply supplied. We can offer no explanation of this fact, beyond the conjecture that the manner of living in private dwellings, involving, as a rule, greater freedom and greater variety, more than counterbalances the advantages which better diet, better clothing, better bedding, better housing, and greater cleanliness might be supposed to convey."

We have said enough to show that these official documents clearly indicate the possibility of providing for some of the insane poor otherwise than in asylums, not only without injury to them, but with probable benefit. This of course—the good of the patients—ought always to be the first consideration, and one which should give place to no other. But may we not sometimes be mistaken in thinking that a particular rule and method of doing good, to which we are wedded by long and pleasant association, continues, in all times and circumstances and for all objects, to be the unfailingly satisfactory method it was, as regarded those with whom it had at first to deal?

"In determining on the propriety of the discharge of a patient, whether private or pauper, it appears to us," the Scotch Commissioners say, "that, as a rule, superintendents of asylums give comparatively little consideration to the question whether detention continues to be necessary or proper, provided they are satisfied that the patient is still of unsound mind. But the statutory form of the medical certificates requires not only that the patient must be of unsound mind, but also a *proper person to be detained and taken care of*;" and they allude repeatedly to their reasons for holding that it is not "the intention of the Legislature that patients should be detained in asylums simply because they remain of unsound mind," and that, therefore, "their detention is justifiable only when their discharge would prove incompatible with the safety of the

public, or with their own safety or welfare." These are views which are commended by common sense, and which there is no gain-saying. It will sometimes be difficult, no doubt, to determine of an insane person that he may be liberated without risk to the public or himself, or to say of him that he is positively harmless. It does not appear, however, that this is a difficulty which in practice would seriously or generally interfere with the discharge of the unrecovered. There are very few who do not admit that a certain number of the insane may very properly be considered as harmless, and as being not more likely to prove an actual source of danger to the lieges than any other class of the community. The insane are more trusted and have greater freedom than they ever had, and all the documents before us show that in their management there is a tendency to attempt more in this direction. It appears, too, that among the insane in private dwellings, under the care of the Scotch Board, averaging from 1500 to 1600, no casualties have occurred during the ten years of the Board's existence; while, as regards the discharges of the unrecovered among private patients, which, as already stated, are so much more frequent than among paupers, the Commissioners say,—“Our information, so far as it goes, does not show that any injurious consequences have followed,” and they add the important remark,—“Indeed, experience proves that danger is far more to be apprehended during the incubation of insanity, when mental disease is scarcely suspected, than at a later period, when its existence is fully recognised.”

The following quotation from the Seventh Scotch Report will show with what breadth and fairness this question of the accumulation in our asylums of chronic and harmless pauper patients has been considered:—"It might be proper and humane to provide hospitals for the treatment of all the poor suffering under mental or bodily ailments, in which they would receive the most judicious treatment, and enjoy far greater comforts than they could possibly command in their homes; but the State would shrink from any such general measure of relief, not only as uncalled for, but as detrimental to the independence and moral character of the people. In all charitable undertakings their feasibility and ultimate effects should be considered; and it may accordingly be well to inquire whether it is necessary or even proper that the insane should, with but comparatively few exceptions, be separated from the rest of the community, and be congregated together in asylums."

Enough, we think, has now been said to show that there exists, in official quarters, a clear opinion that some of the pauper inmates of our asylums might properly be removed and provided for elsewhere, the costly appliances of a fully appointed asylum being regarded as unnecessary in their cases. In whatever manner we dispose of the patients so removed, their withdrawal would of course be a relief to the asylums, and an immediate answer to the demand for increased accommodation. In their last Report, the Twenty-second, the English Commissioners say,—"It is the presence in costly establishments of so many insane persons, to whom a less elaborate provision would be more suitable, that constitutes the real grievance to the ratepayer." That there is a grievance is here admitted, and that it is one which is becoming more felt from year to year is beyond question. The annual cost of lunacy is already enormous, while its rate of increase is also great and constant, and gives no indication of a tendency to cease. In so beneficent a work as that of providing for the insane poor, the cost, we think, should not be too strictly regarded. If in anything, there should be liberality in this; but there should certainly be no unnecessary expenditure, which is waste. Real benefits should, if possible, be obtained for all the money laid out, and public charity should be ruled by the same considerations which rule private charity. This being so, if there are, as the English Commissioners here say, many insane persons maintained in costly establishments for whom a less elaborate and cheaper provision would not only be suitable, but "more suitable," there does appear to be a "real grievance" to the ratepayer. In their previous Report (the Twenty-first) the English Commissioners speak also of the positive benefit to certain patients of an "expensive associated accommodation, homely in character and simple in architecture;" and they say,—"All our experience points to the manifest advantage which not only the quiet working patients derive from this description of accommodation, but even some of the less orderly and tractable."

This high official approval of plain and inexpensive buildings for the accommodation of the insane poor is very important. Many of the county asylums of England are handsome edifices, presenting a most imposing appearance. Their very grandeur impresses us with the earnestness and largeness of English philanthropy in this field, and we cannot look on them without a certain pride. Yet buildings with less display of outward ornament, but with as much, or

even more, attention to internal comforts, might in reality have been the expression of a sounder philanthropy. The cost of three, for instance might have built four. But apart from the consideration of cost, it is difficult to understand that their architectural beauties can have any good or useful effect on insane persons, who belong chiefly to the lower and little educated orders of society. Indeed, it might be maintained, and with considerable show of reason, that for all classes of the insane poor, buildings of a less pretentious and *institutional*, and of a more home-like character would be an actual benefit. The tendency of present opinion, in fact, appears to be in this direction. The treatment of the insane approaches more and more closely to family life, and the accommodation provided for them may be expected to depart less and less from that of ordinary dwellings. The quotation just given from a recent Report of the English Commissioners, shows that for a certain number of the insane, not consisting solely of harmless imbeciles, but including some of "the less orderly and tractable," simple and inexpensive structures are not only regarded as sufficient, but as better than structures which are more costly, more ornate, and more elaborate.

It would appear, then, from what has been said, that the English and Scotch Commissioners dwell much in their reports on the enormous increase that has taken place in the pauper population of our asylums, and on the rapid rate of growth still exhibited. The same feature characterizes the Irish and the French reports. On all hands it is felt that there is a problem to be solved, and that this growth is a thing which it is desirable to arrest. It appears also to be as generally felt that the accumulation of incurable and harmless patients in establishments erected at great cost, with all the appliances and machinery for the treatment of curable and the safe and proper keeping of dangerous or troublesome patients, is unnecessary and undesirable.

It must not be supposed, however, that the present state of matters is a thing altogether new, for however far back we go, we find that whenever an asylum was erected in a district, its population began at once to grow in the way described, and to assume the same character as regards the great preponderance of incurable cases. Asylums which at their opening are sufficient for the wants of the district—that is, which can receive every patient then in an asylum chargeable to the district, and have moreover, a proper reserve of empty beds—not unfrequently after two or three years are found full, or more than full; then comes a de-

mand for additions, which are made and filled in their turn, to be followed by a fresh demand for further additions. This is and has ever been, more or less exactly, the history of all asylums which have been in operation for any length of time. In their Twenty-first Report, for instance, the English Commissioners point out that the present state of matters was found to exist in the older county asylums a quarter of a century ago :—

“So long since,” they say, “as 1844, the attention of the Commissioners who were appointed to report upon the condition of the various public and private asylums in England and Wales had been specially directed to the accumulation of chronic cases, which was, even at that period, taking place in many of the county asylums. They state at p. 92, ‘In a certain portion of cases the patient neither recovers nor dies, but remains an incurable lunatic, requiring little medical skill in respect to his mental disease, and frequently living many years. A patient in this state requires a place of refuge; but his disease being beyond the reach of medical skill, it is quite evident that he should be removed from asylums instituted for the cure of insanity, in order to make room for others whose cases have not yet become hopeless. If some plan of this sort be not adopted, the asylums admitting paupers will necessarily continue full of incurable patients, and those whose cases will admit of cure will be unable to obtain admission until they themselves become incurable, and the skill and labor of the physician will then be wasted upon improper objects.

“Under these circumstances it seems absolutely necessary that distinct places of refuge should be provided for lunatic patients who have become incurable. The great expenses of a lunatic hospital are unnecessary for incurable patients; the medical staff, the number of attendants, the minute classification, and the other requisites of a hospital for the cure of disease, are not required to the same extent; an establishment, therefore, upon a much less expensive scale would be sufficient.”

The whole matter under review is well and clearly stated in this quotation from a Report, which was written twenty-five years ago. The influence of that admirable Report on the well-being and happiness of the insane poor, not in England only, but in all the divisions of the empire, and in all the countries of Europe, and among all the civilized nations of the earth, must have far exceeded anything which even that distinguished philanthropist, whose name first follows it, could have ventured to expect when he affixed his signature. But in this particular matter the recommendations and suggestions of the Report have had no practical effect. They became and continued to be law till 1868, when they ceased to be law by

omission, that is, by being dropped out of the Act then passed. And now again, we find the Commissioners in successive Reports pointing out the same evil, and indicating the same remedy. But before examining the nature of this, and of other remedies which have been proposed, we stop for a little to draw attention to an effect of the great accumulation of incurable patients in asylums, which is alluded to in the quotation just given from the Report of 1844. We refer to the effect which that accumulation is believed to have on the higher functions of such institutions. We are told by the English Commissioners, in their Twenty-first Report, that to relieve asylums of the incurable and inoffensive patients who fill the wards, and for whom medicine can do little in the way of special treatment, would render them “effective for the reception of curable cases, and such as require special care.” The higher aims of an asylum are here well defined as the cure of the curable, and the safe and proper keeping of those who, though not curable, may be in such a state from mental disease as to require special care, and all the machinery of a well-appointed asylum. These aims appear to be seriously interfered with, when the wards are allowed to be cumbered with incurable and harmless patients; and it is declared to be a waste of the physician’s skill and labour when they are expended chiefly on such objects. This must be true, in an emphatic sense, if the presence in an asylum of a crowd of incurables leads to the exclusion of the curable. In the Report of 1844, the Commissioners say—“The disposal of incurable patients, although a very serious and difficult question, is certainly of less moment than the exclusion of curable patients from asylums, which have been erected at great public cost, and are fitted up with every convenience for the purpose of cure” (p. 98); and with reference to one of the causes which operate “to fill lunatic asylums with incurable patients, and to prevent the public from deriving any considerable benefit from them as hospitals for the cure of lunacy,” they say—“This must continue to operate and neutralize all other efforts for the benefit of the insane, unless means are adopted to relieve the asylums from the pressure of incurable patients,” (pp. 91, 92). If this were done, the duties of superintendents would no doubt become more medical and less administrative, and asylums would assume more the character of hospitals and less that of refuges for the infirm in mind; and from this change we might fairly expect a benefit in the long-run to mankind, through an extension of our



knowledge of the nature of insanity, and of the means of treatment. Referring to the time when many of the chronic insane who are incurable and harmless will be withdrawn from our asylums, Dr. Maudsley, in his work on the Physiology and Pathology of the Mind, speaks thus of the effects of such a withdrawal:—"Then will asylums, instead of being vast receptacles for the concealment and safe keeping of lunacy, acquire more and more the character of hospitals for the insane; while those who superintend them being able to give more time and attention to the scientific study of insanity, and to the means of its treatment, will no longer be open to the reproach of forgetting their character as physicians, and degenerating into mere house-stewards, farmers, or secretaries." This may be regarded as a strong way of putting the case, but it will be generally felt that it strikes at an evil which is real—at an evil, however, which cannot be quickly or easily corrected. All this, however, may be true of asylums—they may not be perfect; there may even be grave errors about them; and yet they may deserve to the full, as we think they do, the eulogy passed on them by Dr. Paget in the Harveian Oration for 1866: "To my eyes," he said, "a pauper lunatic asylum, such as may now be seen in our English counties, with its pleasant grounds, its airy and cleanly wards, its many, comforts, and wise and kindly superintendence, provided for those whose lot it is to bear the double burthen of poverty and mental derangement,—I say this sight is to me the most blessed manifestation of true civilisation that the world can present."

We come now to examine the remedies proposed for the evils, which are believed to arise from this great accumulation of incurable patients in asylums, and first as to the proposed *outlets*. These are—(1.) transference to buildings intermediate in character between the workhouse or poorhouse\* and the county asylums; (2.) transference to the workhouse or poorhouse itself; and (3.) transference to private dwellings.

The first is evidently the scheme which meets with most approval from the English Commissioners, and it is that which was most strongly recommended by the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1844. Already, indeed, in a certain sense, and to some extent, it has been acted on, as, for instance, at Kent, Devon, Chester, Prestwich, etc., where detached blocks have been

erected at a cost which is moderate, when compared with that of the main buildings. But the detached blocks in these instances must be regarded merely as enlargements of existing asylums, and not in any correct sense as separate institutions. They do not, therefore, obviate some of the evils which result from the accumulation of chronic harmless patients. They are simply additions to asylums, at a moderate instead of a considerable cost; and we can scarcely look on them as presenting a new mode of providing for a certain class of the insane. Detached blocks, erected at a moderate cost, might and perhaps should be a feature in the original design of every asylum; and in many instances certainly additions and extensions should be made in this way. On these views the English Commissioners appear to act, for with reference to this subject they say:—"In the enlargement of existing county asylums, as well as in the erection of new ones, it has been our practice to advocate, as far as possible, the construction, for the more quiet and trustworthy patients; especially those employed on the farm, or in the laundry and workshops, of inexpensive associated accommodation, homely in character and simple in architecture." Nothing can be clearer, we think, than the propriety of what is here recommended, whether in the interest of the insane or of the ratepayer. But we learn that a limit may be reached, and indeed has been reached, in making extensions on this plan—a plan which cannot properly be regarded as furnishing an *outlet* for the harmless incurables who crowd the wards and interfere with the usefulness of an asylum, since they are not thus really withdrawn from the establishment, but remain in it, though in a different part. Asylums might, as easily in this as in any other way, grow into monster establishments like those at Hanwell and Colney Hatch; and so nearly universal now is the condemnation of such asylums, that it appears scarcely necessary to point out that this should be avoided if possible. "Each succeeding year," the English Commissioners say, "confirms us in the opinion we have so often expressed as to the many evils resulting from the congregation of very large numbers of the insane under one roof and one management."

We think, however, that in this form of accommodation, "intermediate between the workhouse and the asylum," the Commissioners have more in view than simply inexpensive extensions of existing asylums; but effect has not yet been given, so far as we can discover, to any such view. Some-

\* What is called a workhouse in England and Ireland is called a poorhouse in Scotland.

thing of the kind, however, will be done when the district asylums are erected, for which provision is made in the hastily framed and ill-considered Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867. These institutions, it is true, are intended only for the reception of such patients as are presently in the workhouses of the metropolis; but there is every reason to believe that they will not stop there. They will of course receive such of the lunatic poor as are now in the workhouses; but it will be found in practice that they will also receive many patients who ought to be sent to fully appointed asylums, and many who have already been there, and many who, but for the erection of these institutions, would not have been sent as lunatics either to asylums or to workhouses.

We come now to consider the second of the proposed outlets for the incurables congregated in asylums, namely, a transference of some of them to workhouses or poorhouses. These are institutions which have not to be created. They exist already; and already, indeed, contain no inconsiderable number of such patients as it has been proposed to transfer to them from asylums. Thus, our latest information shows that on the 1st of January 1867 there were 10,307 in the workhouses of England; on the 31st December 1867, 2705 in the poorhouses of Ireland; and on the 1st of January 1867, 998 in the poorhouses of Scotland, making a total of 14,010 appearing in official returns as thus provided for. Large as this number is, there is every reason to believe that it is considerably below the real number of the insane who are presently inmates of our workhouses and poorhouses.

To adopt, therefore, this second mode of relieving the pressure for accommodation, and of obviating the extension of asylums, would merely be to give development to a thing which exists, and has long existed. Before expressing approval or disapproval of the scheme, we first turn to see what is said of the condition of those of the insane poor who are already provided for in this manner.

We may observe, before entering on details, that there has been, and still is, a general and strong dislike to this mode of providing for the insane poor, and that to foster it would be regarded by not a few as retrogression, and a departure from the benevolent views which, for the last thirty years, have regulated the care and treatment of these unfortunates. The very names, *poorhouse* and *workhouse*, appear to disclose an unfitness of things; and we start with a feeling that an incurable lunatic,

who is an object of great pity and generally infirm in body as well as in mind, and who is detained against his will and for the term of his life, should have much better treatment and care than is given to the ordinary poor in establishments, a main feature of whose organization and management is that they shall tend to the repression of pauperism.

If we turn, however, as we shall first do, to the Reports of the English Commissioners, we shall find that the condition of all lunatics in all workhouses is by no means described as unsatisfactory. On the contrary, of the condition of the insane in many of them these Reports speak well. We have already given a quotation from their Eighteenth Report, in which it is stated that in "very many of the smaller workhouses," where the insane inmates mix freely with sane, and are employed with them, "the result is so satisfactory in all respects that their condition is, in our opinion, even preferable to that of the same class in some well-ordered asylums." And this suggests the remark, that in workhouses and poorhouses there are two ways of disposing of the insane—(1.) in association with the ordinary inmates, and (2.) in separate wards. The first method, as we should expect, is generally found in small workhouses, and the Commissioners, reverting to the subject in their Twenty-first Report, write as follows:—"Where the inmates of unsound mind are not so numerous as to require wards for their accommodation, apart from the ordinary inmates, nor of such habits or tendencies as to render necessary a treatment not commonly extended to all, the report is generally favourable." It appears, then, that there are some lunatics in the workhouses of England who would not be benefitted by removal to asylums. These, however, are not in wards set apart for them, but are in association with the ordinary inmates.

What, now, are we told of the condition of those who are found in separate wards? These wards are on different scales—some large, and others comparatively small; and it is of the former—the larger—that the Reports of the Commissioners speak most favourably. "On the other hand," they say in their Twenty-first Report, "there has been frequent favourable report from houses under quite different conditions, where, as in many of the larger towns throughout the kingdom, the inmates of unsound mind, collected in the workhouses, have become so numerous as to require special arrangements for their accommodation;" and they speak elsewhere of the "creditable condi-

tion of the lunatic inmates in some of the larger workhouses." In one of them, for instance—the new Manchester workhouse—they tell us that "proper rooms, a good diet, warm clothing, means of employment, opportunities for air and exercise, and comfortable beds" are provided for the patients; and that "in every other provision for the insane, comparison might almost be challenged with a well-conducted county asylum." Little more than this could be expected or desired.

In so far as regards England, therefore, the most satisfactory state of matters is found on the whole in the very small and in the very large workhouses; and in a considerable number of these no objection is taken to the condition of the inmates, or to the manner in which their comforts and wants are provided for.

It appears further from the English Reports, that in many of the larger workhouses the state of the lunatic wards and the condition of the inmates has undergone a marked improvement as the result of the inspections of the Commissioners. But they complain that when such good has been effected there is no security for its permanence; that "such improvements in workhouses exist only by sufferance;" and that "what is done one year may be undone the next." This, it need scarcely be said, is a very grave objection, and must seriously interfere with the use of such institutions as an outlet for the harmless chronic patients in asylums. Indeed, where the Commissioners have succeeded in effecting improvements, it has not been in virtue of any power they possess to enforce their suggestions, but because the guardians happened to be actuated by a liberal policy, and were willing to adopt them. To this, and to a general support from the Poor-Law Board, they are obliged to trust; and such being the fact, nothing can be clearer than that there is in this matter some defect in the Lunacy laws of England. In spite of these difficulties, however, when speaking of the improvements they have been able to effect, the Commissioners say, in their Twentieth Report:—"Enough has been done to show that, under proper regulations, provided no recent cases are received, and with the protection afforded by rendering necessary the keeping of medical and other statutory records, a larger proportion of imbeciles and old chronic cases of insanity might, without impropriety, be retained in workhouses, and the pressure for increased accommodation in county asylums be thus proportionately reduced." If this be so, and if it be desirable, as they say it is, to reduce the pressure

otherwise than by building new asylums, or extending old ones, it is much to be regretted that failure should result from want of powers conferred on the Commissioners.

It is difficult to see why Boards of Guardians should be allowed to detain lunatics without that license which all other persons in the kingdom doing the same thing are required to obtain. If it were made illegal to keep insane persons in workhouses without a license from the Commissioners, we think that many difficulties and objections would be removed, and these institutions might with more confidence be used as refuges for some of the chronic cases now in asylums. In removing such cases from asylums, and placing them in workhouses, it is practically, as the law stands, a removal from those humane protections of the Lunacy laws with which they have been surrounded, and a transference to the care of irresponsible guardians. This is far from being as it should be, for the kindly and watchful protection of the law ought to be extended, as nearly as possible, to the whole body of the insane in the kingdom, and should not be confined to those of them who have drifted into asylums, and of whom many do not differ, as regards their mental condition, from those out of asylums, whether in workhouses or in private dwellings. In a very special sense this should hold good of the insane who are supported by the public charity, and who should be under the immediate care of the State, wherever they are placed.

If it were made necessary for a workhouse, before keeping lunatics, to obtain a license from the Commissioners, it could be refused except on certain conditions, and could be withdrawn if these conditions were not observed. Such conditions would have reference to dietary, attendants, clothing, beds, day-rooms, dormitories, furniture, airing-yards, occupation, exercise, amusements, etc. The admission of recent cases would also be prohibited, and regulations would be made to insure a proper selection of patients. Medical attendance would be secured; and it might with advantage be required that a medical officer, once chosen, should not be dismissed without the consent of the Commissioners.

If the condition of the lunatic wards of certain workhouses is found to be, or has been rendered satisfactory, there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the condition of the others from being brought up to the same point of comfort. What appears to be wanted is power where power should be; and it should always be remem-

bered that the conferring of this power is desirable, not simply to make the workhouses available for the reception of chronic cases from asylums, *but also for the sake of the ten thousand patients who are already in them.*

So much, then, for the condition of the insane in the workhouses of England. We turn now to the class similarly disposed of in the poorhouses of Scotland, excluding, of course, those found in what are called parochial asylums (six in number),—institutions which have no exact analogues in England, and which receive all classes of pauper patients, curable and incurable. They were found in existence at the passing of the Lunacy Law in 1857, and were continued from a regard to vested interests. They are now licensed by the Commissioners in the same manner as private asylums.

The patients we have presently to deal with are those found in the lunatic wards of poorhouses which hold from the Commissioners a *limited license*—so called, because in granting it, it is a condition that none but incurables and harmless patients shall be received. For each case admitted the sanction of the Board is accordingly required. The dietary is also prescribed by the Commissioners, and a reference to it, in their Fifth Report, will show that it is as liberal as that adopted in the public and district asylums. The value of this sufficient supply of good food cannot be over-estimated, for, as the English Commissioners tell us, “nothing has been so clearly established in the treatment of insanity as the importance of a good supply of nutritious food, whether to promote recovery in the curable, or to prevent deterioration in others.”

In various respects, as might be anticipated, the need of applying for a license is found to be productive of good results; and when the conditions are not observed, and all efforts to make the state of the wards and of their inmates satisfactory have failed, then the license is withdrawn, as appears to have happened in the case of two poorhouses, viz., those at Dunfermline and Stranraer.

When we read the earlier Reports of the Scotch Commissioners, we hear of little but “the generally unsatisfactory condition of pauper lunatics in poorhouses,” but as we reach the later Reports we become sensible of a change, and this not a change of opinion on the part of the Commissioners, but a change in the state of the poorhouses themselves. They appear, in short, to have undergone improvement; and, having ceased to be what they were, can no longer be

reported on in the same terms as at first. As we go on, we hear of greater readiness on the part of parochial boards to carry out the suggestions of the Board of Lunacy; of liberality in management; of an increase in the number of attendants; of provisions for exercise, occupation, and amusement; of the introduction of comfortable furniture and objects of decoration; of wards in excellent order, cheerful and well ventilated, with patients clean in person, well clothed, and well fed; of patients judiciously selected and well cared for; and of many other things which indicate a progress in the right direction, and which convey, on the whole, a favourable impression of the spirit in which these small institutions have of late been conducted. One important and pleasing evidence of the improvement which appears to have taken place, is to be found in the diminished rate of mortality. During the first five years, from 1853 to 1857 inclusive, the mortality was 10·9 per cent. annually on the numbers resident, while during the last five years from 1863 to 1867 inclusive, it had fallen to 7·3 per cent. a result probably due to improved hygienic conditions, that is, to such things as better food, better clothing, better housing, more exercise in the open air, more occupation and amusement, and less of a wearisome monotony in the existence of the patients.

It only remains now to notice the condition of the insane in the poorhouses of Ireland, which we shall do briefly. In their last Report the Inspectors in Lunacy say:—“We found the insane inmates of poorhouses inspected by us during the year, on the whole, well attended to, and their creature comforts duly provided for.” Poorhouse accommodation, however, does not seem to be much in favour with the Inspectors as an outlet for the harmless incurables who fill the asylums of Ireland, as they do the asylums of England and Scotland. They appear rather to be disposed to recommend that form of accommodation intermediate between asylums and workhouses, which we have already described. Indeed, in the Clonmel Auxiliary Asylum there is already an institution exclusively devoted to the reception of chronic and incurable cases of insanity, and they appear to contemplate the erection of other institutions of a like character, so that, as they say, “by establishing inexpensive refuges for the incurably insane, the district asylums may be left free scope to fulfil their true object of hospitals for the treatment and cure of lunacy—a position which most of them are far from occupying at present, owing to the fact that they contain 70 per cent. of chronic and in-

carable cases." Such establishments would undoubtedly relieve asylums of their incurables, and much can be said in recommendation of them. If extensively adopted, the development of poorhouse accommodation, under good regulations, would of course be unnecessary.

We have now examined two of the proposed outlets for the chronic harmless patients, viz., refuge asylums, and workhouses or poorhouses. There remains, however, a third,—that, namely, which would consist of the discharge of some of the unrecovered into private dwellings. And here again, as in the case of poorhouses, we should be dealing with a mode of providing for the insane which is already in extensive operation. In England, for instance, on the 1st of January 1867, there were 6638 pauper lunatics so disposed of; in Scotland, at the same date, 1548; and in Ireland, on the 31st of December 1867, 6564;—making a total for Great Britain and Ireland of 14,750. In England and Scotland the numbers refer only to those lunatics who are in receipt of parochial aid, but the number for Ireland includes more than these, though the vast majority may safely be regarded as belonging to the *insane poor*. Fifteen thousand lunatics at large appears a very great number, yet it is almost certainly much below the fact. In Scotland, indeed, it appears to be known that the number would be at least twice that given, if we included private patients, or those not in receipt of relief, a large proportion of whom, however, are said to be on the confines of pauperism. It would be safe, therefore, to estimate the number of the insane in private dwellings in Great Britain and Ireland as certainly exceeding 20,000.\*

Many, we think, will be surprised to learn that this large class of the insane is almost without legislative protection, except in Scotland, though what has been revealed from time to time as to their condition, and what might be expected in their circumstances, indicate that they require *State Care* as much as do the insane poor provided for in great establishments, which are presided over by physicians of a superior class, and governed by gentlemen of high social standing in the districts whose wants the asylums are intended to meet. The English Commissioners very properly feel that it would be a hardship to remove a pauper patient from a public asylum, when the doing so would deprive him in a great measure of

legislative protection and care; but unless it be worse to have had and lost than never to have had at all, a patient so withdrawn from an asylum is not more to be pitied than a like patient who has never obtained admission. So long, therefore, as the State has so trifling a control over the condition of the insane poor in private dwellings, and remains at so great a distance from them in its concern about their welfare, there must necessarily be hesitation in recommending the discharge from asylums of unrecovered patients who are to be provided for in private dwellings. In various Reports the English Commissioners point out the necessity of extending a larger amount of supervision over pauper patients who are detained out of asylums, and of affording them a greater protection than they have at present. Little, we are informed, is known of the condition of the 6564 pauper lunatics so provided for in England, and that little is not favourable. In many instances the Commissioners believe that they are "in a deplorable and neglected state;" and we fear that it is too true that this is the case.

In their Twenty-first Report the Commissioners tell us that the application of this system of placing the harmless and incurable insane poor in private houses, "as a means of relieving the asylums in England of their harmless chronic patients, and thus providing for the reception of recent and curable cases, has been strongly advocated in some quarters;" and they add that they "have strong reasons for doubting whether the system could advantageously be extended so as to afford any material relief to the county asylums, or that it works so satisfactorily in this country as to render its more general adoption at all desirable." We think these doubts are well founded, for the system, so far as we know, cannot be said to work well in England (which is the country here referred to); and to foster it as an outlet for chronic patients from asylums would be dangerous, so long at least as the Commissioners have no closer connexion with and control over it than the remote and almost nominal one which presently exists. That that control and connexion should be made closer is desirable for reasons altogether apart from the question of providing for the chronic patients in asylums,—reasons which might tend to reduce rather than increase their number,—reasons, in short, of humanity, having reference solely to the host of pauper patients already in private dwellings, whose state is too often most unsatisfactory, and who have as clear a claim on the State's care as many of their fellow-sufferers, who have drifted into asy-

\* In France they were estimated at 53,160 in 1861.

lums more by a sort of chance than by any essential difference of mental or bodily condition.

All this relates to England. The state of the case in Scotland differs considerably. There the control of the Board of Lunacy over pauper patients in private dwellings appears to be direct and immediate. In the first place, no patient can be so disposed of without the sanction of the Board, and, in the second place, all arrangements so made are personally inspected and inquired into by officers of the Board. These two facts alone seem to us to establish a wide and fundamental difference between the systems of the two countries; and this difference must make much possible and right in the one which would scarcely be prudent in the other, and may naturally be expected to lead to somewhat different views regarding this mode of providing for some of the insane. The experience of the English Commissioners must rest, in this matter, on their dealings with patients who are perhaps injudiciously selected, about whom they have little information, and over whom as little control, while such cases as are brought in detail under their notice are not likely to be the cases of patients who are living in comfort. The Scotch experience, on the other hand, rests on a minute knowledge of the condition of all cases, good and bad, and on constant and personal dealings with the patients,—in efforts to secure a proper selection, and to make their condition satisfactory.

This wider scope of the Scotch Lunacy Law is seen also in its relation to poorhouses. It is designed to embrace within its care the whole body of the insane poor, wherever placed, and it is in this respect more comprehensive, perhaps, than any of the Lunacy laws of Europe. In France, for example, the 53,160 lunatics in private dwellings are left without any special care on the part of the State.

The reports as to the condition of *those selected patients, whose residence in private dwellings has received the sanction of the Scotch Board*, is, on the whole, satisfactory, and it does not appear, from anything we can learn, that it would be a benefit to these patients to place them in asylums. Their condition, too, has undergone improvement. "We have acquired," the Commissioners say in their Seventh Report, "an extensive and accurate knowledge of the condition of pauper single patients in all parts of the country, and we have the satisfaction of stating that, by the repeated suggestions made at successive visits, a considerable improvement has been effected." Altogether, a perusal of the Report of the

Scotch Commissioners leaves little doubt as to the *possibility* of making such a provision in private dwellings for the comfort and safety of a selected class of insane persons, as shall be reasonably satisfactory, and advantageous both to patients and ratepayers. The Commissioners admit the value of "the greater amount of liberty accorded to the patients, their more domestic treatment, and their more thoroughly recognised individuality;" and they say, "there are many persons whose mental condition requires that they should be placed under the care and control of others, yet whom we would hesitate to deprive of liberty to the extent almost necessarily involved in sending them to asylums."

It is of importance to learn, as we do from the Eighth Report, that "accidents to patients detained in private dwellings with the sanction of the Board are of extremely rare occurrence," and perhaps of more importance still to know that, "so far as mortality is a test of treatment, the condition of single patients must be considered as more favourable than that of any class in establishments." These facts show that a great amount of liberty can be given to no small number of the insane without risk of injury to themselves or to the lieges, and that this freedom appears, in a sense, to be food to them, since, when in the enjoyment of it, with worse food and less care, they live longer. The system of providing for some of the insane poor in private dwellings may never receive, or may be long before it receives, any such development as will make it extensively useful as a relief to the pressure for asylum accommodation. There are many practical difficulties in the way, even if it were in every respect desirable that it should take this growth. But whether it does so or not, we think that the experience of the system in Scotland has been useful in showing (1.) the necessity of a careful and well-regulated supervision over pauper patients in private dwellings, and (2.) the great amount of freedom which can be safely and beneficially accorded to many of the insane; (3.) that it has thus exercised an indirect influence on asylum construction and management, and tended to widen our ideas of non-restraint. "I cannot but think," says Dr. Maudsley in the work already referred to, "that future progress in the improvement of the treatment of the insane lies in the direction of lessening the sequestration and increasing the liberty of them." Here and there, in the serial literature relating to mental disease, both of this country, and of France, and Germany, and America, as well as in

systematic works on the subject, opinions more or less like the foregoing have appeared from time to time, and with increasing frequency, during the last eight or ten years. One quotation we shall give, and we select it from the work on Mental Pathology and Therapeutics, by Professor Griesinger, whose untimely death is being, even now, so widely and deeply deplored. We give it partly because of the weighty name of its author, but in part also because it refers to a peculiar institution in Belgium, which has greatly modified the opinions even of those who dislike or condemn it:—

"A colony of the insane," Griesinger says, "has been formed in the remarkable Belgian village of Gheel, in which, for several hundred years past, lunatics have lived together with the inhabitants, and even resided in their families. In former times people frequently resorted thither to supplicate the aid of Dymphne, the patron saint of the insane, although people are seldom in the habit now of consulting her oracle. . . . Out of a population of about 9,000, it has from 900 to 1,000 inhabitants who are insane. . . . The lunatics enjoy an amount of pleasure and freedom which never could be permitted them in an asylum. All who are capable of it share in the mechanical or agricultural employments of the sane. The treatment, in the main, is very mild, and restraint is never made use of without previously consulting a physician. Suicide is rare, and the general physical health so good that in 1888 two of the patients reached upwards of 100 years of age. Owing to the peculiar situation of Gheel, escape by the patients is difficult. . . . With all its advantages, it has undoubted drawbacks. . . . But the experiment at Gheel has proved that the greater number of the insane do not require the confinement of an asylum; that many of them can safely be trusted with more liberty than those institutions allow; and that association in family life is very beneficial to many insane patients."

As regards the insane at large in Ireland, we have not much late information, except as regards their numbers; but we may safely assume that their condition in 1858, as disclosed in the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry (page 38), has not undergone any material change. At that time the number of such patients was 3,852; and of these more than one-half (1767) were returned as "well treated;" ten-elevens (3029) were considered "harmless;" and more than two-thirds (2371) were "resident with relatives." There were also, however, 1585 "neglected," 80 "living alone," and 565 "vagrant," so that there was much room for improvement, and great need of humane enactments regarding them. These figures refer only to the *insane poor*.

From this examination of the three proposed outlets for the chronic insane who fill

our public asylums—that is, (1.) refuge asylums, as they may be called; (2.) workhouses or poorhouses; and (3.) private dwellings—it appears to us that, under proper regulations, they can all, to some extent, be made serviceable, and that a diversity of accommodation for patients in different conditions of mental incapacity is desirable, from considerations alike of science, of humanity, and of economy. It would make insanity differ from every other diseased state, to suppose that all those who labour under it must be disposed of and provided for in one and the same manner. What is necessary for one may be neither necessary nor good for another. Nay more, what is proper for a patient at an early period of his malady may be inappropriate at a later. No one would think of making the same provision for the shortsighted and the utterly blind, or for the club-footed and the legless. Between insanity and such conditions there is not, of course, anything like an exact parallelism, but there is a sufficient approach to it to justify the illustration we have used. The providing for the diseased in mind is a much more complicated and difficult matter than the providing for other classes of sufferers; and when we have succeeded in devising a scheme of provision which satisfies us, we are naturally, and we think properly, unwilling to quit it, or readily to admit that there has arisen a change in the circumstances which calls for a modification of the system, so as to maintain the efficiency of the higher purposes it is intended to serve.

If, then, it be desirable to relieve our public asylums of their harmless incurable patients, and if intermediate or refuge asylums, workhouses or poorhouses, and private dwellings are to aid in this and to receive such patients, it must be, we think, *by bringing them under better regulations and better supervision.*

But the question of an increase in the discharges of unrecovered pauper patients has other aspects besides that which relates to the provision of suitable receptacles.

It has been said, for instance, that it is highly desirable to bring the propriety of detaining patients periodically, and in a formal manner, under review. Many patients who enter asylums neither recover nor die, but remain there—still insane, it is true—but their bodily mental condition may have undergone great changes; and it is said that there ought to be some procedure which would force, as it were, a careful consideration of the question whether their insanity is still such as to warrant or need continued detention. To accomplish this, a change was lately introduced into the Scotch Lunacy

cy Law, which is thus described in the Tenth Report;—"By sect. 7, 29 and 30 Vict. c. 51, it is enacted that the authority for detaining a patient in an asylum, conferred by the sheriff's order, shall expire on the 1st day of January first occurring after the expiry of three years from the date on which it was granted, unless the medical superintendent of the asylum shall then, and thereafter annually, certify, on soul and conscience, that the detention of the patient continues to be necessary, either for his own welfare or that of the public." This procedure, the Commissioners tell us, "resembles that established in France by the law of 1838, which requires that twice a year, in the first month of each half year, the superintendent of the asylum shall furnish the Préfet of his department with a medical certificate of the condition of every patient in the asylum; from the tenor of which the latter determines whether the patient shall be discharged or be further detained."—Similar provisions exist also in the Lunacy laws of other countries. In the Genevese law, for instance, art. 4, t. 1, is to this effect:—"L'autorisation ou l'ordre ne peuvent avoir d'effet pendant plus de six mois; ils peuvent être renouvelés. Après le troisième renouvellement, ils peuvent n'être renouvelés que d'année en année;" and it is further provided that on the expiry of the order, applications for renewal shall be accompanied with a certificate from the medical man in whose charge the patient has been. The law 14 and 15, enacts somewhat as follows:—"The physician of the asylum shall, during the first four weeks after the day of admission, make a daily record of the results of his observations; and he shall draw up a full report of these, and give his careful opinion thereon, stating whether the condition of the patient is such that his prolonged detention in the institution is desirable or necessary, either for the purpose of cure, or in the interests of public order, or to prevent accident to the patient or the lieges. At the latest within six weeks after the date of the order the report referred to in the foregoing article shall, along with a new petition, be sent to the district bench, who, if there be no reason against it, shall issue an order to detain the patient in an asylum for a period which shall not exceed one year." So on, from year to year, the renewal of the order is necessary, and is granted "on satisfactory evidence that reasons exist, beyond mere unsoundness of mind, for warranting prolonged detention."

All these enactments are designed to prevent the unnecessary detention of patients in asylums; and with the same object the

facilities for the withdrawal of unrecovered pauper patients have been increased, and have been made, in Scotland at least, almost equal to those for the withdrawal of private patients.

Provision has also been made for the discharge of unrecovered patients *on probation*, and such discharges are encouraged both in England and Scotland. In their Ninth Report the Scotch Commissioners say, "It is frequently very desirable that before a patient is permanently discharged his powers of self-control and ability to be at large should be put to the test," and with this view they are empowered to authorize discharges on probation. In their opinion, too, such discharges "might be more frequently considered by superintendents in chronic cases, which manifest no strongly marked features of insanity, but which, nevertheless, are detained from year to year, more perhaps from habit than from any conviction of such a course being really necessary," and they give the following case in illustration of this:—"On the opening of the Fife District Asylum it became necessary to remove all the pauper lunatics of the district to that establishment. But it was then discovered that a patient who had been a long time in a Musselburg house no longer required asylum treatment. Instead, therefore, of sending her to the district asylum, she was allowed to go home, but with an intimation that if she did not find her position there comfortable, she would be received back as a paid servant. In a few days she returned to the asylum, where, instead of being supported by the parish, she is now in receipt of wages, although her mental condition is precisely the same as it has been for many years."

The total number of probationary discharges, between their authorization in 1862 and the close of 1867, was 499—a number by no means inconsiderable. Of the results all we learn is this, that only 68 of the 499 patients were replaced in asylums before the expiry of the probationary period.

So also in England, discharges on trial are encouraged by the Commissioners. We find them, for instance, in their last Report, recommending the superintendent of one of the large county asylums "to discharge upon trial to their friends such harmless and chronic cases as he may be able to select for this purpose, after satisfying himself that their friends would be willing to take charge of them."

Such, then, are some of the recent provisions of the law, tending to keep down undue accumulation of chronic pauper patients in establishments. All recent enactments,



however, have not that tendency. The "Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867," for instance, will practically have the opposite effect; so also will the act 24 and 25 Vict. c. 55, which relates to England, and throws the maintenance of pauper patients in asylums on unions instead of parishes. In many respects this provision of the law is a humane one; but its operation tends to increase and not to diminish the number of the chronic and harmless patients in asylums, by removing a main inducement to keep them out and get them out. The English Commissioners approve of this enactment, and point out that it will remove improper motives for keeping back patients; and they add that it may even do more, and give rise to an opposite desire, "as by placing them in an asylum the expense of maintenance will be at once removed from the parochial to the common fund of the union."

In France the maintenance of the insane poor is borne by the Departments, but the law requires the communes and hospices to share the cost; and in order to check in some measure the too frequent sending of harmless and incurable patients to the Departmental asylums, the contingent imposed on the communes is higher for that class than for the curable or dangerous.

We have heard it remarked that experience shows it to be almost impossible, in the present day, to overbuild for the accommodation of pauper lunatics, so rapid and steady is the growth of their number. We have shown how this growth takes place, and we have dwelt much, as all the documents before us do, on the fact that it consists mainly of an accumulation of incurable pauper patients, a large proportion of whom are quiet and harmless, and it is desirable to check and reduce this accumulation by a withdrawal of some of the patients. We have shown what proposals have been made with this object, and that it is an essential feature of all schemes that the withdrawal of such patients from asylums should not also be a withdrawal from the protection and care of the law. We have shown further what recent enactments tend to foster and what to repress this increase in number of pauper patients in asylums.

There are still, however, other considerations not yet alluded to, which affect the question.

It is said, for instance, that the better treatment of the patients prolongs life, and so tends to a storing up of incurables; and we cannot but believe that better treatment must to some extent operate in this way. We should most unwillingly accept an assertion that all the skill, care, kindness, and

money so liberally expended on these poor sufferers had been productive of no greater average length of life than they enjoyed under a treatment which was harsh, and which had but little regard to the comfort and happiness of its subjects. The reduced mortality in the lunatic wards of the poorhouses of Scotland seems fairly to be referable to the better diet prescribed, and the general improvement in the surroundings of the patients; and what has taken place there must, we think, have taken place in establishments generally.

What this better treatment of the insane really consists in, and how very great it is, but few among us now-a-days rightly understand. The distance between the present and the old state of things is the distance between humanity and cruelty, between knowledge and ignorance, between civilisation and barbarism. Asylums in former times were *madhouses*; chains and dungeons and tortures filled them; and their inmates were treated like wild beasts, and were objects of pity, less for the terrible malady which affected them, for the savage and brutal treatment to which they were subjected. It is difficult to believe that this describes, without exaggeration, what, half a century ago, was general in this country, and what existed in some parts to a much later time. The evidence as to the state of asylums before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1815 is a book of horrors—a revelation of almost incredible ignorance and inhumanity. For a long time reformation was slow in its progress,—unaccountably slow as it appears to us now; and it was not till nearly a quarter of a century after that evidence was taken that it could be said of any of the asylums of England that mechanical restraint had been abolished in them. With this reform in England the name of Dr. Conolly will be honourably associated for ever; but there were others, and not a few, who were early and earnest workers in the same direction. Among the valuable asylum reports of the time, there is no more remarkable one than that for the Lancaster Asylum in 1845. The details of the reform, so quickly effected there, are narrated as if nothing strange were being told: and its startling magnitude is left to reveal itself from the facts. One sentence we often remember, in which, without a word of comment, it is recorded that, "in the summer of 1842, upwards of nineteen tons weight of iron bars and gates were completely removed, and at the same time the small windows were enlarged and lowered."

Only thirty years ago, then, can reform be said to have fairly started. From that time

down to the present it has gone steadily on, till restraint in the treatment of the insane may be said to be unknown in the land. The most humane views now regulate the treatment of such persons. They are regarded as sufferers, having a strong claim on our pity and help. Everything which skill can suggest and money can buy is provided for their comfort and wellbeing. They are treated with gentleness, and the universal desire is to lessen their calamity. They have good food, warm clothing, and comfortable beds. Facilities for exercise, occupation, and amusement are abundantly supplied. Life in short, is made as pleasant to them, as it can be in their sad circumstances.

The influence of this happy change on the number of lunatics in asylums cannot fail to be great. It was a grievous necessity only which could have been held to justify the placing of a patient in one of these old mad-houses. The furious and dangerous would be those chiefly sent into them. They existed, indeed, rather for the protection of the lieges, than for the cure and treatment of the insane. They were strong places for the safe custody of furious madmen. The notion of a lunatic, in fact, in those times almost involved furiosity and danger, and there was a general and profound dread of any one who went by the name. Unhappily the public is not yet wholly disabused of this feeling—a senseless and groundless one as regards the great bulk of those who are now called lunatics. *Who are now called lunatics*, we say, because practically the class has been greatly widened. In a more especial sense this is true of *lunatics in asylums*. Lawyers, indeed, still adhere to the old notions of what constitutes *lunacy*, and resist the change which they are asked to make, and which must soon come to them as it has come to others. At present, however, we have only to do with the change which has taken place in the opinions of medical men and of the public, and which has indirectly resulted from the introduction of humane treatment of the insane. Asylums are no longer regarded with horror, and dismal abodes of cruelty. There is no hesitation now in sending patients to them, from the fear of harsh usage and neglect. It is everywhere known that nothing but kindly intentions guide their management, and to none is this better known than to those who deal with the poor, for no class of the insane is more certain of good treatment than the pauper class. There is no such aversion to asylums therefore as to interfere with the placing of the insane poor in them. Persons labouring under the less marked forms of mental unsoundness, who would never have been sent to the old mad-

houses, are now sent to our asylums, and kept there. As it is not felt to be an addition to a poor lunatic's misfortune that he must be sent to an asylum, certificates are more easily obtained; and medical men and the public have thus become habituated, in dealing with lunacy, to include more than in practice was formerly included. Thus gradually what is meant by lunacy has become wider, and has been made to approach more closely to the *teachings of science*.

The tendency of this change of opinion is to increase the number of the pauper insane in asylums. It is possible that the presence of an insane member in a family is a greater inconvenience now than it was thirty or fifty years ago, when there was not so much bustle in life, and when social arrangements were simpler and more primitive; and the Poor Law and Lunacy Law give facilities for the gratuitous support of the insane in asylums. Application accordingly is often made for the removal of a patient to an asylum, as much for the comfort of the family as for his own welfare. He may not be dangerous, nor may his condition be such as to give any hope of improvement, but it is an advantage to his friends to be relieved of his support; and this advantage of course is the more readily sought that it is known he will be well treated in the asylum. The same knowledge leads also to a willingness on the part of friends to allow patients to remain in asylums, after they are known to have passed from active disease into a chronic and harmless condition. Overseers or inspectors of the poor, and parochial medical officers, again, have more anxiety about the insane who are out of asylums; and they are relieved of all responsibility and trouble by the removal of the patients to asylums. It is probable too, that persons who would formerly have been dealt with as vicious and criminal are now certified as insane and sent to asylums, making these institutions substitutes for prisons,—as prisons long were and perhaps still are for them, judging by the accounts we receive of the mental condition of many within their walls.

Everywhere we find the authorities urging the propriety of placing patients in asylums soon after the invasion of the disease, and all seem to agree in thinking that this would considerably increase the number of cures, and so lessen the number of those whose condition is rendered incurable by neglect of proper treatment when treatment is of most importance. It has even been proposed that gratuitous treatment in a well-appointed public asylum should be given for one or two years, to any one who applies for it within three months after the appearance

of the disease. The wealthy and well-to-do would not probably abuse this privilege; and it might be a benefit to many, who would not be able to establish, or willing to make a claim on public aid at the time when the disease first shows itself; but who, under a continuance of the disease, sink into pauperism, and eventually obtain assistance, when it is comparatively a small benefit, their disease being confirmed.

We must not look, however, to any of the measures discussed in this article for a real reduction in the occurrence and amount of lunacy in the country. That must come chiefly of a better and sounder education. Men must know more than they do of the relations between mental and bodily health, and of the duty which lies on them to act on such knowledge. They must be made, in short, "the intelligent guardians of their own health, both of mind and body."

In the meantime, we must make the best provision we can for the greatest possible number of those who are bereft of reason, and unfit to care for themselves. The number of these is already very large, and there is every reason to believe that it will yet be much larger. For this increase preparation must be made; and we are thus forced to inquire what scheme of further provision should be encouraged or adopted. The total number of insane persons officially known to exist in England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be roughly stated at upwards of 78,000. In England their number has risen from nearly 21,000 in 1844 to more than 50,000 in 1868. Between 1847 and 1867 the pauper lunatics in establishments in England rose from about 12,000 to about 36,000. In Scotland and Ireland our figures refer to shorter periods,—from 1858 in the one and 1857 in the other. During these periods the increase in the total number of the insane in Scotland was from 5774 to 6807; and in Ireland from about 9000 to 15,000. In Scotland also, the increase related chiefly to paupers in establishments, whose number rose from about 2900 to about 4000; and the same thing is probably true of Ireland, though, as regards it, the distinction between pauper and private patients is not so clearly drawn.

In view of such figures as these, there will be a ready and general assent to the statement of the English Commissioners, that "the subject of the continued and marked increase in the number of the insane poor is one of much importance." We have endeavoured to pass it in review in such a way as to make the whole state of the case apparent, and to show that while the importance of the question involved is great, so also are

the difficulties which surround its practical solution. We think, however, that the direction in which the solution must be looked for, has been indicated. It appears to us that the pressure for asylum accommodation could be relieved by the withdrawal of some of the numerous inmates who are declared to be *incurable and harmless*. The withdrawal of such patients from asylums, however, should not also be a withdrawal from the humane protection and care of the Lunacy laws. This benefit should be extended to the insane poor in all conditions and circumstances, and should follow patients so removed from asylums, whatever provision is made for them. That provision may take various forms. Some of these patients, for instance, may be removed to the auxiliary asylums for chronic cases, which were recommended a quarter of a century ago and are still recommended by the English Commissioners, and which would undoubtedly prove useful institutions in many districts, especially in those which are populous. Others, again, of these harmless and incurable pauper patients might be transferred to lunatic wards in workhouses or poor-houses, providing such wards were brought under control and supervision. It would thus be possible, we think, to make these institutions serve a useful public purpose, if power to direct their management were placed in the proper hands. A further number of the harmless patients withdrawn from asylums might be disposed of in private dwellings. As in the case of workhouses, however, this method of providing for some of the insane poor can only be encouraged when the control over it is made sufficient.

All these forms of provision might properly be in operation together. They would be supplementary, and usefully so, to the county asylum; and would give a diversity of accommodation for a class in whose condition there is no such uniformity as to make a uniform mode of provision either necessary or desirable.

#### ART. VI.—THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

LAST year a cry for help reached this country from the suffering inhabitants of the Red River Settlement. The response was immediate and gratifying. A like appeal made to Canada was answered with equal promptitude, the government immediately supplying the funds wherewith to relieve existing distress and avert impending calamities. Excepting the fact that the crops at the Red

River had failed, the public here cannot be assumed to have had much acquaintance either with that locality, or with the people towards whom their sympathies were tangibly manifested. Fortunately, general ignorance does not harden the hearts of the charitable. It is possible that a similar application for relief, if made on behalf of the dwellers on the shores of the Albert Nyanza, or of the Esquimaux who haunt the Frozen Ocean, would have been entertained by the tender-hearted with equal readiness, and responded to with equal cordiality.

Several things connected with the origin, history, and present condition of the Red River Settlement are as worthy of being brought to the knowledge of the public as the bare fact of its inhabitants having recently had a narrow escape from falling into the jaws of famine. The circumstances which require explanation and merit attention are diverse and complicated. They are interwoven with the history of England. They embrace such topics as the good faith of our monarchs, the statesmanship of renowned ministers, the principles by which free trade and commerce are regulated, the propriety of acts done in the name of Royal prerogative and unsanctioned by the representatives of the people. We have not simply to deal, then, with the deplorable accident of a bad harvest, or matters of local interest and fleeting importance. In giving some account of the Red River Settlement, we but write the preface to a larger subject, and prepare the way for the proper understanding of a momentous theme. For the Red River Settlement forms but one of the series of questions which group themselves about the Hudson's Bay Company whenever the constitution of that Company is impeached and the validity of its charter considered. It is the last of the great companies subsisting by virtue of a charter of incorporation granted at a time when the Crown exercised prerogatives since admitted to be untenable and now happily abandoned, and encouraged exclusive systems of commercial dealings which are no longer possible. In order to explain why our fellow-subjects at the Red River are dissatisfied with their lot, we must cast a retrospect over bygone centuries, and trace the series of blameworthy deeds, of which the last and most fatal was committed by the Monarch who never uttered anything foolish or did anything that was wise. The settlers who were the recipients of our charity in 1868 might then have been the objects of our envy, had not Charles the Second, acceding to the petition of Prince Rupert, the enemy of the Puritans, and the Duke of Albemarle, who betrayed the Commonwealth

in order to restore the King, granted an ill-defined and indefensible charter to a body of "Adventurers" in 1670.

The discoverer of Hudson's Bay has never been ascertained. That Sebastian Cabot was the man, and 1512 the date of the discovery, appears to be the best-founded conjecture. In 1610 a navigator named Hudson visited the Bay, gave his name to it, and lost his life either in its waters or on its shores. His crew having mutinied, they placed him in a boat; thus left to his fate, he was never heard of again. Fifty-eight years afterwards, Prince Rupert and others equipped an expedition thither. A fort was built on the Bay, and named after the reigning sovereign. In 1670 application was made by the promoters of this enterprise for a charter of incorporation. Their professed designs were the discovery of a passage into the South Sea, the prosecution of trade in furs, and the search after valuable minerals. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and "The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay" took rank among chartered companies. The pith of the grant is contained in the words, that the "Adventurers" were to enjoy "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State." This has been styled an indefinite grant; we might call it one which, if not illegal, was null and void. If the lands in question were under the dominion of the English Crown, the grant cannot be defended on constitutional grounds. The right of the Crown to alienate territory without the assent of Parliament is a right of which the existence is very questionable. There is no evidence, however, to support any claim on the part of the Crown to the lands of which, in 1670, it made so liberal a gift. Consequently, such a grant is as truly void as the donation of the New World which the Pope awarded to the Portuguese. Moreover, Hudson's Bay and the surrounding territories were then in the actual possession of another Christian Prince. Canada was first occupied by the French. In their eyes it was a country which would prove another France. By the name of *La Nouvelle France* it was long known and much beloved by them. They perceived not only the fitness of the

country for colonization, but also the profits to be gained by trading in furs with its savage inhabitants. Long before Prince Rupert acted as the promoter of the Hudson's Bay Company, a charter had been conferred on Frenchmen by Lewis the Thirteenth, containing terms almost identical with those referred to above. This was the Company of New France, founded on the 29th of April 1627. Its objects were similar to those of the Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay. At the time, these facts were imperfectly known. For a brief space the Hudson's Bay Company traded on the territory it claimed as its own without provoking remonstrance from the French. Yet both Englishmen and Frenchmen did not long submit to the monopoly of trade and the rights of possession exercised and claimed by the Company. Unable to check these in a way of which the legality would have been undisputed, and doubtful as to the value of a charter which Parliament had not confirmed, application was made in 1690 for an Act confirming to the Company the privileges conferred by its charter.

This endeavour to secure a Parliamentary title was a skilfully planned strategic movement. A full and trustworthy account of the proceedings has not yet been given to the world. The following sketch, compiled from the Journals of both Houses, contains all the details of importance and value :—

After the Revolution of 1688, the power of Parliament was alike increased and acknowledged in new quarters. Those who had been accustomed to regard the Crown as the source of privilege, as well as the fountain of honour, became suddenly apprehensive of the value of grants made by virtue of Royal prerogative. Accordingly, applications were frequently made to Parliament for aid and countenance. In 1690 many companies petitioned the House of Commons to legislate in their favour, by securing to them the rights which had been accorded under Letters-Patent. The first of these applicants were "The Governor and Company of White-Paper Makers;" "The Royal African Company" next presented a petition; then followed a petition from "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies;" and lastly, on the 7th of April, a petition was read from "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," setting forth that they had been incorporated by Letters-Patent as a company to carry on exclusive trade in the Bay, "with its countries, coasts, and confines, and that the same should be reckoned as one of his Majesty's plantations,

which the Company has since kept, and settled a trade there;" that they had suffered serious losses at the hands of the French, and had been "disturbed in their trade by divers persons of this nation undertaking interloping voyages." Leave was given to introduce a Bill in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners. It was read twice in due course, and referred to a Committee. Two petitions against the Bill were received, the one from the Committee of Felt-makers, protesting against the monopoly, and praying for a copy of the charter, in order that they might "give further reasons against the Bill;" the other from Robert Bodington, setting forth that his ship "Expectation," with a cargo valued at £2000, had been seized and confiscated by the servants of the Company within Hudson's Straits. However, the Committee reported the Bill without amendments, and the third reading was fixed for the 13th of May. As it then stood, the Bill was a duplicate of the charter. Indeed, a clause set forth that the charter was confirmed as if it had been "word for word recited and set down at large." But immediately before the third reading an incident occurred of which a distinct explanation is not given, but for which we can assign a probable reason. It would appear that some members had become aware for the first time of the true import of the charter, and were opposed to giving in perpetuity that which would have been conferred had the Bill become a law. Hence the following rider was moved, carried, and added to the Bill:—"Provided always, that this Act shall continue and be in force for the time of seven years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Parliament, and no longer."\* It had been proposed to fix the period of duration at seven years, but a motion to this effect was defeated by a majority of 32. "Fourteen years" were then ordered to be inserted, and the Bill passed. The next entry in the journals is a significant one. It is in these terms:—"Ordered, That when any Bill shall be brought into this House for confirming of Letters-Patents, there be a true copy of such Letters-Patents annexed to the Bill; and that this be declared a standing order of this House for the future."†

\* This Act was printed for the first time, along with other papers, by order of the House of Commons in 1849, pp. 95, 96. An explanation of the incident referred to above is there given; but this is inaccurate, differing as it does from the version contained in the Journals of the House of Commons.

† Journals of the House of Commons, vol. x. p. 412.

As soon as the Bill had been read a first time in the House of Lords, a petition was presented from merchants trading to New York, praying that they might "be heard before the passing of the Bill." This was agreed to, and they were represented by counsel before the Committee to which it was referred. On the 15th of May, Earl Rochester reported, as chairman of the Committee, that the Bill had been amended. This consisted in substituting "seven" for "fourteen" years. Thus amended, it was sent down to the Commons, who assented to the alteration. It received the Royal assent on the 31st of May 1690.

By those who have treated this important episode in the Company's career it has been supposed that no steps were taken to obtain a renewal of the Act. On the contrary, however, a vigorous effort was made to get the Act continued. A petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 8d of March 1697, and leave was given to Mr. Edward Harley to frame and bring in a Bill in the terms of the prayer. The words of this petition were not entered in the journals. Some days afterwards, "The Merchants of London trading to New England, New York, etc.," prayed to be heard against the Bill. A petition was also sent by Captain Lucas, complaining of the capture of his ship by the Company's servants in 1688. On the 6th of April, the Bill was reported from the Committee, with "several amendments." It was then referred back to a Committee of the whole House. Moreover, it was "*Ordered*, That the Hudson's Bay Company do lay their charter before the House." This was done on the 9th of April, when it was resolved "that the said charter be referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Bill for confirming to the Hudson's Bay Company their privileges and charter is committed." On the 7th of May the House went into Committee, and, after considering the measure, asked leave to sit again. Subsequently there were one or two adjournments, but no decision was arrived at. Probably the Bill was withdrawn. It is noteworthy that the obstacles to its progress proved insurmountable after the charter had been laid before the House. The conclusion is unavoidable that either the House had proposed to impose onerous terms on the Company, or else that the Company, finding it vain to press a measure which there was no hope of passing, preferred a discreet withdrawal to an open and damaging defeat. Yet the Company, though foiled in Parliament, did not give up the game. It has been bold enough to continue for upwards of a century and a half to exercise

rights based, not on the solid foundation of a constitutional Act, but on the dangerous quicksand of Royal prerogative.

The first legislative inquiry instituted into the Company's affairs was set on foot in 1749. A Committee of the House of Commons then examined witnesses with a view to elicit the truth as to how the adventurers had conducted their operations. This Blue-book is a curious as well as little known work, differing as it does in nearly every particular from the Blue-books with which we are now overburdened. Instead of entering into a detailed analysis of the evidence, let us merely indicate its scope. All those examined concurred in admitting that the Company had confined its trade to the shores of Hudson's Bay; that its servants never advanced farther than 100 miles into the interior; that settlers were discountenanced, and the tilling of the soil and working of the mines systematically discouraged. We consider it proved that no claim had been advanced in 1749 over the country which, at a later period, the Company alleged to have been included in the grant, and occupied accordingly. In one respect the Parliamentary investigation of 1749 proved highly favorable to the Company's servants. They had been charged with neglecting to prosecute one of the designs which the charter was originally intended to promote, and with having contributed nothing towards the discovery of a passage to the South Sea. In answer to this it was shown that between the years 1719 and 1737 nine vessels had been fitted out and dispatched in quest of a North-West passage. Out of these, two never returned, while the remainder wholly failed in their mission.

Long before this Committee sat, the Company had been engaged in disputes with the French as to the respective boundaries of their territory and that of Canada. An article in the treaty of Utrecht related to this point. Negotiations were entered into by the representatives of England and France in accordance with the terms of that treaty; but these led to no result, because neither side would recede from the position taken up. It is noteworthy, however, that the claim of the Company in 1713 and at a later date was of a very limited nature. No pretensions were then put forth for such an indefinite boundary as should give to the "Adventurers" a huge section of the American continent. If a settlement had been then made on the basis of the Company's proposals, we should have heard nothing at a later period of the Company's rights to a larger area. When Canada was ceded to England in 1763, all the soil over which France had

claimed or exercised dominion became part and parcel of British territory. Not even then was a distinct boundary line drawn between the possessions of the Company and the dependency of the Crown. That any difficulty on this score would afterwards arise was not foreseen, otherwise provision would assuredly have been made to meet it. Indeed, the general opinion was that the vast extent of territory over which the Hudson's Bay Company neither claimed nor exercised jurisdiction might be turned to profitable account by others. Accordingly, in the year 1783, a number of Canadians became associated for trading purposes, under the name of the North-West Fur Company, and began to carry on trade in the territory which stretches from the head of Lake Superior to the base of the Rocky Mountains; sometimes, indeed, crossing these mountains, and extending their operations to the shores of the Pacific. More than one company had done this before: more than one did so after 1783. For the sake of clearness, however, we will speak of the North-West Company as if it were the sole competitor with the Company chartered by Charles the Second.

The success of the North-West Company was as gratifying to its promoters as it was galling to its rival. The latter had prospered exceedingly. It has been officially admitted that between 1690 and 1800 the profits on the original capital were from 60 to 70 per cent. Rejoicing in dividends like these, the shareholders were ill-disposed to brook any interference which might blast their prospects. The whole resources of the Company were put forth to compel the North-West traders to abandon their project and retire from the contest. Bloody combats ensued. The country was the theatre of scenes of brutal violence on the part of white men, which matched, if they did not surpass in atrocity and ruthlessness, the horrid scenes of slaughter in which the Indians gloried. While this sanguinary struggle was in progress, the Red River Settlement was founded.

Lord Selkirk, a Scottish peer, whose private fortune was nobly employed in furthering the philanthropic schemes of a mind bent upon ameliorating the condition of his destitute fellow-countrymen, devised a comprehensive scheme for their emigration to a land where they might easily gain a livelihood, and would probably rise to a state of affluence. He was a proprietor of the Hudson's Bay stock. It is said that the number of shares he held sufficed to give him a majority of votes, and that accordingly he could influence the Company at his pleasure.

This much is certain, that in 1811 a grant of territory extending over the enormous area of 16,000 square miles was made to him by the Hudson's Bay Company. In the following year a number of hardy Scotchmen, with their wives and families, left their homes at the instance of Lord Selkirk, and took up their abode on the banks of the Red River. They arrived at an unpropitious season. The warfare between the rival traders was at his height. In one pitched battle twenty-two persons were slain. To the traders of the North-West Company the new settlers were specially obnoxious. Again and again the infant colony was dispersed by armed and desperate marauders, and driven to seek safety in flight. Inexperienced as farmers and untrained as hunters, the settlers were often driven to great shifts in order to preserve life. But they persevered, for they believed that in a country so rich as that wherein they had chosen to dwell, the reward of perseverance would be splendid, even if long delayed. In 1821 they considered that the days of their tribulation were over, and that the era of prosperity had begun. Then it was that, exhausted by their barbarous rivalries, the two companies resolved to forget ancient feuds, and form a new association in which both might prosecute the desired ends for their mutual advantage. The North-West Fur Company was merged into that formed in 1670.

From this period dates the extraordinary claims made by the Hudson's Bay Company to exclusive rights to trade in, and to absolute possession of, the territories which are unwatered by rivers flowing into the Bay. In these pretensions their former enemies supported them with a vigour worthy of a more honourable cause. Among those who had attacked the Hudson's Bay Company with relentless energy, who had actively aided its rival, and who, when the ruin of both seemed impending on account of the exhaustion caused by merciless and costly hostilities, chiefly contributed to bring about an amalgamation, the late Right Hon. Edward Ellice was foremost. He had denounced the charter as illegal. He had denied the right of the Company to make a grant of territory to Lord Selkirk, maintaining that he ought to be ejected from lands wrongfully occupied by him, and really belonging to the Crown. At his instigation the opinion of counsel was taken in 1816 as to the validity of the Company's charter. Three of the most eminent English counsel of that day gave an elaborate review of the whole case. Sir Arthur Pigott and Serjeant Spankie, two out of the three counsel employed, were men whose legal attainments

were acknowledged by contemporaries to be very high. The third, who was less known then, has since acquired a fame which is universal. It is enough to say that the name of Henry Brougham is appended to this document, to satisfy thousands as to the weight of the opinion as a whole. In knowledge of pure law Brougham had many superiors; in the technicalities of English law he was comparatively unversed; but few men of his own or any day were better qualified for giving a sound judgment on questions in which serious constitutional maxims were to be as carefully considered as the precise legal bearing of Statutes. As the junior counsel, it naturally devolved on Brougham to write this opinion. A cursory perusal would convince those ignorant of this custom, that no pen but his had produced the paragraphs to which his seniors gave their approval and subscribed their names. We cannot quote this opinion in full without unduly encroaching on our space. Suffice it, then, to give the gist of it. This is contained in the following passage, wherein the extravagant claims of the Company are conclusively refuted. It was contended that all lands within the Hudson's Straits meant the land stretching back from the coast into the heart of the continent. To this the reply is:—"Within the Straits must mean such a proximity to the Straits as would give the lands spoken of a sort of affinity or relation to Hudson's Straits, and not to lands commencing at the distance of 900 miles, and extending 2000 miles therefrom; that is to say, of the coasts and confines of the seas, etc., within the Straits; such a boundary must be implied as is consistent with that view, and with the professed objects of a trading company intended not to found kingdoms and establish states, but to carry on fisheries in those waters, and to traffic for the requisition of furs and other articles mentioned in the charter." Nearly every law officer of the Crown, and every distinguished member of the bar, during the last century and a half, has been called upon for his opinion on this matter. It would not be difficult to show that those which appear the most favourable to the Hudson's Bay Company are in reality, and on the most important points, framed in the spirit of that just quoted. Should the subject ever be brought before a court of judicature, there is little doubt that the views so clearly and forcibly enunciated by Brougham would in the end prevail.

After the amalgamation of the rival companies, Mr. Ellice, who had proved so vigorous and indefatigable an opponent of the Hudson's Bay monopoly, became its most

conspicuous and ingenious defender. He was a member of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1857 to investigate the whole subject, and suggest a mode of adjusting antagonistic claims while doing justice to individual interests. No member of that Committee worked more assiduously than he in defence of the Company, then called upon to demonstrate its title to consideration by exhibiting the advantages which had flowed from its existence. Having tendered himself as a witness, he furnished the Committee with the results of his experience. He passed through the ordeal of an examination with a success which would have been complete, had he not failed to explain satisfactorily why his opinions underwent a change equivalent to a revolution. When confronted with statements made by him when the brilliant advocate of the North-West Company, he was forced to make the humiliating avowal that at one time he had written with violence against its English competitor, and that, like other writers situated as he had been, he asserted many things which it would be difficult to substantiate. But neither his skill in fence nor his ingenuity in suggestion could remove the impression that after the amalgamation of the Companies both parties had agreed to sink all legal questions in the assertion of boundless claims; that the power of the united disputants had proved sufficient to baffle those who, in the name of law and equity, contended for the subordination of private interests to the public good.

In 1821 the two companies became united. Fifteen years afterwards the Earl of Selkirk died. During his lifetime he had given expression to the hope that thirty millions of happy and prosperous settlers would make the territory in which he had founded a colony the hive of industry and the granary from which the hungry at home might be fed. His anticipations seemed doomed to disappointment at the hour of his decease. That they were too high-flown we do not think; that they are still dreams of a happier future is due to the action of the Company which purchased from his heirs the territory in question. Eighty-four thousand pounds were given by the Hudson's Bay Company for the grant of land freely made twenty-five years previously to Lord Selkirk. Thus the Red River Settlement, which the Company had not the merit of founding, passed under its control, to be misgoverned, as all settlements are misgoverned by private associations having trading objects in view, and bound above all things, to provide large dividends for exacting shareholders.

Pages might be filled with the complaints



which the Settlement has made against the Company. Examples abound of the exercise by the latter of a despotic authority over the settlers which free men will not brook, and under which slaves cannot thrive. These complaints are written in Parliamentary papers, and have been substantiated in evidence before Parliamentary committees. In the Blue-book published in 1857, to which reference has already been made, it is shown how the regulations enforced by the Company interfered with the ordinary avocations of the settlers, and how justice was outraged by the decisions of incompetent and partial tribunals. Repeated endeavors were made to enlist the sympathies of others on behalf of the aggrieved. In 1849, a petition was sent to the Home Government, praying for a redress of the grievances detailed at length and supported by proofs. Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, refused to interfere, on the ground that the complaints were baseless. He formed this opinion after receiving an explanation from the Company; in other words, he believed the version of the accused to be more correct than the statements made by those whom the accused had wronged. In 1867 an earnest appeal was made to the Canadian Legislature. If but a tithe of the grievances recited by the petitioners were well founded, their condition must have been deplorable and heart-rending. The substance of the charges made by them is that the conditions under which they were induced to settle had been violated; that they had no security for their lives and properties; that freedom of trade did not exist; that they were denied the right to govern themselves, and were forced to pay taxes in the imposition of which they had no voice; that, leaving the British constitution, they longed to enjoy the benefits conferred by it on all British subjects, but that, having failed in evoking the assistance of the Imperial Government, they prayed the Canadians to extend protection to them; and secure for them the unfettered exercise of the liberties and the privileges which they claimed as their birthright. That these allegations were not made without reason was proved by witnesses before the House of Commons Committee which sat in 1857. Mr. Isbister testified that those holding land at the Red River Settlement, "are not allowed to import goods into Red River from any port but the port of London, nor from any part in that port of London but from warehouses belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, nor in any other vessel or ship than the Company's ship. They are not allowed to introduce these imports into any port but one in Hudson's Bay, Port Nelson,

which is named as York Factory, and there they must pay a customs duty of five per cent." Mr. M'Loughlin stated that proclamations had been issued ordering that all letters sent by post should have the writers' names written outside the covers, and that those who have not signed declarations against trafficking in furs were to send their letters unsealed to the office, in order that the contents might be read. All traffic with other places was forbidden as contrary to "the fundamental laws of Rupert's Land." These proclamations remained in force for several years. They were said to have been disallowed by the authorities at home. Yet this mattered little; for, as the same witness remarked, "there is quite a difference between the Hudson's Bay Company in London, and the Hudson's Bay Company in Hudson's Bay." The last assertion was confirmed by the Rev. Mr. Corbett, who, after adducing similar evidence, complained of the impediments thrown in the way of sending letters, and who, when pressed to give names, declined, because to do this would draw down the Company's wrath on the complainants. One settler, he said, wished to entrust him with a letter to England representing his case, but refrained from sending it, assigning these reasons, "If I allow you to take that letter, I shall not be able to sell my bushels of wheat, and I shall not be able to get clothing for my poor children." Nor was this settler the victim to a baseless fear. The monopoly of trade being in the Company's hands, the market for produce as well as the shops for purchase might be closed against those who had become obnoxious to the authorities. Instances were given in evidence of the exercise of this tyrannical control to the ruin of the persons whose conduct was disapproved by the Company. Hence, when the floods inundate the plains, or the blight commits havoc among the crops, the settlers are necessarily reduced to a miserable state of helplessness. They are virtually prohibited from providing for contingencies. They live, as it were, from hand to mouth, having no facilities for turning themselves to another pursuit when the fruit of their ordinary labor fails. Thus the bad harvest of a year ago was to them a sore trial. Sufficient help from the Company they had no reason to expect. But England and Canada stepped forward at this juncture, and enabled them to tide over the worst. The necessity for this interference need not have arisen had the settlers been free to act in accordance with their natural requirements, and to employ

\* Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, pp. 135, 149, 205, 266.

their opportunities in the most useful way. The existence and action of the Company are the true causes of the complaints which the settlers at the Red River have preferred, and of the misfortunes they have had reason to deplore. The unwise charter conferred by Charles the Second in 1670 has thus been the bane of many an existence, while it has made the fortunes of a few.

Were the injurious effects of the monopoly, which the existing Hudson's Bay adventurers have inherited from the favourites of a dissolute Monarch, confined to the 10,000 settlers at Red River, and the smaller number who have settled at Manitobah, we might not be justified in regarding the points at issue as of moment to the whole Empire. But the subject is neither so petty nor of such merely local importance as may be supposed. It is not the tranquillity of a small colony, but the good government and the effective culture of a large territory which are at stake. Until what is called the Hudson's Bay dispute be equitably terminated, the Dominion of Canada, the last but not the least conspicuous candidate for a place among the great nations of the world, is doomed to forego the development of its resources and the consolidation of its power.

When Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, agreed in 1867 to form a confederacy, it was understood that this was but a preliminary towards incorporating under one government all the North American colonies, along with the younger colonies formed on the shores of the Pacific. It is probable that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island will soon become parts of the Dominion. The colonists of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island have already intimated their desire to cast in their lot with their brethren living between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic. When this is accomplished, and communication opened up through the territory of the several provinces, it will be possible to travel under the protection of the British flag across the great American continent, and to conduct our trade with China and Japan unshackled by the regulations or the tariff of a rival Power. Nor would the limits of the Dominion of Canada be trifling, or its material influence slight, seeing that in extent its area would be as great as that of Europe,—a vast tract of its soil being fertile beyond comparison, capable of feeding and sustaining an enormous population, well adapted for providing not only the food for which less favoured lands would gladly pay, but also for supplying to the industries and commerce of the world boundless stores of the useful and precious metals, lead and

copper, silver and gold. The pretensions of the Hudson's Bay Company constitute the sole obstacle to the speedy realization of these brilliant prospects.

This Company claims as its own, not only the lands adjoining the Bay, but also the tract which, stretching from the head of Lake Superior to the base of the Rocky Mountains, contains numerous lakes, of which Lake Winnipeg is the most important, and is watered by large and navigable rivers, such as the Red River, the Assiniboine, and the Saskatchewan. The most valuable portion of this territory is styled the Fertile Belt, which in round numbers may be described as 1000 miles in length and 200 miles in breadth; in other words, it is about the size of Great Britain. For many years this was supposed to be a desolate and uninhabitable region—a land of perpetual ice, and solely fitted to be the appropriate habitation of the beaver, the fox, the wolf, and the bear. This notion was fostered by the Hudson's Bay officials. It was their interest to conceal the fact that their most remunerative hunting-ground was designed by nature for the sustenance of man. As late as 1857 the fiction was gravely put forward as a truth.

Among the witnesses then examined before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, Sir George Simpson had earned the title to speak as one having authority. For thirty-seven years he had been in the Company's service as governor of its territories. He had traversed the whole country repeatedly, had thrice crossed the Rocky Mountains, and had made himself a thorough master of the character of the country over which he was the ruler. In answer to a question he made this reply, founded on his experience:—"I do not think that any part of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories is well adapted for settlement; the crops are very uncertain." This sweeping condemnation was repeated in detail, when specific inquiries were made as to particular tracts of country. The Red River and Rainy Lake River districts were instanced by him as irredeemably bad. At the latter he admitted that there was "a slip of land adapted for cultivation," but the censure followed that immediately behind were deep morasses which never thawed. This evidence startled some members of the Committee. They had read an interesting work published by Sir George Simpson, in which he related his opinions of the same localities formed after twenty years' acquaintance with them. This was entitled *A Journey Round the World*. Mr. Gordon, who appears to have been deeply impressed with the work, read a few passages to the witness, asking him to

reconcile them with his evidence. Referring to the Rainy River, with its slip of land and fringe of ice, he had written:—"Nor are the banks less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames near Richmond. From the very brink of the river there rises a gentle slope of green sward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern through the vista of futurity this noble stream, connecting, as it does, the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom and populous towns on its borders?" There is no hint here about the slip of land and the perpetual frost. This must either have been a fact or an after-thought. Sir George's explanation was that he wrote in a poetic frenzy. Yet even a poet could hardly help seeing the morass. It was more visible than the prospect which the eye of philanthropy discerned through the vista of futurity. Mr. Gordon not being satisfied, continued his investigations. He read another passage to this effect:—"The soil of the Red River Settlement is a black mould of considerable depth, which, when first tilled, produces extraordinary crops, as much on some occasions as forty returns of wheat; and even after twenty successive years of cultivation, without the relief of manure or of fallow or of green crop, it still yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre. The wheat produced is plump and heavy. There are also large quantities of grain of all kinds, besides beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, and wool in abundance." When asked if he still adhered to the statement that no part of the Company's territories was "well adapted for settlement," Sir George replied in the affirmative.\* His written words when taken together with his oral statements constitute the paradox that a particular tract of country was like the Garden of Eden, yet unfitted for human habitation!

There is nothing either surprising or unnatural in the member of a powerful corporation desiring to uphold it by every means in his power. Fearing lest the Committee before which he was summoned might be inimical to the Company of which he had been the trusted and zealous servant, Sir George Simpson did what he could to prove that while the charges against the Company were baseless, the benefits which flowed from its administration were palpable and

precious. As the fur trade had been the source of the Company's income, it was unlikely that anything would have been encouraged which might put an end to the traffic from which the profits accrued. Now, if the territories in question were thickly peopled and highly cultivated, the wild animals would either migrate or be exterminated. Hence the Company's pecuniary interest was opposed to colonization. This was avowed before the Committee by that staunch champion of its claims and privileges, the late Mr. Ellice. After stating that the trade in skins had diminished by one half in the course of fifty years, he frankly admitted that the influx of settlers had done this. Moreover, he avowed that "the valuable trade of the Hudson's Bay Company is in the remote districts, where, nobody having the power to interfere with them, they preserve the animals just as you do your pheasants and hares in this country." While desiring that the monopoly should be continued in order that the trade in furs might flourish, and expressing doubts as to the possibility of cultivating the soil, Mr. Ellice was fair and prudent enough to concede all for which the opponents of the Company have contended. He made these, among other statements of a like nature:—"If the province of Canada requires any part of this territory, or the whole of it, for purposes of settlement, it ought not to be permitted for one moment to remain in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company," and the latter "would be too glad to make a cession of any part of that territory for the purposes of settlement, upon the one condition that Canada shall be at the expense of governing it and maintaining a good police, and preventing the introduction, as far as they can, of competition with the fur trade."

That the territory of which Sir George Simpson gave such contradictory accounts, and concerning which Mr. Ellice thought there was no prospect of its being settled "in the lifetime of the youngest man now alive," is both valuable and well adapted for colonization, has been demonstrated by a host of credible and impartial witnesses. The Select Committee was convinced that the adverse opinions were incorrect, for in its Report the lands in question, which adjoin the Red River and the Saskatchewan, are mentioned as "likely to be desired for early occupation." Two expeditions were sent forth in order to explore the country, and report as to its capabilities and character. The one, under the command

\* Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, pp. 45, 46, 50.

\* Report of 1857, pp. 329, 330.

of Captain Palliser, was dispatched by England; the other was a Canadian expedition under the leadership of Professor Hind. Four years were occupied by Captain Palliser in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the North-Western territory, and tracing the various routes leading across the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia. His report confirms all the favorable things which Sir George Simpson had written, and others had stated in evidence. He expresses his entire concurrence "in the hopeful views which have been expressed regarding the future development of this [the Red River] settlement as a British colony." He says, moreover, that "the lower part of the valley of the Assiniboine, for seventy miles before it joins Red River, affords land of surpassing richness and fertility, to the extent of several hundred thousand acres." Of the valley of the Saskatchewan he speaks in the highest terms, remarking that he has seen, not only wheat, but also Indian corn growing there, a cereal which will not ripen in the United Kingdom.\* No abstract or selection of abstracts would give an adequate impression of Captain Palliser's reports; suffice it to say that they excite in the reader a feeling of bitter dissatisfaction with those who have so long kept the gate of the North-Western paradise shut against the entrance of the industrious settler.

The investigations of Professor Hind's party were as minute as Captain Palliser's, and his reports are equally satisfactory. That the soil is fertile and the climate salubrious are not the only facts for which Professor Hind and his companions vouch. It is also shown in the interesting Blue-book wherein the doings of his expedition are narrated that the natural facilities for locomotion through the vast expanse of the Fertile Belt are greater than had been supposed. A route is described as practicable for steamboats from the Red River Settlement to the base of the Rocky Mountains. All that is required to render it instantly available is to dam up the waters of the South Saskatchewan at a point where the river makes a sudden bend, turning the stream into the Qu'Appelle valley, where it would flow into the Assiniboine, which communicates with the Red River. Indeed, when the snow melts on the mountains, and the spring floods swell the streams, this route is practically open, for the Saskatchewan then overflowing its banks, sweeps down this valley. The engineering work

would be easy and inexpensive. It would consist in building a dam 85 feet high, and 600 to 800 yards long, at a point where the South Saskatchewan is comparatively narrow.\* Other routes might be chosen, for this is but one out of many which can readily be prepared for the transport of goods or the quick conveyance of passengers. Consequently the emigrants who desire to settle, or the travelers who long to cross the American continent, would have every facility at their command for executing their purposes.

As non-official and independent explorers, as well as acute and trustworthy observers, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle deserve our confidence. From 1862 to 1864 they were occupied in examining the territory in question; they wintered in the heart of it in a log-house built by themselves, and lived the lives of the hunters who depend on the fish they catch and the game they shoot for subsistence. Adventuring upon a still more perilous experiment, they made their way over the Rocky Mountains, by a pass of which little was known, which Dr. Hector, who formed one of Captain Palliser's expedition, failed to cross,—which is styled the Leather-head pass, and is acknowledged to be one of the best yet discovered. In the very interesting record of their trials and successes are statements fully confirming the most highly coloured tales about the fertility of the North-Western territory. The following short paragraph is a fair sample of the whole:—"From Red River to the Rocky Mountains, along the banks of the Assiniboine and the fertile belt of the Saskatchewan, at least sixty millions of acres of the richest soil lie ready for the farmer when he shall be allowed to enter in and possess it. This glorious country, capable of sustaining an enormous population, lies utterly useless, except for the support of a few Indians, and the enrichment of the shareholders of the Last Great Monopoly."†

The last persons whose testimony we shall cite as corroborating everything that has been said in favour of the project for settling this territory are the present directors of the Hudson's Bay Company. Between 1857, when their old servants, like Sir George Simpson, and their indomitable champions, like the late Mr. Ellice, assured the House

\* The Journals, detailed Reports, and Observations of Captain Palliser, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1860 and 1863.

\* Report of Progress, together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, made under Instructions from the Provincial Secretary, Canada. By Henry Youle Hind, M. A. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. 1860. p. 33.

† *The North-West Passage by Land*, by Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle, M. A., M. D., p. 41.

of Commons that the land was fitted only for the habitation of wild Indians and wild beasts, and 1863, when the Company's last prospectus was issued, an extraordinary change of opinion seems to have occurred. It may be attributed to the signal failure of the Company's servants and friends to convince the public that no change should be made, and that the license of exclusive trading in Vancouver's Island and British Columbia should be renewed. Many symptoms betokened to the shrewd observer that the days of the Great Monopoly were numbered. Several of the old shareholders seem to have lost their intense faith in the permanent value of their property. They were prepared to part with their interest to the highest bidder. The season was propitious for the transaction. Money was plentiful and the public credulous. New companies were projected daily, and "floated" in the course of a week. The shares in concerns which a few years afterward were proved to be utterly rotten then commanded enormous premiums. But no success was comparable to that achieved by Finance Companies. They were founded in order to undertake the lucrative business of company-mongering. Not only did their proprietors succeed in this, but they were as successful in convincing shareholders that the true secret of rapid money-getting had at last been found. The days of five per cent. were sneered at as times when antiquated prejudices reigned supreme. Dividends of twenty per cent. were stated to be the minimum amounts which an enlightened shareholder in the glorious nineteenth century might depend upon securing from the capital intrusted to the astute directors trained in the new school of finance. A favorite occupation of these financiers was the remodeling old companies, and converting private firms into public companies. That the public was not benefited by these operations is quite certain. Some persons must have been gainers, for in all financial operations of this kind a large toll is levied by those through whose hands the sums pass.

Without giving any opinion as to the propriety of the transference itself, and admitting that all the parties concerned may have been highly honorable men, let us simply note the fact that in 1863 the Hudson's Bay Company increased its capital and enlarged the number of its proprietors. At that date the share capital, which was £10,500 in 1876, had been raised to £500,000. The International Financial Society undertook to issue new stock, and thereby increase the amount to £2,000,000. The general public had now an opportunity for securing an interest in this prosperous and ancient Com-

pany. At the time it was thought the old proprietors had made a good bargain for themselves, and that the new ones would be disappointed in the anticipations they had formed. Nevertheless the transfer was duly made, the shares—which had formerly been dealt in privately—were admitted to a quotation in the list of the Stock Exchange, and every one appeared satisfied with the various arrangements. It is probable that the old proprietors, who parted with their stock at an enormous premium, are now congratulating themselves on their cleverness, and pitying the folly of their successors,—for the new shares on which £20 have been paid now fetch £13 10s. This means that the barometer of the money market is at Stormy, as far as the Hudson's Bay stock is concerned.

We have merely given the foregoing particulars as incidents which must be known by all who investigate the Company's fortunes. Moreover, they are instructive when considered in connexion with the statements put forth in the prospectus. Since the time when every one associated with the enterprise contended that large tracts of country were either deserts or ice-fields, an important change must have been wrought. Bearing in mind what Sir George Simpson and Mr. Ellice said about the unfitness of the whole territory for colonization, let the reader peruse the following extract, issued when the Company was reconstituted in 1863:—

"The Company's territory embraces an estimated area of more than 1,400,000 square miles, or eight hundred and ninety-six millions of acres, of which a large area, on the southern frontier, is well adapted for European Colonization. The soil of this portion of the territory is fertile, producing in abundance wheat and other cereal crops, and is capable of sustaining a numerous population. It contains 1400 miles of navigable lakes and rivers, running for the greater part east and west,—which constitute an important feature in plans for establishing the means of communication between the Atlantic Ocean across the continent of British North America, as well as for immediate settlement in the intervening country. The territory is, moreover, rich in mineral wealth, including coal, lead, and iron."

As a rule, it is imprudent to put implicit faith in the paragraphs of prospectuses. These documents are often framed with a view to dazzle the imagination rather than inform the mind. In some parts of this prospectus the play of a vivid fancy might be inferred, and the desire to attract capital may have as strongly influenced its concoctors as the wish to furnish a plain unvarnished tale. Yet no doubts can be cast on the genuineness of the admissions, which tally with what independent

testimony has corroborated, while contradicting the assertions of the Company's ablest servants and most powerful shareholders. Thus a controversy no longer exists between the persons denying the suitability of the North-Western territory for colonization and those upholding the opposite view. That the wilderness can be reclaimed is certain. The words which Douglas Jerrold applied to the rich soil of our Australian colonies are equally true of the basin of Lake Winnipeg:—"Tickle it with a hoe and it will laugh with harvest." The problem is how to induce the settler to take possession of this rich domain. Fertility is not everything. The rose-gardens of Cashmere would be worthless, the vineyards of Champaign yield no profit, if they were inaccessible. A good road is as important a consideration as a temperate climate and a teeming earth. Now the drawback of the Red River Settlement is that it is practically cut off from intercourse with the rest of the world. Owing to the want of easy communication, its produce when sent to market cannot compete with that of other localities owing to the cost of transit, while the prices of imported articles are very high for the like reason. The truth is, as Mr. Ellice told the Select Committee in 1857; 'it is very difficult to settle wild countries, even in the best situations, without the advance of great capital.' It has been estimated that an expenditure of at least £25,000 yearly for some time to come will be necessary in order to render the territory of the North-West fitted for the habitation and enjoyment of civilized men.

Laborious though this task may be, the Government of Canada is ready to undertake it. Indeed, the formal acquisition of this country by Canada is the question of the day within the Dominion. All parties, classes, and creeds are as one on this point. Its settlement is urged with equal force by the French Canadian and the native of Upper Canada. That this unanimity of opinion should exist is a token of progress, and a proof that ancient jealousies have died out. In truth, the Canadians might long ago have accomplished this object, had they not been distracted by internecine quarrels. They have protested against the Company's monopoly during a century and a half. The most vigorous assaults upon it were promoted in Canada. The rivalry of the Canadians, both before and after the cession of Lower Canada by France in 1763, was the greatest difficulty with which the Company's servants had to contend; it was one before which they nearly succumbed. When the North-West Fur Company was amalgamated with its rival

in 1821, this was due to the conviction that the ruin of the elder company was inevitable if hostilities were prolonged. After this event the clamour in Canada subsided for a time, and was not renewed till within the last few years.

It is obvious, however, that if the allegations of the Company's opponents were well founded, and if its title to the territory in dispute rested not on legal rights but on the fact of long-continued possession, the task of evicting the intruders by force of a judicial decision might have easily been achieved. Yet, to use a familiar phrase, the bark of the Canadians was worse than their bite. They threatened, but hesitated to strike; denounced, but refrained from declaring war. The explanation is, that during these years the alleged usurpation was a mere sentimental grievance, and did no practical injury to many Canadians. Their acknowledged possessions were extensive enough for their requirements. The wild lands belonging to them were either pathless forests or fruitless swamps. To fell the trees and export them to Europe gave occupation to thousands of sturdy and willing arms. The cleared lands were taken possession of by the husbandman, and converted into valuable farms. As a result of this, thousands of acres formerly covered with timber are now fruitful fields, and the highway and railroad pass through places in which formerly the unaccustomed traveler lost his way, and the untutored Indian alone was at home. But forests, however dense and vast, like coal fields of an apparently illimitable area, become dangerously thinned as tree after tree is felled, just as every ton of coal abstracted from the mine contracts its capacity for production. It will excite the ridicule of many a lumberer, and the sneer of the backwoodsman, to affirm that even in Canada the forests may be prematurely exhausted, and the drain upon the future excessive. Yet it is none the less true that trees can be hewn down too ruthlessly, and the unregulated timber trade tap the resources of succeeding generations. These truths, which are rapidly becoming commonplaces, have been broached within the last few years only. They have already controlled the policy of those responsible for the conservation of our huge Indian forests. It would be surprising if they had escaped the notice, and produced no influence upon the conduct of the astute and far-seeing statesmen of whom Canada has good reason to be proud. Again, a new country cannot flourish unless it offer a fairer field for the emigrant than one of older date and more limited resources. The people of the United States have not

yet celebrated the centenary of their independence; still the English settlers in the United States are the seniors of those who left this country and made Canada their home. For a time the emigrant to the Great Republic had to proceed to the backwoods in order to find the habitation which he desired. Of late years, however, the prairies of the West have been the great attraction to the emigrant. Railways have been constructed with a view to carry him thither, and transport to a good market the grain which he could gather in with little labor. An acre of prairie which is ready for the plough is worth five acres of wooded land, which must be cleared by the axe before a blade of corn will grow. In Illinois and Minnesota this desirable land is to be found in abundance. There it is that the settler loves to pitch his tent, for there he knows that his success is assured. Hitherto Canada has been able to offer no such inducements to the exile from Europe; but if the North-Western territory be included among the lands which she can offer to the emigrant, then the balance will be redressed, and the young man born in Canada who can find no outlet for his energies equal to that which is afforded him in the United States, as well as the European emigrant who might prefer to keep unsevered the tie which links him with the country of his birth, will gladly proceed to the splendid tract of fertile soil which the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company have hitherto rendered unattractive to settlers, which can be cultivated with as great ease, and made to yield as luxuriant crops as the most favored spots on the American continent.

A year ago the question took a new form. The union of the maritime with the inland provinces necessarily led to a definition of the footing on which the trading company of Hudson's Bay was to stand in relation to the Confederacy. Hence the reconsideration of the claims advanced by that Company became inevitable. If its charter were valid and the possessions secured to it in perpetuity, then its representatives would have had a sure basis on which to take their stand in negotiations with the Dominion of Canada. On the other hand, if the Company had long occupied territory under a baseless title, then no demand could be made by it for more than nominal compensation. We may fairly assume that the powers conferred by the charter are of dubious value. They would hardly have been disputed so frequently had they been clear and definite. If Parliament conferred them, they would be admitted without question. If the terms of the grant had been less vague, few might have laboured to prove that it was wholly

void. At every turn, however, some moot point arises. Firstly, it is denied that the territories assigned by Charles the Second were dependencies or possessions of the English Crown. Secondly, it is a question if the Royal prerogative did not clash with the common law in granting such a charter, even if the lands formed part of the Sovereign's dominions. Thirdly, the indefinite character of the grant may be fatal to it. Fourthly, allowing the whole proceedings to have been regular, it is alleged that the existence of the Company is detrimental to the interests of the community, that the monopoly is no longer either justifiable or permissible. The first three of these considerations cannot be determined except in a Court of Law. The last one may be tried at the bar of public opinion.

We consider that the case has been fairly heard and finally decided. In default of another tribunal, we must regard a Select Committee of the House of Commons to be a representative of the views as well as an exponent of the wishes of the public. Before such a body of intelligent and impartial men, the Hudson's Bay Company was put on its trial in 1857. All that could be said against it was there forcibly stated; everything which could tell in its favour was strenuously urged. The accusation was, that a systematic method of exclusive dealing was followed, that the Indians were demoralized through the operations of the fur-traders, and that the spread of civilization was frustrated owing to the enforcement of the Company's rules. The defence amounted to this, that the Company had not supplied the Indians with whiskey, while it had paid large dividends. Among those who gave special attention to the arguments on both sides, and who estimated the worth of the conflicting evidence with marked dexterity, was Mr. Gladstone. He had made a careful study of the whole subject, had broached it in the House of Commons, and had frequently shown himself to be fully alive to its importance. After the late Mr. Labouchere, the chairman, had produced a report for the Committee's approval, Mr. Gladstone presented another, of a simpler and more straightforward character, of which the first four paragraphs were: "1st, That the country capable of colonization should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company; 2d, That the country incapable of colonization should remain within their jurisdiction; 3d, That power should be reserved to Her Majesty's Government to make grants within the said territory for the purposes of mines or fisheries, but with due regard to the immunities and trade of the Company; 4th, That such

jurisdiction should rest henceforward upon the basis of statute." When the vote was taken on the question of adopting the report of Mr. Gladstone or that of Mr. Labouchere, the chairman, the numbers were even, but the chairman's casting vote being given in his own favour, his report was accepted. However, on putting the final question whether or not Mr. Labouchere's report should be presented to the House, the motion was carried by a majority of one only. The tact and influence of the friends of the Company thus prevailed, and legislation adverse to their private interests was thereby postponed.

Yet, when the subject of uniting the Provinces into a confederacy came before Parliament in 1867, provisions for the future incorporation of the Hudson's Bay territory with the projected Dominion of Canada, were inserted in the Act. During the first session of the first Dominion Parliament, steps were taken in accordance with those provisions to promote the desired issue. The Imperial Legislature moved in the same direction, the result being that last year the "Rupert's Land Act, 1868," was passed, with a view to enable the Crown to arrange for the transfer to Canada of the North-Western or other territory which the Hudson's Bay Company now occupy. Mr. Disraeli's Administration endeavoured to give immediate effect to the wishes of Parliament. Negotiations were begun, and two members of the Canadian Government, Sir George Cartier, Bart., and the Hon. William McDougall, C. B., visited this country, on the invitation of the Duke of Buckingham, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order that the claims of Canada might be clearly understood and carefully investigated. Terms were ultimately made. These may be supposed to have partaken of the nature of a compromise. They were embodied in a despatch, which was forwarded to the Company as the ultimatum of the late Government. Before an answer could be returned, the Ministry resigned office, Mr. Gladstone taking Mr. Disraeli's place, and Earl Granville succeeding the Duke of Buckingham. Another change directly affecting the Company also took place, for the Earl of Kimberley becoming Lord Privy Seal, he had to resign his post of Governor. A successor was found for him in the person of Sir Stafford Northcote. Of all the puzzling situations contrived by the fertile brain of the sensational novelist or playwright, that in which Sir Stafford is now placed would appear to be the most embarrassing. As a member of the Cabinet in the late Government, he was responsible for its policy. Should its acts be now impeached,

he must take his share of the blame. Had he continued in office, he would have been a consenting party to such legislation, to carry out arrangements made with regard to the Company's affairs, as might have been deemed expedient or imperative. But, as Governor of the Company, he has rejected the proposition which as a legislator he might have sanctioned, and which as an ex-minister he must still defend in Parliament. The triangular duel imagined by Captain Marryat for the confusion of Peter Simple is the only known counterpart to this situation. Sir Stafford is a target for the shots of two parties, while able to fire only at one. Lord Castlereagh's very mixed metaphor is after all less absurd than has been supposed; for Sir Stafford Northcote does seem to have "turned his back upon himself."

As a whole, the problem before the country is not a difficult one. Taking the case as it stands now, and allowing the blunders on the one side to be a set-off against the shortcomings on the other,—looking at the subject not as heated partisans or exacting shareholders, but as those who think the promotion of the common weal to be a higher duty than the satisfaction of personal and selfish interests,—the sole question requiring an answer is, Shall the convenience of a trading company, or the good of the community, have the first place in our thoughts, and absorb the chief share of our energies? Thus put, the reply is obvious. No one unbiassed by individual considerations can in these days maintain that a great landed monopoly should be deliberately upheld. What might have been deemed highly laudable in the reign of Charles the Second, has little chance of being regarded in the same light by those who, in the nineteenth century, boast of emancipation from the bondage of tradition. We may assume, then, that should Parliament be called upon to interfere, the Company need not hope to gain its point and maintain its position.

On the present Secretary of State for the Colonies now rests the grave responsibility of dealing with and determining the questions at issue. Should the terms proposed by Earl Granville be fair in the main to the parties immediately concerned, and be regarded by the public as reasonable and decisive, his capacity as an efficient head of the Colonial Office will be placed beyond all doubt. As a rule, our Secretaries for the Colonies are well-meaning but unpractical men. When colonies were small and subservient dependencies, the difficulty of managing them was slight. The will of the Secretary of State was law to them. Their complaints were disregarded. If they be-



came unusually troublesome, coercion was employed to silence discontent. A rude shock was given to this system of administration when, towards the middle of the last century, a few colonists challenged the right of the Home Government to act in an arbitrary way, vindicated by force of arms their title to respect, and compelled the recognition of their independence. But the establishment of the Republic of the United States did not instantly transform the policy of the Colonial Office from one of "meddling and muddling" into a policy of dignified forbearance when to interfere would have been dangerous, and of judicious furtherance of the true welfare of the colonists when action was desirable. It would be easy to adduce illustrations of this drawn from the past history of Upper and Lower Canada. Instead of doing this, however, let us again cite Mr. Ellice, who, speaking as one well versed in the subject, made this statement before the Committee of 1857, when referring to the manner in which Vancouver's Island had been treated by the Company and the Colonial Office:—

"At the time when the monopoly of the land was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, in the terms of the grant, certain restrictions were imposed with respect to the price of the land, and certain other conditions with respect to the future government of the country, which insured from the beginning an absolute failure of the whole scheme. Lord Grey [then Secretary for the Colonies] insisted that the Company should not sell land under a pound an acre. *I believe that if one could recount to this Committee all the misery and mischief which has been done to our colonies by jealous and capricious restrictions imposed by the Colonial Office upon the dealings in land in our Colonies, they would be astonished.* These restrictions were idle. Any person accustomed to the settlement of land must know that if you take £1 from a man who comes to settle in a wild country, you take from him all the little capital which he wants to establish him on the land. The land is of no value to anybody until it is cultivated."\*

The words printed in italics condense the experience of a man well qualified to form an opinion, yet indisposed to say too hard things of any department of the Government. The concluding sentence is especially noteworthy; for it forms the key to many puzzles which successive Colonial Secretaries have had to abandon in despair. They set out with the notion that what is good for England must always answer in a colony. In consequence of their belief that the perfection of human wisdom is displayed in our

system of land tenures, they endeavor to extend the same arrangements to entirely dissimilar cases. The propriety of making free grants of land they are generally unable to appreciate, and as little can they understand that an acre burdened with a prospective payment, however small, loses half its value in the eyes of the emigrant. Leaving a country where to be a landed proprietor is a social distinction, the settler in Canada or Australia desires to become at once the absolute proprietor of a plot of ground. In the scheme proposed by Mr. Disraeli's Administration for making terms between the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada, this consideration being lost sight of, a tax was imposed on the land, the sum thereby raised being handed over to the Company by way of compensation. It is improbable that Earl Granville will approve of, or that Mr. Gladstone will sanction, any such arrangement. The shortest, simplest, and most rational plan is to extinguish the claims of the Company by an immediate payment in cash. This proposition has already found favour in the eyes of several shareholders, one of them having advocated it in a pamphlet\* which, notwithstanding many erroneous inferences and doubtful facts, is an able statement of the case from the point of view of an over-sanguine investor. We forbear entering into the details of this branch of the subject. What we have to do with is the principle involved. Once that is agreed to, a settlement might easily be brought about. Nor in arranging that settlement need the Company be dissolved. There are still plenty of furs in which it might trade. Indeed, centuries may elapse before the fur-bearing animals are exterminated from the inhospitable regions around Hudson's Bay. We should think the Canadian Government would readily afford the Company every facility for pursuing its business, provided that the Company retired from the territory it is now desired to colonize. Carrying on its operations by virtue of a Statute instead of under cover of an "Extraordinary Charter," the Hudson's Bay Company may have before it in the future a career of usefulness which no evened-out disputes will frustrate nor dangerous rivalry impede.

Hitherto we have considered the subject as if it were one in which a trading company and a North American State were alone concerned. But important as the acquisition of the North-Western territory is to the Dominion of Canada, and unwise as the existing monopoly of the Company undoubted-

\* Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, p. 334.

\* *The Hudson's Bay Company, its Position and Prospects.* By James Dodds. 1866.

ly is, there are considerations of still greater import to be weighed before finally despatching the whole matter to the dreary and sterile desert of solved problems.

First among the reasons which may be urged in favour of the scheme here proposed, is that it will put a seal upon Imperial legislation for our North American dependencies. The people of this country are unanimous in according to them everything which they may fairly demand. Taught by the lessons of painful experience, our desire is to avoid committing any blunders either in kind or degree resembling those which have caused so much bitterness between us and the offshoots of this country which now constitute the American Republic. There is no danger of the blunder being either repeated or persisted in that led to the sundering in anger of a bond which, in the fulness of time, might have been severed in amity. If the Canadians should ever wish to be independent, the obstacle would not be the indisposition of the Mother Country to hasten that consummation. So long as they prefer to remain united with Great Britain, it would be unnatural and unjustifiable to render that connexion unbearable. The duty of our statesmen is to promote peace and good-will between all sections of the Empire; and in pursuance of that praiseworthy task, the Legislature has cordially assented to every measure designed to foster kindly feelings by providing for appropriate arrangements. Hence it was that when the several Provinces had settled the terms upon which they would live together in harmony and union, Parliament passed the Bill framed to suit their requirements. As a complement to the Act of 1867, the incorporation of the North-Western territory with the Dominion of Canada has been advocated, and will be proposed. To refuse assent to this would be to commit a blunder of which neither the present Parliament nor the existing Government is likely to be guilty.

That this measure would consolidate Canada admits of no doubt; that it would also be of immense value to this country can be demonstrated. Our greatest difficulty, as well as our most serious social danger at this moment, arises from the presence among us of a redundant population. Many hands are now idle for lack of employment. The will to work is strong, while the opportunities for work are few. No other remedy than an organized system of emigration will cure the evil by redressing the disturbed balance between supply and demand. There is room and to spare for our starving multitudes in the vast and unpeopled lands of our Australian colonies. The doors of the Uni-

ted States also stand open to all who wish to enter in and be satisfied. But then Australia is very far distant, and the necessities of life in the United States are at present much dearer than in Canada. Thus the choice of Canada is one which the weightiest reasons combine to favour. The working classes who wish to emigrate appear to have come to this conclusion. But it would be a misfortune if through mismanagement the movement should prove a failure. It is simply ridiculous to suppose that paupers and invalids who cannot earn a livelihood at home will thrive in a strange country. Perhaps the most hopeful experiments are those in contemplation for adapting the principle of benefit societies to emigration, combining the processes of emigration and colonization in one system. If working men would club together for these objects they might do much to elevate their class. Mr. Scratchley, the well-known authority on benefit building societies, has shown how this can be accomplished, as well as furnished many valuable statistics in the appendix to the fourth edition of his work entitled *Benefit Building Societies*, pp. 13-18. Unless, however, the other inducements to settle there are equal to those which have made the western prairies of the United States the favourite home of the exile from Europe, we cannot expect to see the tide of emigration diverted towards the British North America. As soon as the North-Western territory shall have been formally placed under the control of the Canadians, so soon will they be able to boast that in every natural advantage they are on a par with their neighbours, and are consequently prepared to offer an asylum to the houseless such as may be paralleled but cannot be surpassed throughout the length and breadth of the continent they inhabit.

Another point of great importance to this country, we can but glance at now. In the course of this year the Pacific Railway will be completed. As a consequence of this, it is expected that much of the trade between Europe and the East will pass over the iron way in the United States. Possibly, some of the glowing anticipations of the Americans may never be realized, yet it is certain that the possession of that line of rail will enable them to compete with us in the future much better than in the past. If we would keep pace with them, we must adopt their tactics. To do this is easy. The means for communicating with our Eastern markets are as great as those of our rivals, the essential thing being to turn them to as good account. Through the territory of the North-West, over the Rocky Mountains and across British Columbia to the splendid har-

ber of Esquimalt, or of Bute Inlet on the Pacific, the natural facilities for constructing a railroad are everything that could be desired. There are no difficult inequalities of surface to be overcome; the pass through the mountains is nearly one-half less steep than that on the American route, while the country is everywhere fertile, contrasting in this respect with the great desert across which, for a thousand miles, the Americans have carried their railway. But if this were all, we should despair of capitalists investing money in the undertaking, for they are unlikely to embark in an enterprise dictated merely by a desire to cap the achievement of a rival nation. Sentiment and dividends are incompatible. Money invested in order to yield a return must not be employed for the furtherance of fanciful views. In the present case, however, the certainty of profit is as clear as are the advantages of the work in other respects. The route to the East through the Dominion of Canada must be called the best, because it is the shortest. Now, the minimum of distance implies the minimum of fares, and confers the power to surpass all competitors by underselling them. If this railway were constructed, it is estimated that the distance between Liverpool and any port of China or Japan would be 700 miles less than if the overland journey were made across the United States.\*

Enough has been said, we think, to show the impolicy of conniving at the occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company of territory which can be turned to so many useful purposes, and made to prove advantageous to the Empire. It is fortunate that the ordering of the necessary changes has come within the control of such a statesman as Mr. Gladstone. He is unusually well qualified for deciding rightly on these questions, because he has made a special study of the points raised during the tedious Hudson's Bay controversy, having on more than one occasion, when a private member of the House of Commons, striven to bring about a settlement.

That the end is at hand we feel satisfied. Now that the public is awakened to the importance of the issues raised, delay is impossible. It was long before the opponents of the double Government in India succeeded in their object, but once they had enlisted popular feeling on their side, little time was lost in substituting the direct authority of the Sovereign in India for the anomalous rule of the directors of a joint-stock company. In like manner, the directors of the Hudson's

Bay Company must be compelled to abdicate, unless they wisely retire from an untenable position. As traders they may long continue to prosper; as investors they have a claim to compensation for, should they voluntarily surrender, the rights which it would be difficult to prove are founded on anything but possession. With the settlement of this dispute a long and most embittered controversy will terminate. An end will also be put to whatever is obnoxious in the last of those great governing companies, founded when the principles of the Constitution were either imperfectly understood or else were deliberately violated by usurping monarchs.

The understanding reader's imagination can alone picture the result when the vast British dominions, from the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, and from the boundary of the United States to the North Pole, shall constitute one grand Dominion, rivalling the most favoured country of the old world in every gift of nature, affording to pining and oppressed millions all the social and political blessings which render life happy and free-men proud. It is improbable that the forms and ceremonies adopted by Canada from us will long continue unchanged. Neither the Constitution of the United Kingdom nor of the United States is perfect. A new people must frame its own system of government. So long as the Canadians regard the happiness of the individual as the chief end of government, they will not be blamed whatever alterations they may think right to introduce. As neighbours of the most energetic and prosperous people in the world they must always be stimulated by a healthy rivalry. The fault will be their own should they fail to profit by their splendid opportunities. One conspicuous failure is already associated with their country. It was the dream of Cardinal Richelieu and the ambition of more than one French sovereign to establish a new France across the Atlantic. That their attempts miscarried is matter for rejoicing, because they cleared the ground for the trial of a far more notable experiment. In Canada, Frenchmen by descent, and those who by ancestry or birth are Scotchmen, Irishmen, or Englishmen, form a community, speaking the two languages which are most widely spread over the earth and are the most highly esteemed among modern tongues. As a consequence of this intermixture of races and intermingling of ideas, another nationality and a new people will in process of time be constituted. Towards ourselves that people will doubtless entertain feelings of tender admiration and unalloyed good-will. It is improbable that

\* For detailed information on this interesting subject see *The Overland Route through British North America*, by Alfred Waddington (Longmans, 1868).

we shall ever alienate or offend them in a manner so absolute and unpardonable as that with which George the Third and his subservient and foolish Parliament are chargeable in the case of those among our kindred who settled in America in order to exercise there the privileges of self-government. In the minds of the citizens of the United States there is a sore which time will never heal. Between us and them there is a gulf which peacemakers will never bridge over. If we desire allies in America on whose affection we may rely, and to whose self-interest we need not basely appeal, we must turn to the Dominion of Canada rather than to the Great Republic. We feel confident that even after the Canadians shall have established for themselves a claim upon the admiration of the world, they will still take pride in loving and cherishing all that is glorious in the traditions of the Mother Country. It is our sanguine hope that her example will long continue to exercise an active and a benign influence over their conduct. Moreover, we sincerely trust that their achievements will entitle them to a large share in the splendid heritage of her renown when, in the remote future, the sceptre she now majestically wields shall have dropped from her enfeebled grasp, and her envied supremacy be as a tale that is told.

---

ART. VII.—*Culture and Anarchy. (An Essay in Political and Social Criticism.)*  
By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1869.

"WHAT is the chief end of man?" is a question with which Scotland has been familiar for two centuries. In its terse simplicity it states one of the ultimate questions in Philosophy. Its theoretical solution would be the answer to a fundamental problem in Ethics; its practical realization would be the ideal of a perfect life. In one form or other it occurs to all men in whom the reflective life has dawned, and who look beneath the surface of human action to discover its underlying root and its ultimate purpose. It arises from that instinctive craving for unity in our life, which is spontaneous and ineradicable. We are not satisfied by studying the phenomena of our human nature as a miscellaneous mass of mere detail; we desire to know the relation of the parts to the whole, and the connexion of the whole with its parts. The question thus raised has been discussed in every

philosophic school. It is as ancient as the meditations of the seers in Palestine and the remoter East. We find it treated with marvellous subtilty and great breadth of insight by the more noticeable of the Greek thinkers. Every philosopher of mark in modern times has rediscussed it, and in his own way deepened the current of research, or added a contribution to our knowledge of the problem; while it remains as fresh and full of interest in our own day as if the race had now awakened from the sleep of centuries to ponder it for the first time. Being thus one of the problems of the "*philosophia perennis*," its solution must vary with the character and progress of the great systems, and be essentially modified by the prevailing type of each. It is closely related to two other cardinal questions in philosophy, "Whence are we?" and "Whither do we tend?"—what is our origin? and what our destination?—questions which have nursed the speculative passion, and aroused the wondering curiosity of men in all ages. But the third great inquiry, "What is the ultimate meaning, the final purpose of our life as it now exists—what its present ideal?" is as fundamental as the others, and its solution is much more urgent. It may not be possible to give an altogether satisfactory answer to any one of these questions without partially answering the other two, as the three problems intersect each other, and their solutions are finely interlaced. The conclusions of Speculative Philosophy (culminating in Theology) and those of Ethics are ultimately based upon the data which human nature supplies; and as human nature is an organic whole, the results we arrive at in one department of inquiry will necessarily modify our views in all the others. Thus, if (as is the case on the hypothesis of materialism) we have no light as to our origin and destination beyond that which the law of evolution and the sequences of physical nature supply, our ideal of life in the present could scarcely be an elevated one. We could not find a motive for the culture of our powers that would not be crippled in its action, by the obscurity of the source whence we have arisen, and the dreariness of the goal to which we tend. And if we appeal to history, it will be found that those systems which have denied to man all certain knowledge of his source or of his destiny beyond the limits of organization, have invariably lowered his ideal of culture.

But the discussion of every great philosophical question must be untrammelled by the verdict which other problems yield us, or even by the data which kindred sciences

supply; and we propose now to examine the third of the correlated questions referred to, partly in the light of a recent discussion by one of the ablest of our living critics, and partly as a theme of permanent philosophical interest, which is unaffected by the passing controversies of the age.

The late occupant of the chair of Poetry at Oxford (himself a poet and a thinker of no mean rank) has recently brought the question of culture before the British mind with singular freshness and emphasis. But we shall not, in the first instance, follow Mr. Arnold into those bypaths of subtle criticism (confessedly unsystematic), where he ranges with so free a step, and applies his doctrine to the prevailing tendencies of England with rare discriminative power and classic grace. Mr. Arnold has needlessly cumbered his discussion of a theme which is a commonplace in the philosophical schools (though he has succeeded in illustrating and popularizing it), by criticism of British politics, contemporary newspapers, and religious societies. To that extent he has reduced the permanent philosophical value of his book. At every turn, one who may agree with the main doctrine which he teaches, is forced to dissent from his applications and illustrations of it. We may also regret a certain tone of harsh and almost cynical antagonism, which detracts from the otherwise constructive character of the book. We shall therefore approach the group of questions raised by Mr. Arnold through a brief discussion of the philosophical problem, "What is the chief end of human existence—the ideal of a perfect life?" We must distinguish, however, between the theoretic ideal as an object of thought and contemplation, and the practical realization of that ideal in a finite human life. The ideal stands always contrasted with the actual, as that to which no one can absolutely attain, however he may strive, and succeed in his approach to it. There are conditions by which the range of human culture is inevitably bounded, obstacles which resist its progress and impede its freedom, which are irremovable within the limits of our present life. But these do not concern us at present. We propose, in the first instance, to discuss *the Ideal of culture* by striving to answer the question, "To what would the most perfect education of the human faculties amount, supposing all hindrances to that education were withdrawn?" Having answered this question, we shall be in a position to consider how those hindrances which prevent the realization of the ideal may be most successfully overcome; or the relation in which the Actual stands to the Ideal in culture.

What, then, is the relation in which human culture, with a view to human perfection, stands to the supreme end of life, as an ideal aim? Our answer may be stated generally thus:—That culture (when the term is broadened and deepened in its meaning far beyond Mr. Arnold's limitation of it), culture prosecuted with a view to the entire perfection of our manhood and the reflex glory of God, is the one absolute and untransferable end of human existence. This is our thesis. We proceed to the proof of it. And it may conduce to precision of statement if we distinguish between the two principal terms made use of in the proposition with which we set out. The former, viz., "culture," we regard as the means of attaining the latter, viz., "perfection:" perfection denoting the ripe result, when all the human faculties act together, vigorously and harmoniously; culture denoting the process of education, by which these faculties are trained to reach that end in concord. The distinction, however, is fundamentally empirical, inasmuch as the resulting perfection, however harmonious and complete, can never be regarded as *final*. Its supreme value consists but in the condition it affords for a still further advance. The stages of partial perfection reached, become in turn, and necessarily, but "the stepping-stones of their dead selves," on which "men rise to higher things." In other words, the states of our human nature to which the terms *culture* and *perfection* are applicable, are at once both ends and means. Looked at on one side, they are ends, as possessed of a certain inherent value; surveyed on the other, they are but means, as the conditions of still higher ends. But the determination of the final end of man's existence as a being possessed of diverse faculties, the tenant of this earth, depends essentially upon the answer we give to the really prior question, What are the essentials of human nature? What are the fundamental characteristics of man as a being distinct from the other existences that surround him in the universe? Driven thus backwards to the human consciousness,—our final court of appeal in every philosophical question,—we discern (in a way we need not tarry to explain) the ultimate fact of our personality, and, along with this, as a correlated fact, our personal freedom. Let us assume, let us take for granted in this discussion, our free human personality, and along with it the possession of certain faculties (intellectual, moral, religious, æsthetical, social). It seems indisputable that if these faculties cannot be said to have a defined existence till their activity

is called forth, is educated;—if for man they are practically real, only in so far as by man they are consciously realized; and if they are consciously realized, only in so far as they are *used* (cultivated),—it is plain that in that case the very end of the possession is *use*; that the activity of the faculties constitutes the supreme human end of the faculties. The fullest, freest, least impeded, and best balanced energy amongst the several powers of our nature thus becomes that nature's end. Whether an ulterior end is or is not subserved by this proximate end is a further question which we shall presently discuss. But in so far as man is to be regarded as a centre of personality, and as reaching his manhood only through the concurrent action of all his faculties, it is clear that man fulfils the end of his being, is, in short, *truly man*, only in so far as he fulfils the law of catholic or eclectic culture. We thus view man as a personal and free agent, whose nature is made up of certain innate powers, faculties, capacities (let him name them as he will), and whose perfection consists in the harmonious action and reaction of all these faculties. The most perfect human being is he in whom all the faculties are trained in equipoise, and balanced in their activity; each of his powers being vigorous, and all of them advancing in harmony. The list or circle of the faculties is the same in every rational creature. However stunted, there is none absolutely wanting in any human being. Even in the idiot and the insane (these malformations of humanity), the missing power is but suppressed. It is buried under a bad organization, crushed by a weak physique. The supreme and final end of every human life is therefore the perfection of each faculty in detail, and the harmony of all in unison. Though no analogy can cast much light upon a truth so ultimate, the following symbol may be of slight use. Let us imagine an inverted cone, with its apex slightly blunted, but rising on all sides upwards to infinity. Round the narrow circle forming the base cluster the normal infant energies of human nature. From the apex there is an expansion upwards; but with the rise perpendicular, there is also an expanse horizontal; and the two are co-ordinate,—they are equally indefinite and limitless. The human faculties in their march from infancy to manhood rise as do the sides of the graduated cone, but as they gain in height they expand at an equal ratio in the widening circles of breadth. Progress intellectual, moral, æsthetical, religious, may be measured by the places gained by the agents who toil on the sides and circles of the cone. The base represents that

zero of ignorance whence we set out; the positions gained and the prospects beheld are the stages and the partial lights of knowledge. The lines and circles out-reaching to the surrounding infinite, and lost above and around in the clouds, symbolize that shroud of mystery which encircles our last truths, as it enveloped the first, that solemn veil of darkness which girdles our faculties when they have reached their loftiest culture, as it wrapped them round in their embryo development. The progress from absolute ignorance to partial science, ending in a return to relative ignorance (the sum of our intellectual destiny, and a favourite theme of philosophic men), is thus faintly symbolized in the inverted cone. It may at least represent a circle of faculties advancing in harmony, each one being supposed to be linked to the first circle which formed the inverted apex. But as analogy casts but a pale and lunar light upon a problem which touches the region of transcendent truth, we lay it aside; and content ourselves with announcing once more, as a first principle of philosophic doctrine, that man's chief end is to cultivate his faculties; that the great postulate in the perfection of his nature is now to secure the deepest, widest, and intensest life; and that all the education he receives is only a system of means by which this is more or less perfectly or imperfectly secured.

We may remember, however, that in that religious catechism with which Scotland is so familiar, "man's chief end" is defined as "to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever," and no one who is at once thoughtful and reverent will quarrel with the definition. It states a great truth in brief compass. But it does not state the entire range of the truth. The aim of the compilers of that manual of instruction was not to write a series of philosophic aphorisms, but to arrange a practical digest of religious truth. And the philosophic student of the ultimate ends of human action may learn from the definition of the divines at Westminster, while he is in search of other aspects of the question with which they were unfamiliar. Let us take for granted that the chief end of the creature is to glorify the Creator; the further question immediately arises—*How* is he to glorify Him? By what means and instrumentality is he to proceed to the execution of the stupendous task? And if his answer is to be more than a barren formula—if it is to be a fruitful maxim of life and conduct, he must know how to translate the primary proposition we have referred to from indefiniteness into clearness. How is man to proceed that he may succeed in this

high and seemingly transcendent effort to glorify the infinite and limitless One? When, therefore, we perceive that by the cultivation and increase of all the powers of our nature to the greatest possible intensity, and in the greatest possible harmony, we are enabled to glorify Him in whose image our nature is cast, we feel that the formula is translated for us from the abstract to the concrete. It is by the use of all powers, by becoming the very best and highest that as human beings we can become, by neglecting no part of our complex natures, but developing to the very uttermost all the talents with which we are endowed, that our humanity can alone grow up into perfection, "compacted by that which every joint supplieth." In all this process of assiduous culture and effort, man is but an agent under the will of One higher than himself, whose perfection he is instrumentally revealing. He is achieving an end, and furthering a plan which reaches immeasurably beyond himself; and he may make that end, and realize that plan, as a conscious object of pursuit; but he is also an end to himself, and inward perfection should be a no less conscious aim of his life. We do not say that he may concentrate attention upon himself, and pursue his culture in exclusiveness and isolation from his fellows, but we do say that the perfection of his inward nature is at once a definite end of his labour, and the only means by which he can glorify Him who created that nature, and whose power co-operates with his own in all the processes of culture which tend to that glory. "It is manifest," says Sir William Hamilton, "that man, in so far as he is a mean for the glory of God, must be an end unto himself, for it is only in the accomplishment of his own perfection that as a creature he can manifest the glory of his Creator. Though, therefore, man by relation to God be but a mean, *for that very reason*, in relation to all else, he is an end." The apparent paradox is thus strictly true, that man is an end to himself, though that end is not selfish or utilitarian. At one and the same time he stands in a twofold relationship to himself and to God, and the self-regarding with the self-forgetting instincts are the two forces (centripetal and centrifugal) which, working in union—a union most perfect when it has become so natural as to be unconscious—cause his being to revolve in harmony around the central sun of the universe.

When, now, we turn to the educational schemes of the so-called "practical men" of our time, we find that they nearly all ignore the principle we have stated. The funda-

mental flaw which vitiates their system (whether they explicitly avow it, or only tacitly hold it) is the ignoble concession that man may renounce his prerogative as an end, and become mainly or merely a professional mean. The practical educationist abhors an ideal, as nature was said of old to abhor a vacuum; and his abhorrence of an ideal explains the fact that he cannot comprehend how a man can be an end to himself. He cannot appreciate culture which does not promise a return in some benefit beyond itself; and to secure some obvious practical utility, certain educational appliances are set agoing to obtain it, in the shortest possible time, and with the least possible cost. It is desirable to know the facts of history, and the laws of social statics, because these bear practically upon modern political progress. It is wise to wrest its secrets from the shrine of nature, for these can be made available in industrial production, and increase the "well-being" of man. Science is a fruitful branch of education, because science has joined hands with utility. But the ideal of a many-sided culture, in which a man regards the attainment of that culture as an end in itself, and not as a means to any end lower than himself, resting in the insight and intellectual harmony which culture brings him, is regarded by our practical educationists as at once unsubstantial, and incapable of realization. It is also represented as inconsistent with the position men occupy in a world of manifold competition, and highly complex civilisation, with enormous subdivision of labour. We admit that to succeed in any one pathway of culture, a man must willingly renounce much that lies along its margin, and invites him on either side. There must be the distinct concentration of a special faculty on a special object to effect a special end. The brevity of life, the division of labour, the complexity of our modern civilisation, and the many new and recondite paths of research that are continually being disclosed in the onward march of discovery,—these things necessitate a sacrifice of some things for the attainment of others; and while without division of labour no culture would be possible, with that division comes inevitably *the narrowing influence of the exercise of a special faculty*. As our doctrine applies not merely to the few who have the leisure, and the means for the prosecution of the highest culture, but also to the many who have them not, we admit that most men must concentrate themselves with a piercing intensity of aim on one field of action. There must be some point towards which our main efforts tend,

and around which our chief sympathies gravitate. Without such precision of aim, even splendid powers would be lost. The practical man works by concentration and limitation. Admitting this, we at the same time contend that the general cultivation of the other powers, on every possible occasion, should not lame the special power. General education, with its wide and varied culture, while it gives a larger mental horizon, and broadens sympathy, should not paralyse special effort in a chosen sphere. But the position assumed by the advocates of special and practical, as opposed to general and catholic culture, is usually tainted by the base spirit of utilitarianism. Whether in its grosser or more refined form, it estimates the value of culture, in the special department it selects, by the use to be made of it, by the ends it may subserve. It thus degrades it to the position of an instrumental means. It reverses the true position of the "means" and the "end" respectively. Instead of regarding the universe as a storehouse of educational forces, and man himself as greater than anything that educates him,—instead of interpreting the whole arrangements of human life as a complex apparatus by which the powers of the soul may be educated to their noblest height, it turns these powers into a number of passive instruments for the conquest of nature, and the accumulation of results! But to estimate the value of any department of culture by the extent to which it is available for professional uses, is as complete a degradation of our faculties as to measure the worth of knowledge by its market value in the world. It turns man into an ignoble utilitarian machine,—an instrument for the attainment of some trivial end relative to this brief time-life; nay, we maintain that professional success, however brilliant, if unidealized by this wide view of human culture and wide sympathy with man's varied nature and possibilities, while it narrows and hardens the character, is of slightly higher value than mere skill in a handicraft. Therefore, to train and to invigorate the entire circle of the powers; to form not so much the accomplished professional man, the thinker, or the artist, or the man of science, or the statesman; but to form a harmonious human being, with all his faculties educated to the fullest self-government, self-possession, repose, refinement, and activity, is the very goal of human endeavour. To secure the inward ripening and the outward expansion of our life, the culture of thought and feeling, of imagination and sympathy, of our powers of reflection and our powers of action in a harmonious many-sidedness, is a clearly intelligible end of human existence. To feel the rich

prolific powers which we all possess in germ, budding forth into leaf and bloom and fruit, not for the sake of the use to be made of that fruit, nor even for the reflex joy which the growth and expansion yield, but for the larger *wealth of experience* which they confer, while the glory of Another ascends from it, and our culture is pursued with a tacit reference to Him, is unquestionably a nobler ambition than to convert one's-self into a passive means for the attainment of some result connected with our earthly life. And in order to reach it, to make our inward being vaster, fuller, more mellowed and refined, we strive to deepen our intelligence, to etherealize our feelings, to chasten yet intensify our energies.

But as this doctrine of culture has been rashly stigmatized as an appeal to the selfish principle in human nature, we must observe the real breadth of area which it covers. It is not separative and exclusive, but intensely social. A profound interest in other lives, sympathy with other minds, and effort to carry them with us in the pathways of culture, is so essential, that without the possession of that sympathy, and without the forthputting of that effort, no man is himself truly cultivated. One large section of our complex humanity of which the powers must be evoked, is that which unites us with our fellow-men. It is at the peril of our success in personal culture that we neglect to carry others with us to the best of our ability. Efforts to educate and raise the tone of society, to redress all the wrongs we see and can redress, to relieve misery, to promote the freedom and happiness of our fellows, and the moral health of the community in which we live,—all these are parts of our culture. It is true that the doctrine which we teach tends to concentrate thought and attention in the first place on the perfecting of the individual, but as he progresses towards the goal a corresponding influence is sent outwards on all sides along his path, to aid his fellow-creatures who are toiling with him. He strives after the realization of the ideal in himself, but this realization is impossible if he does not interest himself profoundly and unselfishly in the good of his fellow-men. Thus as he advances he creates around himself an altered world. In all culture we must "consider our neighbours with ourselves;" only it is necessary that our consideration be enlightened and courteous, and that our deeds be wise,—not the crude and hasty efforts of our own idiosyncrasy, but broad, large-minded, and humane. If those actions which tend outwards from self to reach and help our fellows are to prove either stable or produc-



tive, they must be based on wisdom, they must spring from a cultivated state of soul. But the ideal of culture as certainly includes the self-forgetting as it embraces the self-regarding instincts. We dwarf our natures by the neglect of self-sacrifice as much as by despising any section of knowledge. Healthful culture is not the mere expansion of the individual, who, while pursuing his own perfection, feels "his isolation grow defined." Such culture narrows the soul in one direction while it widens it in another; and the human ties which connect man with man, which unite one thinker with another, the speculative philosopher with the poet, the poet with the man of science, the scientific labourer with the industrialist, and so forth, must be recognised by each labourer while he pursues his course along his specially selected pathway. It is true that this recognition and sympathy will be more or less intense according to the interest we take in the results of the labour pursued by our fellow-men; it is usually quick or sluggish in proportion to our actual identification with them. But whether identified with them or not, we may learn to extend a frank and manifold sympathy towards regions of human effort which we may never be able ourselves to enter.

One of the very best criteria of a well-educated mind is the range of its sympathy with departments of human labour and study with which it has a very partial practical acquaintance, and over which it may have no expectation of ever ranging freely. An ungrudged recognition of their value, as probably equal to that which the individual is pursuing, and a power of appreciating their results, while the processes by which these results have been reached are not known, is as rare as it is fruitful to the mind that has attained to it. But surely it is possible to glance over some broad area, or down some long avenue of culture, which we can never hope ourselves to traverse step by step, without falling into the snare of the dilettante. We may sympathize with much which we cannot personally pursue, and appreciate much that we have neither the leisure nor the genius to explore. And thus our many-sided culture grows. Our faculties are not left to stagnate, even although we can carry their culture but a little way; and it is the *tendency towards* perfection thereby fostered which secures a gradual harmony in the soul. No faculty is consciously arrested, but all are evoked according to opportunity. The result is the concord of many powers co-operant to one end.

The advocates of a partial and utilitarian, as distinguished from a harmonious and many-sided education, aim at completeness in one special direction. It is in this their strength lies: their clear mastery of what they do achieve. And so far as their practice tends to thoroughness, as opposed to a shallow surface culture, it is a useful protest against dilettantism. But too often the concentration of effort to one path begets a bias in favour of it so strong that it at once absorbs the entire energy of the man, and blinds his eyes to the value of what lies on either side. Thus most of the advocates of scientific culture, not content with magnifying the value of a wide knowledge of the laws and phenomena of nature, proceed to depreciate classical or æsthetic culture; or the partisans of classical study similarly ignore the claims of physical science. The speculative thinker, the poet, the historian, the mathematician, the artist, the musician, severally exalt their own department to the disparagement of the other (as they think), outlying realms. Each elevates his own section to the foreground, but usually he sacrifices his completeness to his speciality. So far it is essential that he should do so; for the prosecution of culture no less than the business of life is regulated by the division of labour. But when the partisan of one department would urge all men to follow him, and desert the ancient pathways with which he is unfamiliar, or which he has no genius to pursue, he transgresses against a primary rule of culture, and a fundamental law of progress. Thus Mr. Lowe and Mr. John S. Mill would remove from the old curriculum of university study, or shut up within the narrowest possible limits, sections of culture most valuable to the race, which have hitherto evoked its noblest powers, and proved their value by their fruits, because to themselves they are of little worth, and possess but a slight significance. Such reformers, like all iconoclasts, betray a certain rudeness towards unfamiliar phases of knowledge and of human interest, not far removed from that conceit which vaunts its little light, though it be but "the twinkling of a taper," as the most important light for future ages.

To possess a soul at once intense and many-sided, free in thought, flexible in sympathy, yet energetic in action; ready to receive and to retain new impressions, yet swift in its executive function which carries these into practice; willing to see as many sides of every question as the question possesses for finite minds, yet not paralysed by the multitude of competing views, and not

indifferent to a decision because a fragment of truth may lie in every one of these; not languid in action from the width of the intellectual prospect it surveys—such is the ideal of an educated life. It involves the possession of the amplest knowledge that is possible in alliance with the largest feeling, the widest range of sympathy in alliance with the most vigorous and energetic action;—every healthy human tendency finding free scope for its exercise, every desire that is legitimate finding satisfaction, every one that is illegitimate being controlled, the defective called forth into power, those in excess restrained;—in other words, the highest human culture is *the greatest possible health of the whole man*. All our powers must be braced by exercise, if they are to be healthy; while the activity of each power is at once a stimulus and a check to the rest. From the very constitution of human nature, each power must be curbed to make room for the action of the others; and self-denial, instead of being a special duty to be exercised towards a special portion of our nature under a religious sanction, is *a universal necessity of our human life*, if we are to approach towards the ideal of health. Health is maintained only through the control of each of our powers by the joint action of all the rest. A curb must be laid upon certain appetites, if a human being is to be even a healthy animal. Restraint must be laid upon his animal nature if he is to be a healthy human being, and his intelligent nature unstarved. But he must deny himself the exclusive pursuit of knowledge, as much as the unrestrained pursuit of mere physical perfection. He must check the outflow of his feelings by his reason; his moral perfection must go hand in hand with the culture of his imagination; his religious aspirations must have free course to ascend above the horizon of the present, and to start their hymn of praise as they ascend, but they must rise in union with his reason, and in harmony with his understanding. We do not mean that he is to turn to one part of his nature for guidance in the education of another; but he is to allow no part to encroach upon the rights of another, and that involves self-restraint in the culture of all. Thus our doctrine is opposed to all the unbridled individualism of modern culture. It opposes all forms of anarchic liberty in the prosecution of a special end, on the plea that such is the one thing needful for man, as much as it opposes a general torpor or lazy acquiescence in one set of ideas or one system of thought. It will thus be seen that religious culture is but a

part (though by far the highest part) of this universal completeness which is the ideal of man's destiny. We assume it as an axiom which no thoughtful man can gainsay, that *exclusive* absorption in religious enterprise, or devotion to religious thought and contemplation, is not the absolute end of a human being's existence. It is in these things that our human nature culminates. In these it finds its richest bloom and fruit. Within the area, so to speak, of religion, we find the sphere for the highest exercise of our highest faculties. But if the call to be devout were a call to subordinate the whole nature to the religious faculty, to secure for that not only a dominant and regulative, but an exclusive authority over us, then, in consistency, the sooner we adopted the rules of asceticism the better, and that unlovely ideal of the mediæval church were made real on our modern earth the better. We may not confound the perfection of our religious being with the perfection of our whole nature. Many a man is tolerably well disciplined as a religious being, who is signally defective as a thinker, as a student of nature, and of humanity, or as a member of society. His mind may never be permitted to receive the genial influences of Nature, or, it may be so cabined and confined to the narrow path of some *outré* experience that it may shrink sensitively from exposure to the bracing air of the world of thought. His feelings may be austere, his sympathies with his fellow-men soured and contorted, his very patriotism twisted, all through his exclusive absorption in what he deems religious culture. But ultimately his religion itself will suffer. It will pay the penalty of its own ambition. Desirous to absorb the whole nature, it may ultimately lose its rightful hold of a part. And even spiritual progress may be pursued in such a fashion as to take all grace and loveliness out of it, and turn it into the grim and forbidding image of a superstition. Nay, it is possible, in an unhealthy and overstrained sanctimony which is not religion, to neglect the common duties of life, on the plea that all the energies of the soul are engrossed with devotion. In all ages, the *merely* "religious world" has tended to narrowness, by contracting the basis from which devotion springs. "Mere spirituality," says one of our most thoughtful writers, "seems to exhaust the soil that rears it, so that Christianity must always gain much from extraneous sources." But, on the other hand, a culture which ignores religion,—which is so devoted to the perfecting of the other powers that the reli-

gious instincts lie untouched,—is equally biassed, defective, and narrow. The apostles of such a culture forget that our powers must culminate in worship, ere they bear their noblest fruit. Wordsworth used to say that the man who despised anything in Nature had “faculties within which he had never used.” The same may be said of those who omit the faculty of worship from their inventory of the powers of the soul. The speculative thinker, the poet, the artist, or student of science, who are so absorbed in their special pursuit that they do not allow the religious instinct to assert itself, or do not give it free scope for its fullest development, are *to that extent defective as men*, however perfect as thinkers, poets, artists, or men of science they may be. They practically allow a portion of their wondrous nature (and that the noblest) to lie unused within them; and a singular nemesis attends the neglect. The very faculty in course of time vanishes. The repressed instinct ceases to assert itself. They become accustomed to the want, and can dispense with the action of the faculty, and ultimately they may traduce their very nature, by denying the existence of that to which they were at first indifferent, the culture of which they found irksome, and finally ignored. We may thus explain the attitude assumed by some of the greatest teachers of modern science towards religion. They have been so absorbed with the study of nature, so engrossed with the scientific passion, that they have quietly ignored the grander sphere of religious feeling. Those instincts which would naturally have asserted themselves, and ascended in worship, have been compressed under the force of a scientific bias. They have gradually collapsed, and, long neglected, they have finally ceased to make any appeal, being crushed out by mere disuse and neglect. We may place in the same category those very biassed advocates of logical culture, whose ideal consists in the character which Wordsworth happily satirized, as

“A reasoning self-sufficient thing,  
An intellectual all-in-all.”

The merely knowing man is in reality an uneducated man, *because* he is so exclusively knowing. He cannot fail to be so; as he ignores those feelings which either underlie or are intertwined with all our knowledge, and, in so doing, he not only mutilates his nature as a whole, but attenuates his very *intellect*. No purely intellectual conclusion is ever reached, or, if reached, is of much value, without the co-operation of those instincts and emotions which intertwine their

roots with all our knowledge. Thus the logical mind, always clear and exact, but sharpened to a thin point, may tunnel its way into the heart of problems, but it works like the mole underground. It lacks vision in lacking heart, which is often the very *eye* to knowledge. And so those systems of the universe built up by the logical mind alone, present us with the mere skeleton or framework of knowledge. They are not clothed with muscle and flesh, or animated with the warm blood of our humanity; while the cloistered students who elaborate them, cut off from the complex and many-coloured streams of human feeling, are generally as imperfect men as their systems are defective structures.

But, to return to the relation in which religious culture stands to human perfection, it is true that instead of regarding the religious as one of the several faculties which we must cultivate in order to be perfect men, we may broaden the meaning of the word “religion,” and include within it the harmony of the whole individual life, as it is *re-bound* to God, in obedience to the precept, “Be ye perfect.” It is a fair question whether this extension of the meaning of the word is not at once a more accurate interpretation of it, and a better safeguard both for religion and for culture. Religious culture would thus be the culture of the whole powers of man's nature in their upward tendency. It would describe the uprise of the several powers—their *homage* in the course of their education into life and power. But in either case we must guard against identifying a narrow range of special thought and feeling which we choose to call “religion,” with the true destination of man, the end which all men ought exclusively to aim at.

In advocating this many-sided culture, we do not forget that the majority of men must limit themselves to a very narrow sphere of effort, and that the perfection to which they attain cannot but be exceedingly partial in the present life. This fact, however, does not invalidate the general axiom that the grand aim of every life, fettered as it may be by circumstance, should be to expand to the very utmost limit of which it is capable. That remains its ideal, however much its realization is hindered by the accidents of its present lot. And the injury that would otherwise accrue to one who is meanwhile “in narrowest working shut,” may be indefinitely lessened, if he admits that his nature ought to be trained to the very highest energy and harmony of which it is capable; and if he refuses to acquiesce in bland contentment or dull apathy with

the limits of inevitable fate. It is the recognition of the ideal, we might almost say its worship, that is the grand condition of progress and of expansion in this life; and by analogy we infer that it is also the condition of our growth hereafter. Now, it is said by some, "we postpone our culture in this world, because there are gigantic practical evils around us; we need to meet and counteract these evils, thinking of other things than of self-improvement. There will be leisure for that in another world." We answer by a question: "What, on this principle, becomes of the law of habit? Does not that law act with such inexorable force, that the man who neglects the present culture of powers, which he might have nourished into strength, will find "that from him who hath not, shall there be taken away even that which he hath"? Experience shows how difficult and rare it is for those who have passed a certain period of life without becoming, for example, catholic in sympathy, ever to attain to true catholicity. As there is a tide in the beliefs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to faith, so there is a tide among their sympathies which, taken at the flood, leads on to culture; omitted, all the voyage of the life may be among quicksands, and may end in confusion and wreck. The law of intellectual and moral habit operates with irresistible force on human nature as at present constituted; and we ask on what principle it can cease to operate, or be superseded, while human nature survives in its integrity? On what grounds should a man who voluntarily cuts himself off from ennobling culture now, expect not to suffer for it by being proportionally incomplete hereafter? He will doubtless be greater than his fellows in the special sphere he has entered, and in which he has, it may be at much personal cost and sacrifice, chosen to remain. But on that very account the rest of his nature will suffer loss. His mere intensity in the special line in which he has laboured, however high, religious, or sacrificial it may have been,—though it may compensate to his own mind for lack of sympathy in other directions,—will never give rise to these sympathies in a future state. He must recognise and pursue the ideal now, or he must reckon upon inevitable one-sidedness hereafter. We do not forget, as we have said, that a vast number of men must be contented to go on in the tread-mill round of industrial production. They are doomed to toil at a handicraft, or to concentrate their powers on the mechanical processes of trade. Yet they may lift their eyes from the fixed routine of daily

work, and in imagination see the fairer ideal hanging over them, as it were, radiant in the clear blue of heaven. They may also derive inspiration and energy in their toil, from the contemplation of culture as yet unreached, but not despaired of. Looked upon as a possibility of the future, it tends to elevate present labour, to ennoble what would otherwise be drudgery, and to redeem the meanest terrestrial work from degradation.

Three results seem to follow from the admission of what we have advanced. One of these is a large-minded Catholicity. This arises directly and inevitably. No man may scorn another's pathway to perfection, however different from his own, if it be really a path towards that goal. As the original balance of the powers is different in each man's life, so the course of his culture must vary; the order in which his powers awake to action will vary, and the harmony that results will vary also. As every class in society has something to gain from contact with every other class, as from each stratum in the great social fabric sympathetic movements may pass and repass endlessly, so the most cultivated man in one department may learn how best to advance, by studying the course which other men are pursuing; and all may learn how richly varied a treasure-house our human nature is, how manifold are the pathways of its progress, and how endless are the lights of knowledge which all guide to one end. One of the most direct and evident inferences from the varieties of human nature and the possibilities of human progress, is the value of an eclectic spirit, and of sympathies that are truly and inexhaustibly catholic.

A second result of the recognition of the ideal, as we have defined it, is, that self-satisfaction, indolent conceit of attainment (that worst foe of progress), becomes impossible. Every one who feels that a perfect ideal overhangs his actual performances will retain a sense of insufficiency. Ever craving a deeper insight and a larger wisdom, ever aspiring towards new attainments, and on the outlook for fresh knowledge from every quarter, he will show a proportionate humility and candour towards new truth. No conclusion that has been reached as the result of honest search by other men will be despised, and none that he has gained will be dogmatically assumed to be final. There may be confidence in what has been reached, in alliance with that grander Socratic feeling, "All that I know is that I know nothing." We may have learned that "best of all philosophical lessons, we know in part," without ignoring

the value and the validity of what we know. We may repose in the light we have, while we seek its increase, and sensitively shrink from that intellectual vanity, which deems its little light the centre of all truth and knowledge.

Thus culture, while diffusing intellectual calm, always induces a slight intellectual restlessness. As it is a movement towards a result which can never be wholly reached—a constant process of *becoming*, of which the issues are most dimly seen,—the very stimulus it receives from the unattained breeds humility in the pursuer. In proportion to its manifoldness, and to the number of forces that co-operate to produce it, with the unforeseen issues that arise out of it, there is a loss of intellectual serenity, and therefore of the self-satisfaction which accompanies a clearly defined mental horizon. Self-complacency is impossible to one the possibilities of whose nature are infinite. The pride of attainment, however frequently it exists, is philosophically inadmissible in one who recognises the doctrine we now teach.

Another result of equal value is that the harmonies in search of which some of the ablest minds have toiled so earnestly,—harmonies between reason and faith, between the spheres of knowledge and of feeling, between science and religion, emerge naturally, and without a struggle. If we recognise the fact that all our human powers are in their own place lights and guides, that all co-operate to one end (inasmuch as human nature is a unity),—and that our perfection consists in the harmony of all and the suppression of none,—then the very possibility of a collision between faith and reason is prevented. If we have a faculty of reason, and also an instinct of trust which outsoars the methods of the reason, and which carries us into regions where the understanding does not follow,—except to put into shape and form the conclusions which that instinct reaches,—there can be no final antagonism between such portions of our nature. Every faculty or instinct leaves scope for the simultaneous action of every other tendency. Moreover, it is evident that in no inquiry can we employ only one portion of our complex nature; least of all, when our study is directed to a revelation which addresses the whole nature. We may not at one stage of our inquiry make use of reason alone, and at another fall back on faith exclusively; any more than we may propose to solve all the problems touching the history of the human soul by rational analysis alone; or to elaborate the canons of criticism by a succession of acts of faith, or by the mere juxtaposition

of sentences, wrenched from their context, and taken at random from a long series of historical books. But equally, at all times, and in every inquiry, we find we must combine the action of our several powers, so far as that is possible, and exert the entire force of our being. The isolation of one portion of our nature from the rest produces immediate disease, while the dismemberment of our nature would be its death. Thus, to arrest by some intellectual ligature the free circulation of the moral life, or the spontaneous action of the heart in its uprise towards God, would be as great an evil in the interest of Philosophy, as to cramp by some religious fetter the keen sweep of our rational faculty would be a mistake in the interest of Religion. To be the partisan of the higher portion of our nature is as foolish a procedure, as to be the hired and biassed advocate of the lower; and all such exclusiveness brings with it, soon or late, the penalty of anarchy within, a tumult of the powers more or less conscious. It has the brand of imperfection stamped upon it at the first, but in addition it works to its own destruction. Thus the command to give unto reason the things which are reason's, and unto faith the things which are faith's, is anticipated as we study our human nature with a view to the harmony of a perfect life. We are conscious of the faculty of reason, and of the instinct of faith. We are compelled to honour both. We find we have not to stint our reason in deference to faith, or to withhold our faith when reason is dumb, but that both, acting simultaneously, work in concord, and to a common end.

But the question may still be put, Can any one realize this fair ideal? It is easy to issue the abstract precept, "Be perfect,"—cultivate your nature till it is perfect. Can any one approach even to within distant range of that perfection? Has not the pursuit been always destined to disappointment, and does not the heavenly precept, when tested by actual practice, seem issued in a sublime irony to man? as most of the answers to our philosophical problems seem little more than the echoes of the questions proposed; or, as Carlyle says of Hope,

"What is Hope? a smiling rainbow,  
Children follow through the wet;  
'Tis not here, still yonder! yonder!  
Never urchin found it yet."

Is not the same true of this Ideal, held up, like the cup of Tantalus, before human lips? Are there not gigantic obstacles in the way of its realization, inevitable bias,

incurable one-sidedness, faults of mental balance irremovable by culture? Nay, is it not better that the imperfections of the individual should last, and the race, composed of many individuals, attain to that which no one man can reach? And is it not true that in proportion to the eagerness with which any one aspires after this all-sidedness, he falls short in details,—that he loses the perfection of the parts, in aiming at the perfection of the whole? Does not universal culture lose in intensity what it gains in breadth, and while it widens the horizon of the mind, enervate and dim its sight? Finally, may not the cultured contemplation of many sides of a problem—especially if it concerns human duty—relax the sinews of moral effort, emasculate the man, and result in diletantism?

It must be admitted that such objections are not to be lightly dismissed. It is true that no man has ever attained to the absolute ideal; but that is only saying, in other words, that all are incomplete, that no one has exhibited the perfect harmony of a perfect life. It is also true, as we have already stated, that the perfection of human achievement is only possible through a division of labour, and that in proportion to the excellence to which a man attains in one department is his inevitable deficiency in another. With the individual and with the nation alike, the flow of the tide on one shore involves its ebb from another, the rise of the pendulum on one arc implies that it has descended the other. And it is a problem whether this oscillation will ever end, whether one nation can ever unite in its national life, as at a common focus, the grander characteristics of all its predecessors, just as it is a question whether an individual will ever arise with an individuality so great as to be absolutely cosmopolitan, and who will therefore comprehend the scattered excellencies of his fellows blent in harmonious union. It is not likely, though we cannot say it is impossible. The analogy of the past is against it, but the possibilities of the future embrace it. It may be, however, that in the future, as in the past, the man of thought will be lamed for action by the very fact that he is widened for contemplation, and that the man of practice will be narrowed in thought by the very fact that he is animated in action. The temperaments men inherit may condition the types of character and culture which they realize; and it may be as impossible for the individual to choose his own type, or to regulate it when chosen, as it is for him to alter the form of his countenance or to add a cubit to his stature. It may be that in some natures the

strength of one faculty implies the weakness of another. But we may remember that in one historic Life all the diverse tendencies of human nature were brought into perfect focus, and held in divine repose, and that in that unique Ideal Life we find the harmony of opposite or usually antithetic powers. The realization of the ideal in that "Life which is the light of men," is a historical witness to the fact that it is within the limits of the attainable, and a ground of hope for man. We do not forget that the Divine was inwrought within that Nature as it is not within ours. None the less is that Life the pattern for humanity. The very law of the Christian life is the reproduction of the image that was in Christ. If we add to it the prospects of a state of being in which humanity may expand on all sides beyond the boundaries which now hem it in, the precept which ordains perfection becomes intelligible. If we superadd to the present in which we both know, feel, and act in part, that future in which we shall know as we are known, and feel and act with unimpeded powers, we may see how our approach toward the ideal may then be incalculably quickened. Let us admit that no man is able in this life to reach that ideal harmony to which the laws of culture point, none the less is that the end of his existence; and he may start on his sublime journey ever approaching nearer to that which he can never wholly reach. While he lives on this planet he is surrounded by most imperfect educational influences. He inherits a certain bias from his ancestors. He carries it in his blood, and develops it in many forms. He acquires another bias towards special lines of thought and feeling and action. He contracts it by contagion in subtlest ways from all with whom he associates. Certain prejudices, sympathies, and antipathies are inextricably bound up with the very constitution of his nature, while hindrances lie across his path in the very realms of culture into which he enters. In part, man shapes his own ideal. Humanity shapes for him the other part. The best that he can therefore hope to reach is an approximation to that which for ever eludes his grasp. He even ascends to heights which he finds he is incompetent to keep. He breathes for a time a serener and less troubled air, and is blessed by some gleaming prospect from the mountain summit; but he must soon descend again to the more prosaic valley, perhaps to toil in some vineyard in the heat of the day. The very definition of his chief end is, as we have said, a constant *process of becoming*, rather than an act of realization. It is a movement, now swift and now tardy,

towards a goal which ever shifts and recedes as his culture rises. Always about to be, it never fully is. The ideal grows as he grows, advancing towards the measure of the stature of the perfect. The very power of intellectual vision which enables him to discern in the distance that bright vision of the perfect, reveals at the same instant his own defects, and he feels from what a solemn depth of human experience the poet Wordsworth spoke when he wrote of those

"Fallings from us, vanishings,  
Blank misgivings of a creature  
Moving about in worlds not realized,  
High instincts before which our mortal nature  
Doth tremble like a guilty thing surprised."

'But if we admit the ultimate necessity of cultivating all our powers in obedience to the precept "Be ye perfect," how, it may be asked, are we to know what our immediate duty is, with a view to that perfection? What particular powers ought we to cultivate at a given time to secure a special end? Since all the powers cannot be trained together, is there no risk of arbitrary selection in the choice of one for culture at a particular period? Nay, is there no risk that the inventory which we make of the powers and capacities of human nature may be as incomplete as our own idiosyncrasy? Manifestly we may become the victims of a very faulty ideal, and may carry on the education of our natures along some beaten track of mere individualism, mistaking it for what is broader and freer. We may never traverse the wide areas of existing knowledge, feeling, and action, just as we may obstinately take "the rustic murmur of our burg for that great wave that circles round the world." Hence the need of a wide acquaintance with what our fellowmen are doing around us, of the pathways they are traversing, of the inheritances on which they have entered, or the regions they are exploring. We may say of culture, as Tennyson says of freedom, let it

"broaden slowly down  
From precedent to precedent."

We must be guided by our predecessors, while we are not their slaves. We enter into their labours, while we cannot rest in any of them. But we are in no case left to the workings of mere caprice in the choice of a special pathway of culture at a special time. Our great guiding instincts decide these pathways for us. The balance of our powers being, as we have said, originally different in each man, and the subsequent training of the faculties being very diverse

from the first dawn of intelligent life, we find that long before we reach a time at which we must decide what track we shall mainly pursue, it is already marked out for us by the working of these instincts themselves. That we may often begin and continue to educate ourselves amiss, we must accept as more or less inevitable. We may end with being to some extent unsymmetrical, because we began with an unconscious mental twist which we inherited. But it is the function of culture to rectify the bias, to redress the inequality, and to readjust the balance of the powers, so far as that is possible. One thing no man is at liberty to do,—to yield hopelessly to the difficulties of his position, and acquiesce in his inevitable fate to remain the victim of a bias. We magnify the virtue of the chase, even though the pursuit is not always rewarded with immediate success. It is the condition of future attainment, and is nobler even without the attainment, than is the attainment without the chase. He who gives up the pursuit not only succumbs ignobly to defeat, but that defeat becomes more real and appalling as he continues to succumb. His eye, that once discerned it, now becomes blind to the real destination of man and the grand end of his existence; and he becomes perhaps the slave of some profession or trade or handicraft, solacing himself, after the ignominy seems past, by the more obvious practical utilities of this life. If space allowed, it would be easy to show in detail how fatal to the highest life of the individual is this despair of culture, and of how little worth is any material benefit he may confer upon his fellows if his own life has withered, and its growth been arrested at the root.

There is a wide difference between the preceding doctrine and the manifold special schemes which have been devised and submitted to men for the rectification of human life. The laws of culture are briefly summed up in this, "*Let your whole nature expand to the very uttermost of which it is capable, in every possible direction, that it may grow into a perfect structure, compacted by that which every joint supplieth.*" It prescribes no rules. It is utterly catholic, cosmopolitan, and inexhaustible; yet it is precise, defined, and clear. It bids us "forget what is behind, and reach out to what is before us," "nevertheless whereunto we have already attained," it bids us "walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing." Now, in contrast to this severe simplicity, we may have noted—perhaps with surprise—that many of the sages who have taught wisdom to past centuries point to one special end, the attainment of

which would lead mankind, they say, to blessedness. Sanguine that they had discovered some scheme by which to rectify the disorganization of man's life, they have assumed the office of guides, and have said to others, "Follow us; act thus, and you will be blessed; take this road, and you will reach the shrine." Let us select any one of those schemes devised and lauded as a cure for the varied ills under which humanity labours; suppose it in full operation, and achieving those results which the most sanguine of its teachers could desire,—would the result be really a perfect human state, or one approximately perfect? Would there be an approach to the ideal of human nature? We venture to affirm that even the most ardent and enthusiastic man who had sung the praises of his special scheme, would, in the gradual working out of his idea, pause, and wish that some new expedient might be added to it. He would find that as men gradually adopted his suggestion, it appealed but to a part of their nature, and while it might quicken that part, it could not stand alone—that its isolation was its weakness. He would speedily desire to supplement or underprop his scheme by sundry new devices of larger import; and whether he did so or not, humanity would soon overstep the limits prescribed to it by its self-constituted teacher. It would either quietly or tumultuously break down the barrier, and advance on its many-sided career to a destiny beyond its own calculation to foresee. It is for this reason that systems of Philosophy are endlessly changing, that new schools of Poetry and Art rise and fall again. It is for the same reason that History is re-written by new annalists, who study the fossil remains of humanity from fresh points of view; and that Science marches ever forward with unimpeded feet on the pathways of discovery. We might add that, indirectly, it is for the same reason that social and political schemes are perpetually oscillating, and that commerce finds endless outlets for its energy. The great tidal waves of human thought, feeling, and action sweep onwards with the revolution of the ages, and a different deposit is each time cast forth upon the shore, to become the successive strata, each with its own record of past life, which some future interpreter may decipher and reveal.

In the light of what has now been advanced, we may be able to estimate the value of Mr. Arnold's teaching on the subject of culture. There are two tendencies which stand somewhat sharply contrasted in human nature (but which are not so distinctly opposed as Mr. Arnold asserts)—that, viz., which goes forth towards thought and contempla-

tion, and that which tends to work and action. To these two tendencies Mr. Arnold has given the names—open themselves to criticism—of Hellenism and Hebraism; because the former, or the tendency to thought and contemplation—was the ideal of the ancient Greeks; the latter—the tendency to obedience and action—was predominant in the Jewish race, and characteristic of the Hebrew law. He says that "the force which encourages us to stand stanch and fast by the rule and ground we have is Hebraism; and the force which encourages us to go back upon this rule, and to try the very ground on which we appear to stand, is Hellenism,—a turn for giving our consciousness free play, and enlarging its range." "Cutting our being into two, attributing to the one part the dignity of dealing with the one thing needful, and leaving the other part to take its chance,—that is the bane of Hebraism." "In Hellenism we find the impulse to the development of the whole man, to the harmonizing all parts of him, perfecting all, leaving none to take their chance." In this statement of the case we detect a very decided Hellenic bias. In proportion to the extent of its national literature, the Hebrew race gave marked proof of the vigour of its thought. It did not traverse so wide an area as did the contemporary or succeeding schools in Greece, but it thought as profoundly and as effectively within its narrow region. The scribes and seers of Palestine did not sail out over the distant seas of knowledge (as the Jewish merchants did not traffic much with the traders of the East or West), but they took deeper sea-soundings within the limits to which they were confined. Besides, the Hebrew race was working out an experiment that was scarcely consistent with vast width of thought and a many-sided national culture. Its scribes were not encyclopædists, *because* they were the custodians of a special theology, and because religious worship was the centre of their culture. Turning to Greece, where Mr. Arnold says we will find a tendency to the perfecting of the whole man, "leaving no part to take its chance," it is not historically certain that religious culture, morality, and obedience to law, were pursued with any ardour except by one or two of the most exalted spirits of antiquity. But when we examine the great systems of thought that have come down to us from that classic land, instead of finding that a life of contemplation constitutes the Greek ideal, we discover that the whole drift of Socrates's teaching was practical,—though his doctrine of virtue was not; that Plato's ideal (the man to whom we owe the consecration of the term) was not a speculative one; while Aris-



totle's moral system is from first to last a eulogy of the practice of virtue. On the other hand, there is much to justify Mr. Arnold's phraseology. It signalizes a radical distinction between two tendencies of our nature. His terms Hellenism and Hebraism may be held as descriptive of the two main streams of human effort, as these tend respectively to thought and to action. It is undeniable that they often act as counter currents in the sea of human life, producing storm; while they ought ever to blend and co-operate to one result. Mr. Arnold thinks that a predominance of Hebraism now menaces our English national life, and all our modern culture; and he would correct this by a strong infusion of the Hellenic element,—that spirit which sits apart from practical questions, and lets the mind and consciousness play around the problems which are raised. "Now, and for us, it is time to Hellenize, and to praise knowing; for we have Hebraized too much, and have over-valued doing." We heartily respond to all that Mr. Arnold so powerfully and beautifully teaches as to the need of increased light, and of a larger amount of the Hellenic spirit in our time. But we may ask if there is no risk of our culture degenerating, and losing the vigour of its tone from that subtle quietism which steals over the mind that is always contemplating, and hence postponing action. And is there not a further risk of missing the very light, which flows only in the wake of action? Let your "thought and consciousness play freely around the problem," says Mr. Arnold; whatever that problem may be, of graver or of lighter character. If this be but a summons to thoroughness of investigation, and freedom from all bias in the discussion of the problem, if it be merely to call to exercise a just and rational insight into every question, we cordially assent to it. But it is evident that Mr. Arnold would postpone all practical action till thoroughly assured of the wisdom, not only of the result aimed at, but also of all the steps to be taken towards that end. It is in this that we detect the Hellenic bias. But is not light frequently denied to a man or to a nation till they begin to act? Does not mental clearness sometimes follow practical action, and not precede it? Is it not sometimes morally fatal to postpone an action till all its issues are intellectually seen? And in this advice tendered to modern Englishmen, to allow their thought and consciousness to remain in a lambent state, to let their faculties play around all problems, if it really means anything beyond a summons to clearness, to thoroughness, to thoroughness, and to catholicity,—if meant as a check to our

British love of "realized ideals," we are convinced that Mr. Arnold errs through his meditative bias. The mere play of consciousness upon a problem that concerns duty will not solve it, unless action is contemplated as a sequel to thought. Hellenic contemplation, presenting all the possible sides of each question, and weighing them in delicate intellectual balances, may directly enfeeble the will and enervate the practical worker. Mr. Arnold would recall our statesmen from practical reforms to the meditative state. He counsels the leaders of opinion and of party, not only to care less about mere party (advice most opportune), but not to busy themselves with the redress of evils which they feel to be the immediate duty of the hour to them, to preserve a soul at leisure from itself, a consciousness unobscured by the mists which gather round and cloud all minds restless for action. "Let your consciousness play with the problem," he says, "let thought stream in upon it." "Good," reply the practical reformers, "we have done so, we have studied its conditions, we have sought its solution, but have found that the problems are not to be solved by thought alone. The mysteries of moral action do not yield up their secrets of light, while we

'Sit apart holding no form of creed,  
But contemplating all.'

The enigmas of the spiritual universe do not reveal themselves to the speculative faculty roaming in search of them, as the mediæval knights wandered in search of the sangreal but found it not. And while we continue to meditate, there is some risk of our being 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.'

The contrast between the two tendencies is seen in its sharpest form in the way in which they would respectively deal with the practical evils which menace every human life. "Sit still, and profoundly contemplate them," exclaims the meditative sage with the Hellenic spirit. "Arise and abolish them," says the deeper wisdom of the Hebrew nature. "Let your consciousness play freely around the problems, lest you fall and worship the fetish of some practical reform," says the man of thought. "Get thee forth into their midst, and 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,'" says the nobler law of Hebrew action. It seems evident that to continue thinking over problems that relate to action, without proceeding to act, is to become speedily paralyzed. Our faculties of thought may refuse to play longer around the problem, lest in that very process it becomes a different but more unworthy fetish than the other. It might

occur to the advocates of Hellenic culture that were the Philistines whom they teach to practice this precept of letting thought play with the many sides of their own doctrine of culture, it would be a considerable time ere they could receive the very Hellenism that is set before them. The Hellenist is in no particular haste to remove any existing evils that linger in the world. He appreciates the principle, "Let both grow together until the harvest;" they are but a few tares amongst the wheat, a variety to study and contemplate. It would be an unsafe experiment to try to uproot a single tare by an effort of the will; rather let your consciousness play freely around the tare. He is averse to all crusades against existing evil. Did not the crusaders of mediæval times, embarking on a bootless errand, come back in ignominy and failure? We regard this spirit as utterly fatal to true moral culture and spiritual progress. History, we remind the Hellenist, is full of abrupt and stormy movements even in that classic land of repose, and some of the most sudden revolutionary changes have heralded the seasons of choicest intellectual growth in a people, just as the most energetic movements of the will have promoted the moral life of the individual. Even Nature has her earthquakes, symbolic of those human forces that are subterranean and under-working; but these violent changes have been productive of ultimate good, in keeping up the balance of physical force in the universe. And whether his action resembles nature's more violent changes or her more tranquil processes of growth, whenever an unquestionable evil exists, it is the immediate duty of each man to remove it, and to clear the way for future contemplation by the vigor with which he works in beating it down. His primary duty is not to survey the numerous sides of the question in finely drawn analysis (in which case he would easily find a justification for any course of action he might eventually adopt), any more than it is his duty to consider what he would do were the conditions of the case altered. As Robert Browning profoundly says—

"The common problem mine, yours, every one's,  
Is not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be—but finding first  
What may be, then find how to make  
it fair

Up to our mean—a very different thing!  
No abstract intellectual plan of life  
Quite irrespective of life's plainest laws,  
But one, a man, who is a man, and nothing  
more

May lead within a world which (by your  
leave)

Is Rome or London—not Fool's Paradise.  
Embellish Rome, idealize away,  
Make paradise of London if you can,  
You're welcome, nay, you're wise."

Again, in the same great poem he condenses much thought in a single line which we may apply, as we have applied the preceding extract—

"I am much, you are nothing! you would  
be all,

I would be merely much."

There can be little doubt that Mr. Arnold's doctrine tends less or more to emasculate character, because it lays an almost exclusive stress on mere thought. It indefinitely postpones action. The efforts of the will are all subordinated to the calm luxury of the serene intelligence. Though it does not directly inculcate quietism, it does so virtually; as it leads men to hold all forms of faith in solution, so to speak, or to study them as from a distance. Be it admitted that we need more of the light of reason to check the vagaries of a capricious activity, and the impulsive enthusiasm of a very practical people, in a very practical age. Nevertheless, as the age is on the whole as practical as it is contemplative, we must sympathize with its forward movements, or we unfit our natures for the reception of that light which these movements reveal, and cramp our intellectual energies. It is true that the majority of men need to reflect more accurately before they act. The discipline of thought is the most valuable means of regulating the very miscellaneous and ill-assorted forces that tend continually to action in an unreflective manner. Men must be taught to act with wisdom, grace, and rationality; and if trained to think more profoundly, they may be expected to act in a more enlightened manner. But no careful student of history can fail to see that the risk of lapsing into listless quietism has been greatest in the most intellectual men and the most intellectual ages. Meditative luxury breeds inaction, indolence in facing the evils of the present, with a loss of faith in the worth and power of action, which is one of the greatest calamities which can befall a thinker. In proportion to the very delicacy of his perception of what constitutes the ideal, he may shrink from action till he has satisfied himself that he has withstood all false bias. But a disinclination to arise and take part in redressing an unquestionable wrong is very easily engendered. The fascinations of cultured thought are great, especially when accompanied with a strong recoil from the rawness of the common "Philistine" modes of action, with their obtuse precipitate and unreflective ardours. But the Hellenist is most likely

to become disgusted with practical life altogether; and in his anxiety to escape from the whirlpool of blind endeavour, he runs the risk of being left high and dry on the rock of a listless inactivity. That evil menaces human culture in every age. Though we may admit in words that thoughtful action is as necessary as active thought can be, we may unduly circumscribe the sphere of action, and find ourselves biassed towards that Hellenism which rests and thinks that it may not work unwisely, in our nervous horror of that Hebraism which works promptly (though it may be awkwardly) that it may at length see aright and wisely. And this is the extreme to which teachers such as Mr. Arnold tend. He admires all calm repose, self-centred, dignified, serene; undisturbed by the roar and strife of time. He pities all the minute and toilsome workers who lack profounder vision, and labour in a groove because they see but one thing they ought to do, and do it eagerly. He seems to overlook the fact that in all moral problems the legislative function of the intellect is the mere herald of the executive function of the will, and that we must sometimes act and obey, *in order that we may see and know.*

We do not wonder that Mr. Arnold is somewhat sad in his anticipations of the future. The prospects which he sees a head are not encouraging, and he has few words of cheer to address to this generation. He laments our modern British "Philistinism," with its sordid worship of machinery and comfort. But he offers no scheme of redress. He is confessedly without a system, and distrusts all system-builders. The substance of his message to his contemporaries is, "It is light and sweetness that you all need, therefore get light and get sweetness, both within you and around you." But he does not tell the generation of the "Philistines" how they are to get these inestimable gifts, except by bidding them look back to Greece, and "let their mind and consciousness play around all problems." He shrinks from counselling men to take part in any practical scheme for the amelioration of their fellows, from his antipathy to all rough and coarse movements. Yet every worker, who strives to carry the ideal into practice, must come into close contact with the ungainliness and awkward movements of those who are acting without an ideal around him. And this is precisely the difficulty which the man of the highest culture finds in all his efforts to translate his ideal into actual life. The moment he begins to act amongst the raw unidealized portions of humanity, that moment he meets with an arrest; and it may be sometimes necessary to make a com-

promise in order to succeed at all. He may have to descend, with his ideal somewhat veiled, to a level where, if fully displayed, it would not be understood; and by slowly unveiling it, he strives to raise the tone of society by degrees. It might even seem as if the worker's own ideal would suffer from his contact with the masses of mankind; and it is perhaps for this reason that Mr. Arnold shrinks from identifying himself with practical schemes of reform. He fears that all reformers lay down their Hellenic completeness on an altar unworthy of the sacrifice. But no such fear ever characterized any great leader of men, any true prophet of the past, any powerful educator of his race. Can we imagine St. Paul, Chrysostom, or Cromwell (to select very different types of men), tarrying in the execution of a great and sacred task, lest they should transgress the rules of philosophic calm, after their voice had once been raised against the practical abuses of their day? We admit that all leaders of the people have been defective on many sides of their character. Inevitably, they are men of one, or at most a few ideas. If burdened with many, they would be proportionably hampered in the carrying out of each. Let it be granted that practical action is one-sided,—that it involves a sacrifice to the completeness of the individual or the nation. The want of it is equally one-sided, and involves an equal sacrifice. And both the world and individuals have hitherto advanced by a series of one-sidednesses. Time, however, tends to rectify these. Reactions are inevitable, from the very fact that the extreme has been approached; and thus both Nature and Humanity readjust themselves. But the man or the nation that would rest in the centre of intellectual calm, and dread activity from the risk of one-sidedness, stagnate in the repose they love, and miss the gain of the extremes when the mean state is reached.

It is not difficult to explain the melancholy undertone of Mr. Arnold's teaching, and the helplessness of his Hellenic ideal to touch the miseries of the world, and rectify its disorder. He confines us, after all, to individual perfection, and never carries us out of the charmed circle of self. He leaves no scope for the centrifugal tendency of human nature. True, he does not directly enforce the utilitarian creed, but its aroma (if it can be said to possess one) is felt throughout. He even recognises "the love of our neighbour, impulses towards action, help and beneficence, the desire of stopping human error, clearing human confusion, and diminishing the sum of human misery," as parts of human culture. But it is in their relation to self-perfection that

these are valued; the motive that urges to their cultivation is, according to the Hellenic ideal, the desire of individual completeness. This contraction of the area of culture attenuates while it refines the spirit, and dries up some of the purest springs of human energy and hopefulness. When the Greek ideal is exclusively present to the soul, it restrains unnatural fervour, it represses fire and enthusiasm, but it also begets a distinctive type of sadness, intellectual languor, and ennui. We trace this in some of Mr. Arnold's subtlest and finest poems, as well as in his prose essays. Exquisite and delicate thought is exquisitely and delicately expressed; but a sad refrain of life-weariness seems to underlie or to haunt them all. It is partly the absence of faith in the power of unselfish action which imparts this tone of sadness; and partly the tendency of the Hellenic ideal to isolate its votary from his fellows. We miss the spring of creative joy which wells up in that man's heart, who grapples with the evil he laments, in heroic self-forgetfulness, and in the patience of hope.

For the same reason we find that some of the most exquisite phrases of culture are overlooked by Mr. Arnold altogether. The conscious pursuit of self-perfection necessarily fails in those regions where greatness, to be sublime, must be *unconscious*; and we never find the unconscious grace of culture when the individual does not act, as well as think. Our thought is most vigorous when it is most conscious; our actions are the fairest when they are least consciously performed; and by far the larger portion of *moral* culture is unconscious. Even in those cases in which an effort of the will is needed, self-consciousness, and the desire to perfect our being by the act, is fatal to the act's perfection. For example, if in benevolence we think of any after gain arising from its practice, the moral quality of our deed disappears. It ceases to be charity, and sinks to the level of almsgiving. So with the gain resulting from acts of self-control and sacrifice. It is only to be won when the very process of winning it, and the compensations which it brings, are altogether forgotten. We must discount these from our calculations, or rather make no account of them at all, if we would secure their richest bloom and fruit.

Several minor points in Mr. Arnold's teaching remain to be noticed. One of these is his separation of Culture from Religion, and even from Poetry, Philosophy, and Science; though he maintains that they all co-operate to one end. In vindicating his doctrine from assault, he seeks to prove that an enlightened religion and culture have a common tendency; comparing their respective

ideals, he finds that they agree in the precept, "Be ye perfect." We think that in this statement of the case, he has unduly narrowed the range of culture, and exposed himself needlessly to a flank movement of attack. It is at once simpler, and philosophically more accurate, to regard religion as one part of the universal culture, which, in its totality, is the true end and ideal of human life; or, as we have suggested in an earlier page, to broaden the meaning of the term Religion, and regard it as the homage of all the powers in their uprising towards God. Either the term Culture should be used generically as inclusive of all the human faculties and all their tendencies—in which case it will include the religious instincts within it—or the term Religion should be widened to embrace the action of all the faculties when they ascend in the tribute of adoration. In either case Mr. Arnold's limitation is unwise.

Further, we think that he has put himself into a position of needless and (at times) of almost cynical antagonism to what he calls "machinery." He uses the term in a double sense,—the ordinary one of mechanical contrivance, with its new inventions and large industrial results; and (as an idea derived from this) the routine or stock notions, and processes of action, which have been mechanically adopted to secure certain ends. As to the former, we cannot think that human nature, in finding an outlet for its many-sided activity in the direction of "machinery," acts in a way that is hostile to culture. We prefer (as in the case of religion) to include the practical tendency which finds scope in new inventions to accelerate labour, and to supersede manual toil by mechanical contrivance, within the sphere of culture. Let it be admitted, that it is intrinsically of much lower value than any other kind of effort, bearing on the perfection of the individual. Still, as it implies the victory of man over nature, insight into her laws, and the utilization of her processes, it is the condition of other and higher grades of culture; and inasmuch as it is a virtual necessity of human life, let us concede its value and respect its tendency. As to the latter, we think that what Mr. Arnold would substitute in place of the machinery he rejects, runs no small risk of becoming itself mechanical. Frequently he speaks of culture as if it were some magical instrument or weapon which its followers must wield to effect certain ends otherwise unattainable, to get rid of certain blemishes otherwise ineradicable. Culture, he says, does this, culture asks that; culture forbids this, culture enjoys that. We become weary of the reiteration; and though the

worship of machinery is everywhere denounced, and the effort to accomplish by certain stock methods certain preconceived results is represented as the very bane of our modern civilization, we cannot avoid feeling that the new instrument may be worshipped as a new "machine," though baptized with the name of Culture. This result is almost certain should Mr. Arnold have the satisfaction of seeing a school of disciples arise to follow him in their devotion to the Hellenic ideal. In their hands it would degenerate. The *μυστήρια* of the master would become a stock notion to the disciples; and either dilettantism would ensue, or a more defined system would arise, and the pupils learn to swear by their rabbi. As we have used the term Culture, it only amounts to a convenient phrase by which the *process of education* is tersely described.

Then when Mr. Arnold endeavours to explain the ultimate meaning of his doctrine, he tells us that his aim is "to see things as they are." "To this culture sticks fondly." Again and again he reiterates the statement that culture refers "all our operating to a firm intelligible law of things;" but when we ask what this law is, we have no firm intelligible answer. We are not landed in the ultimate mystery of a first principle, but we are lost in the mist of an abstract proposition. We ask for an interpretation and we obtain a formula, we desire bread and we receive a stone. Instead of a fruitful and elastic rule which might become a guiding principle,—a test by which to distinguish the spurious from the real,—we have a barren aphorism, which in its turn runs no small danger of being "worshipped as a fetish" by those who may adopt it.

To say that a tone of intellectual arrogance, especially towards this generation, characterizes all Mr. Arnold's teaching is perhaps to say too much; but his attitude is austere, and his work is not lovingly and healthily constructive. He would have accomplished a nobler and more durable result had he restrained his powers of polished satire, and while more sparing in his criticism of minor men and measures, had contented himself with holding up an exalted ideal to his contemporaries. Respect for your adversary is a prime condition of success in intellectual warfare; respect for your pupils (even although they are Philistines) a condition of successful teaching. A singularly acute and victorious critic of our existing systems, Mr. Arnold proclaims that they all lack "sweetness and light." It is well that we have one amongst us so profoundly in sympathy with the Hellenic ideal, and so swift to correct our British

"Philistinism" with its rash impulses, its stock notions, and vulgar appreciations. But we cannot regard the critic's as the highest type of mind. Mr. Arnold is not of the mould of Carlyle, who with all his destructive energy is kindly within, and creative, with no touch of the cynic in his nature. He has the critic's clear eye; but he lacks the warmth, the large fertility, the creative sympathy and kindliness of the seer. He has told us over and over again that he is a man without a system. He can hardly expect to induce the age to follow him towards an ideal of which the root is so very vague. But while theoretically disowning system, and hitting hard at the system-makers, he is practically forced to depart from this attitude of negation. He brings forward several highly elaborate and suggestive schemes, which he tells us "culture approves." He is anxious to guard us against supposing that when by the help of culture he "criticises some imperfect doing or other, he has in his eye some well-known rival plan of doing which he wants to serve and recommend." But in spite of this protest against a course, which he elsewhere describes as "giving the victory to some rival fetish," he is compelled to do much more than merely "turn a fresh stream of thought on the matter in question." Thus he praises a National Church, and is vehemently opposed to all disestablishment. He even satirizes the advocates of the latter, and imputes unworthy motives to the present Liberal leader; and in his opposition to the unbridled individualism of Dissent, he wishes us to fall back on "what has commended itself most to the religious life of the nation." But may not the idea conveyed in this phrase become as absolute a "stock notion" as any of those which Nonconformity worships? It may degenerate into the mere authority of the past, and the nation find itself fettered by tradition. And may not the advocates of Nonconformity make a similar appeal to "what has commanded itself to the religious life of the nation," and plead a *raison d'être* in pointing to the past history of their sects? Mr. Arnold finds that culture "leads him to propose to do for the Nonconformists more than they themselves venture to claim," more than the Dean of Westminster and his party have proposed in their scheme of a National Church of the future. Culture, he says, leads us to think that the best thing is "to establish, that is, to bring into contact with the main current of national life in Ireland, the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches along with the Anglican Church; and in England a Congregational

church of like rank and status with our Episcopal one." Is not that a gigantic "rival plan of doing"? and its proposer has not told us *how* "culture approves" of it. We have only his individual opinion that such is the verdict of cultivated thought on the point in question. Said we not truly, that his repudiation of practical schemes breaks down; and that the link of connexion between the scheme he actually submits, and the culture which he teaches, is so vague as to be imperceptible?

Again, we find Mr. Arnold frequently generalizing from data which do not warrant his inferences; and it is the tendency of all comprehensive generalization to become vague in proportion to the breadth of the area it covers. Thus in his remarkable classification of British society into the three grades of the Philistines, the Barbarians, and the Populace, while he has successfully named and acutely criticised the first of the three, and may be almost said to have minted a new term for current use in the English language, it is not likely that his second term will be either appreciated as accurate or adopted to any extent. On the whole it is a mistake to divide society by sharp lines of demarcation into classes founded on intellectual differences. In no case is the risk of false classification greater, as we deal with a type of existence of which the forces are so manifold, so protean, and so many of its phenomena latent, while their sources are so obscure. Each caste or class in society shades into that which is contiguous to it by fine and almost imperceptible gradations; they sometimes intersect each other, and often meet in the same individual. This fact has not escaped the notice of so observant a critic as Mr. Arnold. But we doubt if he has given due weight to it, or if he sufficiently recognises the presence of the Barbarian element among the populace, and of the Philistine element amongst his barbarians. If the crossings and blendings of these types are very numerous, the success of his classification is weakened. And if the variability of the type is admitted to the extent which we think it must be admitted, the distinctive features of the three classes, as they now exist, would need to be much more marked, to warrant Mr. Arnold's classification.

As a further instance of rash generalization, we are told of "a law" which "forbids the rearing outside of National Establishments of men of the highest spiritual significance." The accuracy of this estimate will depend on the ideal of spiritual significance which the student of history forms, and also on the glass through which he stu-

dies historical phenomena. But we hazard the counter assertion (with a strong bias in favour of Establishments), that there are as many minds of the highest spiritual significance outside of all Establishments as within their venerable precincts. The explanation of the law he has discovered, which Mr. Arnold gives, is, that Nonconformity is "not in contact with the main current of national life." The explanation is as inconclusive as the law. Surely the current that sweeps outside of Church Establishments is as broad, as various, and sometimes as deep as that which flows within their banks. All the facts, we are afraid, do not tally with this theory; and in those individual cases to which Mr. Arnold's statement applies (and it applies to many), the real explanation of the defect is not remoteness from the main stream of national life, but an inability fully to comprehend that stream, and to sympathize with the mixed elements of which it is composed.

It may seem ungracious towards a writer who has done so much to illustrate and to advance some of the choicest forms of culture, to object to the terms he has made such frequent use of in teaching these. But Swift's phrase, "sweetness and light," which Mr. Arnold thinks the most appropriate to describe the twofold tendency of culture toward the Beautiful, and toward Intelligence, is far from felicitous. Sweetness has a flavour of mere sensation, with which we would willingly dispense; and light is not sufficiently discriminative if it is to be confined to the action of the intellect. There is moral as well as mental light.

At the beginning of this article we referred to the relation in which the doctrine of Ideal Culture stands to kindred problems; and there are at least two other questions closely related to the one with which we started, "What is the chief end of Man?" They are these—"Whence have we come?" and "Whither do we tend?" We may be able to answer the first of the three, without obtaining a philosophical reply to the other two; but we cannot *pursue* the course which that answer indicates, without some approximate solution of the others. And every doctrine of culture which ignores them, or pronounces them insoluble, is to that extent defective in moral power, if it does not lack all moral leverage. We need some ἀγγέλιος. What force is to urge the soul forward in this career of many-sided life? What is to facilitate the progressive harmony of its powers? Is it true, as Mr. Arnold represents Empedocles as saying—

"Once read thy own heart right,  
And thou hast done with fears;

Man gets no other light,  
Search he a thousand years" ?

Must the force proceed from human nature itself, and its relation to this present state of being? or must it not rather spring from a perception of our Origin and our Destination? If we perceive that we have emerged from the Infinite, not as atoms developed by the slow evolution of an eternal Force, but as beings cast in the image of the Creator, and destined to immortality, we have a motive for the culture of our powers that is inexhaustible. If, on the contrary, we merely stand by the side of the stream of human existence, or float on its upper surface, wholly ignorant of its origin and of its issue, we may drift with the current, but we can have no motive to advance. It would be a matter of indifference to us where we stood along the margin of a line, both ends of which are lost in the darkness of the Infinite. But as we need inducements and stimuli to urge us forward, we must know the points from which and to which we tend. Where can we find a motive to progress, if not in the ambition to reach "the measure of the stature of the perfect?" When we remember our origin and discern our immortality, we continue the laborious quest for knowledge, we willingly renounce beliefs that have proved their immaturity by our advancing growth. Every branch of philosophic study, of scientific labour, or of artistic toil, yields us some new element with which to carry on the education of our powers. We venerate the past and strive to learn from its rich accumulations, but we aim at a larger and more mellowed culture than any that the past has bequeathed to us; while we remember that Man himself is "greater than anything that educates him," greater than any object that surrounds him in the universe of finite existence.

#### ART. VIII.—PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA.

1. *Reports of the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Public Works Department.* Printed at Calcutta by order of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.
2. *Administrative Reports of the Public Works Department of the various Presidencies of India.*
3. *Indian Polity.* By Major GEORGE CHESNEY, R.E., Accountant-General to the Government of India, Public Works Department. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

"Roads for India?" — "Why, India is itself one great road!"

Such was the evidence tendered to a Committee of the House of Commons, which happened not long ago to be engaged inquiring into the wants of our Eastern Empire—the witness in this instance being a member of Parliament enjoying the reputation of knowing India well.

By the assertion that India is itself a road, this gentleman meant to imply that the sun-dried soil and empty water-courses found there during the rainless months of each year afford every requisite facility for the movements of its inhabitants. To him, and to a once considerable but now scarcer class who think with him, there seemed nothing amiss in a condition of things which compelled the cultivator, when carting his produce to market, to undertake a journey across country in fox-hunting fashion, or at best along roads of a description so rude as to entail a certain waste of time, and a considerable risk of accident. For, notwithstanding frequent invocations of his gods, and many stimulating twistings applied to the tails of his oxen, the driver might consider himself lucky who reached the end of his journey without sustaining injury in cart or bullocks—racked to pieces in ruts which immersed wheels up to the axle-tree, or goaded to death in struggles to cross passes hardly practicable for unladen animals.

The setting in of the annual rains of the tropics, which saturate the loamy soil and flood the bridgeless rivers to an extent prohibiting the passage of travellers, and which, in fact, is the signal for the owners of carts to remove the wheels and store them in dry places throughout each June, July, and August—this complete suspension of the traffic of the country might at all events have seemed capable of evoking an admission of the necessity of some remedial measure. But no! In the minds of certain Anglo-Indian praisers of past times, this very consequence of a want of roads appeared to offer a conclusive proof that no roads were needed.

We trust we are correct in saying that views of this retro-active nature are no longer prevalent among us; and that they need now be considered only in the light of causes which explain the faint progress works of improvement have hitherto made in India. Of late each fresh Secretary of State for India—and during half-a-dozen years we have had about as many occupants of the office—has lost no opportunity of stating his conviction of the importance of roads and canals for his charge. And,

doubtless, each has used efforts to give his views effect. Some progress, too, has actually been realized in this direction. But much, very much, work yet remains to be done. Districts as large as half-a-dozen English counties put together, and possessing a soil more fertile than is to be found in Europe, are without roads for the conveyance of their crops to market. Others, equally rich and extensive, are liable to periodical visitations of famine, owing to the want of water, which might with care be led along channels, to irrigate their fields. In such parts of India a year of drought means a year of death.

No doubt the task of meeting these many requirements is no easy one. The field of labour is so vast: the means immediately available for work appear so inconsiderable. Nature seems there so all-powerful: Man so feeble, so liable to be soothed into sloth by the enervating influences of climate. The very extent and intricacy of the official machine by which an order is conveyed from the lips of the Minister in London to the ear of the man who is to work it out in India, would alone interpose serious risks of delay, if not of absolute abortion. And the Minister must find it no easy matter to hit off a happy medium between the execution of imperfect projects, pressed for his adoption by enthusiasts within or schemers without, and the no less mischievous alternative of inaction to which the faulty system of Public Works\* finance or the advice of over-cautious counsellors might well drive him.

He cannot adopt the course pursued in the case of the grand mosques, temples, and tanks which mark the reigns of former rulers of India. Shah Jehan might unhesitatingly order every labouring man and every beast of burden within a given circuit, to be impressed into the task of damming up an artificial lake for irrigation, or of opening a way across a mountain pass. But Queen Victoria could not venture on so Eastern a form of procedure. Compulsory labour has an evil sound in the ear of an Englishman. He cannot be brought to consider its application in other countries as in any degree excused by the fact of its having not long ago existed in principle in his own.

Yet in justice to our predecessors in the

East, it must be acknowledged that forced labour was in many respects not ill adapted to the circumstances of their subjects. The languid temperament inherent in inter-tropical nations, added to habitual subjection to arbitrary authority, has rendered the native of India more inclined to obey a command to work than to respond to an invitation that work shall be done in consideration of a recompense. As in France the national need for despotic control is alleged to be shadowed forth in the words "*Il est défendu*," which everywhere meet the eye of the traveller in that country—so in India the inborn reverence for authority is typified in the idioms of its language, of which "*Hookm hai*" (It is decreed) appear the words ever on the lips of its people. The very terms in which a prohibition is expressed serve to show this national craving after commandments. The doorkeeper whose duty it is to bar the entrance of a mosque, or other forbidden place, stops the intending trespasser with the injunction, "There is no order for you to enter here." And so it is in almost every phase of thought or action.

Government, in the mind of the man of Hindustan, means a mighty inscrutable thing, endowed with undisputed power to use its subjects as to it seem best, and called upon to regulate by rule every act of their existence. With him all sense of individuality is effectually merged in a consciousness of constituting a marvellous small fraction of a great human whole lying at the absolute disposal of his sovereign. An order to labour on behalf of this master seems to him a very reasonable exercise of power.

Nor must it be imagined that labour was exacted after the fashion of the hard taskmasters who exist in English minds in association with this state of things. Those who have mixed much with the natives of India know that in their treatment of servants they are kind and considerate. The word "slave" has no proper equivalent in their language. "Son of the house" is the term generally used to denote the African who at times may be found in the domestic establishment of a Mussulman—slave in so far that he was bought in the market—but wearing his bonds lightly, as may be imagined from the kindly epithet accorded to him. To meet slavery in its English sense, one must pass the mountains of the Hindoo Koosh, and seek for it in Balkh or Bokhara.

In carrying out this compulsory process, the Mogul Shahs observed in a fair degree the dictates of humanity and the prejudices of religion. Labour was demanded only during the season when agricultural opera-

\* In describing works of improvement we shall hereafter adopt the comprehensive designation of Public Works used in Anglo-Indian official language, and of which we give the following interpretation by Major Cheaney:—"In India the term Public Works has always been applied to every kind of building operations undertaken by the Government, and includes, therefore, the construction and repairs of all State buildings, civil and military, as well as the prosecutions of roads, railways, and irrigation works."—*Indian Policy*, p. 357.



tions in India are at a stand-still, and moderate wages, or rations of food, were allowed to the workmen. Nor were the less substantial luxuries of sweetmeats and fireworks wanting to reward them for the successful completion of their task—and sweetmeats and fireworks are, to the working man of India, the same source of gratification that fire-water is to an English navvy. To men thus gathered together there was no great hardship in being compelled to sleep under a rainless sky; and shelter, if necessary, might almost anywhere be found in the temples or houses of fellow caste-men, or be easily improvised with branches of trees and coarse matting.

But widely different as was the Indian system of old from the oppression practised in the land of Egypt, either in the days of Pharaoh or of Mohammed Ali, its adoption at the present time is of course out of the question. Such works as we require must be made by volunteers, for whom the wages we offer shall present a sufficient source of attraction. And on this score we need have little cause to fear, seeing the readiness with which workmen flock to the operations of the Indian railways. The difficulties in the way of providing public works for India are of a different nature. To understand them, it is necessary to keep in view the peculiar position which the British government occupies in that country.

Her Majesty's Viceroy at Calcutta, in addition to his functions as chief magistrate of her Eastern dominion, has to perform the less showy duties of land-steward over an estate larger than France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Italy and the United Kingdom, put together. And to increase the difficulty of dealing with so unmanageable a property, he is compelled, by the usage of public business in India, to enter personally into almost every affair which concerns it. A question of such small importance as the construction of a few miles of road, which happens to have been proposed by the officials of some remote village, is liable sooner or later to find its way to the desk of the Governor-General; and on arrival there it is no longer in the shape of a simple plan and estimate for carrying out the proposal, but is swelled into a bulky budget, composed of criticisms and counter-calculations of engineers, of voluminous commentaries by collectors of districts, and of able but embarrassing *résumés* of these discordant documents, prepared by energetic under-secretaries, possibly endowed with a talent for epigram.

The results of this system are such as we might expect them to be—much writing, little working.

The energies of the Indian Public Works Department are chiefly occupied in drawing up plans on paper, or in combating objections offered to them. Indeed, the temptations presented to all concerned, to display their powers of perception, and of picking holes, are so great as to be nearly irresistible to men sitting in offices in India, where during most of the hours of daylight the climate renders out-of-door occupations impossible, and where the cheaply paid swarms of public-office clerks are naturally enough disposed to beget the work which is needed to justify their employment. Then too, as we must all know, there is in the minds of most men a latent conviction of a capacity for engineering. As almost every Englishman conceives himself a competent judge of a horse or a bottle of wine, so do our countrymen seem to consider themselves fitted, with few exceptions, to pronounce sentence on any proposal embracing bricks and mortar.

Members of the Civil Service of India, thoroughly conversant with questions affecting their proper duties, as Collector of a district or Commissioner of a province—questions of so abstruse and so hard-named a nature as to be unintelligible to ordinary Englishmen—these gentlemen appear often to care less for the credit fittingly accorded to their knowledge of Ryotwarree Tenures or the Hindu Law of Adoption, than for a reputation they seek to acquire for a certain acquaintance with earthwork and masonry. In short, almost every official in India is more or less of an amateur engineer, ready to cavil at any plan placed before him, and in occasional instances equally prepared to suggest an alternative scheme of his own. Then, too, death, disease, or a desire to run home to England, are causes always operating to bring a rapid succession of fresh incumbents into Indian offices; and each new man comes to look on the acts of his predecessor with a critical eye—unable, possibly enough from inexperience, to grasp at once the view it may have cost the out-goer many years of toil to master. So that the general result may be summed up in this form—that at least twice as much time is consumed in that stage of a public work which is described in official returns by the words “under consideration,” as would suffice for its effectual construction.

Nor do the drawbacks to the operations of the Public Works Department of India end here. Even in the case where these protracted preliminaries have ended in an order for breaking ground, there yet remains an uncertainty as to funds being available to meet the cost of execution.\* A bad year's

\* This state of things has not yet been so suffi-

rents, a short crop of opium, an outcry for economy—these, and many other contingencies, are at any time capable of cutting off the necessary supplies of money; so that the officer in charge of a work is often compelled to carry it on in a most unsatisfactory manner. Unable to count on any sums beyond the allowance doled out to meet the wants of the year in which he finds himself, he is deprived of aids which in undertakings of this nature are essential to reaching the end in view, either speedily or economically. Contracts he can hardly venture to enter into, unless these be provided with breakage clauses on behalf of the Government, such as no contractor would accept, save on terms of an extravagant sort. The plant and machinery requisite to assist and cheapen his operations he at best can only acquire piecemeal, whereas the greatest service these accessories afford is often to be found during the earlier stages of work. The very laborers whom he may with much trouble have gathered together from distant places, for operations in a thinly-peopled locality—these very men, when leaving at the outburst of the rains, for their fields and farms, can meet with no assurance from their employer, that their services shall be required on the re-opening of the working season.

From the day the first sod of a canal is turned, or the foundation of a bridge laid, until the time he is able to report his task complete, it is with him one long struggle to make the most of imperfect means; while, to aggravate his evils, his mind is kept in constant anxiety regarding every shilling expended in his district. He is held to be responsible not only as a designer and a constructor, but also as a paymaster and accountant. It would not be surprising were men in this position to lose all zest for their duties, and rest satisfied with attending to official correspondence, and a vigilant superintendence of their ledgers and treasure-chest. It would be hard to blame them were they to show themselves little inclined to see works of importance set agoing in their districts.

To the credit of the officers employed in the Public Works Department of India, it must be said that, in spite of many disheartening influences under which they are placed, they almost invariably work with all their heart both in-doors and out of doors. And if the office labours be at times uncongenial to an active man, it must be admitted that against these duties there is a de-

lightful set-off in the shape of work in the field. Indeed, it would be hard to conceive a more wholesome or happy existence than that passed by one of these officers during his annual turn of camp life in the districts under his charge. Provided with a couple of suites of tents, so as to permit of one set being sent in advance to be ready to receive him at the end of the morrow's journey, he is enabled to carry on his duties with as much regularity as if he were staying at his head-quarters. About an hour before sunrise he swallows the cup of tea and biscuit which constitute the "small" breakfast of India, and at his tent-door finds a horse being led before it in readiness for him. If the stage before him be a long one, or if works on his way require inspection, he gets at once into the saddle, and moving clear of the falling tents, the piles of baggage, the prostrate forms of much-roaring camels, and other litter incidental to the confusion of striking camp in the dark, he jogs quietly along until the dawning day changes the drowsy sort of foot-pace his nag has observed through the darkness into a skittish inclination now exhibited for a run over the firm far-reaching plain that lies ahead. And it is really wonderful to notice the intelligence which the little Arab horses, used in India, do display in seizing an opportunity of this kind. The animal which allowed itself to be kicked along sleepily through the dark hours before dawn, no sooner feels the cheering influence of the coming day, than, shaking his bit saucily, and assuming a jaunty style of action, he invites the man across him to a frolic together over the flat. A couple of Persian greyhounds are likely companions of the morning's march, and as hares are plentiful, it is hard if man, horse, and dogs do not get one or two good runs on the road.

If the officer be not pressed for time, he probably does not leave his tent till day-break; and then starting, gun in hand, and with a horse led after him, he makes his camp-followers beat a broad belt of the bush, field, or swamp that borders his way, and so manages to get a fair bag of quail, bustard, snipe, duck, hare; if he cares to stalk, he can in most places find herds of antelope or spotted deer. And when at length the sun has worked some way up the sky, and the pangs of the stomach begin to prevail over the claims of sport, he gets across his horse, and canters hungrily home to his camp. Yes! we may safely use the word *home*. For everything about the place looks thoroughly comfortable and well-ordered. At his tent-door stands a groom ready to lead his horse off to the line of

---

ciently remedied by the recent system of Public Works' loans, as to permit of its being described in the past tense.

pickets in rear, where his stable-companions are already ranged. On the table inside he finds his newly arrived letters laid out to meet him. In his dressing-tent his bath and fresh clothes are in readiness for use. And, once dressed, he is in an excellent condition to approach the very substantial breakfast proper which is now served in his mess tent.

After breakfast begin the labours of the day. In an adjoining tent, which serves as an office, are seated the few native assistants required to aid him in correspondence or in surveying. A couple of camel trunks contain such files of correspondence as are likely to be required during his tour. If his encampment happen to be on the spot where an important work is actually in hand or is possibly projected, his time is of course much taken up in giving audience to the village authorities and landholders of the locality, as well as in hearing the reports of his out-of-door assistants. In short, the heat of the day finds him so fully occupied that by the time the sun has sunk low enough to let him leave his tent he has often to burst forcibly away from his *levée* in order to make use of the few hours of daylight that yet remain in inspecting works or in completing surveys. In this evening stroll he possibly enough comes across a friend, in the shape of the collector of the district, or one of his assistants, whose camp may be close at hand. Arrangements are made for dining together in whichever camp promises the best fare—for an Anglo-Indian dinner provided for one knife and fork is always capable of serving the wants of several; and if need be, the simple kitchen gear in use there enables an entire meal to be taken to any table within half a mile of the cooking tent. So when the short twilight has darkened into night, host and guest sit down to table, and a very pleasant dinner they have. News are exchanged and sporting experiences recounted. Nor are the subjects which come under the category of that comprehensive word “shop” forgotten from the talk. Sooner or later their daily work takes a chief place in their chat, and the late hours of night probably find the *convives* seated outside the tent-door smoking their cigars under the bright moon of the East, while discussing all sorts of matters connected with their district—a much-needed bridge at one point, a favourable spot for throwing up an irrigation-dam at another. Plans are formed for visiting some such place on the following day; trysts are made for seeing more distant localities at a future time.

In short, the life of an officer of the Pub-

lic Works Department engaged in making a tour of his district is a singularly happy mixture of healthy exercise for the body and interesting occupation for the mind. His work is not confined to the mere routine labours of many fellow-engineers in Europe,—to simply arranging with contractors for certain operations at certain places. In addition to the technical duties proper of his craft, he is called upon to exercise his wits in many irregular ways. As a geologist, he has to explore the country for suitable beds of stone, or possibly to determine the means of overcoming some constructive obstacle caused by a peculiar conformation of strata. As a diplomatist, he has to conciliate or coerce some neighbouring potentate into affording the necessary assistance towards obtaining a supply of labour and materials. The resources of the locality have not only to be turned to account; in all likelihood they have in the first instance to be discovered. As for the machinery and plant required to aid his efforts, he is probably too far from any source of supply to hope for such accessories, and is accordingly driven to improvise some rough sort of substitute. The expedients he adopts might excite the amusement of many an engineer in England; but they would meet with a sympathizing approval from men able to appreciate the quality of mind which makes the most of whatever comes to hand. What he has to do must be determined promptly, for ahead of his working season there looms the annual monsoon, which in a couple of days after its outburst may fill the rivers he is bridging with floods which sweep before them the timber stagings it has cost him much trouble to erect; and this gear may in all likelihood be yet intended to serve for many more arches along his line of operations. The loss of apparatus of this kind would not only retard his work. In increasing the general outlay beyond the amount estimated, this mishap might in all probability lead to a sharp official reproof for such an excess of expenditure, unavoidable though it proved to be; and not impossibly end in an attempt, on the part of a secretary sitting under the soft breeze of a *punkah* in Calcutta, to make the officer refund the extra charge.

However heartily these officers might struggle to provide instalments of the many works wanted in India, their endeavours were usually of small effect, in consequence of the intricate system of control to which they were subject, and from which it is to be feared they have not yet been set free. Individual energy, no matter how earnest, sooner or later expended itself in vain ef-

forts to quicken the action of the many authorities who interposed between the man who asked for money to meet the cost of a work and the man who had the power of granting it. Here and there an officer might be found whose sense of a pressing emergency, or even of the clear economy of the step, prompted him to break ground in anticipation of an official sanction. But zeal of this forward kind was seldom exercised with impunity. A hard-worded reproof was hurled at the enthusiast, accompanied, in all probability, by an intimation that the money thus expended would be deducted from his pay.

An upright man of action, impressed with the necessity of immediate measures, and pushing on works whose stability was possibly dependent on their completion by a day near at hand, might not unnaturally consider that his time was better employed in personally insuring the accomplishment of his task than in preparing comparative statistics of the precise cost of each portion of it. But the man of the pen, viewing the matter from a tranquil stand-point of authority established on the pine-clad slopes of the Himalaya, might not be disposed to indorse this line of conduct. Seated at his desk, in sight of the distant snowy range, the Secretary might not think it out of place to put on paper "the feelings of surprise and disapprobation with which Government have learned that no returns of detailed expenditure have been rendered by Captain Dash for several successive weeks." These sentiments of surprise might no doubt have been dissipated had this dispenser of decrees, which in India go by the name of Government Resolutions, but cared to ascertain that for a couple of months past every hour of Captain Dash's waking moments had been spent in the saddle, riding over his extensive district—here superintending the keying-in of a bridge, there making all ready for the admission of water to a canal; and that in his endeavours to insure the safety of his works before the bursting of those ominous banks of clouds which came rolling up each day in greater masses from seaward, the Captain was leading a nomadic existence, spending his nights in idol-temples or roadside rest-houses, his camp being unable to keep pace with his movements.

Rebuffs of the sort we have described soften the energy of most men. When they are followed up by that argument applied to the pay of the enthusiast, which in Anglo-Indian language is termed a retrenchment, the energy is apt to disappear altogether. Then, too, increasing years of subjection to that strange influence which we call System seem gradually to beget a reverence for rou-

tine in even in the most truculent heart; so that it is not unusual to find a subaltern who commenced his career with an eager appetite for work and an impatient antagonism to vexatious regulations, grow by degrees into an ardent upholder of them.

The financial arrangements of the Public Works Department of the Indian Government have, up to a very recent period, been altogether faulty. Formerly, its available funds were confined to such sums as could be spared from the revenues of each year; and the Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer, whoever he happened for the time to be, was usually too intent on framing a favourable balance-sheet on which to build up a reputation for future use in England, to listen to the cry for roads and canals which came up from all parts of the country. Indeed, the very multitude of the demands afforded a plausible pretext for passing them over, one and all. At times it might chance that this gentleman was coerced into liberality by one of those ephemeral epidemics of indignation which, at long intervals, prevail in England; and of which leading articles denouncing our neglect of India, or speeches demanding measures of improvement for that country, may be regarded as symptoms. But grants extracted from him under such circumstances only served to meet the wants of the current year. Long before he sat down to frame his next budget English interest in India had probably vanished; for, unless during very exceptional seasons of sensitiveness, our countrymen have little care for the concerns of their Eastern possessions. As a rule, the talk of the town turns to any topic regarding an individual at home, with a relish it cannot extract from the anguish of a multitude abroad.

The details of Derby bets lost by decrepit peer of five-and-twenty would probably excite more attention in London than news of the starvation to death of a hundred thousand human beings in Orissa. The only motive that can be counted upon to keep up English sympathy for Indian needs is self-interest. We all saw, that so soon as the blockade of the Southern States of America shut off the supplies of cotton we drew from that country, the men of Lancashire set vigorously to work to insist on our Government constructing the road and canals required to facilitate the export of that material from India. Throughout our manufacturing districts crowded meetings passed resolutions condemning the want of communications in the country which they now discovered might be serviceable to them. Influential deputations continued to impress on Her Majesty's Ministers the necessity of immediately intersecting each portion of it with

water-channels and turnpike roads. And often-urged appeals of the same import were raised in the House of Commons by members representing our great centres of industry. Newspapers were established to serve as organs of agitation. At least one delegate was deputed to proceed to India to stir up the energies of the local Governors suspected of supineness. All these praiseworthy efforts of our countrymen on behalf of India are fresh in our recollection.

But equally fresh, unfortunately, is our remembrance of an after-phase to this episode of enthusiasm. The efforts of these reformers of Indian grievances ceased with the cessation of the American blockade. No sooner was cotton procurable from the West than the single-minded spinners of our northern counties gave up all care for the fields of the East. The pressure they had been able to exercise on Government officials—who possibly looked forward to the contingency of having to solicit the suffrages of these gentlemen from the hustings—being thus withdrawn, the old system of starving the Public Works of India again obtained. According to this system, out of many projects put forward in any one year, only a few were favoured with funds, and these were doled out so sparingly as to render energetic action impossible. Almost every proposal was pared down below the limits of stability. And this policy, pursued in a climate subject to destructive alternations of drought and damp, led to rapid deteriorations in roads, in masonry, and in wood-work. In point of fact, the repairs required for works in existence would, if properly carried out, have swallowed up the better portion of an old Public Works budget. So, to prevent this result, the repairs were cut down to a point scarcely consistent with safety, and the work of dilapidation went on apace.

Even at the present time, the inadequacy of attempts to provide works for India out of mere savings of income has been but partially recognised by those who administer it. Men who, in their capacity of English landlords, avail themselves of loans granted by the State for draining, fencing, and otherwise improving their estates, seem, in their capacity of statesmen, incapable of admitting the necessity of similar assistance for India, where a little reflection would show it to be still more required. For, whereas in the United Kingdom capital is abundant and enterprise excessive, in India such capital exists in the shape of bags of rupees buried in hoarding-places under the soil, or of jewelled ornaments locked up in carefully concealed strong-boxes. As for

private enterprise, it may be said to be unknown. In the East, then, the need of assistance such as is afforded to improve English farms and forests is essential. And, so far as the experience of works actually in operation can be relied on, there is reason to reckon on any judicious outlay on this score being fairly remunerative. The Indian railways, although yet in an incomplete state, are earning good receipts. The Ganges Canal, which has still to be furnished with distribution channels and other accessory works, yields  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on its outlay. The Jumna Canal brings in nearly 9 per cent.; while several extensive irrigation works in Madras have within a comparatively short time repaid themselves twice, and in one case even three times over. Then too it is to be borne in mind that many other advantages are derived by the land-owning State from such works, which although indirect are not the less substantial. Waste lands are reclaimed into rent-paying fields. The rent of land already under cultivation is capable of being increased, or, in the case of the districts where the rent is permanently settled, may at all events be counted on as no longer subject to demands for remission, which in years of drought seriously diminished the public revenue. In the famine of 1837–1838 the loss under this head was about half a million sterling. And it is calculated that a somewhat similar loss must have been sustained in 1861, but for the irrigating waters of the Ganges Canal. Again, the customs dues are very largely swelled by the increased trade arising from easy communications. Indeed, this is a prospective vein of income which a Chancellor of the Exchequer might well envy for his operations. At present, notwithstanding the large comparative increase of the last dozen years, the total customs dues of India do not exceed two and a half millions sterling. Then, too, the cost of moving troops and Government stores is reduced by railways to half its former amount, while the efficiency of the troops is certainly doubled by the same agency.

On the whole, therefore, there seem many inducements to lay out money in improving India. And money for this purpose may be had at once.

So implicit is the confidence of the English investor in the securities of the Indian railways, so good a price do these command, that the Secretary of State for India has taken advantage of this circumstance to reduce the rate of interest guaranteed to them by the Government—for his recent policy of obliging these railway companies to issue their fresh stock at a considerable premium

does in reality bring about this result. At the present time any amount of money likely to be required for public works in India might be obtained on loan at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. And surely English money would seem capable of being laid out at least as securely and as profitably in perfecting our means of retaining India, as in furthering the designs of the great military Power whose policy points to an ultimate attempt on that country. It is unsatisfactory to see our citizens furnishing funds for railways which are to render Sebastopol an impregnable base for operations on our communications with the East; while the road which would best enable us to combat the advance of a Russian army on the Punjab is left unheeded. The completion of the Indus Valley Railway—for which capital might be obtained in forty-eight hours—would place Peshawur, our stronghold of Northern India, in connection with Kurrachee, the true base of operations for the entire northern frontier. And now that European troops are sent to India, according to a system of reliefs moved forward from England, Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden in succession, succour might be thrown upon that strategic point of the Punjab within a week of its being demanded by telegraph; while from each station in rear of Aden men might be pushed on to fill the several gaps. It would be pleasanter to see English money spent on English territory than to look on while it is being sown broadcast over the world. Few sights can be less flattering to us as a nation than that of Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs endeavouring to obtain redress for indiscreet compatriots who happen to have lent money to some repudiating monarchy or republic. Few situations can be more unseemly than that of a decorous British diplomatist engaged in an affair of this kind—now coaxing, now complaining—at one time offering advice which is unasked, at another venturing upon demands without having the means of enforcing compliance.

It is to be trusted that the principle of providing adequate funds for improving India—which may be said to have been first properly recognised by the debenture loan for public works effected in 1867—may in future be accepted as a fixed policy.

Guarded as were the words used by the present Secretary of State for India, in reply to an address presented to him soon after entering office, by a deputation who desired to plead the want of roads and canals under which the country he administers still labours, they were yet sufficient to show that he, at least, may be counted upon as an upholder of this principle. Let his

Grace beware of taunts which may reach him alleging the inability of the Public Works Department to expend with profit the amounts now placed at its disposal. It is true that just at present the outlay on certain works, especially canals, is less than the amounts allotted for them in the annual budgets. But it by no means follows from this circumstance that the limit of useful expenditure has already been passed, or even reached. The fact is, that the staff retained to superintend works under the less liberal conditions of the past is insufficient to deal with the ampler funds all at once provided for the future. Along with more money, there must be more men; and to explain the present method of meeting such a want, we cannot do better than cite a passage from a recent work by Major George Chesney, which, under the title of *Indian Policy*, affords a valuable fund of information on almost every subject connected with that country:

"The staff of the department," that is, the Public Works Department, "is derived from four principal sources—1. Officers of the corps of Engineers. The greater part of the old corps of Indian (now Royal) Engineers has always been employed during time of peace in this manner; the rest have been chiefly attached to the survey department, only a few being engaged on regimental duty with the corps of Native Sappers. 2. But from earliest times the strength of the Engineer corps has been insufficient for the duties placed on it, and the deficiency was supplied by officers from other branches of the Indian army. Of late years a very complete professional test has been established for regulating their admission to the department, which practically involves that the candidate should first undergo a two years' course of study in engineering and surveying at the Roorkee College, established by Government in 1847. 3. The same college furnishes a supply of civil engineers to the department; the candidates—many of whom are sons of officers and other members of the Indian service, while some are natives,—besides the professional test, are required to pass an examination in the subjects of general education, of the same kind as that laid down for admission to the British army. Another Government civil engineering college was established in Calcutta in 1856, from which a good many civil engineers, principally natives of Bengal, have been supplied. There is a similar institution at Madras.\* 4. A specified number of young civil engineers is now sent out annually by the Secretary of State; these are nominally selected by competitive examination, but inasmuch as the number of candidates who pass the prescribed minimum standard (which nearly approaches to that of Roorkee) is usually less than the number of appointments offered, the

\* And also a small one, we believe, at Poona, in Western India.

test is usually that of a pass examination. Besides these sources of supply, the demands of the service, arising from the rapid extension of public works, have led to the direct appointment to the department of a good many civil engineers of standing, drawn principally from the various Indian railways."

Of the different classes of recruits here enumerated, it may be said that the military members tend each year to decrease in numbers; for on the part of the army authorities there is a disinclination to see officers employed on what they consider purely civil duties.

As regards the pupils trained in India, a few may prove fit for the higher offices in the department, but the greater number cannot, even in the expectation of the most sanguine advocates of the engineering colleges, be reckoned likely to be useful except in a subordinate capacity—at all events, not for many years. The aspirants obtained from England consist chiefly of young men just set free from their indentures in civil engineers' offices, and even of this class there is, as Major Chesney remarks, a comparative deficiency. Of the civil engineers of standing mentioned under the fourth heading of the quotation, the number is as yet comparatively few, but is rapidly increasing in consequence of the liberal salaries now offered. The almost entire suspension of work in England has also tended to swell the numbers seeking employment in India, so that we may hope to see a strong staff of men available ere long in this department.

Another reason often urged against extending the operations of the engineer in India, is the insufficient supply of labour said to be experienced in that country. Indeed, it is alleged that all, or nearly all, the available workmen there, are already occupied on the railways, canals, roads, and barracks now under construction, and that fresh works could not at present be undertaken without interfering injuriously with the labour market. This allegation is to some extent true. But the circumstances on which it is based admit of modification to an extent which would make it no longer tenable. For, in the first place, manual labour is exercised in India in so rude a fashion, that the result is but a fraction of that which the same hands might turn out if properly applied to the task. In the case of earth-work, the operations of excavating and embanking are performed with an implement resembling a hoe for weeding turnips, which is used to loosen the soil as well as to fill it into baskets not much bigger than a wash-hand basin; and these in turn serve as vehicles for its conveyance to

the spot where it has to be eventually cast. A more inefficient application of human strength than is to be seen in long strings of labourers, each carrying on his head a tiny basketful of earth on its way to a bank or a spoil-heap, can hardly be conceived. Yet this is the almost universal fashion in which such work is done in India. The effective forces of these workmen would be multiplied manifold were they transmitted through the ordinary accessories of the English navyy—the spade and wheelbarrow. No doubt some trouble might be experienced at the outset of any attempt to introduce unfamiliar implements of this kind. But by degrees their adoption might be insured. In point of fact, cases have already occurred where a persevering English overseer, in the employment of a railway contractor, has taught gangs of natives working under him to use these aids to labour. And indeed, in almost every operation connected with earth-work, masonry, and wood-work, similar opportunities exist for increasing the present performances of the artisan.

On the other hand, too, the physical powers of the Indian workman are capable in many instances of being augmented by means of better food than hitherto has been accessible to him. Contractors for Indian railways have found that labourers entering their service in the ill-nourished condition arising from feeding on inferior descriptions of grain, come to develop considerable increments of strength and endurance under the generous diet which good wages enable them to indulge in. Instances of this kind are specially frequent among Mussulmans and the less rigid sectaries of Brahmanism, who without hesitation eat animal food, as well as other things considered unclean by a high-caste Hindu—a noted example being afforded in the native Sappers of the Madras Presidency, who, during every recent campaign in the East, have done as hard work as Europeans, in drawing at the same time the same sort of rations as their white comrades. If we except the districts which of late have been ravaged by famine, we shall find that the standard of diet has within a few years advanced in India in a very appreciable degree, owing to the liberal rates of hire obtainable on railways and other works, as well as to the high prices fetched by cotton and other crops of the cultivator. So that we may well look forward to a corresponding progress in the bodily strength of its people.

In the pages of *Indian Polity* the question of the agency best suited for the works of improvement required in India is ably

discussed, and many arguments are advanced to prove that on the whole it is better that these should be executed by servants immediately employed by the State, than that they should be made over as objects for the enterprise of individuals, as in the case of the Indian railways. Major Chesney's reasoning rests on solid ground when he points out that the guarantee, without which no works would be undertaken by private enterprise, does in reality impose on the Government which gives it the responsibility of failure, without any prospect of compensation in the event of success. Already the Government has been called upon in its capacity of guarantor to take over the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway, as well as the works of the East India Irrigation Company, in repaying in each instance the money expended by shareholders. And doubtless, in the event of unremunerative results, the same expedient would be resorted to by every company placed in the same relation towards the State. For the articles of agreement between the contracting parties provide for such claims being recognised,—subject, it is true, to certain modifications regulated by the market price of the companies' shares.

And in addition to this and other considerations of general expediency urged by the Major, there are many reasons which go to prove that direct State agency for construction as well as for after control does possess certain advantages. The overshadowing influence of authority which the very name of Government imparts in the mind of an Oriental to anything the State undertakes, as well as to any person it employs, gives it a great assistance in this direction—not merely in the shape of words of respect or acts of obeisance offered to its agents, but also in the more substantial form of cheap work. For example, it has happened of late years that works were carried on in the same locality by Government engineers and by railway contractors, simultaneously, and at times side by side; and in many instances it was observed that the Government officers could obtain labour and materials at rates sensibly lower than those paid by the others.

In the instance of irrigation works the case on behalf of direct State enterprise seems specially strong. Revenues of railways are easily collected on behalf of associations who may have constructed them. But the means required to recoup the shareholders in an irrigational canal might prove difficult of application. Indeed the benefit which any individual field may derive from such works is often so dependent on the na-

ture of the tenure on which the land is held as to be incapable of being settled apart from this. Moreover, the discernment of local needs, and the ability to contrive a system of collection sufficiently supple to adapt itself to the circumstances of the different cultivators concerned, may reasonably be looked for in a civil servant of the Crown, knowing well the country, its customs and its language. But it is unlikely that these qualities would be found in agents of joint stock companies occupied with the sole end of swelling the receipts of their employers. It would be an objectionable thing to confer on any irrigation company the power of forcing the farmers along its line of operations to pay for its waters although they might not care to profit by them. And it would be no less inconvenient to permit a company of this kind to withhold at will the water which years of use might have rendered essential to the system of cultivation actually in force. The authority and forbearance required to regulate most questions connected with irrigation might well be exercised by a powerful Government, which could afford to wait many years for a return on any outlay on this head, knowing that meanwhile its property is being benefited, and its general revenues increased by many indirect sources of gain. But the case might be different were the promoters of the enterprise uninfluential individuals, to whom want of dividends may mean want of bread. Irrigation works, too, offer tempting facilities for the exercise of extortion—the sufferers being the owners of the fields irrigated; a class even now occasionally plundered by dishonest servants of the Government Canal Department. As a crop advances to a certain point of maturity, and the drought of the season goes on increasing daily, the value of water to it is often so great that the simple cultivator is easily terrified into bribing the irrigation underling who threatens, on one pretext or another, to withhold the requisite supply. To prevent evils of this description the concession of irrigating Orissa, which was made some time ago to a joint-stock company, contained a provision for the distribution of the water being conducted by the Government.

Many men well acquainted with the subject of Indian irrigation are of opinion that, as a rule, its operations cannot be carried out profitably by any hand but that of the State. It is certain that in numerous instances cultivators are slow to avail themselves of the waters which have been led past their lands. Immemorial usage has rendered the husbandman of India suspicious of all innovations on the practice of his fore-



fathers; and he may not always possess even the small capital required to render his fields adapted for irrigation. The Ganges Canal, which has been in operation for nearly fifteen years, is even at the present time imperfectly appreciated by the farmers along its course. During many of its early years it was entirely unremunerative, in so far as direct earnings were concerned. Its profits have at length reached the rate of 84 per cent. on its cost, and doubtless may yet increase very considerably. But it seems unlikely that the example of long deferred success which it affords should tempt English investors to embark in similar ventures—not at least unless under a guarantee of a certain annual dividend.

In favour of committing works of improvement to private enterprise there are not wanting certain good reasons, one of which is especially cogent, viz., that under this system operations are undertaken at once which might have remained for years uncommenced had the trouble of detailed arrangements been cast upon the Government. No reasonable man can deny that at the present moment India might in all likelihood have been destitute of railways, or at best furnished with a very few miles of railroad, had the obligation of constructing them rested directly on the ruling power. In obtaining improvements of this kind at the cost of a guarantee of profit or of a subvention, a Minister conceives that he can reckon with some certainty on the extent of the obligation which he undertakes; whereas he is apt to imagine that little confidence can be placed in estimates of the cost at which the same end may be declared capable of being attained by his own subordinates. We do not say that he is right in this conclusion. Indeed, the experience of the last few years has tended to alter the opinion formerly held by Englishmen as to the superiority of operations conducted by companies or contractors, contrasted with those carried out by servants of the crown. But we may safely say that this idea of the more reliable nature of contract obligations is still sufficiently prevalent in official circles to influence very seriously any question of public works which may come under consideration. Nor is it a small matter that a Secretary of State should by this system be saved the distracting task of determining the merits of many alternative schemes proposed to effect one object in view—each possibly recommended by men whose official position entitles their advice to be well heard.

Again, if we compare the operations of the two agencies as exhibited in the roads

and canals executed by Government officers on the one hand, and in the works carried out by Indian railway companies on the other, it cannot be denied that the latter show a continuity and uniformity of progress which is seldom found in the efforts of the Public Works Department, crippled as these are by a want of sufficient men and means. In short, so far as considerations of certainty and expedition of construction are concerned, the advantage appears to be on the side of private enterprise.

A very serious obstacle in the way of road-making in India is encountered in many districts, owing to the want of suitable materials. And unfortunately this inconvenience exists in the greatest degree in many provinces where roads are most required. The plains, which produce luxuriant crops of cotton, grain, and tobacco, are often utterly destitute of anything in the shape of stone. Indeed, the portions of the entire peninsula which furnish rocks of a quality suitable for road-metal are inconsiderable. The stratified rocks which in many places afford fair materials for building purposes, are seldom of sufficiently hard texture to resist the passage of carts, and during the long-continued rains of summer are liable to be soaked into a state of pulpiness which yields to the pressure of the first passing wheel. Broken bricks and burned clay have been laid down as substitutes for road-metal in such localities, but with no great success; as these materials also are apt to give way under the action of water. In the event of a high class of road being required, it is absolutely necessary to procure suitable stone. In cases of this kind, where the price of the metal forms the larger portion of the cost of construction, much advantage might be derived from the adoption of some of the artificial roadways which have at different times been devised in various parts of the world. An expedient of this nature, contrived by a civil engineer of eminence in the north of Scotland, and which consists in coating the surface of the road with a concrete formed of broken stone and cement, appears well suited for trial in such loamy localities. The original expense of a causeway of this description is said to be much the same as that of a well metalled road. For by the new process a much less depth of crust is necessary,—the concrete representing from the outset the thickness into which the loosely laid stones are eventually crushed, after undergoing the passage of a tolerably active traffic. In respect of maintenance these concrete roads promise much economy. From experimental portions which have for some time

been under severe tests, there seems reason to think that, under ordinary circumstances, they may endure many years unimpaired; while the task of making good the gradual effects of wear and tear appears capable of being done both cheaply and easily.

It is probable that railways of an inexpensive kind, or even tramways, might profitably be provided across the alluvial plains of India, in place of roads. Although the first outlay would thus be increased, the ultimate burden to be borne by the State might in all likelihood be less. The examples of existing railways show that, under careful construction and management, lines of this kind may not only be made to clear working expenses, but may be turned into sources of profit; while in the case of ordinary roads it is almost impossible in India to look for any direct returns to meet the cost of maintenance; turnpike tolls having proved impracticable there. And this question of maintenance is sufficiently serious, seeing that, even according to the present progress in road-making, the annual cost of repairs would in twenty years' time consume the entire amount now allotted for construction in each Public Works budget.

Bridge-making in India is usually a heavy task, owing to the number and size of the streams which everywhere intersect it, and the violent floods to which these are subject at certain seasons of the year. Nothing short of the most substantial structure can resist the summer freshets, and yet the necessary stability is often difficult of attainment, owing to the soft alluvial loam in which foundations have to be laid, and which, in spite of almost any precautions, is liable to be scoured from underneath piers, or, on the other hand, to be swept from the sides of the channel, thus admitting the current to eat a way for itself in rear of the abutments.

Light iron superstructures resting on piles, securely screwed into the bed of the stream, have been successfully employed in such cases. And doubtless these may receive a wide application under the improved system on which they are now turned out of the great iron-factories in England. For, to meet the demands of the foreign and colonial markets, our manufacturers have arrived at supplying structures of this description, which at once combine the requisites of strength, lightness, and cheapness—their component parts admitting of being put together by any intelligent artisan, assisted by such labour as may be found on the spot of erection.

The system of employing the class of

men who among us are known as contractors, has hitherto been little adopted in the case of works undertaken by the Indian Government, although this method has been generally followed by Indian railway companies. On behalf of this contract system there is a good deal to be urged. Experience warrants the conclusion that works so managed are usually done more expeditiously, and, strange as it may appear, often more economically, than by direct agents of the employing power. For, although many items of construction may be more costly to a contractor, yet his superior organization of labour enables him to provide the most efficient superintendence at the smallest possible expense. His efforts, too, are made after a more uniform plan, and are less subject to interference or alteration than the endeavours of a many-mastered piece of administrative mechanism, such as a Government department too often is.

On the other hand, this contract system is liable to many abuses. That dishonest device which is known among us as "scampering work," is said to have been largely practised on certain Indian railways, if not by English contractors, then by men to whom they had sublet portions of their task. Without going the length of allegations made by hasty observers among us regarding the innate inclination to deceit displayed by our fellow-subjects in the East,—allegations which any man who has had an opportunity of forming a fair judgment must acknowledge to be as applicable to England as to India,—it must be admitted that Oriental nations have not that appreciation of the conditions of completeness which is desirable in a good workman.

Most of the shortcomings of Indian artisans are probably due to ignorance of constructive principles rather than to fraudulent intentions. The defective mortar assigned as the cause of collapse in the masonry along one railway was possibly in some cases due to wilful adulterations; but in many instances the fault lay in an idea, by no means confined to Indian workmen, that the power of this mixture depended directly on the proportion of pure lime present in it, so that those charged with its preparation withheld the supply of sand required to develop its cohesive qualities. But, of course, whether due to ignorance or evil intention, such practices are equally destructive to workmanship. To prevent their occurrence, much vigilance and many subordinate inspectors of approved honesty are required.

To render the Public Works Department of India really useful, its action must be

made more simple and more prompt than it now is. For this purpose many links must be lopped off the long chain of its authorities. Much of the consultative element, which is so superabundant in its present state, might well afford to be eliminated. Let works be done in India as works are done elsewhere. Place good men in charge of them, and on their ability and honesty be satisfied to depend. Let obedience to orders be enforced by all means, but let these orders be so conveyed as to permit the men to whom they are addressed the power of exercising an intelligent discrimination as to the method of giving them effect. Lay down the general principles to be followed or the main object to be attained by an engineer, but do leave him at liberty to adopt the details which seem to him best suited for this purpose. Exact from him an accurate account of the outlay his work has involved, but be content to go without the statistics now elaborated by him as to the precise portion of this which happens to have been spent on any individual part of it. Micrometrical researches of this kind may possibly at times possess certain advantages. They may even serve to confirm or confute the conjectures of an over-curious chief-engineer as to one wing-wall of a bridge being more costly than its fellow. Exacted as they now are almost universally, they must be set down as vexatious taxes on the time and temper of men who ought to be fully occupied with higher duties. Much of the preliminary warfare of words which now precedes the breaking of ground may also be usefully dispensed with. At present an executive officer, after submitting a plan and estimate prepared by him for a work which may be urgently required, is liable to have it returned after due deliberation by his superintending engineer, with a request that the proposed outlay may be reduced. Upon which the subordinate who has drawn up his project after careful survey and consideration possibly represents to his superior that the operation cannot be carried out at a lower cost. But the chief may yet find it in his heart to insist on economy, and yet again to find his subaltern as firm as ever in remaining by his original estimate. Meanwhile amidst this wrangle of words the famine-stricken district which the disputed work was intended to relieve is sunk out of consideration, and days during which alone operations could be undertaken are suffered to slip by.

In a case of this kind—and we have ourselves seen such a case—the exercise of ordinary reason might surely serve to show

that since the project had been declared to be necessary it signified little that one man happened to calculate its cost somewhat higher than another. If the officer who has to do the work be upright and energetic, he will surely exert himself to the utmost to complete his task as cheaply as possible—irrespective altogether of the estimate he may originally have framed. If in the end a flagrant error should be discovered, then let any retribution that seems necessary be awarded. But in any case put the work in hand at once. In almost every instance it proves truer economy to adopt a proposal which, though generally reasonable, may be open to some slight suspicion of extravagance, than to waste time and opportunities in haggling over measures for reducing its estimate by some inconsiderable amount.

The very abundance of advising authorities here begets an evil aptitude for fault-finding. Indeed, but for this resource some officials might have no ostensible occupation. And as each of these is in turn aware that his criticisms have yet to go through the after criticisms of a revising power, it follows that fanciful objections are often raised, which the authors might hesitate to express were they dealing finally with the projects before them. Some very large diminution seems necessary in the number of minds, and still more in the number of pens, that intervene between the man who proposes a work and the man who disposes of the means required to accomplish it.

This phase of Public Works control in India must be looked at along with the wider question of the general administration of that country. Which of the two methods recommended by different schools of statecraft for this purpose be the best—that of vesting all initiatory power in one central government, or that of delegating such duties to the independent councils of separate Presidencies or Provinces—we do not profess to say. But no man who has observed the working of the present administration can fail to perceive that either alternative, if properly carried out, would be an improvement on existing things.

The separate origin of the different Presidencies conferred on their early governments an authority independent in every respect save that of general policy. But by degrees improvements in the postal service, the provision of lines of telegraph, and last of all the construction of railways, tended more and more to extend the sphere of action of that government which in India goes by the name of Supreme, until at the present time no village event is without its ken, no expenditure of a score of rupees beyond

its interference. Their Excellencies who govern the minor Presidencies—and their Honours who rule over Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab—have not unfrequently to submit to severe censure for acts of authority exercised by them without the previous permission of the supreme power—acts, it may be, involving issues of no greater importance than the engagement of an office-sweeper or the whitewashing of a road-side rest-house.

The consequence of this minute system of supervision is, in the case of an inactive governor, a speedy relinquishment of all interest in his charge, and, in the case of an energetic one, an early arrival at open warfare with his censor. And of the acrimonious manner in which these inter-Presidential disputes are carried on, an idea may be formed by any Englishman who takes the trouble to look over the columns of an Indian newspaper.

The pride felt by Anglo-Indians in the particular Presidency in which their lot is cast is to a certain extent conducive to wholesome emulation. But when this provincial bias is brought to bear on acts which affect the welfare of a great continent it is productive of mischief. Here the opponents are apt to argue not so much for truth as for victory. On one side is an eager struggle to burst through bonds, or, worse still, to evade the restrictions they impose, even at the cost of expedients not always unquestionable. On the other is a desire to strain authority to the utmost, a restless apprehension lest any act of independence should by chance pass unperceived, and thus constitute an inconvenient precedent.

As we have said before, it is not in a paper on Public Works that the respective merits of one central or of several separate governments for India fall to be determined, or even discussed. For the purpose we have in view it is enough for us to suggest that one of these systems should henceforth be adopted in place of the present method, which combines the disadvantages of both.

Either give to local authorities final powers of dealing with projects connected with their provinces, and at the same time the undisputed command of money to enable these to be carried out;—or sweep them aside for ever, so as to enable a central government to come into unimpeded contact with the executive men.

Apprehensions of Russian attempts to invade India have long lurked in the minds of Englishmen, and from time to time have obtained expression in our daily talk and our current literature, according as interest

in this subject chanced to be awakened by reports brought home to us by travellers from Central Asia or by rumours of Russian prowess culled by correspondents of our leading journals from the bazaars of Calcutta and Bombay. Of late these apprehensions have found utterance even among those who hitherto have treated such a contingency as without the range of possibility. Able articles endeavouring to prove that such an invasion is far from impracticable have obtained a place in our newspapers and our reviews. And in the House of Commons itself, that embodiment of intra-insular interests and sympathies, a good many dozens of members were not afraid last session to listen to dissertations on the subject delivered by fellow-representatives whose knowledge of Central Asia and its tongues enabled them to give entire guttural expression to names resonant with the sounds of the letters *خ* *khā* and *غ* *ghain*.

In India, too, the intermittent attention which has long been directed to this question has recently taken the more active shape of overtures made by Her Majesty's Viceroy with the object of arranging an interview with the Ameer of Cabul. That the matter of conversation at such a meeting would be the advance of Russia Afghanistan-wards may be assumed as certain. And that proposals to subsidize, succour, or in some way assist the Affghans might at the same time be made, may also be considered probable. In short, there seems every reason to believe that the ruling powers of British India have arrived at the conclusion that the time has come for strengthening the defences and alliances on its northern frontier. And whilst the convictions of our statesmen are thus engaged, there has arisen a circumstance which seems likely to enlist the interests of our commercial classes in the same direction. For news begin to reach us that, at the instigation of the emissaries of the Czar, the semi-subjugated States of Central Asia are imposing duties of a prohibitory nature on all goods imported into their territories from the south; so that the wares of Birmingham and our Eastern possessions cannot as heretofore compete successfully in those Trans-Oxus regions with the productions of Russia Proper or Russian Tartary. Our traders who yearly unite in caravans to traverse the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh have consequently begun to urge the establishment of English Consular agencies at those far inland marts. In short, the so-called Central Asian question bids fair to become an object of interest for all classes

of our countrymen, and it is possible some active measures may ere long be proposed for setting at rest their apprehensions on this score. Precautions, political and military, may be adopted. Alliances with Affghans, Khorasānees, Oosbegs, Turcomans, and Tartars may be formed. Forts may be thrown up, and lines of communication may be opened out. Each and all of these expedients may prove excellent aids to the efforts which we may reckon on our soldiers to make in defence of British territory.

But we must not shut our eyes to the truth, that, after all, the bravery of our troops or the goodness of our strategy would avail us little if, in addition to facing an enemy from without, we had to keep at bay a rebellious population of many millions in rear.

India can best be defended by enlisting on our side the interests and sympathies of its people. That we have as yet very imperfectly attained this result is apparent to any Englishman who has had opportunity and inclination to ascertain the sentiments of his fellow-subjects in the East. Let us trust that from this time forward our administration of India may be rendered more adapted to convince its inhabitants that their welfare is bound up with that of England. Let a fair share of the offices and honours of the State be allotted to the people who furnish its revenues. Let the condition of these people be made better and happier in every possible way.

To effect this end many means are open to us. Let us begin by making use of those which are at once simple and efficacious, which shall cheapen the food and increase the comfort of all classes alike: let us make roads, canals, and wayside rest-houses. In India more than in any country, are these works highly valued. In addition to being useful, they are vested in the eyes of the inhabitants with a sacred regard. The man who constructs them is considered to have established a claim to eternal happiness. The duty of providing them is inculcated by every religion in the land.

In fulfilling this duty England will carry with her the good wishes of every creed of Hindustan—of Brahman and of Buddhist—of the followers of Mohammed, Govind Gūrū, and Zoroaster.

#### ART. IX.—THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GERMANY.

1. *Einleitung in das deutsche Staatsrecht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Krisis des Jahres 1866, und der Gründung des Norddeutschen Bundes.* Von Dr. HERMANN SCHULZE. Leipzig, 1867.
2. *Das Staatsarchiv. Sammlung der officiellen Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Gegenwart.* Herausgegeben von LUDWIG KARL ÄGIDI und ALFRED KLAUHOLD. Hamburg.
3. *Preussen's Deutsche Politik.* Von A. SCHMIDT. Leipzig, 1867.

SCARCELY three years have elapsed since the "Seven Days' War," as it has been somewhat sensationally christened, was virtually concluded by the battle of Sadowa. We are still standing too much in the light, or the shadow, according as we view it, of that great event, accurately to gauge its proportions in regard to the past, or to conjecture otherwise than hesitatingly as to its influence upon the future. It will not be labour lost, however, to estimate the political changes actually effected by the war of 1866, and to examine more curiously than has yet been done what were the institutions destroyed upon the battle-fields of Bohemia, what were the causes of their so suddenly collapsing, and what is the nature of the political edifice in the course of construction upon the ruins of the former fabric.

From the first dawn of her history, Germany has occupied an abnormal and exceptional position amongst her neighbours. Elsewhere the members of the European family have settled down into independent sovereignties, in which the international and political spheres have exactly coincided. In Germany, and Switzerland—the German microcosm, these spheres have failed to coincide, the international units having in some form or other come to be made up of separate, though more or less interdependent, political units.

The ultimate causes of this dissimilarity of development are of a nature too organic to be discussed here. Nothing short of a scientific inquiry into the political physiology of the Teutonic race would suffice to explain why one fraction of the monarchy of Charlemagne culminated in the "l'État c'est moi" of Louis XIV., and another in the "monstrum informe" of the *Empire*.\*

\* "Germaniam esse irregulare aliquod corpus, cujus simile puto in toto terrarum orbe non exstat, quod lapsu temporum, e regno regulari in tam male concinnatam formam est provolutum, ut neque reg-

as constituted by the treaties of Westphalia. It must suffice for us to note that the work of German consolidation rests upon a basis altogether different from that of mere nationality. It was as a *kingdom*,—i. e., under the form especially consecrated by the Teutonic races to express their notion of the State,—that Germany began her political career. The idea of national unity thus rooted in the concrete relations of an historical past, though dimmed, was never extinguished, by the lustre of the Roman diadem, with its anti-national claim to universal dominion, and has at no time ceased to influence her political development. It is with her efforts to recover this unity after it had been disintegrated that we are concerned, and we must therefore leave to others the task of accounting for the structural malformation, if so we may term it, of the German Kingdom, as it lay embedded in the folds of the Imperial purple.

It is clear that only one of two forces could have stopped the process of disintegration inaugurated by the treaties of Westphalia and consummated by the treaty of Prague; either a movement proceeding from below, and urging the nation to assert its right to national representation and to substitute a living organism for the diplomatic petrifications of the Diet, or one proceeding from above, and leading the Crown to repossess itself of the sovereign prerogatives delegated to the territories. Neither of these forces, however, was at work in the European convulsion which broke up the Empire.

The Revolution of 1789 not only was not a national movement, but was in its essence anti-national and cosmopolitan. The abstract rights of man, not the concrete relations of Frenchmen, or Germans, or Italians, had to be ascertained, and, when ascertained, to be asserted; the position of the individual in the human family, not the position of the race in the international family, was what had to be determined. Individual freedom, the substitution of equal citizenship for the multifarious hierarchies of feudalism, universal brotherhood, were the ideas upon which were concentrated the thoughts of the few, and which kindled the passions of the many, at the close of the last and during the early years of the present century. This cosmopolitan and anti-

national tendency was nowhere so strongly exhibited as in Germany, and that, strangely enough, at the very moment when, by a gigantic effort, the national genius had in the realms of philosophy and literature triumphantly emancipated itself from the foreign yoke to which for generations it had bowed, and founded a national empire, the denizens of which, bound by the links of an ideal citizenship, were from thenceforth secure alike against the dangers of foreign aggression and of internal disruption. Far, however, from calling forth an echo in the political world, this intellectual revival ignored the very existence of such a world. The systematic stamping out of all political life in their respective territories by the rulers whom the treaties of Westphalia had made into despots without making into sovereigns, had restricted the class of professional politicians to diplomatists and legists, and it thus came to pass that those mighty seers who moulded the intellect and trained the heart of the generation destined to fight the Napoleonic wars, and to assist at the consequent reconstruction of Europe, lived, moved, and had their being in regions altogether removed from the world of political reality with which their disciples were to be brought into such rude contact, and despised that world in proportion to their ignorance of it. Like the Birds of Aristophanes, they seemed intent upon founding an empire in mid air, nigh to the gods, from which they could look down with ironical compassion upon the vexed citizens of the Agora and the Dikastery.

If we turn from the nation to the two great rivals who alone could have attempted by an effort from above to restore the monarchical unity of Germany, we see that ideas of this kind were wholly outside the sphere of political combinations both at Vienna and Berlin. It is true that the one ruling political passion of the day was territorial aggrandizement, but it was aggrandizement of the piecemeal kind, not based upon the idea of concentrating the national forces and adding to the national power, but, on the contrary, upon the idea of increasing the dynastic power of the reigning House, the "Haus Macht" of German political phraseology, not only irrespectively of, but, as the partition of Poland proved, in direct opposition to, the national interests.

The real policy of the two Courts comes out in its true colours in the efforts made by Austria, all through the early years of the first coalition against France, to secure Bavaria in exchange for the Low Countries, and, later on, by Prussia to secure the possession of Hanover.

num etiam limitatum amplius sit, neque exacte corpus aliquod aut systema plurium civitatum fœdere nexarum, sed potius aliquid inter hæc duo velut interjectum et fluctuans."—SAMUEL PUFFENDORF. The political monstrosity of the Holy Roman Empire is nowhere done more ample justice to than in this short sentence.

Between the policy of a Thugut and that of a Haugwitz there is nothing to choose. The modern standard of political morality, which unhesitatingly condemns mere dynastic aggrandizement, has long since passed its verdict upon both.

It was amidst this profound indifference on the part of the nation and its rulers in regard to the ancient kingdom of Henry the Fowler, that the Diet sitting at Regensburg learnt first from the newspapers, and afterwards, in a more formal and official manner, from the French *chargé d'affaires*, that the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist, and that eighteen of its princes had constituted themselves into a separate confederation under the protection of the French Cæsar.

The history of the Confederation of the Rhine is not a pleasant one to dwell upon.

That an individual here and there should have been found ready to betray his country, and to compound with the conqueror at the expense of his own flesh and blood, was no more than what might have been expected. Taking humanity all round, one laceriot out of twelve apostles is perhaps no unfair average; but that an entire class, like that of the smaller vassals of the Empire, should have been found vying with each other in every art of sycophancy and intrigue, in order to obtain from a French Emperor a maximum of German booty, was a phenomenon without many precedents in history.

This disgraceful origin of the title-deeds by which, in a majority of cases, the new sovereign dignity has come to be held, should not be lost sight of when we consider the state of the score between the German nation and its rulers.

How impotent the newly-created sovereigns were to keep their crowns upon their heads alone and unaided, was made sufficiently manifest by the promulgation of the Act of the Rhine Confederacy simultaneously with their assumption of sovereignty. It is true that the new Federal constitution never came into active operation, as the will of the French Emperor supplied all that was necessary in the way of internal security and external policy; but the ideas underlying the Confederation are palpable enough. Viewed in regard to its internal functions, the Confederation was a mutual insurance society, securing the confederates in the possession of their spoils, and guaranteeing each in the full exercise of his newly acquired absolute rights over his former peers. Viewed from without, it was an offensive and defensive alliance, generally, against any national aspirations

towards unity, and specifically, against any attempt on the part of Austria or Prussia, either in the name of the nation or on their own account, to extend themselves territorially at the expense of the confederates. The contract entered into with France was, that French bayonets should assist the confederates against their own subjects, and that confederate bayonets should assist the French Emperor in his plans against the rest of Germany.

The Confederation of the Rhine, as at first constituted, still left several of the smaller States of Northern Germany unprovided with any political centre, and it clearly became the policy of Prussia to endeavour to bring these States into union with herself, and thus to counterbalance the union formed under French protection. We consequently find, that during the interval between the dissolution of the Empire and the renewal of hostilities between France and Prussia, negotiations were actively carried on by the latter with Saxony and Hesse-Cassel, for the purpose of founding a confederacy under the title of an Empire of Northern Germany. The selfish and unpatriotic conduct of the Saxon and Hessian Cabinets, who hoped to get more out of Napoleon than out of Prussia, frustrated the scheme.

The details of this negotiation, which, with the draft constitution of the proposed confederation, have only lately come to light,\* are interesting, as showing that for a long time past the idea of a Northern Confederation under the sole management of Prussia has lived amongst the traditions of the Berlin Foreign Office. An additional interest, moreover, attaches to them, from the fact they disclose that the idea of a North German empire appears to have been first suggested to Prussia by Napoleon, as far back as 1804, and that the original *idée Napoléonienne* with reference to the reconstitution of Germany, was a triad formation, in which Prussia should have been made powerful enough to be evenly pitted against Austria, and a third body under the direct influence of France should have held both in check. That for generations this has been, *mutatis mutandis*, the policy of France in regard to Germany, and that it has not yet ceased to be her policy, need not here be dwelt upon.

By the year 1806, Napoleon had enlarged the sphere of his ideas, and the battle of Jena laid Prussia prostrate in the dust.

The history of Prussia between the peace

\* Consult Adolph Schmidt's *Preussen's Deutsche Politik*. Leipzig, 1867.

of Tilsit and the battle of Leipzig is the turning-point in the history of Germany.

For many preceding generations the stage had been exclusively occupied by rival dynasties or rival religions,—by emperors, kings, theologians, statesmen, generals, diplomatists. Now, for the first time, we perceive the distinct outlines of a *people*, i.e., using the term in a sense analogous to that of the old Roman word *populus*—a political community endowed with an organic life and a strongly-marked individuality of its own, and with a consciousness of its collective existence pervading all the individuals who composed it. For those who had eyes to see, Germany had now at length, after her thousand years of national existence, given birth to a *State*, as something different in kind from a race, or a territory, or an agglomeration of parishes, or a mercantile alliance, or a school of philosophy, or a gymnastic society, or a choral club; a *respublica*, or commonwealth, the *raison d'être* of whose existence is the public or collective well-being as a concrete entity to be laboured for with the hands, and not a mere abstract Fatherland to be dreamt about, had, by the incisive operation of foreign conquest, been plucked alive, though mutilated, out of the loins of the dead Empire.

We have no space to describe the marvellous process of regeneration by which, during the dark period of Prussia's deepest humiliation, the nation of mercenaries and serfs, who had looked on with cynical indifference at the catastrophe of Jena, became transmuted into a nation of citizens burning with patriotic fire, and able by a spontaneous effort to organize themselves into those terrible battalions who fought at the Katzbach, at Grossbeeren, at Dennewitz, and at Leipzig. Still less can we trace the predisposing causes and the antecedent Hohenzollern education which had rendered it possible for the soldiers who had fought for pay, and the tillers who had tilled that others might reap, to be thus in a few short years transformed.

It is however important for the purposes of this essay accurately to note the political effect, in regard to Germany, of the Prussian *levée de bouchers*, and all that it implied.

When, in January 1813, the Provincial States of Eastern Prussia, without authority from the King, and at the risk of his displeasure, boldly set to work to organize the "people's" war against the still portentous power of Napoleon, they inaugurated a movement which, from first to last, and during every phase of its development,

bore stamped upon it a national German character. For the first time in her history, Prussia, consciously and *ex preposito*, plunged into a war of the very first magnitude, and in which she staked her very existence, not with a specific Prussian, but with the largest and most comprehensive national objects in view. As matters then stood there was a large field open for diplomacy of the Haugwitz kind, and by a sufficient display of force combined with a political reserve and a spirit of accommodation, Prussia might probably, without drawing the sword, have not only rid her soil of the presence of French troops, but have made territorial acquisitions of no mean kind. But this was not the temper in which the Prussian people took up arms and dictated the conduct of the war. It was to liberate not Prussia only, but Germany, and not to liberate Germany only, but to regenerate her, and set her up free and united upon a pinnacle of glory such as she had never before attained, that beardless boys and white-haired men enlisted in the Landwehr—that brides despoiled themselves of their ornaments, and matrons contributed their wedding-rings. The spirit that stirred and animated and inspired was a German spirit, but the body that was stirred and animated was a Prussian body. For let us not forget that what is usually termed the German War of Liberation was essentially a Prussian war for the liberation of Germany. It is true that when, by the most stupendous efforts ever made by a people, Prussia had in the early months of 1813 placed her formidable army on foot,\* individual Germans from all parts of Germany flocked to her standard, but it was her organization that gave consistence and direction to these isolated efforts. It was round her battalions that the German Free Corps rallied. On the other hand, in those early months, and even up to the battle of Leipzig, the non-Prussian States of Germany, and that honourable corporation, the Confederation of the Rhine, were, with few exceptions, fighting in the ranks of the enemy, and it was in many cases Würtemberg, or Saxon, or Hessian veterans that most obstinately contested the day with the raw levies of the Prussian Landwehr. When Austria at last joined in the fray,

\* By the month of May 1813, i.e., in four months, Prussia, then numbering five millions of inhabitants, had added 95,000 men to the 46,000 men of line regiments allowed her by Napoleon, and had called out 120,000 Landwehr men; the Free Corps made up an additional 10,000 men; together, 271,000 men under arms, or one man in eighteen of the population.



she did so slowly, circumspectly, and after long previous negotiation with Napoleon, who was too blind and too obstinate to avail himself of the golden bridge which his father-in-law was anxious to build for him. The patriotic enthusiasm which in the year 1809 had animated many of the Austrian provinces, had died out with the retirement of Count Stadion, and the cold, polished, calculating courtier who succeeded him was not the man, even in the worst extremities, to invoke the alliances, or even to tolerate the companionship, of popular or national elements. A war entered into by Metternich against Napoleon, probably the only man for whom he ever felt a sincere respect, not to say an affectionate regard, was certain not to be other than a political war, entered into for political objects.

The German question was not destined to be simplified by the single-handed success of Prussia. Great as were the efforts made by her, they were not sufficient, even with the assistance of Russia, to effect the desired object. The gain of one more battle would have perhaps sufficed, but at Lützen the French arms were once more victorious, and the co-operation of Austria became a matter of vital importance. Thus the work of German liberation, not taking foreign allies into account, came to be effected by the co-operation of two forces—the national power of Germany acting through the brain, the heart, and the hands of Prussia, and the political power of the House of Austria.

It was clear that this new distribution of parts could not but leave its mark upon the history of Germany, and that a new element had been imported into the German question. The fact had become patent to all that a German people had crystallized into a *State* of first-rate magnitude, conscious of its German mission, and that henceforth the work of German unity would have to take this fact, whether welcome or not, into account. In a word, the question of the hegemony of Germany had ceased to be a question as between two rival dynasties, and had become one as between a dynasty whose power was mainly based on non-German elements, and a consolidated German State whose interests were so interwoven with those of the rest of Germany, that, like the much-quoted Siamese twins, nothing could affect the one for good or evil without in an equal degree affecting the other. Unfortunately these new conditions, which force themselves irresistibly upon the conviction of any impartial student of the history of that time, were not realized as quickly as they might have been

either by German patriots or Prussian statesmen. At many an important crisis the former have acted as if Germany could do without Prussia, and the latter as if Prussia could do without Germany.

The part which Prussia was called upon to play at the great settlement for which the Vienna Congress was convened was plainly marked out for her. She had in an assembly of princes to vindicate the rights of a people. How lamentably she failed in this task, how meagre was her conception of it, how she allowed herself to be driven, almost without resistance, from one advanced position after another, and how at the last she accepted *tel quel* the Austrian draft of constitution for the new German Confederation, are matters of history.

But in thus condemning the action of Prussia at Vienna, the difficulties of the task assigned to her should not be underrated. The European "climate of opinion," to borrow a phrase from an old writer, was in the year 1814 absolutely hostile to any great organic reconstructions. The masses yearned for rest, the upper classes for amusement. For the better part of an entire generation, good society on the Continent had fasted from all its accustomed pleasures. The terrible earnestness of the times had weighed upon all classes, and long arrears on the score of enjoyment had to be made up. The fall of Napoleon gave the signal for the splendid orgies of the Vienna Congress.\* Never had business or such transcendental importance been transacted by men in such a carnival humour. Even at the present day we cannot read the driest records of the work actually done without catching an echo of the festive sounds amidst which each detail was elaborated. There is not a paragraph in the Act of Congress, not a protocol of its sittings, for which a corresponding masquerade, or *carrousel*, or sledging-party, each outdoing the splendour of the last, could not be found.

It was the *régime* of the "Man of the World" that had succeeded to the *régime* of the "Man of the Sword." For some two decades the latter had in the mere wantonness of conquest warred for the sake of warring; at last an entire people turned to bay, and closing with the professional conqueror threw him. Whilst still

"Dry with rage and extreme toil,  
Breathless and faint, and leaning on their sword."

\* It is calculated that three millions sterling were spent by the Austrian Court alone in the feasts given to the Allied Sovereigns, and this immediately after a State bankruptcy, and at a time when famine reigned

the "Man of the World" gracefully stepped in, "neat and trimly dressed," and appropriated the prizes of victory.

This was plainly not a congenial atmosphere for men of the stamp of Stein and Humboldt, or, even though he was a man of pleasure, for a statesman like Hardenberg, whose really large and liberal views were out of harmony with the brilliant frivolities of the day. Still less was it congenial to the work they were called upon to perform. King Frederick-William III. might perhaps have effected something, but neither his head nor his heart was in the national movement. He had never understood it, and was half afraid, half ashamed of it. The same false shame which in the French capital had made him shy of the tattered and somewhat grotesque uniforms of the *Landwehr* battalions, who had so recently covered themselves with glory, and insist upon only troops of the line taking part in the triumphal entry into Paris,\* clung to him at Vienna when the popular and national rights of Germany had to be taken under his protection. It was part of the political programme that Prussia should act as the mouthpiece of the national aspirations, and it should be done *pour acquit de conscience*; but in his heart the King "cared for none of these things," he was essentially a Prussian monarch, who cared for Prussia, and Prussia only, and his whole interest was concentrated on the one question of the acquisition of Saxony.

Hence from the first it was clear that the German programme of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries was doomed, and that the latter were playing a losing game. We cannot acquit them of having played that game weakly, but we can sympathise with the *gêne* and *malaise* (we can find no English equivalents) which they must have experienced in playing such a game against the courtly adversaries assembled round the green table of the Vienna Chancery of State.

It would be a fallacy, however, to suppose that it was owing to the above causes that the Congress failed in devising any national scheme for the reconstruction of Germany. The collateral objects for which the nation had made such supreme efforts, and the demands that had never ceased to be formulated, were freedom and union: a

radical reform of the *status* of the German within the Fatherland—a radical reform of the *status* of the Fatherland within the European family.

Now, it was undoubtedly owing to the indifference of the King, and to the weakness of his Ministers, that the first of these objects was not attained, and that the Federal Act, as finally agreed to, contained none of the guarantees for the civil rights of Germans,—such as abolition of personal servitude, *habeas corpus*, right of free settlement, liberty of the press, liberty of education, removal of religious disabilities,—and none of the effective safeguards for the constitutional rights of the individual States, for which the Prussian draft of constitution originally submitted to the Congress made ample provisions.

That nothing was done to fulfil the second object was owing to causes beyond the control of the ablest and the most zealous statesmen. The more we study the history of the period the more we become convinced that the time had not arrived for a really organic reconstruction of Germany upon a national basis, and that many years, not to say generations, and much painful experience, would be required before anything like a clear appreciation could be obtained of even the elementary conditions of so stupendous a problem. When we see a man of the calibre of Stein, whose whole life had been dedicated to the work of Germany's regeneration, hold, within a few years, and even a few months, of each other, such contradictory views as the following,—constitution of Germany into a monarchy, one and indivisible, all sovereigns but the ruling House to be swept away; division of Germany into two, Prussia to take one half, Austria the other; restoration of the empire under the House of Hohenzollern, because Prussia is the most German; restoration of the empire under the House of Hapsburg-Lothringen, because Austria is the least German State, and must be bribed to remain in Germany,—we feel that that consent of opinion in any one direction, which alone could have rendered the work possible, was absolutely wanting, and that men's minds were still too much under the influence of passing events to enable them to distinguish between abiding realities and ephemeral phenomena.

The only States besides Prussia who showed any patriotic feeling were the smaller States, who, to the number of thirty-two, agitated, under the inspiration of Stein, for a restoration of the Empire, and showed a readiness to make large sacrifices to effect that object; but their scheme, when exam-

in many provinces of the Empire, and when some 50,000 invalids were thrown on the resources of the country.

\* We cannot vouch for the accuracy of this anecdote; but even if it is a myth, it is one of a "representative" kind, showing what was the temper supposed to prevail in the Court regions at the time.

ined in detail, is seen to labour under the organic defect common to all attempts made to combine in a national unit two international bodies of such magnitude as Austria and Prussia.

The attitude of the Napoleonic kingdoms was logical. They simply declared themselves unable to see the necessity of giving a common constitution to Germany, and made it a condition of their adherence to any plan that might be proposed that it should not in any way, either externally or internally, hamper their perfect liberty of action, especially in the matter of foreign alliances. "Do not let us forget," observed the Bavarian Plenipotentiary on one occasion to his Württemberg colleague, "that after all our natural ally is France." By this cynical plainness of speech they overshoot their mark, and found themselves fighting for an untenable position against Austria, no less than Prussia and the remaining States of Germany.

With the exception of these kingdoms, who cannot be accused of not knowing what they wanted, but whose attitude was purely negative, Austria alone appears from the first to have been clearly conscious of the ends which she desired to compass, and of the principles of reconstruction which it would suit her interests to see adopted. At a very early stage she had made up her mind to decline the Imperial crown, and to indemnify herself in Italy, and not in Germany, for her share in the toils and expenditure of the Napoleonic overthrow. When the small States entreated her to resume the crown and purple of the Cæsars, she effectually damped their ardour by asking who was to pay Cæsar's expenses. Throughout the earlier portion of the negotiations she withheld her own scheme of reconstruction, and contented herself with eliminating from the Prussian scheme as many of the provisions respecting civil and constitutional rights as she decently could. It was only at the eleventh hour, when the Plenipotentiaries had been exhausted by constant differences, and when public attention was wholly absorbed by the events consequent on Napoleon's escape from Elba, that she produced her draft, which, with scarcely any discussion, and some very few amendments, was definitively accepted and signed on the 8th June 1815, as the Act of the Germanic Confederation.

The Federal Constitution thus called into life exactly corresponded to what Austria required of such an institution. Of the two forces at work in Germany,—the National and the Territorial, the sovereigns and the populations subject to them,—it was with

the former that she elected to ally herself. The one force acted in a centripetal, the other in a centrifugal direction; but the development of centripetal force in Germany meant either the dismemberment of Austria by the attraction of her German provinces within the action of that force, or the secession of Austria out of Germany in order to withdraw those provinces from that action. That Prussia's natural ally was the national force Austria knew infinitely better than Prussia knew herself, and she could hardly reckon upon Prussian sovereigns for ever remaining blind to the fact. To maintain intact, therefore, the international character to be given to the new Confederation, to prevent any germs being deposited in it which might later fructify in a national sense, to establish this Constitution on the firm basis of European treaties, and under the guarantee of non-German Powers, and then in a Diplomatic Congress—that is, a Congress in which the Sovereigns only were represented,—to trust to her ground of vantage as the natural patron of the Sovereigns, and to the conservative instincts which would find their natural home in such a body, for the purpose of paralysing the efforts of Prussia, should that Power ever wake to a sense of her national mission,—such in brief outline, was the policy which dictated the Austrian reconstruction of Germany in 1815.

The distinctive character of the Germanic Confederation, constituted by the Act of 1815 and complemented by the Final Act of 1820, was that of an International Alliance between equal and independent States, whose rights of external and internal sovereignty remained intact except in so far as they were practically limited by the objects for which the alliance was concluded. Those objects were of a strictly defensive kind, viz., as defined in section 2 of the Federal Act, "the maintenance of the external and internal security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the individual German States." The sole organ of the Confederation, the Frankfort Diet, was nothing else than a Congress of Plenipotentiaries, in which none was theoretically before or after another. It only differed from similar congresses in being permanently assembled. The Austrian Plenipotentiary presided in this assembly, but no attributes attached to the office of President other than those necessary for the conduct and transaction of business. By means of a complicated 'machinery' the thirty-eight Plenipotentiaries composing the Diet voted according to the subject-matter on which they were called upon to decide, either in a

Restricted Council (*Engere Rath*)—in which the thirty-eight States had seventeen votes between them, the larger States having each one, the smaller voting *curiatim* in groups, —or in a Plenary Assembly (*Plenum*), to which sixty-nine votes were allotted, the larger Powers having several votes according to their size, but the smallest Power having at least one. Any matter touching the fundamental institutions of the Confederation had to be decided by the "Plenum," and one vote sufficed to veto any measure tending to alter those institutions. It was the *liberum veto* of the old Polish Diets, placing the maintenance of the *status quo* in the keeping of such States as Lichtenstein or Reuss. For the purposes of military defence, a highly-complicated military organization was called into life, with regard to which it will suffice to say that long before the Confederation ceased to exist it had been adjudged by common consent to be absolutely worthless.

Necessary as it would be for the due appreciation of what followed to give some account of the period during which this Constitution was in force, our space does not admit of even the shortest summary of its sins of omission and commission, and compels us to hasten on to the next great epoch in the constitutional development of Germany, only premising what follows in the way of introduction to the events of 1848.

Above, we called special attention to the fact that the prophets and teachers of the people at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century had not busied themselves with the political education of the nation. The case was very different in the succeeding generation. A movement like that which resulted in the War of Liberation could not but be reflected in the intellectual activity of the nation. As was to be expected, the poets were the first to be inspired, and never was patriotic passion attuned to nobler rhyme than that of Arndt and Körner. When the sword was sheathed, the period of political speculation began. The singers went before, the professors followed after.

It is easy for us who come by our knowledge of politics empirically, and by the same sort of natural process by which we learn to ride or to play at cricket, to scoff at those whose lot it is painfully to evolve political systems and political principles. We must remember, however, that during the thirty years that preceded 1848, political activity in Germany, except in the case of the smaller and some of the middle States, was as much restricted to official

circles as it had been during the latter period of the Empire. In the two great units of the Confederation, Austria and Prussia, the year 1820 gave the signal for the most absolute repression of all independent movement in the direction of political reform. But there was this radical difference between the Southern and the Northern Power. In Austria, thought was strangled in the cradle. "The system," as Metternich's policy was concisely termed, aimed at isolating Austria materially and intellectually from Germany and the rest of the world. Austria had alone escaped the contamination of the French Revolution, and a strict quarantine, permanently established, should for ever preclude all danger of contagion. A prohibitive tariff effectually prevented all material intercourse, a rigorous censorship dammed up all the channels through which a connexion might have been maintained between the German elements of Austria and the intellectual centres of the common Fatherland.

In Prussia, on the contrary, thought was free; it was only when it attempted to shape itself into acts that it came into collision with the authorities. Newspapers and even pamphlets could be searched for political contraband, and their contents adjudged good prize; octavo volumes sailed under a neutral flag, and as long as the treatment remained objective the boldest speculation could be indulged in from the university rostrum. By the establishment of the Zollverein, Prussia identified her material interests with those of Germany, —by the free exchange of professors and teachers between Prussian and German universities a unity of intellectual and speculative development was secured.

That the one-sided growth of political speculation without a corresponding field of political practice was in itself undesirable and fraught with many evils, will readily be admitted. *Doctrinaire* is a term justly branded with an invidious meaning; not the "best possible" but the "possible" is correctly designated as the subject-matter of politics. Nevertheless, no one can have attentively considered the history of modern Germany without convincing himself of the debt which she owes to her political professors, or of the benefits she has derived from the patient concentration of the best intellects of the nation on the problem of her political reconstruction during the generation when her citizens were excluded from all share in the management of their own affairs. If proof were wanted, we should require no other than a comparison between the professors' Constitution of 1849 and the

statesman's Constitution and drafts of Constitution of 1815.

We will express no opinion as to whether the reconstruction of Germany did or did not require the antecedent employment of "blood and iron," but this we will fearlessly assert, that if the ground ploughed up by the cannon-shot of 1866 yields the harvest expected of it, the seed will have been sown by the much-maligned professors whose labours are just now held so cheap by the thankless Fatherland.

That after such prolonged academical preparation the events of 1848 should have had a certain pedantry of form adhering to them is not to be wondered at, and we cannot hope to lay before our readers a clear statement of the struggle which has ever since agitated Germany, without first explaining two scientific terms taken from the political phraseology of the time which meet us at every turn, and for which we know of no English equivalents.

The German professor divides the genus Confederation into two species, the "Staatenbund" and the "Bundesstaat," under one or other of which, or a cross between the two, every individual federal constitution can be brought.

The essence of the "Staatenbund"—*Anglicè*, "States' Confederation"—is that it is *international*, i.e., that however closely united *inter se* for particular purposes the individual States composing the union may be, there is no displacement or transfer of sovereignty from the individual units to a common centre. The confederated States may collectively constitute an international unit as regards third parties, but the several partners do not cease to be international units as regards each other. Each retains the plenitude of his sovereign rights, those of external as well as those of internal sovereignty. The exercise of these rights may be, and indeed necessarily is, limited in practice by the objects of the union, such, for instance, as the limitation of the right of making war upon each other, or of entering into foreign alliances; but in theory it is not a surrender of the right, but a voluntary engagement to abstain from using the right.

It follows from this definition that, as an Executive and a Legislature both imply the exercise of sovereign powers, a "Staatenbund," or "States' Confederation," does not admit either of a central executive or of a common legislative body. The articles of union may in certain matters render the will of the majority binding upon the minority, and the Federal decrees or resolutions of such majorities may, as was the case in

the Germanic Confederation, come to be inaccurately described as Federal laws, but in no case can they become legally or formally binding within the States of the minority, until they have assumed the form of legislative enactment in each State. In a word, the individual subjects of the States of a "Staatenbund" know nothing of the Confederation; whatever common organ such union may possess for the accomplishment of the common objects of the association, acts through the Governments and the legislative apparatus of the individual members.

From the above it will at once be manifest that the Germanic Confederation was a Staatenbund.

The "Bundesstaat"—*Anglicè*, "Federalive State"—is an abstraction originally obtained from the careful analysis made of the United States Constitution by De Tocqueville. As the name implies (the plural, "States" being replaced by the singular, "State"), it presupposes the creation of a political unit, i.e., of a body endowed with sovereign attributes, and therefore excludes the idea of international relations between the members of such a body. The Bundesstaat is a *national* as opposed to an *international* union. Its essential characteristics may be resumed as follows:—

1. The rights of external and internal sovereignty inherent in the idea of a State are divided between the Federal power and the several States, so that each, the Federal power and the individual State, is *exclusively* endowed with certain sovereign rights, and consequently that, considered separately, each is an incomplete State.

2. The individual subjects or citizens in a Federative State stand in a double and divided allegiance, being on some points exclusively subject to the Federal power, on others exclusively subject to the local power.

3. The Federal power, within its jurisdiction, acts directly and by means of its own organs upon the individual subjects or citizens in the several States, and not, as in the case of the "Staatenbund," indirectly through the individual Governments.

Such being the essence of the Bundesstaat, it follows that its *differentia*, to use the old logical formula, consists of a centralized Executive and a common Legislature. We may add, as "inseparable accidents," deduced from the practical objects which every Bundesstaat must have in view, and from the nature of the societies in which alone such a form of government could arise—

- 1st, That all rights of external sovereignty will be absorbed by the Federal power.

2dly, That the Legislature will include a national representation of the entire Federal body, elected without reference to the individual States.

If our readers will bear the above abstract in mind, and compare it with their practical knowledge of the working of the American Constitution, they will, we hope, have a tolerably clear idea of the Bundesstaat, and see in what points it differs from the Constitution of the late Germanic Confederation.

As the essence of the Staatenbund consists in its international character, and that of the Bundesstaat in the centralization of certain sovereign attributes, we have in what follows used the terms "International Confederation" to denote the former, and "Centralized Confederacy" to denote the latter: the literal renderings, "States' Confederation" and "Federative State," not appearing to us as yet sufficiently domesticated in the English language to justify our use of them.

On the 18th of March 1848, the King of Prussia engaged, in a proclamation to his people, that the German International Confederation (Staatenbund) should be replaced by a German Centralized Confederacy (Bundesstaat).

On the 30th of March, the Diet called upon the several Governments of the Confederation to convoke a Parliament, to be elected directly by the nation on the basis of population, which Parliament, in conjunction with the Government, should determine the new form of constitution to be given to Germany.

On the 18th of May, the Parliament met at Frankfort, and, in concert with the Governments, elected the Archduke John of Austria as "Reichsverweser" or Regent of the Empire. The Archduke was to be the irresponsible head of a provisional Executive and to nominate a Ministry responsible to Parliament.

On the 24th of July, the Diet resigned into the hands of the Archduke Regent the powers confided to it by the Acts of 1815 and 1820, and declared itself dissolved.

Thus, before a single paragraph of the future Constitution had been discussed, Germany had constituted herself under a form of Government bearing all the essential features of the Bundesstaat or Centralized Confederacy.

Instead of applying itself at once to the political reconstruction of Germany, the Parliament entered into an exhaustive discussion of the fundamental rights of German citizens, and by this fatal mistake lost its only chance of arriving at a practical result, for during the summer of 1848 the

Frankfort Assembly was omnipotent; and had it before the autumn succeeded in arriving at a definite result, that result would have been unhesitatingly accepted by the nation, as well as by the then helpless Governments. But by the close of the year the situation was radically changed. Both at Berlin and at Vienna the Crown had recovered its presence of mind, and power was once more lodged in the hands of energetic Ministers. Whatever the resolve came to by the Parliament, it would have to pass through the ordeal of Prussian and Austrian criticism, and to court the assent of two Powers, able, if they were willing, to veto it.

It was in the winter months of 1848-49 that the debates upon the Constitution at length began. Violent as were the party conflicts upon questions of detail, there was a general consent of opinion upon the main features of the scheme. They were those of the Bundesstaat, — a national Parliament composed of two Houses, one a States' House, the other a Representative Assembly elected directly by the people, a Ministry responsible to this Parliament, and a supreme irresponsible head, who, whatever his title, should be invested with the attributes of a constitutional Sovereign. The body to be thus created was to be a Sovereign Unit in regard to all rights of external and to many important rights of internal sovereignty.

It was when the question came to be discussed as to what head should be given to this body, whether the office should be filled by an elected president or by an hereditary monarch, and if by the latter, on whom the crown should devolve, that the Parliament found itself at last face to face with the central difficulty of the German question, viz., the position of Austria in the new Confederacy.

As soon as the question was submitted to the ordeal of exhaustive discussion, the following positions came out clearly:—

By common agreement—and on this point there was not a dissentient voice—the "Bundesstaat," or Centralized Federative State, was the only form of constitution which could secure the objects desired by the nation, viz., unity without excessive sacrifice of State individuality. But the sovereignty of the "Bundesstaat" is within its assigned sphere supreme, not only over all the States that belong to it, but over the individual citizens composing those States, and consequently admits of no rival allegiance. If, therefore, the German provinces of Austria were to enter into the proposed "Bundesstaat," it was first necessary that they should be dis severed from their political connexion

with the rest of the Austrian Empire, i. e., such entrance required, as an antecedent condition, the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, and the establishment for the future of a merely personal union between the German and non-German dominions of the House of Hapsburg-Lothringen.

If this condition could not be fulfilled, and the work of constituting a Centralized Confederacy was nevertheless to be proceeded with, then Austria must be excluded from the new State.

If, on the other hand, the paramount object of the nation was that Austria should remain bound up with the rest of Germany on equal terms, then a return *mutatis mutandis* to an International Confederation of the old kind was the only alternative left.

Now it is exactly against this sort of cogent logical conclusion, which to a Frenchman or an Englishman would be absolutely convincing, that a very numerous, a very intelligent, a very respectable, and a very patriotic class of German politicians most vehemently rebels. It cannot force an entrance through the nebulous ring of sentiment and imagination by which the purely Alemannic political conscience is surrounded.

As soon, therefore, as the really political portion of the Frankfort Parliament had come to the conclusions aforesaid, and had formulated their programme conformably to those conclusions, there arose a storm of opposition, and a party calling itself "Great German," to express its abhorrence at the idea of severing any portion from the great Fatherland, and branding its opponents as "Little Germans," strained every nerve to thwart the plans of their adversaries. The programme against which they spent their wrath may be shortly summed up as follows:—

"The German Austrians neither will nor can sever themselves from the rest of Austria. Nor is it desirable, either in their own interest or in that of Germany, that they should do so. For Austria has an appointed task to perform. She has to spread German culture eastwards, and to found a mighty empire on the Danube, which, if not wholly German by nationality, shall become wholly German by civilization. To withdraw her German provinces from her is to withdraw the life-blood necessary for this process of assimilation. It is to deprive the ancient House of Hapsburg of the *raison d'être* of its existence, it is to bring Germany into immediate contact with half-barbarous races, without a controlling element to keep them in subjection. But there is no reason, because Austria's task is to found an Eastern Germany, that the remaining Germans, to whom history has not allotted this task, should be hindered in their endeavours to consolidate

themselves into a Western Germany, and the National Parliament, therefore, must proceed with its work and accomplish it, in the only way it can be accomplished, by the constitution of the Bundesstaat under Prussia. But Austria shall not be the loser, but, on the contrary, a gainer by the change. Between her and the Germany thus constituted there shall be established an international union of the closest kind. An eternal alliance for offence and defence shall guarantee to each the possession of its territories. A Customs' Union shall open up the markets of the one to the other. Similar laws passed by the two Legislatures shall in every way facilitate the intercourse between the two branches of the great family. Every advantage which Austria derived from the old International Confederacy of 1815, she will enjoy a hundredfold under the new dispensation, with the additional one, that all conflicts as to concurrent rights of sovereignty will for the future be avoided."

Fortunately for the party of the Little Germans, or the Hereditary Imperialists, as they styled themselves, the Austrian Government itself came to their assistance. When the debates on the question of Austria's position in the Bundesstaat were at their hottest, news reached Frankfort that on the 7th of March the Austrian constituent parliament, sitting at Kremsier, had been forcibly closed, and that the emperor had *octroyé* a constitution by which, for the first time in their history, the dominions of his House were welded together into a compact centralized monarchy, one and indivisible. An imperial note at the same time formulated the demand that the Austrian empire, so reconstituted, should enter bodily into the Germanic Confederation, and that the Constitution to be given to Germany should be modified accordingly, i. e., that the idea of a "Bundesstaat," with a national Parliament and a single head, should be given up, and that in lieu thereof a Directory of seven sovereigns, under the presidency of Austria, assisted by a States' House representing the Governments, should permanently administer the affairs of the Confederation. It was under the impression of this sudden turn of affairs in Austria, that on the 27th and 28th of March the Frankfort Parliament passed the two celebrated votes—

"The head of the German Bundesstaat is an hereditary Emperor, to be styled Emperor of the Germans."

"The Imperial Crown is hereditary in the House of Hohenzollern."

On the third of April a deputation from the Parliament waited upon the King of Prussia at Berlin, and called upon his Majesty to accept the crown offered to him by the German nation in parliament assembled. The King replied, that though the vote of the

Parliament gave him a *well-grounded claim* to this crown, he could not accept it without previous concert with the sovereigns whose rights were involved.

On the 28th of April he declined definitively. By this refusal the moral power of the National, as distinct from the Revolutionary party, was broken; they had lost their only bulwark, the physical support of the one power in Germany able successfully to carry the programme of the nation to a successful issue.

The refusal of the King was followed by revolutionary outbreaks at Dresden, in Baden, and in the Palatinate, and the panic-stricken sovereigns, Austria being fully occupied with her Hungarian insurrection, had to apply to Prussia for assistance. Help was immediately vouchsafed, and in a short campaign the arms of Prussia reduced the revolted subjects of the Kings of Saxony and Bavaria and of the Grand Duke of Baden to their allegiance.

It was a proud moment for the King of Prussia, and the crisis was one of the sort especially fitted to flatter his peculiar illusions. Implored by the nation to accept the Imperial crown, he had been unable to conquer his repugnance to such a title, or his scruples as to infringing upon the divine rights of his sovereign compeers, and had refused the gift. Implored by these compeers to save them from destruction, he had triumphantly done so. What so easy now, as, in conjunction with these self-same sovereigns, revived by him, and deeply in his debt, to resume the work of German reform, and to offer to the nation, as a free gift out of the hands of the Lord's Anointed, that which it had sacrilegiously aspired to seize as its right?

Accordingly, the King of Prussia set actively to work to build up the *Bundesstaat* by voluntary contributions. Conferences were held at Berlin, and on the 28th of May an alliance, known as "The Three Kings' Alliance," between the sovereigns of Prussia, Saxony and Hanover, was concluded. The allies bound themselves to give a Constitution to Germany, conformable to a draft which Prussia drew up, and which was to come into operation as soon as it had obtained the assent of a National Assembly, to be later convoked. All members of the Germanic Confederation, Austria excepted, were invited to join the alliance, with the option of refusing. The international union between Austria and such states as did not join, on the one hand, and the proposed "*Bundesstaat*" on the other, was to remain such as in the Confederation of 1815. It was within the International Confederation

that the Centralized Confederacy was to take its place.

The Constitution which Prussia drew up kept close to the text of that voted by the Frankfort Assembly, only modifying some of its provisions in a less *doctrinaire* and more conservative sense. Instead of the hereditary Emperor, however, the Executive was to be confided to Prussia as presiding power, assisted by a board of seven Sovereigns.

By the end of July twenty-nine governments had sent in their adherence to the new Confederacy. But the month of August changed the situation. On the 12th of that month the Hungarian army surrendered at Vilagos; Austria was once more restored to the free use of her strength, and the kings knew that help was near. In September, Bavaria and Württemberg declined the invitation sent to them, and later in the autumn Saxony and Hanover protested against the Parliament being convoked. Nevertheless, on the 20th of March, 1850, the Parliament met at Erfurt, and accepted *en bloc* the draft of Constitution submitted to it. According, therefore, to the declaration of the 26th of May, that Constitution ought there and then to have come into operation. But Prussia's heart had begun to fail her. A fresh provisorium, for the ostensible purpose of calling the constitution into life, was created, and a congress of the sovereigns composing the Union met at Berlin, but could settle on no definite course of action. Not daring to move forward, still more afraid to step back, the Union stood irresolute, awaiting its death-blow at the hands of Austria.

On the 26th of April, Austria, ignoring all that had taken place since 1848, summoned the Diet to meet at Frankfort.

Eleven Governments answered the call, some of them seceders from the Union. Prussia, in her own name and in that of the Union, refused the invitation. Thus two independent powers, the Diet and the Union, each claiming to represent Germany, and each refusing to acknowledge the other, stood face to face, and the crisis was at hand. Austria took care that the conflict should be quick and decisive. Under her presidency, the Diet, though scarcely numbering one-third of the Governments of the Confederation, declared itself competent, and proceeded to draw before its forum the two burning questions of the day, viz., the war still going on between the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein and the King of Denmark, and the question of the Hessian Constitution.

We will not inflict the former upon our readers; the latter is less known, and more dramatic.



Though the Elector of Hesse appeared at Frankfort, and invoked the aid of the Diet against his subjects, Hesse-Cassel was still a member of the Union, and according to the constitution which the Erfurt parliament had voted, one of the first duties of the Confederacy was the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the several States. As the Elector appealed to Austria and the Diet for assistance, so the Hessian Chambers and the Hessian people looked to Prussia and the Union for protection.

The conflict was a strange one. It had not arisen in the defence of rights acquired during the revolutionary period of 1848, but in that of a constitution that had been in force for twenty years, and with respect to whose provisions no doubt or *équivoque* could exist. The minister Hassenpflug, who had the management of it, was a man of notoriously bad character, who had once been tried for forgery. During its entire continuance no act of violence or even disturbance occurred. It was carried on between the Elector and his Minister on the one hand, and the Chambers, the public *employés* from the highest to the lowest, the tribunals, and lastly the army, on the other; not that the army revolted, but that the entire body of officers, rather than break their oath to the constitution by disobeying the decisions of the tribunal, sent in their collective resignations—four generals, seven colonels, twenty lieutenant-colonels, with majors, captains and lieutenants in proportion, in all 241 officers, a fact probably without precedent in constitutional history.

It was to back up such a Government in such a conflict that the Diet decreed a Federal execution in Hesse, and that an Austrian and Bavarian army were appointed to carry it out.

The sequel is well known. Prussia made just sufficient show of resistance to add military disgrace to political defeat. She placed her entire army upon a war-footing, entered the Electorate amidst the cheers and acclamations of the population, who hailed her as deliverer, and occupied Cassel and the military roads. On the 6th of November, near the village of Bronzell, not far from the old cathedral town of Fulda, Austrian and Prussian outposts met, and shots were exchanged. An old grey mare, it is said, ridden by a Prussian trumpeter, bit the dust. This was the battle of Bronzell. It was the beginning of the end. Two days later, Count Brandenburg, the Prussian Prime Minister, a brave and honest old soldier, but whose strong conservative feelings and hatred of all things labelled liberal or national unfitted him for the post he held at

a moment when Prussia's only chance was to appeal to the national feeling, died of a broken heart. Manteuffel succeeded him. Another twenty-four hours and all was over. Prussia had surrendered at discretion, and sent the order for the recall of her troops. By the punctuation of Olmütz she engaged to dissolve the Union, to attend at Frankfort, and to give Austria *carte blanche* to settle the Sleswig-Holstein and Hessian questions as she thought fit. She asked as a favour, and the favour was granted, that one battalion, at least, of Prussian troops should be allowed to remain in the Electorate, and look on at the dragoonades inflicted upon the constitutional Hessians.

Once more, as in 1815, Austria and Prussia had played for the hegemony of Germany, and once more Prussia had been beaten, and Austria had been victorious. But it had been a rougher game than the courtly one played amidst the feasts and banquets of the Vienna Congress. The Prussian uniform had been dragged in the mud; i. e., the Prussian army having been mobilized,—the entire male population between the ages of twenty and thirty-eight had each, in his own person, been identified with the disgrace of the Hessian catastrophe. Into the soul of one man the iron penetrated deep. The then Prince, now King, of Prussia, retired to the Rhine Province, in voluntary exile, refused to have any intercourse with the Ministry who had signed the punctuation of Olmütz, and during the remaining portion of his brother's reign brooded over the humiliation of his country.

If we examine into the causes of this defeat, though undoubtedly much is to be laid to the account of the weak and vacillating character of King Frederick-William IV., we shall nevertheless again meet with the phenomena with which the negotiations of 1814 have made us familiar. Austria thoroughly knew her own mind, and what she wanted. She knew who were her allies, and that her policy was to be wholly and entirely the ally of those allies. *L'amî de ses amis*, she would claim their services, but she would render full service in exchange. Thirty years, and above all, the exhaustive discussions of the Frankfort Parliament, had placed the conditions of the political problem to be solved in a far clearer light than they had been in 1815. The national reconstruction of Germany meant the Centralized Confederacy, the Centralized Confederacy meant a sovereign body into which no fragments from another body owing allegiance to another sovereign could be admitted. It meant, therefore, the exclusion of Austria from Germany. Now this the Austrian

Government in 1850 saw clearly; it ridiculed the Austrian sympathies of sentimental Great Germans who called for a national centralized Germany, and racked their brains to find out some *modus vivendi* for Austria within such a body. It ignored the existence of a German nation, and only recognised that of German sovereigns. If these would help Austria to restore the International Confederacy of 1815, she would help them to establish their absolute power over their subjects. The strength of Austria's position consisted in its logical negation.

Between the Prussian Government, on the other hand, and Prussia's natural ally, the National party, there existed no cordial alliance. Each mistrusted the other. The German "Bundesstaat" meant a marriage between Prussia and Germany, that is, an indissoluble contract in which each party was called upon to make sacrifices for the good of both; but these sacrifices neither the Prussian monarch, nor, we may add, in her heart Prussia, was ready to make. Had not Prussia alone in all Germany a real history and real traditions, as distinct from a merely dynastic history or merely heraldic traditions? Had she not, alone and unaided, with a spade in one hand and a sword in the other, worked and fought her way up from an obscure colony on the extreme confines of the Empire to the rank of a first-rate European power? Was not the crown of Prussia a reality, a glorious reality? What, when compared with it, was this unhistorical Imperial diadem, which a puff of popular favour could blow into a gaudy bubble to collapse on the first gust of popular ill-will?

Now this feeling, though of course strongest in the Hohenzollern who sat upon the throne, and among the men who composed his Court and officered his army, is deep-seated in the Prussian nature, even where we least expect to find it. To sink the Prussian in the German is what hardly one inhabitant, of the eastern provinces at least, is capable of doing. He is proud of his name, and never misses an opportunity of letting you know it. Take the two national songs, the German and the Prussian. The one plaintively inquires "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" and endeavours through a long series of stanzas, partly geographical, partly philological, to answer the question. The other starts with the proud affirmation, "Ich bin ein Preuss;" and through all the phases of the German question the echoes of these two melodies cross and recross each other as they come wafted to our ears, the one from the choral clubs of German stu-

dents or German gymnasts, the other from the shrill fifes of Prussian regimental bands.

The weakness of Prussia's position, therefore, was her half-heartedness and want of faith in her own mission. She was a bad ally. She was not *l'amie de ses amis*. There is a spiteful French proverb dating back to the last century, "Travailler pour le roi de Prusse," which in those days came forcibly home to men's minds.

The period between the battle of Bronzell and the battle of Sadowa falls into three natural divisions, the first coinciding with the remaining portion of Frederick-William IV's reign, the second with the accession of the present sovereign as Prince-Regent, and the duration of the so-called Liberal Ministry by which he at first surrounded himself, and the third with the administration of M. de Bismarck.

During the first of these periods the German question lay dormant.

During the second it began to revive with all the symptoms of renewed intensity. The attitude of the Auerswald Ministry in regard to it may be described as that of a Platonic flirtation with the national idea as embodied in the programme of the Little Germans.

The third period is preëminently that of what in Germany, in contradistinction to Great Germanism and Little Germanism, is styled Great Prussianism, and coincides with M. de Bismarck's tenure of office.

It was the Italian war which gave the signal for the resuscitation of the German question.

Now that the recriminations and heart-burnings of the year 1859 have passed away into the region of history, it is not difficult to appreciate the parts played by the several actors in that eventful year. That Austria and the Austrian party in Germany—in which we include not only the well-disciplined phalanx of Cabinets who followed Austria as their leader, but the whole of the Great German party, with its endless shades of opinion—should have regarded it as the first duty of Prussia and Germany to make common cause with Austria, and to defend the Italian possessions of that House by an aggressive movement on the Rhine, was natural enough.

That in Prussia there should have been a strong party who recollected the battle of Bronzell, and who deemed Austria's necessity to be Prussia's opportunity, and that a large section of the liberal and national party should have sympathized with Italy, and considered that it was no part of Germany's duty to thwart Italian aspirations

for unity and independence, was equally natural. That strong influences were consequently brought to bear upon the Prince-Regent to secure the hostile neutrality of Prussia during the impending war was the inevitable result. Nevertheless, the Regent from the first laid down a line of policy of his own, equally opposed to Great German and Great Prussian aspirations, and adhered to it. He had no sympathy with Italy, and shared all the orthodox prejudices against the so-called revolutionary Cabinet of Turin. He believed that the possession of the Quadrilateral by Austria was not unimportant to the security of Germany, and he was not minded therefore that Austria should bleed to death in the defence of the Quadrilateral. But neither, on the other hand, would he go to war as the vassal of Austria, or at the bidding of a majority of the Diet. If Prussia took part in the war she should take part in it as an independent European Power, and make the most capital she could out of it for Prussia. Its primary object touched Austria's general interests in Italy, her collective possessions there, not especially the Quadrilateral. It was only fair, therefore, that she should fight in the first line, and bear the brunt of the first attack. If she could not hold her own, Prussia, at the head of Germany, would make a diversion in her favour by an offensive movement on the Rhine. But to carry out this plan successfully, and to attack France to advantage by allowing the bulk of the French army to engage itself in Italy, Prussia must keep her hand free to the last moment. The Prince-Regent, moreover, had a further reason for this policy. He knew that the Middle States of Germany, Bavaria and Württemberg especially, who cried the most loudly for war, were the least fit to take the field, and that, scanty and disorganized as the smaller Federal contingents were, it would require several months before they could even attempt to show a hostile front. In the meanwhile the military preparations of Prussia were carried on with the utmost activity. By the time the battle of Magenta was fought the whole Prussian army was on a war footing, and fit to take the field. On the news of the victory of Solferino, Prince Windischgrätz, the Austrian Military Plenipotentiary at Berlin, was able to telegraph to the Emperor that the Prussian army had begun its concentric movement upon the Rhine. But the Emperor Francis Joseph disbelieved, or affected to disbelieve, the information conveyed to him by his own agent, and hastily concluded the peace of Villafranca, giving the world to understand

that he was deserted by his natural allies, and that it was the equivocal attitude of Prussia which had forced him to throw himself on the mercy of the French Emperor. On the other hand, the latter did not seek to hide that it was the certainty of hostilities with Prussia which had led him to conclude peace before the work of Italian emancipation was completed.

Thus closed the campaign of 1859, leaving behind it a rankling wound as well in the mind of Austria as of Prussia. That she had been betrayed by the selfish policy of Prussia was the conviction of the former. That Austria had preferred coming to terms with France and the loss of Lombardy to a deliverance wrought by her former vassal, and to seeing that vassal playing an independent part as a great European Power, became the rooted belief of the latter.

The international machinery of 1815, so carefully and at such vast expense restored by Austria, had hopelessly broken down at the moment she the most required its assistance. A bloodier campaign than that of Bronzell had for ever destroyed the fruits of that ill-omened victory. By common consent the existing institutions of Germany were condemned as utterly worthless, and a cry went forth from every portion of the Fatherland demanding a radical reform of the Federal Constitution.

With this revival of the German question, the two parties which had stood face to face in 1849, the Great Germans and the Little Germans, were once more arrayed against each other, and a political agitation began, which, little as it was at the time noticed out of Germany, it required no gift of prophecy to foresee could not but end in the disruption of the Confederation.

Before we trace the incidents of this political campaign, it is necessary we should notice the attitude of the several Governments more immediately interested in the solution of the German question.

The Austrian Cabinet stood paralysed by the total collapse, both internal and external, of that system of logical negation on which its prestige had for the last nine years been reposing, and was helplessly groping about for some positive creed whereon to build up the broken fortunes of the Empire. To include her non-German provinces within the *nexus* of the Confederation, and to extend the frontiers of Germany to the Po and the Carpathians, seemed to Austria the only hope of salvation; but the means to compass that end appeared, as well they might, beyond the reach of her bewildered policy.

The Prussian Cabinet, as before observed,

was inclined to coquette with the programme of Little Germany; but a more important personage in the Prussian State than any member of a Cabinet had concentrated his ideas of Federal reform on a more practical, though, as the result proved, not on a more attainable object.

The attention of the Prince-Regent had, during the spring and summer of 1859, been wholly absorbed by the work of military preparation, both in Prussia and Germany, for what appeared to forbode a general European war. The mobilization of the Prussian army had taught him the defects which thirty years of peace had not failed to introduce into the organization of so large a force based upon such exceptional foundations. The mobilization of the Federal contingents had revealed to him in all its enormity the hopeless malformation of the Federal army. The sight of contingents differently armed and differently equipped, wholly deficient in the military knowledge and *esprit de corps* which only large armies can possess, filled with the leaven of local prejudices and local jealousies, and totally unfit to be massed into efficient and disciplined bodies, convinced him that the Federal army, as constituted by the treaties of Vienna, was as rotten a concern as those armies of the Holy Roman Empire which for centuries had been the laughing-stock of Europe.

To carry out a comprehensive scheme of reform in regard to the Prussian army, and in regard to the Federal army to endeavour to realize the original idea of the Constitution of 1815, by making the defensive apparatus of the Confederation a reality,—such was the moral which the Hohenzollern of the day deduced from the year 1859. To carry out the latter idea, he at once proposed a scheme of reform for the military constitution of Germany, and endeavoured, both at the Diet and in the way of negotiation with Austria, but of course without success, to get it adopted.

The following are the main features of the scheme. For the one Federal army, to come into existence only when a Federal war was imminent, were to be substituted two Federal armies—a northern army under the command of Prussia, whose contingents should, *in peace* as well as during war, be incorporated with the Prussian army, a southern army under the command of Austria, whose contingents should, equally in peace and war, be incorporated with the Austrian army.

As regards the attitude of the remaining States of the Confederation, we must call attention to an abiding difference between

the policy of the Middle States, under which are included the four kingdoms, Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and some of the larger Grand Duchies, such as the two Hesses, and that of the smaller States. It is the former who have persistently barred the way to every serious effort for the consolidation of Germany. Too large to die, too small to live, as was once said of them by an orator in the Prussian Chambers, they have never varied in their policy of subordinating patriotic and national interests to the maintenance intact of every attribute of their newly acquired sovereignty. The smaller States, on the other hand, aware probably that there was nothing in their size incompatible with an early death, have on many occasions, when acting corporatively, shown a praiseworthy readiness to make sacrifices for the common good. It was thus that in 1814 we saw them opposing themselves energetically to the secessionary tendencies of Würtemberg and Bavaria, and again in 1850 standing by Prussia when the kingdoms either refused to join the Union, or broke away from the Union after they had joined it. Hence, in 1859, it was the Middle States whose interests appeared the most compromised by the overthrow of Austria, and in whose ranks that overthrow caused the widest consternation. Conscious of the active hostility they had displayed against Prussia in 1850, alarmed by the scheme now proposed by Prussia for the amalgamation of the Federal contingents, and magnifying in their terror the collapse of the power of Austria, they sought in a close alliance amongst themselves, and by rallying the smaller States around them, to call into life a compact and well-disciplined body, which should hold its own even without Austrian help against the ambitious projects of Prussia on the one hand, and the rising wave of national enthusiasm on the other. It was a revival of the *Triad* idea which had on various previous occasions cropped up to the surface, and which was especially hateful to the national party as being supposed to represent the French ideal of German reconstruction. The coalition which owed its origin to these causes was later known by the name of the Würzburg Coalition, from the conferences of the allied States being held in that town. Saxony and Bavaria were the soul of the movement.

Such, in general outline, was the situation at the close of 1859.

The Little Germans were the first in the field, and opened the campaign by the creation of the National Verein or National League, with the Constitution of 1849 for

its banner. By its wide organization, and the activity it displayed in the press and at public meetings, it soon attracted general notice, and riveted upon itself the attention of the Cabinets. By the Governments of the Middle States it was pursued with all the rigour of the reactionary laws against the freedom of the press and the right of public meeting which had been passed under Federal inspiration. The liberal Governments, on the other hand,—Baden, Coburg-Gotha, Weimar, etc.,—openly avowed their sympathy with the objects of the League, and began to move diplomatically in a like direction. In Prussia the Government observed an attitude of official neutrality, but the Lower Chamber expressed its strong sympathy with the movement, and of some of the Ministers at least it was known that they were friendly to it.

The next move was made by the Würzburg Coalition. It was nothing less than a formal scheme of Federal reform, carefully elaborated by the Allied States, and submitted in their name by the Saxon Government to the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets.

The circular transmitting the scheme, after descanting upon the benefits which the German nation had for thirty years derived from the Constitution of 1815, admits that this Constitution had never succeeded in making itself popular, and that it had now lost all principle of vitality. The main causes of these undesirable results the circular sees in the unnecessary secrecy in which the proceedings of the Frankfort Diet had always been wrapped up, and in the dilatoriness of its mode of doing business, inseparable from the diplomatic character of the Assembly. In proposing a reform, however, care must be taken to avoid a revolution. The three desiderata of the National party—the Bundesstaat, the National Parliament elected directly from the people, and the Imperial Crown—are children of the revolution. That Bundesstaat would therefore be a revolutionary creation, and would not be the reform but the dissolution of the Confederation. The purely international character of the Union, and the unshackled sovereignty of the several States, must be the immovable basis upon which every plan of reform must be built up. But this does not preclude the introduction of popular elements into the Federal mechanism, or the creation of efficient organs to replace the present inefficient ones.

The programme of reform was as follows:—

The high contracting parties were sol-

emnly to renew all the obligations of the Federal Acts of 1815–20, and only to amend those paragraphs which related to the Constitution of the organs of the Confederation. The Diet was to remain as constituted by those Acts, only that instead of Plenipotentiaries named by the Governments, the Ministers themselves of the several States should meet, and give to the assembly the character of a ministerial conference instead of that of a diplomatic congress. Instead of sitting permanently at Frankfort, it was proposed that the Reformed Diet should meet twice a year, for four weeks, alternately at Regensburg in the south and at Hamburg in the north. When meeting at Regensburg, Austria should be the presiding Power; when meeting at Hamburg, Prussia should preside. Besides the Diet, which till then had been the sole organ of the Confederation, two new Federal institutions were to be called into life,—a Directory, composed of Austria, Prussia, and a third State to be named by the remaining Governments, and an assembly of Delegates from the Chambers of the several States.

It is not necessary to enter into the details of this scheme. Its objects come out clearly enough when we bear in mind that the proposals of the Coalition were of the nature of a *counter* project to the programme of the National League. The demand for a popular element in the mechanism of the Confederation had become too general to be ignored by any scheme of reform, from whatever quarter it might proceed; but whilst appearing to fulfil this desideratum, the project of the Coalition for an assembly of delegates would, had it been adopted, have most effectually paralysed the objects proposed by the National party. The latter desired to place the centre of political gravity in a national representation. The Coalition proposed to retain this centre in the Diet, that is, in the body representing the Governments, and virtually to confine the action of the proposed assembly of delegates to a restricted legislative field. The national programme proposed a Parliament elected directly by the nation in the ratio of the population, *i. e.*, a body in which the territorial distinctions would have been obliterated. The programme of the Coalition proposed to stereotype these territorial distinctions in the popular branch of the Legislature, by allotting the franchise not in the ratio of population, but in the ratio of the individual States. The assembly of delegates would have been a Parliament built up *à priori*, on a basis of rotten boroughs, to the ex-

clusion of every other form of constituency.

The Prussian answer to the circular setting forth this scheme emphatically accepts the position that the German Confederation is an international alliance, and that this is the character which has to be maintained. It argues, however, that the evils that have accumulated over Germany owe their origin to this character not having been maintained in its purity, and to the Confederation having, from the day of its birth, undertaken functions incompatible with an international union. An association, four members of which (Austria, Prussia, Denmark, and Holland) have an independent European position of their own, and therefore the centre of their political gravity outside the mechanism of the association, cannot with impunity transgress the strict limits of international intimacy, and enter into engagements trenching upon their rights of internal sovereignty. But it is exactly in this direction that the proposal of reform moves. Though repudiating the term *Bundesstaat*, it borrows essential elements from that form of confederation, such as the legislative body and the executive, and endeavours to make them fit into the *Staatenbund*. Nothing will induce Prussia to follow this lead. The only reform of the Bund in its entirety to which she will lend her hand will be one that reduces it back to its purely international character, and endeavours more effectually to carry out its primary object of a defensive association against aggression from without. But whilst assuming this negative attitude in regard to a reform that should extend over the whole Confederation, Prussia believes that a wide field of improvement is open in the way of free association between members of the Confederation. Paragraph 11 of the Federal Act especially consecrates the principle that the members of the Confederation are free to enter into alliances amongst themselves, so long as the objects of such alliances do not run counter to the fundamental duties of the Bund. There is nothing to prevent the formation of a *bond à dé* *Bundesstaat* within the Confederation in virtue of this article.

The Austrian reply confines itself almost exclusively to the proposed innovation of an alternation of the presidency of the Diet between Austria and Prussia. It claims for the Austrian right of presidency a character wholly different from that which had been given to it in 1815. According to this new interpretation, the Austrian Presidency of the Diet represented the principle of German unity; to introduce the alternation

would be to introduce the principle of dualism, and the dire results of such an innovation are illustrated by the disruption which was apparently then going on between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union. Nothing, therefore, the Austrian despatch concludes, will induce the Austrian Cabinet to this extreme limit of concession, *except the one counter concession of the entrance of all her territories into the Confederation*; but even in such a case she would prefer an alternation, not between Austria and Prussia, but between Austria, Prussia, and a third State, such as that proposed by the Federal Directory. If the entrance of her non-German territories into the Confederation is not conceded, she cannot agree to the scheme as a whole, but she will be ready to discuss the proposal for the assembly of delegates and other details.

The reply of Prussia called forth amongst the States of the Coalition an outburst of real or simulated indignation. Austrian aid was invoked, and readily granted; and identical notes were shortly afterwards presented at Berlin by the Imperial Government and the States of the Coalition, protesting in angry tones against the interpretation placed by Prussia on paragraph 11 of the Federal Act. To deduce from a paragraph intended to accentuate the full sovereignty of the individual States the faculty of bringing about an organic change which should for ever limit these sovereign prerogatives, and destroy the self-same right of alliance, was a mode of interpretation without a parallel, etc., etc.

In a word, the Coalition placed Prussia on the horns of the following dilemma: either she was in earnest in her project of bringing about the *Bundesstaat*—and if so, she was a revolutionary power bent upon destroying the Germanic Confederation,—or she was not in earnest, and in that case she was a reactionary power, only using a pretext to oppose all improvement and all reform.

The identical notes may be considered as a declaration of diplomatic war against Prussia, in which from thenceforth Austria and the States of the Coalition were firmly united.

Before we consider the further episodes of this war, we must notice the change of Government at Berlin, which marks the third of the three periods into which we have divided the fifteen years which elapsed between the battle of Bronzell and the battle of Sadowa, viz., the formation of the Bismarck Ministry.

When M. de Bismarck took office, the constitutional conflict between the King and

his Parliament had reached a climax. We left the Prince-Regent of Prussia determined on bringing about a radical reform of his army, and concentrating his entire activity on this object and that of the reform of the Federal army. The death of his brother and his own accession to the throne had not tended to diminish his conviction that the army and all that affected it was wholly within the province of his prerogative, and wholly outside the sphere of the Constitution. The Liberal majority of the Lower Chamber, on the other hand, backed up by the country, were determined to assert the constitutional right of voting the blood-tax, as well as the money taxes imposed on the people. They, no less than the King, desired a reform of the army, and insisted upon a large increase of the military power of Prussia by the *bonâ fide* enforcement of the tax of universal service; but in return they claimed a curtailment of the term of service.

It may safely be asserted that there were no insuperable difficulties in the way of a compromise between the views of the King and those of the Chamber. The real contest was whether such organic changes could be made in virtue of the prerogative, or whether the Parliament had come to years of discretion, and acquired in practice as well as in theory the right to legislate on such matters. It was a contest for power. That from the constitutional point of view the Chamber was in the right and the Crown in the wrong, no one who recollects the incidents of the conflict will deny. Certain fundamental constitutional principles were at stake, which were asserted and defended with an ability, a determination, and a perseverance plainly denoting how the Liberal party in Prussia had ripened in Parliamentary training, and how sound it was in constitutional doctrine.

Nevertheless, viewing the conflict in its connection with the external position which Prussia occupied at the time, and the work which the Würzburg Coalition had cut out for her, it may be doubted whether, as a question of political opportunity, the Chamber was wise in pushing the constitutional doctrine to its logical consequences. The safety of Prussia as a State was at stake, and imperatively demanded that she should be at one with herself; and, above all, pointed to the absolute necessity of a strong Government. But the necessary consequence of the conflict was to shake the political fabric of Prussia to its foundation. We do not, however, lay the blame of the conflict so much to the account of the Liberal party as to the *vis major* of the in-

ternal political situation. The phase in which Prussia found herself was one inseparable from all Parliamentary systems recently introduced, and where sufficient time has not elapsed to reconcile and harmonize the old absolutist traditions with the new popular franchises. A school of Parliamentary orators and debaters had started up into precocious life, but as yet there had been neither time nor opportunity to form a school of Parliamentary statesmen. The Crown had no choice but to surround itself with professional Ministers, who, even when they professed Liberal opinions, were not of Parliamentary growth—were not flesh of its flesh, or bone of its bone. Throughout the conflict it was clear that the Parliamentary ability, and even the legislative capacity, resided in the Liberal majority; but it was equally clear that that majority, had it succeeded in carrying its point, could not have accepted the logical consequence of its victory by installing a Ministry of its own in power. Consequently, throughout the entire contest there runs a thread of unreality. We feel that in the ablest speeches and in the most consistent votes the majority are not acting with the Damocles-sword of responsibility over their heads, and that the regulating force of Parliamentary life—the having on the morrow to give practical effect to the vote of yesterday—is wanting. We are involuntarily reminded of the Chorus in the Greek play. There is much excellent talking, and a clear insight into the situation, but a barrier, not the less impassable that it is invisible, absolutely precludes the grave and venerable citizens in front of the stage from joining in the action of the piece.

We are not minded here to make a *post-mortem* examination of the Auerwald Ministry, or to consider the immediate causes which led to its fall. It was a well-meaning, but a weak Government, at a time when a strong Government was a question of vital importance to the existence of the Prussian State—and it fell; and this is a sufficient epitaph.

There were two real forces alive in Prussia,—the party of Progress, who had now got the monopoly of the Lower House, and the Conservative, or, as it is more correctly called, the Feudal party, who had got the monopoly of the Upper House.

The former was strong, as representing the people and the future; the latter as identified with the Crown, and representing the traditions of the past.

The former designated itself the *German* party of Progress, to express its solidarity with the National party, and to proclaim

the German mission of Prussia as the first article of its faith. The latter never missed an opportunity of letting the world know that their patriotism was a purely Prussian patriotism, and that beyond the line of black and white posts which mark the Prussian frontier they know of no Fatherland. They were, to borrow the barbaric term by which in Germany the party corresponding in America to the States' Rights party is designated, the "Particularists" of Prussia.

The programme of the former was in the highest degree positive. As regards internal politics, they wished to make Prussia a model constitutional and liberal State, and thus to effect the moral conquest of public opinion in Germany. As regards the external, or, more correctly speaking, the German policy of Prussia, they inscribed the Constitution of 1849 on their banner, and aimed at seeing the King of Prussia exchange the crown of Königsberg for that of Emperor of the Germans.

The programme of the latter was essentially negative. As regards internal matters, their object was to resist all progress in a constitutional direction, and to destroy as much as possible of the Stein and Hardenberg foundations of the Prussian State, with a view to recovering the feudal privileges of a past period. As regards foreign politics, the ideal to which they looked back was the period of the Holy Alliance, and a hearty understanding with Austria and Russia with a view to combating the revolutionary spirit of the age was the dream which they wished to see realized. Indeed, so strong was the anti-revolutionary feeling, that, if we judge the party out of the columns of its great organ, the *Kreuz Zeitung*, it must appear even to overrule their specific Prussian patriotism. At least, during the crisis which ended in the battle of Bronzell, there can be little doubt that the joy at the defeat of the national party by the battalions of Austria and Bavaria was greater than the sense of Prussian humiliation.

Hence the two legacies bequeathed to M. de Bismarck by his predecessors were the conflict of the Crown with the Lower House, *i. e.*, with the Constitutional and National party throughout the country, and the conflict with the Würzburg Coalition.

Had he assumed the post of Premier in accordance with Parliamentary custom, *i. e.*, as the nominee of his party, he would have found his action hopelessly crippled by the Particularist sympathies of the party he represented for the Particularist heroes of the Würzburg Coalition. As it was, he

boldly proclaimed himself the Minister of the King, in the literal and unconstitutional sense of the term, *i. e.*, the executive officer of the irresponsible element in the Constitution, and made no attempt to reconcile the two lines of policy which he simultaneously took up. At home he brought the whole power of the Conservative party to bear against the National and Liberal party. In taking up his position against the Würzburg Coalition, he spoke and wrote as if he had the whole of the National party at his back.

It is no part of our intention to criticise M. de Bismarck's public life, or to discuss the question of the political morality or immorality of the means by which he obtained the results which so much astonished Europe. Apart, however, from his tactics on the political field, we are inclined to seek the cause of his success mainly in his having from the first more correctly estimated than any of his contemporaries what he might term the specific gravity of Prussianism amidst the various forces at work in the German Cosmos. From the death of Frederick the Great, the policy of Prussia had been singularly deficient in that self-confidence which had in so remarkable a degree characterized that monarch's reign. Tentative, vacillating, and not clearly conscious of its own ends, it contrasted strangely with the traditional assurance and *outrecuidance* inherent in the manner and external forms of Prussian statesmen and diplomatists, which have contributed so much to the international unpopularity of Prussia. With the accession of the new Minister to office, the self-confidence returned, and, as it then appeared, in an exaggerated form.

M. de Bismarck was before all things a Prussian minister, serving a Prussian sovereign, and ruling a Prussian people with the clear conviction that if he succeeded in compassing *bonâ fide* Prussian ends, in adding to the glory and increasing the power of Prussia, he would have with him not only the sovereign whom he served, but the people whom he governed. "Particularism" was mean and despicable only in so far as it was of Lilliputian proportions; let it assume the Brobdingnag dimensions of 700,000 bayonets, and it would approve itself to the conscience of the most fastidiously national mind. And here lay the secret lever of his power. The education of his own party was comparatively an easy task. A few high-handed and arbitrary measures against the Parliament sufficed to secure the allegiance of the feudalists, and to make them abandon, one after the other, every distinctive tenet of a creed hitherto adhered



to with the apparent fervour of religious devotion. With the exception, we believe, of one contributor to the *Kreuz Zeitung*, no Prussian Peels, Cranbournes, or Carnarvons turned away and veiled their faces when the last relics of the ancient faith were taken from their shrines and sacrilegiously cast forth upon the dunghill. Having had on our side of the Channel some experience in this school of neo-Conservatism, it is not so much this phase of M. de Bismarck's political activity that strikes us, as the sure instinct by which he detected and appropriated the Prussianism latent under the German outside of his political opponents. He felt he could strain the internal conflict to any length which suited his purpose without fear of an ultimate collapse, because the sense of Prussian self-preservation would make the most ardent of the National party recoil before a catastrophe which might endanger the safety of the Prussian State. He felt, on the other hand, that he could push his external policy to a crisis, because in the hour of danger and extremity the "Prussian people in arms" would rally to his rescue.

The conflict with the Würzburg Coalition\* had by this time assumed the following aspect:—Prussia having declined all further discussion of the plans for Federal reform proposed by the Allies, had, like Achilles, retired to her tents. The Coalition, on the other hand, had held conferences at Vienna, at which it was determined that the Diet should be the scene of future operations, and that the trial of strength should be made there. On the 14th of August, 1862, the Governments of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Württemberg, Electoral and Grand-Ducal Hesse, and Nassau, moved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration a proposal for the convening of an Assembly of Delegates, to which should be submitted certain projects of law as further specified.

On the 14th of December the committee delivered its report. The majority recommended the convocation of the Assembly; the minority, consisting of Prussia and Baden, voted against it.

The dilatory forms in use at Frankfort required that some weeks should elapse before the Diet itself pronounced its verdict upon the committee's report, but the Coalition now felt assured that they would obtain a majority, and that by this simple expedient the reconstruction of Germany according to their programme could be

brought about in opposition to the will of Prussia.

It is so difficult at the present day to realize the fact that such dreams could at so recent a period have been entertained as serious realities, that it is necessary specially to note the fact, and to bear in mind, that up to this period the Coalition is the aggressor, and that Prussia's attitude is a defensive one.

In giving his vote as member of the committee, the Prussian Plenipotentiary had contented himself with recording a protest against the competency of the Diet to take the initiative in an organic change of this kind otherwise than is provided by the Act of Confederation, viz., by an unanimous vote of the Plenum,\* and had reiterated the objections already formulated to the plan as such.

M. de Bismarck chose other ground than that of Frankfort to parry the blow aimed at Prussia's position in Germany, and addressed himself directly to Austria. In a celebrated conversation held on the 13th of December with the Austrian Minister at Berlin, he put the case with a plainness and bluntness of speech very unusual in diplomatic intercourse.

The relations, he said, between Austria and Prussia must get either very much better or very much worse; the Prussian Government desired they should get better, and it lay in the power of Austria that they should do so. She had but to withdraw her support from the Würzburg Coalition, and return to the *status quo* of the relations which existed between the two Governments previously to 1848. Up to that date there had been a tacit understanding between the two great German Powers, to the effect that Prussia should support Austria's foreign policy, and that Austria should, in return, not interfere with Prussia in Germany. It was owing to this happy understanding that for many years Austria had never had an anxious thought in regard to her external relations, and that Prussia had been able to call such institutions into life as the Zollverein. Since the reconstruction of the Diet in 1851, this policy had been departed from, and Austria had placed herself at the head of all the influences hostile to Prussia in Germany. The climax of this policy was reached when she identified herself with a Coalition the avowed purpose of which was to "majorize" Prussia at the

\* The 20th of September, 1862, was the day on which the Bismarck Cabinet took office.

\* By a shallow device the Coalition had sought to circumvent this provision of the Constitution by proposing merely to summon the delegates *ad hoc*, and for the discussion of a certain limited number of laws, and therefore not as a permanent institution.

Diet, and to bring about an organic change in the constitution of Germany, in direct opposition to the wishes and interests of Prussia. If Austria persisted in this policy, she must be prepared to take the consequences. Prussia, thwarted in Germany by her, would become the natural ally of any non-German Power hostile to her. The year 1859 should serve as a warning. The estrangement brought about between the two Governments by Austria's German policy during the preceding eight years had made itself felt to her detriment. There was not that hearty coöperation and goodwill such as between intimate allies would have precluded all idea of misunderstanding. That Prussia had, nevertheless, not availed herself of the opportunity to advance her own interests, but had armed with a view to assist Austria, was owing to the lingering traditions of the former good understanding. Were similar circumstances to occur again, however, Austria's German policy remaining the same, the alliance of Prussia with the enemies of Austria was a contingency that should not be lost sight of.

As to the results of a hostile vote at Frankfort, M. de Bismarck's explanations were yet more explicit. Prussia, he said, would regard the acceptance by a majority of the Diet of the proposal to convoke an Assembly of Delegates as an illegal proceeding, and therefore as a formal breach of the contract by which the States of the Confederation were bound to each other, and would at once withdraw her Minister from Frankfort, and cease to consider herself as a member of the Confederation. The immediate consequence of this step, M. de Bismarck observed, would be that the Prussian garrisons in Mayence, and other Federal fortresses, would no longer be Federal troops under Federal orders, but remain where they were in the capacity of soldiers of His Majesty the King of Prussia.

Such was the burden of this eventful conversation, as recorded by the Prussian Prime Minister in a circular despatch addressed to the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia at the Courts of Germany. But a version current at the time, and undoubtedly authentic, added several important particulars, amongst others that the Prussian Premier had very plainly told the Austrian Minister that Austria was an Eastern, and not a Western Power, that her capital was Pesth, not Vienna, and that the sooner she seceded from Germany the better for herself and Germany. Also, that in the event of Prussia being forced by an adverse vote at Frankfort to quit the Confederation, it would be necessary for her, in order to

maintain the communication between her Eastern and Western Provinces, to occupy Hesse-Cassel and Hanover.

The language of M. de Bismarck could not be plainer. An eventual alliance of Prussia with Italy, if the Imperial Cabinet did not withdraw from the Coalition, was the prospect held out to Austria. Immediate war with the Middle States, if they persisted in their Frankfort policy, was the prospect held out to the latter.

The warning was lost on Austria, who voted for the project, but the threat produced its effect on the rest of Germany, and in February Prussia found herself in a majority at Frankfort.

The plans of the Confederates to force the hand of Prussia by means of Federal machinery had broken down; they resolved to play out their trump card, the *mise en scène* of the Congress of Sovereigns. The Prussian Government had been obstinate, and had refused to give way. The Prussian Sovereign in person should be challenged.

On the 2d of August, 1863, the Emperor of Austria had an interview with the King of Prussia, then at Gastein, and left with him a memorandum on the German question. It was a strange document, when we consider out of whose hands the King of Prussia received it. The entire fabric of 1815 was condemned as utterly rotten and worthless. Germany was described as in a state of chaos, the several members of the Confederation as practically no longer united by any common ties, but as merely living on beside each other, awaiting the moment when some tremendous revolution should bring down the tottering walls about their heads. Under these circumstances Austria had resolved boldly to take the initiative into her own hands, and to propose a searching plan of reform.

The same evening an aide-de-camp brought an invitation to the King to attend a Congress of the Sovereigns of Germany, to meet at Frankfort on the 16th of the month (*i. e.*, a fortnight from that date), and to which his Imperial Majesty in person would submit his programme of reform. The King was taken altogether by surprise, as profound secrecy had been observed in regard to the preparations for this last *coup*. He replied by an autograph letter to the Emperor, in which he expressed his readiness to take into consideration any scheme that might be submitted to him by his Imperial Majesty for a reform of Germany, but in which he declined to attend a Congress of Sovereigns before he had been made acquainted with the measures proposed to be discussed, and had

submitted them to that mature examination and careful deliberation to which it was usual in Prussia to submit grave matters of State before coming to a decision respecting them. His Majesty proposed that the Congress should be postponed to the 1st October, and that the interval should be employed in ministerial conferences, in which the scheme should be examined by professional statesmen.

As was to be expected, this request was not attended to. The circular convoking the remaining Sovereigns of the Confederation had been despatched the day before the invitation was delivered to the King, and on the 16th of August the Parliament of Sovereigns assembled in the old imperial city on the banks of the Main.

For the purposes of a Parliamentary debate to be carried on by some thirty crowned heads in their own august persons, the Austrian programme, now for the first time made public, was sufficiently complicated. Even at the present day it is not easy to thread one's way through its complex provisions, or to get an altogether clear idea of the political "cosmos" which it proposed to substitute for the existing "chaos." We shall be materially assisted, however, in our endeavours to do so, if we bear in mind that, dating from the year 1859, the moving spring of Austria's activity in the work of Federal reform had been the recollection of her position during the Italian war. Had the question of Germany's immediate participation in the war with France been one which could have been decided by a vote of the Sovereigns of the Confederation, a large majority would have decided that Lombardy was to be defended on the Rhine. A German National Assembly, elected on the basis of population, with the preponderance in such an assembly which Prussia's fifteen millions of Germans gave her, would probably have led to a different result.

The objects of the new Confederation as compared with those of the old are clearly expressed in the first paragraph of the project. The Act of Vienna almost went out of its way to insist upon the essentially defensive character of the association. In a line and a half the object of the Union was described to be the external and internal security of Germany. As described in the corresponding paragraph of the Imperial draft, the objects proposed are manifold and complicated, but the first sentence is conclusive. It is no longer the *security* merely of Germany that is confided to the care of the new Confederation, but her *position as a political Power* (*Machtstellung*), i.e., to the negative function of defence are to be

superadded the positive attributes of a body with an international position to assert, and therefore ready to embark upon an independent policy of its own.

Keeping this in view, we have, in order to judge of the idea underlying the scheme, to seek out, in the mechanism of the proposed Confederation, where the Germany lies which is thus in future to take an active and independent part in the affairs of Europe.

The organs which are to replace the Federal Diet are four in number:—1. A Directory; 2. A Federal Council; 3. An Assembly of Delegates; 4. An Assembly of Sovereigns.

The Directory was to consist of five Powers—Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and two more, to be elected respectively by the States whose contingents make up the eighth and ninth Federal army Corps. Austria is to preside.

The Federal Council was to consist of the diplomatic Plenipotentiaries of the States of the Union, voting as they did in the "Restricted Council" of the old Diet; only that Austria and Prussia are in the new Council to have each three votes, so that instead of the seventeen votes, the total number would be raised to twenty-one.

The Assembly of Delegates was to consist of 302 members, supplied in equal proportions by the Upper and Lower Chambers of the local Parliaments; Austria to send 75; Prussia, 75; the remaining States, 152.

The Assembly of Sovereigns was to consist of the Sovereigns and the Plenipotentiaries of the Free Towns of the Confederation.

Now, in which of these bodies were the sovereign attributes of Germany as an independent national unit to reside?

The Assembly of Sovereigns may at once be dismissed from consideration. Except for the harmony of the thing, and to convey something of the impression of a very august House of Peers, the functions of this Assembly were a sinecure.

The functions of the Assembly of Delegates were strictly legislative, and all political activity was carefully excluded from its competency. It was to meet once in three years at Frankfort, and to occupy itself with the framing of laws on such subjects as the scheme specified to be of common Federal interest.

It was therefore not in this body that the political Germany of the future was to be found.

If, on the other hand, we examine the constitution of the Federal Directory and of

the Federal Council, we shall find that it is in these bodies that the unit we seek resides.

The Directory, within the sphere of its competency, is invested with the fullest executive powers. To it is intrusted the care of the external and internal security of Germany, and of her *position as a political power*. It decides upon all questions by a simple majority. In case there is reason to apprehend danger to the Federal territory from foreign aggression, or supposing that the *European balance of power appears threatened in a manner likely to be dangerous to the security of the German Confederation*, the Directory is at once to take the necessary steps to avert the danger. It has to appoint a Federal General, to see to the armament and the provisioning of the Federal fortresses, and, if necessary, to place the Federal army, in part or in whole, upon a war footing.

The actual decision as to whether war shall be declared or not was to be in the hands of the Federal Council, i.e., of the Governments of the Confederation, acting through their diplomatic Plenipotentiaries, and by means of a voting apparatus in which, be it remembered, Prussia and Austria had each of them only got  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the voting power. A majority of two-thirds is required to vote an ordinary war; but in the event of a war threatening the non-German possessions of a member of the Confederation, the question as to whether the Confederation shall or shall not participate in such war is to be decided by a simple majority.

No more need be said to show the drift and purpose of the entire plan. It would be easy to reduce it theoretically *ad absurdum*, by showing that it presupposed the possibility of a majority in the Federal Council deciding upon an aggressive war against the will of Austria and Prussia (who would nevertheless have been bound to participate in it), and without the nation having been consulted, either collectively or in the Parliaments of the several States. But rather than imagine an extreme case of this kind, which, it would be fair to urge, could never arise in practice, let us suppose this Constitution to have been in force in 1859, and see how it would then have worked. Suppose the Directory to have consisted of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Grand-Ducal Hesse. Upon its becoming manifest that France and Italy were taking up a hostile attitude in regard to the Italian question, Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony outvoting Prussia and Hesse in the Directory might have decided that the European equilibrium was threatened in a

manner dangerous to the security of Germany, and without more ado have put the entire Federal army on a war footing. Upon the relations between the Austrian and French Cabinets becoming more complicated, they might have summoned the Federal Council, and put to the vote whether the Italian possessions of Austria being threatened, Germany should not at once declare war against France, and the question might, and under the circumstances certainly would, have been carried affirmatively by a majority, though possibly one only of eleven against ten.

Now, under these circumstances, Prussia would in the first stage, whether her Sovereign willed it or no, whether her Parliament wished it or not, by the mere *ipse dixit* of the Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony, have had to put her Federal contingent of 150,000 men upon a war footing, at a cost of many millions of thalers, and to assume a hostile attitude towards Italy and France. In the second stage, she, and perhaps a majority of the States of Northern Germany, would against their will have been dragged into a war on the Rhine for the maintenance of Austrian supremacy and ultramontane principles in Italy.

The Congress had taken the public so by surprise, Austria was at the time so popular, the Prussian Government so unpopular, that at the first blush, and before the programme had been thoroughly weighed and its bearings understood, there was an undoubted current of public approval in its favour. But this current soon changed. A Congress held simultaneously at Frankfort, composed of actual or former members of German Legislatures, some 400 strong, and representing in its composition the bulk of the Liberal and National party throughout Germany, although assuming a friendly attitude towards the Congress of Sovereigns, passed resolutions declaring that a National Parliament elected directly by the people, and a central Executive concentrated in one hand, and responsible to that Parliament, remained the unalterable goal of the nation. It could not have expressed a more complete condemnation of the scheme voted by the Sovereigns.

The feeling of disappointment grew stronger and stronger as the true character of the scheme became better appreciated, and the popularity of Austria decreased in proportion as the public began to perceive that they had been duped into applauding, as a measure of reform, a movement of which the real purpose was to cancel such limited control as the nation actually possessed over

its international relations by means of its local Parliaments, and to place the blood and treasure of Germany at the absolute disposal of a small coterie of Sovereigns, rendered irresponsible by the mechanism of the proposed Constitution.

The King of Prussia was the only Sovereign absent from the Congress. He had remained on a visit to his daughter at Baden-Baden. The King of Saxony had been deputed by the Congress to go in person and solicit his attendance, but he remained deaf to all entreaty. Engaged in a struggle *à l'outrance* with a large majority of his own subjects,—standing apart and isolated from his crowned peers,—the whole current of public opinion setting against him, the situation was one which it required an exceptional amount of self-confidence to face.

The programme, with certain amendments, was voted by a large majority of the Sovereigns, and forwarded to Berlin. The reply of the Prussian Cabinet is conclusive. It takes to pieces bit by bit the elaborate mechanism by which the real forces of the nation, viz., the Prussian State and the German people, are sought to be made will-less instruments in the hands of an artificial majority, which, when tried by the test of population and the capacity of rendering effectual services to the common country, shrinks into a small minority; and it lays down three conditions as those which must be accepted before Prussia can enter into the discussion of any plan of reform—

1. Prussia and Austria each to have a veto in reference to wars not of a defensive kind voted by the Federal Council.
2. Prussia to be placed in a position of parity with Austria in the Directory.
3. Substitution for the Assembly of Delegates of a National Assembly elected directly by the people, on the basis of population, and according to a liberal franchise, and the investment of this Assembly with far wider attributes than those proposed for the Assembly of Delegates—in other words, with political no less than legislative attributes.

On the first head the Prussian memorandum conclusively urged that Prussia had at least the right to claim as much for herself and her fourteen and a half millions of Germans as was accorded to a third of the votes in the Federal Council. Any minority representing one-third of the votes in the Federal Council could veto a war, but, examined by the test of population, the most powerful third that could be imagined, viz., the four kingdoms, Baden and the two Hesses, only made up twelve millions of inhabitants, whereas twenty-four States,

making up the necessary seven votes, could be put together, numbering only two millions.

The second condition contained an emphatic protest against the claim to the hegemony of Germany which Austria had, on the occasion of the Würzburg programme, put forward as deducible from her right of presidency in the Diet, and which appeared to be reasserted in the claim to the exclusive presidency of the Directory.

It was in the third condition, however, that the real strength of Prussia's position was made manifest, and that the extent to which the Coalition had succeeded in opening the eyes of even Prussian statesmen to the true position of Prussia in Germany became apparent.

Prussia,\* argues the Prussian memorandum, is called upon to part with a portion of her independence, and to enter into engagements seriously hampering her freedom of action as a great Power; and when she examines in favor of whom these sacrifices are to be made, she finds that it is not the nation or Germany, but those elements which stand, if not in actual opposition to, at least apart from, the body of the nation, and whose centre of gravitation is not necessarily in Germany. In a word, she is called upon to sacrifice her own Particularism to the Particularism of others, and this she will not do. If she is to part with any portion of her independence, she can only do so in favour of a body whose interests, desires, and requirements are identical with those of the German people; and such a body can alone be found in a national representation of the German people. The antagonism between diverging dynastic interests cannot be summarily disposed of by the off-hand process of a majority in the Directory; the only element capable of reconciling such antagonism, in the interest of the German community at large, is an assembly representing Germany in its entirety. Such an assembly can alone afford to Prussia the necessary guarantee that she will be called upon to make no sacrifices but such as shall be for the benefit of Germany. No mere rearrangement of Federal mechanism, however artistic, will suffice to exclude the play of dynastic interests, which can only find their counterpoise and corrective in a national representation. In an assembly elected directly, and in the ratio of population, by the entire German people, the centre of gravity can neither fall outside of Germany, nor settle in a part

\* Report of the Ministry to the King, of the 10th October, 1868.

whose tendencies should chance to lie in a direction opposed to those of the whole. Into such an assembly, therefore, Prussia can confidently enter. The interests and requirements of the Prussian people are essentially and inseparably identified with those of the German people. Hence, in a body in which the latter element obtains its proper weight and significance, Prussia need never fear to be drawn into a policy opposed to her own interests.

When we sum up the results of the Austrian programme and the Prussian reply, we become conscious of the reality of the two principles for which the tribunes of the people contended so fiercely in 1849, and which, after fermenting for half a generation through all classes of the community, had at last taken flesh in the independent action of the two great Powers. We are also able to estimate the organic relation, as distinct from mere political accident, in which Austria and Prussia respectively stood towards Germany. The most which an Austrian Liberal Government, in the zenith of its popularity, and straining every nerve to win golden opinions in Germany, could bid, amounted, when analysed into its component parts, to a stereotyping of the territorial divisions of Germany, and to the mechanical subjection of a minority of the territories to the will of the majority. The least which the most reactionary Government which had ruled in Prussia since 1848 could offer, was that German Parliament, which all true patriots, by common consent, looked to as the only effectual means of breaking down the territorial partition walls of the Fatherland, and giving to the political soul of Germany a body wherein she could reside.

Once more, as immediately before the battle of Bronzell, Austria and Prussia stood each committed to a programme for the reconstruction of Germany absolutely irreconcilable the one with the other. Whither would these cross roads lead them?

For better or for worse, the death of the King of Denmark and the events of 1864 put a stop for a time to the controversy.

The political incidents of the wars waged by Austria and Prussia against Denmark, and by Prussia against Austria and Germany, bear so recent a date, and at the time so exclusively occupied the attention of the European public, that we need not dwell on them here. The skill with which a national war was coined into a political one; the cynical adroitness with which the partnership of Austria was secured for a campaign having for its object the territorial aggran-

dizement of Prussia, when the only motive or excuse for such a campaign on the part of Austria would have been the maintenance, or rather acquisition, of a standing ground *vis-à-vis* of the National party; the consequent shipwreck of Austria in public opinion; the foresight with which, when preparing for the last great struggle, the National programme was put forward extramurally, not only without any attempt to conciliate the National party within the walls, but without one moment's relaxation of the conflict carried on against it, so that if matters went well no previous engagements should hamper Prussia in the application of her successes to purely Prussian uses, or dim the lustre of a victory gained solely by the King, his Conservative Ministry, and his reorganized army, and if matters went ill, the National party might be rallied as reserves;—all these things being fresh in the reader's memory, we are enabled to proceed at once to an examination of the edifice in the course of construction upon the *tabula rasa* created by the battle of Sadowa.

The present Constitution of Germany is based upon the treaty of peace concluded with Austria, known as the Treaty of Prague; on the treaties of peace, and those of offence and defence, concluded with those other belligerent States of Germany which were not incorporated into the Prussian monarchy; on the treaties concluded between Prussia and the States north of the Main, in virtue of which the North German Confederation came into life; on a variety of other treaties and conventions entered into between Prussia and the States north and south of the Main; and lastly, on the treaties concluded between the North German Confederation, as an independent international unit, and the States or fractions of States south of the Main. We cannot examine these numerous instruments in detail, and must confine ourselves to giving a general idea of their results.

The treaty of Prague furnishes the first rough outline of the new configuration which it is intended should be assumed by Germany.

Austria secedes from the Germanic Confederation, and consents to the reconstruction of Germany independently of her; i. e., she is excluded from Germany. A more or less imaginary line, called the Main, divides what remains of the Fatherland into two unequal halves. North of this line Prussia may do as she listeth, except that Saxony is not to be incorporated. It is tacitly understood that she will, with this one exception, annex the

Northern States which took part in the war against her, as well as the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, with which she was not engaged in hostilities, and it is distinctly asserted that she will form a close confederacy with the rest. The States south of this line are to form a confederation *inter se*, which, when constituted, is to enter into a National union with the North German Confederation. It was to this that the preliminary treaty of Nikolsburg confined its description of the future relations between the North and South; but in the treaty of Prague an additional sentence is introduced, distinctly stipulating that the Southern Confederation shall have an independent international existence, so that, according to the paragraph as it now stands, an *international unit* is to be *nationally* united with another *international unit*. We have already pointed out the contradiction which exists in Federal phraseology between a national and an international union; and it is not easy to account for the presence of so glaring a departure from the recognised use of these terms as that which meets us in the paragraph in question. It would almost seem as if, by the wording of the treaty of Nikolsburg, a door had been left intentionally open for the ultimate fusion of the two Confederations into a National Bundesstaat, and as if some influence had been exerted to modify this intention; and we are involuntarily reminded of the presence upon the scene of action of a French Plenipotentiary, and of the letter in which the Emperor Napoleon explained what were his views in regard to the reconstruction of Germany.\* Be this as it may, the wording of the 4th paragraph of the treaty of Prague remains obscure, and open to contradictory interpretation. It was probably intended that it should be so, the draughtsman of the treaty not bearing in mind the Nemesis which usually attends upon all such diplomatic word-fencing, and places in the hand of the adversary the weapons intended to be used against him.

The treaties of peace concluded with the Southern States afford no additional light

on the subject, as the contracting parties only bind themselves to accept the provisions of the treaty of Prague. Certain other treaties, however, concluded with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, and, though kept secret at the time, signed the same day as the treaties of peace, modify in an important manner the future international relations between Prussia and those States. By these treaties the contracting parties guarantee to each other the possession of their respective territories, and for this purpose engage, in case of war, to place their entire military forces at each other's disposal; the Kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria and the Grand-Duke of Baden binding themselves in such an event to intrust the supreme command of their respective armies to the hands of the King of Prussia.

No corresponding treaty was concluded with the Grand-Duchy of Hesse, though, with the exception of its northern provinces, that State lies south of the Main. In lieu thereof a convention was agreed to, by which, though only the northern provinces of the Grand-Duchy belong politically to the North German Confederation, the entire military forces of the Grand-Duchy are integrally incorporated, in time of peace as well as during war, with the army of the Northern Union.

Of the many mysteries connected with the Prussian reconstruction of Germany, this exceptional position of the Grand-Duchy of Hesse is perhaps the most mysterious. Why so arbitrary a line as that of the Main should have been selected for the demarcation between north and south; why, having been selected, it should, to the despair of the inhabitants of Hesse who dwell upon the two banks of this now celebrated stream, have been adhered to as if some great national or political principle were involved in it; why, having been departed from on the most important point, that of the military union between the Grand-Duchy and the North German Confederation, it should have been maintained in regard to the political division of the country; why something so monstrous should have been called into life as a State barely numbering a million of inhabitants, one half of which is indissolubly united with a confederacy which practically absorbs into itself the rights of external sovereignty of its several members, whilst the other half remains an independent international speck upon the map of Europe,—are problems well fitted to exercise the ingenuity of the political student. We shall not attempt to solve them, but confine ourselves to recording the current popular solutions.

\* "Le conflit qui s'est élevé a trois causes. La situation géographique de la Prusse mal délimitée. Le vœu de l'Allemagne demandant une reconstitution politique plus conforme à ses besoins généraux. La nécessité pour l'Italie d'assurer son indépendance. . . . Nous aurions, en ce qui nous concerne, désiré pour les Etats secondaires de la Confédération une union plus intime, une organisation plus puissante, un rôle plus important; pour la Prusse plus d'homogénéité et de force dans le Nord; pour l'Autriche le maintien de sa grande position en Allemagne. . . ." —Letter of the Emperor Napoleon to M. Drouyn de Lhuys of 11th June, 1866. See *supra*, p. 257.

The whole edifice of reconstruction, say some, bears upon it the impress of external influence. When Prussia drew the sword, she nailed to her colours the national programme, viz., the Unification of non-Austrian Germany on the basis of a National Parliament. When she sheathed it, after successes which outdid the expectations of the most sanguine, she forced upon the German nation the programme of the French Cæsar: territorial aggrandizement of Prussia in the north, union and independence of the States of the south. Whatever the nature of the engagements taken at Paris, of which the Emperor's letter was the official registration before Europe, the river Main must have figured in them, and have thus acquired its talismanic virtues. With her own people Prussia broke faith, with her Gallic neighbour she was true to her word.

The idea underlying the arrangements of 1866, say others, was to create a provisional state of things, which should lead to a union of Germany by an easier process of transition than so radical a measure as immediate unification. The more arbitrary the provisional settlement, the greater the momentary discomfort, the more vigorous will be the efforts made to attain to a definite settlement, the quicker will be the process of voluntary adhesion to the North German Confederation, which is the object of Prussian policy. To the Hessians has been assigned the task of supplying the argument of the *reductio ad absurdum*. Like those dumb victims of science, whose sufferings, caused by an arbitrary interference with the laws of life, furnish physiologists with their most effective arguments for the vindication of those laws, they are called upon to exhibit the evils which flow from a wilful disregard of the vital principle of German consolidation.

Others again maintain that these two solutions are not only not incompatible, but that they complement each other. For Prussia to fight her duel with Austria, and to obtain the antecedent conditions necessary for the national reconstruction of Germany, it was necessary to obtain the neutrality of the bystanders. This was done as regards France by the engagements in question; but the letter only, and not the spirit, of those engagements has been adhered to, and everything has been so arranged, that whilst the attitude of Prussia shall appear that of a religious observance of her engagements, it shall be the Southern States that sue for a change of programme.

The provisions of the treaty of Prague, as we need hardly remind our readers, have

remained, so far as the formation of a Southern Confederation is concerned, a dead letter.

The reconstructed Germany, therefore, from which Austria is excluded, consists of the North German Confederation, of three independent States—Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden,—and of the Grand-Duchy of Hesse: geographically and politically, half in and half out of the North German Union; militarily, wholly in it.

By means of the *national* apparatus of the "Customs" Parliament, these *disjuncta membra* constitute a *legislative unit* for certain specific purposes connected with the levying and distribution of customs' duties, and of certain excise taxes.

By the action of the *international* apparatus of the treaties of offence and defence, they consolidate themselves during war into a *military unit* under the supreme command of the Crown of Prussia.

We must devote our remaining space to an examination of the North German Constitution.

At the conference to which Prussia on the 18th of January 1867 submitted her draft of Constitution for the North German Confederation, twenty-two Sovereign States were represented, the collective population of which amounted in round numbers to thirty millions. Of these thirty millions, Prussia with her newly acquired provinces contributed twenty-four, the remaining twenty-one States making up six millions. This disproportion between the relative importance of the allied States gave rise to the bitter jest current in Germany, which describes the North German Confederation as a treaty of alliance between a dog and its fleas. That in such an Assembly the old Hungarian constitutional maxim "*Vota ponderantur non numerantur*," should have prevailed was natural, and thus in the protocol of the final conference we see recorded how one Plenipotentiary after another lifted up his voice, and said that although his Government entertained serious objections to one or the other feature of the Prussian scheme, still the Prussian declaration that the points objected to were essential rendered it incumbent upon him to waive those objections, and accept the scheme as proposed by Prussia.

The scheme agreed to by the twenty-two allied Governments was submitted by them to a Parliament elected according to the provisions of the Frankfort Constitution of 1849,—i.e., universal suffrage, secret voting, and a division of the entire population of the twenty-two States into equal electoral districts.

The Assembly thus called into life fulfilled,



within the geographical limits assigned to it, all the expectations of those who had looked to a National Parliament as the only effective remedy for the political evils of territorial dismemberment. It represented fairly and truthfully the "climate of opinion" prevalent in the north of Germany as distinct from the local temperature prevalent in the several States.

With scarcely any exception, every man of political mark, of whatever party, found a seat within its walls. The Liberal elements, as was to be expected, largely preponderated, but, on the other hand, the Conservative elements of all shades, from the feudal reactionist to the liberal-conservative, were represented in a truer ratio to their real power than they had been in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.

The Liberal majority of this Constituent Assembly (and the National Parliament subsequently elected for the ordinary business of legislation bears all the essential features of its predecessor) was divided into two great sections, between whom there existed far less cordiality and far more acrimony than appears to us, as bystanders, justifiable, when we consider how identical in the main are the objects of both. We have noticed elsewhere that the two ideas for the realization of which the German nation has not ceased since the War of Liberation to strive, are unity and freedom—*Einheit und Freiheit*. It was with this double cry that the Prussian legions drove their adversaries into the swollen waters of the Katzbach. It was in these two directions that the efforts of the Prussian negotiators at the Congress of Vienna were defeated. It was in the attempt simultaneously to solve these two problems that the Frankfort Parliament came to its untimely end. Now, though there most assuredly exists no essential incompatibility between these two objects, but the reverse, inasmuch as, taking the genius of the Teutonic race into account, it is difficult to conceive of the permanent establishment of the one without the other, yet it is not less true that during a period of more or less revolutionary transition, a passionate and one-sided striving for the one object necessarily calls into life forces which act in a direction adverse to the other. The vigorous concentration of power into one hand for the purposes of unity operates *pro tanto* against the simultaneous assertion of the rights of individual and local liberty. Headlong enthusiasm in the cause of the latter acts in a proportionate degree against the concentration and centralization of power.

Hence most of the catastrophes which have occurred in the crisis of German develop-

ment have owed their origin to the mutual friction of these two forces; and if at the present day we inquire into the causes of the comparative slowness with which the work of consolidation progresses, we cannot fail to see that amongst the weightiest is the antagonism produced by the exclusiveness with which the one and the other principle is clung to by its respective votaries. Instead of being worshipped together at the same shrine, the two idols have been set up behind separate altars, and the priests who ought to form part of one holy brotherhood revile each other as if they were the ministers of rival religions.

Though the two forms of worship may be found side by side in every part of Germany, the one predominates in the North, the other in the South. The Northerner taunts the Southerner with his parochialism, his incapacity to seize any idea but that of cantonal independence, his unwillingness to make any sacrifice for the national cause or the common good. In language yet more bitter, the Southerner reviles the Northerner for his Caesarism, his blind lust for power, and his readiness to sacrifice civil and political liberty to the vainglorious desire of establishing a military colossus that shall dictate its laws to Europe. The North German Constitution, says the Suabian, can be summed up in three paragraphs: "Hold your tongue; Pay taxes; Be a soldier."

The two sections of the Liberal party in the North German Parliament, known by the names of the National Liberals and the party of Progress, respectively correspond to these two classes of worshippers. Both hold the cardinal points of the modern Liberal creed, but the formula of the former may be said to be, "Take care of Unity, and Liberty will take care of herself;" that of the latter, "Take care of Liberty, and Unity will take care of itself." Both accept the events of 1868 as *faits accomplis*, but the party of Progress do so without having shaken off the effects of the antecedent struggle, and with the bitterness of that struggle still in their hearts. The National Liberals accept the new dispensation in a glad and hopeful spirit, and feel like men who have their feet on the first round of the ladder, and to whom scaling the remaining rounds is a comparatively easy task. The former pride themselves on being logical, the latter on having acquired political wisdom.

The scheme presented by the allied Governments to the constituent Parliament satisfied neither the National Liberals nor the party of Progress. The Prussian Conservatives were naturally in their hearts averse to it, inasmuch as it consecrated many

of the principles to which they were the most hostile; but as they constituted the Government party, and had given M. de Bismarck *carte blanche* in regard to his German policy, they were bound to accept and support it. The Particularists of the non-Prussian States of every shade were against it.

It was under this Parliamentary constellation that the attitude of the National Liberals decided the fate of the scheme in a manner favourable to the wishes of its promoter. From the first, M. de Bismarck knew that they would submit to almost any conditions rather than that a common Constitution for North Germany, of one kind or another, should not come into life, and this enabled him on all critical occasions to use the argument of the *Non possumus* with the same effect with which he had used it in the conferences of the allied Governments. The words once out of his mouth, the National Liberals voted with the Government party, and secured a majority. On the other hand, in regard to such concessions as he showed a readiness to make, the National Liberals, joining with the party of Progress, obtained a majority over the Conservative supporters of the Government. There thus came to be established relations of peace and amity, though hardly of cordiality, between M. de Bismarck and some of the most important elements of the Liberal party—relations profoundly affecting the present and future both of the statesman and of his new allies, but with which we cannot occupy ourselves here.

Looked at from the standing-ground of those Federal physiologists who had so learnedly analysed the various genera and species into which federative bodies must of necessity be classed, the North German Constitution presents a *lusus nature* which it is not easy to describe.

Some introductory notion of it may perhaps be conveyed to the reader if we say that it combines the objects of the "Bundesstaat" with such materials as could be saved from the wreck of the Constitution of 1815; or, to convey a more definite idea, if we describe it as an edifice of which the basis and foundation is national, and the superstructure international.

The organs of the Confederation are only two in number, the National Parliament (*Reichstag*) and the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*), and consequently the outlines of the structure are simple enough. The difficulty consists in obtaining a clear conception of the way in which these organs fulfil the executive and legislative functions assigned to them.

The National Parliament presents no difficulty. It is taken bodily out of the Constitution of 1849, and may therefore be considered as the contribution of the professors and the nation to the new edifice. Its functions are legislative, their sphere being limited by the subjects designated in the Constitution as falling within the competence of Federal legislation, viz., army, navy, mercantile navy, consular representation, customs, excise taxes on tobacco, salt, and sugar, posts, telegraphs, weights and measures, currency, banking, patents, railways, navigation of rivers, canals, high roads, laws for civil and criminal procedure, laws respecting domicile, settlement, and a common North German demizenship, passports, laws regulating the exercise of trades, *taxes to be imposed for Federal purposes, loans for Federal purposes*. That *bond fide* rights of legislation on so vast a field as the above necessarily invest the body enjoying those rights with considerable political power, is self-evident. There is, indeed, no political question of any importance which cannot be directly or indirectly brought before the forum of the National Parliament, and which would not be profoundly affected by the verdict it might pass upon it. Nevertheless, the representative branch of the North German Legislature will not be able to assume a really independent political position, or exercise a direct and decisive influence over the political destinies of its constituents, until the right of yearly voting the military estimates, and that of fixing the numerical force of the Federal army, has been firmly established. Whether the year 1871 \* will see this right not only acknowledged in theory but acted upon in practice, is a question upon which we will not venture an opinion.

Independently of this eventuality, however, a great accession of political power will accrue to the Parliament whenever the

---

\* The most important amendment made by the Constituent Assembly in the draft of Constitution submitted to it was that affecting the military budget and the quota of recruits to be furnished by the Confederate States. According to the proposal as it originally stood, a quota of one per cent. of the population, and 225 thalers per head for every man under arms, were to be fixed once for all by the Organic Statute of the Confederation. The Assembly, however, made a firm stand on this point, and a compromise was at last brought about, to the effect that, until 1871, the above taxes in blood and money were to remain in force, but that from that date the National Parliament was to vote the military estimates both in men and money. *Even after 1871, however, the payments in both kinds were to continue until changed by a law.* As Prussia can always prevent such a law being passed, it would appear as if, notwithstanding the above provision, she had it in her power to prolong the above rates indefinitely.

necessity of contracting a Federal loan, or that of imposing new Federal taxes, shall arise. As regards the latter, the combination of national and international machinery which characterizes the new Constitution leaves it open to the allied Governments to put off the day when the right of voting money-bills shall perceptibly increase the power of the Parliament, for, as the Constitution at present stands, the only *national* sources of Federal revenue are derived from the customs and from excise taxes on sugar, salt, and tobacco, and any deficiency which may arise is made up by the *international* expedient of *pro rata* contributions (*matriкуляр beiträge*) from the several States. It is however clear that this expedient is one which cannot last long, and that sooner or later fresh Federal taxes will have to be imposed.

If, turning from the National Parliament, we inquire where are the other branches of the Legislature, and look for the Executive, for the Sovereign, and the Ministers of the new-born commonwealth, we find ourselves face to face with the Federal Council, and our troubles begin. Examined structurally, the Federal Council is nothing else than the Plenary Assembly of the Frankfort Diet, with the votes of Austria and the Southern States eliminated, and with Prussia substituted for Austria as presiding Power; \* consequently its outward and visible semblance presents the international features of a Congress of Plenipotentiaries, in which, notwithstanding that the office of presiding at the Congress is permanently assigned to one of the allied Powers, none is theoretically before or after another.

It is of importance to the correct appreciation of the Constitution we are examining, that we should precisely estimate what this right of Presidency is in theory, and what it amounts to in practice. As regards the theory of the office, we must carefully guard against confounding the functions of the Presidency of the North German Confederation with those of the President of the United States. The latter is the executive head of a sovereign body, and the office he fills absorbs many of the attributes which, under a monarchical form of government, are vested in the Crown. It is a distinct and independent factor in the mechanism of the commonwealth, and, in virtue of the right of veto,

constitutes one of the three branches of the Legislature; it cannot, moreover, be conceived otherwise than in the concrete form of an individual person. The *personality* of the President of the United States is as important a political fact in the American Republic as that of the Czar of Russia is in the Russian autocracy.

The Presidency of the North German Confederation is the reverse of all this. Examined functionally, it is nothing else than the chairmanship of an international board, and has no functions or attributes distinct from that board. In the political abstraction entitled the North German Confederation, Prussia is the presiding Power (*Presidial Macht*). In the body outwardly and visibly representing that abstraction, the Federal Council, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, under the name of Federal Chancellor; takes the chair at the head of the green table round which the Plenipotentiaries sit, in the same way that the Austrian Plenipotentiary, under the name of presiding Plenipotentiary (*Presidial Gesandter*) did at the Frankfort Diet. He directs the business of the board, and is invested with all the attributes which are requisite for the transaction of such business; he is also the organ through which the board communicates with other public bodies, and its mouthpiece in the Parliament, and he has to see to the execution of the Federal laws, for which purpose, be it noted, a special department, under the modest title of the Federal Chancellor's Office, has been created.\* Beyond this, however, he has no distinct and independent position apart from the board. Like every other Plenipotentiary, he is worth exactly what his vote is worth. He can, whenever he chooses, vacate the chair in favour of a colleague, and the work goes on just the same as it did before. Hence, though Prussia is the presiding Power, and the Prussian Plenipotentiary presides at the Federal Council, the King of Prussia is not President of the Confederation; and it is worth remarking that, with some important exceptions to be later no-

\* By an ingenious device, not destitute of a grim sort of humour, Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Holstein, Nassau, and Frankfort were reconstituted *ad hoc*, and the votes they had held in the Plenary Assembly of the Diet were assigned to the hands of Prussia, who with her own four was thus credited with seventeen votes.

\* The "Bundes Kanzlei Amt" consists of a board composed of Râthes or Councillors, presided over by a President, into whose hands are collected, for the immediate use of the Chancellor, the various threads of the Federal Administration which centralizes in the seven committees of the "Federal Council," to be later adverted to. It is divided into sections corresponding to those seven departments, each of which is presided over by a Rath, with a staff of subordinate officials, so that what at first sight appears but a room full of clerks to carry on the business of the Chancellor's Office, assumes, on closer inspection, the rudimentary outlines of an imperial State machinery. M. Delbrück, the President of the Board, is one of the very ablest civil servants in the service of the Prussian Crown.

ticed, the person of the Prussian sovereign, in its concrete individuality, nowhere appears upon the face of the Constitution.

*It is therefore not an individual but a corporation in which the North German Confederation centres and culminates.* It is a board and not a person that stands face to face with the National Parliament, exercising partly executive, partly legislative functions, and hence, in the most monarchical portion of Europe, the denizens of the new Confederation, in so far as a common North German citizenship is being established, will become to all intents and purposes citizens of a republic, and not the subjects of a crown.

Such is the theory. If we turn to the practical working of the machine we obtain a very different picture. The international equality between the allied Governments vanishes, and the overwhelming preponderance of Prussia is everywhere apparent.

We shall best realize in what this preponderance consists if we note, *first*, the mode of doing business prescribed by the Federal Council; *secondly*, certain exceptional functions delegated to the Crown of Prussia. Though theoretically consisting of Plenipotentiaries, the Federal Council in practice bears more resemblance to the ministerial conferences proposed in the scheme of the Würzburg Coalition than to a diplomatic Congress. As it is not like the Frankfort Diet, permanently assembled, but meets periodically for sessions of no undue length, the Prime Ministers themselves, those of the more important States at least, are able to attend and to act without applying for special instructions. Moreover, the rule having been laid down that the votes of members who are without instructions do not count, the business that has to be transacted can be got through then and there at the green table with the utmost rapidity. In this respect the Federal Council resembles an aggregate Cabinet Council of the twenty-two allied States.

For the transaction of Federal business, more especially for that of preparing the bills to be presented to the National Parliament, the Council appoints seven permanent committees, upon whose reports it deliberates *in pleno*, and decides by simple majority.

These committees are:—1. For Army and Fortifications; 2. For Navy; 3. For Customs and Taxes; 4. For Commerce; 5. For Railways, Posts, and Telegraphs; 6. For Justice; 7. For Federal Accounts.

Prussia is represented in each of the seven committees; and in addition to this, the King of Prussia, as supreme head of the

military forces of the Confederation, nominates all the members of the committees for the army and navy. The twenty-one earthen vessels are thus each of them severally and individually brought into direct and immediate contact with the one iron one.

When we consider that the meetings of the Council are not public, but take place after the manner of diplomatic conferences, away from the light of day; that the business is transacted off-hand, and without the lengthy process of reference to the respective Governments; that the President of the Council not only wields seventeen votes out of the forty-three, but also the *Non possumus* of a Power never unmindful that its strength relatively to that of the sum-total of the other Powers represented is as four to one; and lastly, when we remember that the individual in whose hands this power is lodged is Count Bismarck, we shall not fail to see that, though the forms of international equality have been kept up, the supremacy of Prussia has been amply provided for.

We have, however, still to notice certain attributes with which the King of Prussia is invested as Sovereign, not indeed of the Confederation, but of the presiding State of the Confederation.

These are, *first*, that of Federal Commander-in-chief, or supreme head of the Federal forces. Under the Constitution of 1815, this office only came into existence when the *cæsus belli* had arisen. It is now a permanent office, enabling the impact of a single will to stamp itself for better or worse upon the entire male population of a Confederation embracing thirty millions of inhabitants.\* *Secondly*, That of representing the Confederation in its international relations. To the Sovereign of Prussia is delegated, by his twenty-one peers, the right of declaring war and concluding peace in the name of the Confederation, as well as that of accrediting Federal diplomatic agents to foreign States, and of having foreign agents accredited to him as procurator of the allied Governments.†

\* The principle of the Federative State (*Bundesstaat*) is only partly carried out in the Federal army, the sovereigns of the several States having retained many rights (such as the nomination of officers up to a certain rank, etc.), which would be incompatible with the idea of a strictly Federal force, such, for instance, as the army of the United States. The rights delegated to the King of Prussia, however, are quite sufficient to give him practically the complete and entire control of the Federal land forces.

The Federal navy, on the other hand, is based on the "Federative State" principle, pure and simple. It is as absolutely in the hands of the King of Prussia as a regiment of his guards.

† There are many other executive attributes which,

The above sketch of the North German Confederation, meagre though it be, will probably suffice to convey to the reader the impression universally prevalent throughout Germany, that the present state of things is merely provisional, and that it is designedly such. We should be transgressing the limits of the task we have proposed to ourselves were we to speculate upon the future to which this "provisorium" is destined to lead. All we can do is to register the present conditions of the problem.

The most important fact to note is the reappearance, though under perfectly different conditions, of the principle of dualism which has been pregnant with so many catastrophes to Germany. The phenomenon which now makes its appearance, however, is not that of the mechanical dualism of two bodies whose spheres come into external contact and endanger by their mutual friction the political framework which contains them, but, if we may so describe it, that of the organic dualism of two natures inhabiting the same body. For, to all intents and purposes, the twenty-four millions who make up the mighty kingdom of Prussia are living a double political life, and are ruled by a double Government. On the one side there is the Prussian Parliament, the Prussian Ministry, and the Prussian Bureaucracy; on the other side there is the National Parliament, the Federal Chancellor, and the Federal Chancellor's Office. Now, if we examine the individuals who compose these bodies we shall find that they are more or less the same. Four-fifths of the National Parliament consist of Prussian representatives, and not only the Parliamentary leaders and orators, but the political parties and fractions of the Prussian

Parliament, with the great bulk of the members composing them, transplant themselves bodily from their seats in the Prussian Chambers to those in the National Assembly. The Federal Chancellor, moreover, and the Prussian Premier are one and the same person. Nevertheless, between the corporations thus more or less made up of the same units there exists not only a most marked and radical difference, but there can likewise be traced the elements of a real antagonism. Account for it how we will, corporations, and more especially political corporations, are imbued with a principle, and have a *raison d'être* of their own, apart from the individuals of whom for the time being they may be composed. We could not without entering into the internal history of the Prussian State, hope to give our readers an adequate idea of the vital principles of the corporations in question. But the essential difference of the conditions under which the same orator speaks when standing on the tribune of the Prussian Chamber or on that of the National Parliament, is self-evident. In the one case it is the traditions of the Prussian monarchy which envelop him, in the other it is the aspirations of the German future by which he is inspired. On the one occasion everything combines to elicit the latent Prussianism within him, on the other everything combines to foster and expand the sense of national patriotism. Since we have got used to the debates of the North German Parliament we cannot read those of the Prussian Chambers, not even those of the Lower House, how much less those of the Upper, without a sense of depression. We are repeatedly made conscious of the "note" of provincialism,\* and cannot forget that we are at Berlin, that is, socially speaking, in the capital of the Province of Brandenburg, and yet we have none of this feeling in reading the speeches of the Prussian deputies to the Reichstag. There is all the difference between the atmosphere of an Imperial Parliament and that of

in a *bond fide* Federative State, would flow naturally from the organ representing the Federal sovereignty, which in the North German Confederation have been delegated to the King of Prussia, such as the summoning, proroguing, dissolving of the Reichstag, etc. The most important of these, besides those mentioned in the text, is that of superintending the execution of the Federal laws. The Federal laws take precedence of the State laws, and take effect upon their promulgation, i.e., their publication in the *Bundes Gesetz Blatt* (Gazette of the North German Confederation). This precedence of Federal over State laws is the purest "Federative State" element that has been imported into the North German Constitution; and the seeing to their execution is the most directly executive function exercised in the Confederation. The point to bear in mind, however, is, that the King of Prussia does not exercise these functions as sovereign of the Confederation, but as delegated thereto by the sovereign—that sovereign being the corporation of the twenty-two allied States. He signs, as it were, for the firm having the largest amount of capital engaged in it, but in the eye of the law he is only a "partner."

\* No better illustration of what we desire to express could be found than the threat used by the Minister of Justice during the present session of the Prussian Chamber, to the effect that if the House refused him the paltry sum of £150 for an assistant judgeship, the Government would renew the Constitutional conflict which during six years shook the fabric of the Prussian State to its foundations. Of course this was a *brutum fulmen*, and the Minister had more or less to retract, but this does not alter the local colour of the transaction. It is the bare fact that such a scene was possible in the Prussian Parliament which is so painfully suggestive of a Marylebone vestry; such a threat on the part of a Government official would have been absolutely impossible in the North German Parliament.

a local body. Which of the two natures will master the other?

The same germ of antagonism is to be traced in the two bureaucratic hierarchies; the Federal hierarchy, gradually expanding out of the Federal Chancellor's office, and the old Prussian bureaucracy, which looks upon itself as the depository of the traditions of the Prussian State. Which of the two will have the greater vitality?

To judge by present appearances, it is to the National Parliament that the centre of political gravity is rapidly shifting, and in the Federal Chancellor's office that the executive is beginning to centralize. Two important facts have just become known:—*First*, the expense of the Foreign Office is in future to be an item of the *Federal*, and not of the Prussian, budget, which is tantamount to the creation of a Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *pro tanto* is a step in the direction of the merging of the Prussian in the Federal international unit. *Secondly*, General von Roon, the Prussian Minister of War, and the author of the scheme for the re-organization of the Prussian army, has taken his place in the Federal Council, and has thus been adstricted to the executive element of the North German Confederation, as far as such an element as yet exists. These are important and rapid strides towards the creation of a Federal Government,\* and the Federal Government, once in existence, must be looked upon as the half-way house to the creation of the Federal Sovereign, *i. e.*, to the assumption by the Crown of Prussia of a title, be it that of Emperor or of King of the Germans, which, while investing it with sovereign prerogatives over the Confederation in its own right (and not by mere procuration, as at present), will complete the national structure of the present edifice, with the collateral effect, however, of the loss by Prussia of her present privileged position in the Confederation, as well as that of her definite amalgamation with Germany.

Now, natural and logically necessary as such a change appears to the bystanders to

be, we do not believe it will be easily accomplished. The phrase, "mediatisation of Prussia," meaningless as it proves to be when its meaning is searched for, fills the minds of vast classes of Prussians with a horror as of the valley of the shadow of death; and nowhere, probably, would the resistance to the change be so great as in the Hohenzollern called upon to wear the German crown. Particularism is still the stumbling-block in the way of German unity, but the conditions of the problem are reversed. In the long political struggle which preceded the battle of Sadowa, it was the Particularism of the Middle States which jeopardized the future of Prussia, and with it the future of Germany. The present danger lies rather in the strength of the Particularist elements in Prussia.

We are however in no way despondent about the future, though we confess we should look to it with more confidence if we could credit the Prussian nation, great and sterling as are its national qualities, and full of the stuff of which solid greatness is built up, with a little less provincialism and a little more *μεγαλοψυχία*. "Every man," says Hamlet, "has business and desire." The political fault of Germany has undoubtedly been that she has attended too little to "business," and has lived too exclusively within the sphere of "desire." We cannot but praise Prussia for throwing herself with vigour upon the performance of the former, but she should not forget that the condition of all progress is "to desire better things," and we should feel more hopeful if we could see a little of the idealism,—by virtue of which, be it not forgotten, Germany, during the worst days of her political bondage, maintained her high position amongst the nations,—returning to the political field from which it is now so ignominiously discarded. The incarnation of the German race into the German State is a great and therefore an ideal task, the greatest and therefore the most ideal which the century has been called upon to perform. By cutting the Gordian knot of the German question with her sword, Prussia has taken upon herself the sole and undivided responsibility of this task. Not only her own destinies, but those of Europe, depend upon the man in which she may fulfil it. The eyes of the civilized world are upon her. Let her not forget that "unto whom much is given"—and, *a fortiori*, by whom much is taken—"from him shall much be required."

\* It is very suggestive that Count Bismarck, who, when the Statute of the Confederation was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, so strenuously and successfully opposed the creation of a Federal Ministry, has on more than one occasion, when talking in the Chamber of his acts as Federal Chancellor, used the expression "Federal Government," a body which has as yet absolutely no existence, legal or other.

# THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. C.

FOR JULY, 1869.

ART. I.—THE LIFE OF OUR LORD. By Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, D.D., LL.D. 6 vols., foolscap 8vo. Edin.

1. *The Earlier Years of our Lord's Life on Earth.* 2d Edition. 1868.
2. *The Ministry in Galilee.* 2d Edit. 1869.
3. *The Close of the Ministry.* 1869.
4. *The Passion Week.* 1866.
5. *The Last Day of our Lord's Passion.* 17th Edition. 1868.
6. *The Forty Days after our Lord's Resurrection.* 5th Edition. 1868.

"I WOULD rather," said one of the noblest men who have taught Ethics from a University chair to this generation, "I would rather be the author of a brief series of expositions of the life of Christ, executed after the idea of Lord Bacon's *First Flowings of the Scripture*, so as to help my fellow-men to understand that life better, than be the author of the grandest system of speculative ethics." The volumes before us go far to realize this aspiration. Their pre-eminent aim is to unfold the Sacred Individuality of Christ, in its unique glory, as that is seen in the successive incidents of his human life. They show, without parade, the results of much meditation on problems not directly stated, with an insight that is rarely delicate as to the great Character they strive to delineate. Fragments of apologetical evidence are thus inwoven into the course of the narrative, and some deep soundings of moral evidence are taken in a very simple manner, while the lectures contain hints of some ulterior questions touching the very essence and genius of the Christian faith. Though enriched by contributions from several foreign fields, they are a genuine product of British soil, and will appeal peculiarly to the British type of mind.

Six years ago Dr. Hanna offered to the public the first volume of this series, selecting "the last day of our Lord's Passion" as his special theme. His aim in that volume was to construct "a continuous and expanded narrative, intended to bring out, as vividly as possible, not only the sequence of the incidents, but the characters, motives, and feelings of the different actors and spectators in the events described, refraining from all critical or doctrinal discussions." In the following year, the author issued a companion volume on "the forty days after the Resurrection." In its Preface he states that he "has long had the conviction that the results of that fuller and more exact interpretation of the books of the New Testament to which Biblical scholars have been conducted, might be made available for framing such a continuous narrative of the leading incidents in our Redeemer's life as would be profitable for practical and devotional rather than for doctrinal or controversial purposes." While that volume was passing through the press, the *Vie de Jesus* of M. Renan was published. Dr. Hanna makes a brief allusion to this work, and while expressing his desire that "a full and critical exposure of all its arbitrary assumptions and denials, affirmations without proofs, doubts without reasons, inconsistencies and contradictions, errors historical and exegetical," should be undertaken by some competent critic, he speaks of

"a simpler, more direct, and more effective method of dealing with the work, by exposing the flagrant failure of its capital design and object—viz., to eliminate all that is supernatural and divine from the character and life of Christ, and yet leave him a man of such pure and exalted virtue, as to be worthy of the unreserved and unbounded love and reverence of man-

kind." "The singular result of this attempt to strip Christ of all divine qualities and properties is, that it mars and mutilates his character even as a man. Without any controversial treatment, the effect of M. Renan's work may be neutralized by a simple recital of the life of Jesus, so as to show that the blending of the natural with the miraculous, the human with the divine, is essential to the coherence and consistency of the record; that the fabric of the Gospel history is so constructed that if you take out of it the divinity of Jesus the whole edifice falls into ruins."

These sentences sufficiently explain the design of the two earlier volumes. The success which attended their publication encouraged their author to complete the series; and at intervals during the last four years he has issued one volume devoted to "the Earlier Years," one connected with "the Passion Week," and two relating to "the Public Ministry."

The idea which lies at the root of this latest effort to unfold and illustrate the life of Christ, is, that the facts recorded by the four evangelists are their own best witness-bearers, evidence, and defence; and that the record is historically inexplicable, if the divine element which the Church catholic has inferred from it be eliminated from the life of Jesus. In this respect there is a marked affinity between the work of Dr. Hanna and the treatise of Dr. Young, entitled, *The Christ of History*. Dr. Young starts with the presupposition that the records of the Gospels are but fragments of ancient history, in which we may expect to find all the characteristics of past literature transmitted to a modern age. He claims for them in the first instance no higher credit than that which criticism accords to the pages of Herodotus or Livy. But as he proceeds to examine the record of the four evangelists, he finds that they narrate the acts and words of One whose existence is utterly inexplicable as a product of the known forces that work in history and form human character, as they reveal a life from first to last ideally perfect; and as it is an axiomatic truth that like ever produces like, he infers that such a character could not have arisen out of the soil of humanity propagated from the past, but must have been a descent into that soil from above. We have come into contact with a life which historical processes cannot explain, and which cannot on any *scientific* principle be ranked in the common category of men. Its solitude, uniqueness, and completion forces us to infer that it could not have sprung from a parentage that was incomplete, one-sided, and defective. To say that the loving adoration of the biographers and others transformed a

really imperfect life into one ideally complete, is but to transfer the miracle from Christ to his followers. For, granting the perfection of the character that has come down to us (whatever be the origin of the record, and the process of its transmission), its existence without a reality to give rise to it is much more inexplicable than is the reality itself. The poetic idealization by a band of disciples who should all agree as to details—illiterate men, sprung of a biassed, schismatic race, creating out of their own enthusiasm, with the most slender basis in fact, the only pattern of a life approaching to the measure of the stature of the perfect of which history makes mention, is much more difficult to account for than is the appearance of the ideal itself.

To a mind amenable to this and cognate processes of reasoning, Dr. Hanna's work will appear a valuable complement to Dr. Young's. In almost every page he will find corroboration of the line of argument. The evidence arising from the character and moral individuality of Christ, as the ideal of humanity made real, is the centre round which everything else revolves, and to which everything is made subservient. The outlying questions of religious criticism are passed over. We have no discussion as to the origin of the Gospel narratives. The vexed questions of date and authorship are not entered upon. The problem of the supernatural in its relation to natural law and order, the philosophy of the Christian faith as to the person of its Founder, the historical preparation for the Advent at the confluence of the several streams of oriental and of western thought, the relation of Christ to the religious systems of the past and the existing sects of Judaism, are nowhere formally discussed. In short, all the *prolegomena* to a study of the life are subordinated to a simple recital of the life itself. The former inquiries are doubtless essential to a learned and scientific theology. Questions of philosophy and of history, in the words of Pressensé, "hold the approaches to the subject;" and we may even admit that everything depends upon the accuracy of our historical narrative, and upon the precise date of the documents which record it. But, on the other hand, if the main event recorded—the divinity of that human life—carries its own light within itself, it may indirectly prove the accuracy of the story. A distinct function is therefore fulfilled by those who adopt the less ambitious method of portraying the Life in its divine sequences and harmonies, that it may be left to attest itself, and be its own evidence. We hold it possible for a wise and thoughtful mind, without the aid of a



vast critical apparatus, and with nothing but the four Gospels in his hand, to arrive at a conclusion, *strictly philosophical*, as to the origin of Christianity and the claims of its Founder.

Historical study cannot solve the questions which the course of Church history has raised. Those who have gone most deeply into the problems of modern criticism are convinced that mere archaeological research cannot clear up any controversy touching the supernatural. Erudition is not needful for the determination of the main question at issue.\* The critical questions are as to the authenticity of date and authorship, and the competency of the historians; as to when and by whom the books claiming an apostolic origin were written, and whether their authors were competent witnesses. To solve these questions we must proceed backwards up the stream of Time, studying century by century, examining the quotations of successive commentators and opponents, that we may be sure that the books have come down to us unimpaired. We have to pierce through the accumulated literary strata of eighteen centuries. Without much difficulty we can traverse fifteen of these. When we come, however, to the second, or even to the third century, we find the ground less firm, while the air grows gradually dim with mist. The further back we travel, our authorities are fewer and less trustworthy, less scientific, more given to gossip, less able to distinguish between fact and rumour. The age of the first two centuries of our era was one of manifold literary activity, but the majority of its records have perished, and its testimony is on the whole obscure. Hence the difficulty of reaching the solid ground of scientific certainty by the processes of historical criticism alone. We must satisfy ourselves that the writings of the early Fathers, which allude to the gradual formation of the canon, are themselves authentic; we must discover the qualifications which these writers possessed for forming a judgment on the matter in question, the range of their critical insight, their freedom from bias, their love of

fact and reality, and their success in reaching it. This leads us into the domain of contemporary literature—to a comparison of the religious and the secular writers; into questions touching the philosophy, morality, the social state and customs of that age; and the very treatises accessible to the student of history are for the most part written in some special interest, and are the product of some foregone conclusion. But suppose our critical apparatus complete, and the historical inquiry ended, the very question which we had hoped to solve by history returns in all its magnitude, as a *problem of philosophy*. Therefore, since it must in any case remain for solution after the critical inquiry is closed, its study may validly precede any attempt thus to ascend the stream of history. In short, the function of historical criticism seems to lie in an intermediate region between the preliminary question of the supernatural (which is one of speculative philosophy) and the problem to which we must in any case return,—the religious significance of the life of Christ (which is a philosophical inference from certain unique moral phenomena.)

The idea of rewriting the Life of Jesus, already written in the Gospels, is a thoroughly modern conception. So long as the doctrinal conclusions of the Church as to the person of Christ were more valued than the facts of the sacred Biography itself, and so long as the work of our Lord overshadowed his life, anything approaching to a psychological analysis of his character and acts seemed an idle, if not an irreverent procedure. It is not too much to affirm that the divinity of our Lord for ages overshadowed his humanity, so as to cast it into the shade. But during the latter portion of the eighteenth, and more particularly from the beginning of this century,—mainly through the influence of Schleiermacher,—the attention of theologians has been increasingly turned towards the human life, in its relation to the age in which it appeared, and the revolution which it has accomplished in the world. And it is only *in its humanity*, as a life exhibiting the signs of growth and progress, that a historical or biographic study is possible. Within the last hundred years, innumerable "Lives of our Lord" have been written by friend and by opponent; and it is singular that while in each case we must mainly revert to the four original recorders, alike for our materials and for the touchstone by which to try any new commentary or analysis, such is the hidden wealth of these four biographies, that it has been impossible for any one mind, or for any single generation, to exhaust their fulness, and, by drawing it

\* On this point we have the testimony of Strauss himself. In the Preface to his *New Life of Jesus*, written for the German *populace*, he says, "It is a mere prejudice of caste to fancy that ability to comprehend these things belongs exclusively to the theologian or the man of learning. On the contrary, the essence of the matter is so simple that every one whose head and heart are in the right place [N.B.] may well rest assured that whatever, after due reflection and the proper use of accessible means, still remains incomprehensible to him, is in itself of very little value."—(Page viii. of Preface, Eng. Trans.)

fully forth, to supersede the need of future commentary. It is equally evident that the four biographers, being contemporaries of our Lord, and addressing a contemporary audience (while ignorant of the vexed controversies as to their record that would arise in the future), would necessarily take much for granted, would leave many gaps in their narrative, unimportant in themselves, but which would give room for future study and reverent conjecture. They present us, it is true, with more than a skeleton record, yet they leave much for the tact of a wise interpreter in collecting the fragments of their narrative, and illustrating their significance as a whole. The task of those who attempt this work anew is thus to transplant themselves to the apostolic age, and to re-state, in the light of their own time, the distinctive features of that "life which is the light of men." The very multiplication of these "lives of our Lord" has become an indirect testimony to the grandeur of the Original. Successive historians exhaust the life of an ordinary man, and future recensions of it become tedious, repetitive, and bald. For example, if we compare the two biographic sketches of the greatest Greek of the ancient world, the Socrates of Plato and of the Memorabilia, with the manifold attempts to write the Life of Christ, the contrast is arresting. Strauss has indeed asserted that the picture of Socrates is the clearer of the two; and that a comparison of Xenophon and Plato with Matthew and John is unfavourable to the latter. Such an assertion is not surprising from one who has had the hardihood to affirm, that however consistent the testimony for the apostolic origin of the latter might be, he could put no faith in it, simply because it bears witness to the supernatural. But this much is self-evident,—that the world has not welcomed so many lives of Socrates as of Christ; and biographers have not attempted to write them, because, in the former case, they have not found the moral uniqueness, the many-sided and mysterious grandeur, which has drawn successive interpreters to the latter. And we affirm with confidence that the issue of new lives of our Lord will never cease. Each future generation will be impelled by an inner necessity to travel backwards for itself along the stream of history to the fountain-head, carrying thither the burden of its perplexities for solution.

We have a guarantee, in the very nature of the case, that the biographers of our Lord would be more faithful to their original than the friends of Socrates were. Far from attempting to idealize their Master, they were from the first incapable of

understanding his ideal greatness. Little as they understood him, they felt that they were in contact with a character far above themselves. Their adoration, though imperfect, would restrain them from putting into the lips of their Master what he did not really say, or recording what he did not really do. Exaggerate his greatness they could not; diminish it they dared not. But the fact that Plato, a philosophic thinker of equal calibre and greater comprehensiveness, was the recorder of the moral teaching of his predecessor (much of which he rejected and superseded),—instead of being, as Strauss asserts, a guarantee of impartiality and historical veracity, might easily lead the founder of the Academy into exaggerations to which the fishermen of Galilee were not exposed. It was of less consequence to Plato and to Platonism that the dialogues should exactly reproduce the oral teaching of Socrates, than it was to the disciples (who had no philosophy but that of their Master), to draw a photographic portrait of his life.

We have alluded to the peculiar difficulty we encounter in ascending by the light of history to the apostolic age, from the dimness of some of the intervening links, from the breaks in the continuity of the stream. In addition to this, the very growth of theological opinions and creeds, the venerable edifice of systematic thought, and the endlessly divergent commentaries of churchmen, prevent us from seeing the first age with our own eyes as clearly as we would wish; and if they do not at times confuse our vision, they become at least "something between a hindrance and a help." But we are in reality much nearer the age of the apostles and of our Lord than we are to the two subsequent centuries, and much nearer (except in actual time) than were the critical inquirers of the third and fourth centuries. We can understand it better than we understand some of the periods of modern history. No age can measure itself. It must be subjected to the sifting scrutiny of the future before it becomes intelligible. And though we have lost some of the links in the process of transmission, the fact that Christianity, thus sifted and winnowed, now gives forth a clearer light as to its origin, while it holds its ground in the forefront of modern enlightenment, is an indirect testimony to the divinity of its birth. Subjected to the extreme rigour of critical analysis, the life of Jesus is surrounded with a new halo of glory; its significance is enhanced by the strain it has endured, and the assaults it has resisted. And our remoteness in time, our distance from the apostolic age, enables

us to compute the historical triumph of Christianity by the silently increasing monument which the Ages are building to its Founder. Remote from the apostles, we do not breathe the atmosphere of a time when the very haze of floating philosophies and vague aspirations, with the obscure origin of the new religion, might have hid its divinity from us; and while we do not rest the evidence of our faith upon a process of critical inquiry, the fact that the efforts of destructive criticism have continually failed in tracing Christianity to a natural source, is an accumulation of testimony the other way, and reduces to a minimum the likelihood of any future discovery adverse to the faith of Christendom. The conclusion which we reach, independently of historical criticism, is not likely to be shaken by a series of puzzles which criticism itself is yearly diminishing.

There are other reasons which lead us to prefer the psychological to the critical study of the Gospels. When the merely critical instinct is predominant, it usually renders the mind as unfit for weighing moral evidence wisely, as the exclusively mathematical intellect is incompetent to deal with probable evidence. It sometimes checks the more sacred instinct of worship, and, sharpening one faculty, it blunts another. It may disqualify a man for duly appreciating some of the grander facts of history, of which the causes are hid, because they have their origin in the mystic region of personality. It may diminish reverence for what is obscure only because it is deep and fathomless, and may conceal the latent glory of those phenomena of human history which point upwards to the supernatural. The best antidote to this one-sidedness will be found in a devout study of the facts of our Lord's life on earth, in their sequences and harmonies, in the relation of the parts to the whole, and of the whole to the parts, in their origin, import, and final purpose. In these facts, theologians of the most opposite tendency, and who have reached very opposite conclusions as to detail, will find their common meeting-ground and rallying-point. The theory or doctrine of inspiration which they may chance to hold is of less consequence than their treatment of the facts which the inspired documents authenticate. And the theology that is by each successive system-builder derived from a fresh, patient, and earnest study of these facts, will be at once larger and deeper, more exact and more profound, than any that tradition can transmit or criticism construct. Theology becomes a series of wise inferences from the words and acts, from the scope and tendency,

of our Lord's life; not a mere articulated skeleton formed by the juxtaposition of texts, but a living body of interdependent truths,—in a word, *the interpretation of fact*. But to accomplish this many things are needed: the patient skill of an interpreter, "one among a thousand," who can appreciate the divinest elements in human life,—the far glance of the religious seer,—freedom from bias and preconception of what the life ought to be, or to accomplish,—humility wedded to insight,—intellectual integrity in alliance with the docile spirit that has learned its own ignorance,—and, we must add, an appreciation of the world's need of light, as well as a readiness to welcome the supernatural ray.

A brief glance at some of the efforts to write a harmonious narrative of the life of our Lord may suffice to bring out the points of resemblance and contrast between them and this latest British work. We must confine ourselves to a few, excluding the commentaries and dissertations, however excellent. The bibliography of the subject is very fully given in the fourth edition of Hase's *Life of Jesus*.

In patristic times theologians merely sought to arrange the facts of the sacred biography in a harmonious order. Criticism was then unknown. The mediæval Church-commentary was tedious and fantastic, consisting chiefly of catenæ from the Fathers; while the tendency to write legendary lives of the saints led some to add apocryphal stories to the narrative of the four Gospels. Not even at the time of the Reformation was the theological mind turned with any freedom to the human side of our Lord's life. It may even be said that the idea of a psychological explanation and study of it is foreign to the genius of all the Christian centuries till we come down to the last hundred years.

The *Great Exemplar* of our English bishop, Jeremy Taylor, however excellent in design and felicitous here and there in detail, is circumlocutory, diffuse, full of irrelevancies, and burdened with superfluous learning. It may be doubted whether any reader of that treatise ever reached a more enlarged and luminous view of our Lord's life as a whole by means of it. It is only just, however, to remember that the great English prelate speaks most humbly of his work, as but "an instrument and auxiliary to devotion." He was "weary," he tells us, "and toiled with rowing up and down the sea of controversial questions," and therefore turned to that "which is wholly practical, and which makes us wiser, because it makes us better."

Shortly after the middle of last century. J. J. Hess of Zürich published an admirable biographic sketch, in which we recognise two noteworthy features. The value of the miraculous element in the Gospel histories he considers as entirely subservient to the moral results to be attained. As a mere display of power, apart from these results, it could have no inherent value. Hess was also one of the first to signalize the ideal *beauty* of our Lord's life, and the satisfaction it affords to the purest æsthetic sense, as one evidence of its origin. He was a careful, reverent compiler, and whenever a miracle can be explained as an acceleration of natural phenomena he abstains from supposing any other agency at work in the process.

In 1796, Herder published a treatise on the synoptics, and a sequel in the following year on the narrative of St. John. He concentrated his attention almost exclusively on the moral and spiritual aspects of the divine life, and their influence on humanity, striving also to harmonize the different records. The miraculous element he thought of little moment, incapable either of proof or of disproof by a later age. All the miracles that could (in his estimation) be explained by natural causes, such as the exorcism of evil spirits, the transfiguration, the phenomena attendant on the baptism, etc., he thus accounted for; others, such as the cure of the sick, the transformation of water into wine, and the resurrection of Lazarus, he explained as symbolical of the spiritual truth of Christ's influence over the lives of men. It is difficult to understand Herder's exact position in reference to this second class of miracles. Possibly it was not clear to his own mind. He seems to admit the reality of the resurrection, yet he attaches little value to its outward form. The spiritual and continuous miracle of moral resurrection which it symbolized is to him the main point in the narrative. Nevertheless he firmly maintained the divinity of the life of Christ.

Paulus, in his *Gospel Commentary* and subsequent *Life of Jesus*, further develops the view of Herder, carrying it however to a one-sided extreme. A disciple of Spinoza and of Kant, he rejected entirely the idea of the miraculous as supernatural. He seems to regard it as a later addition to the original record of the text, appended by unwise interpreters. The evangelists he thinks make no assertion of supernatural power attending the works of Jesus; they rather hint that he employed natural means to effect his ends. He does not wish to explain away the reality of remarkable works

(such as cures of the sick, etc.), but only to put these on an intelligible basis. For this purpose he endeavours to divest the recorded miracles of a certain clothing of opinion which he imagines to have been wrapped around them—subsequent accretions to the original fact—forgetting that in the narrative of the evangelists these details are the very substance of the story.

He was followed by Schleiermacher, one of the most powerful intellects and one of the noblest men that Germany has produced. He held fast by the divine element in the life, but denied the violation of natural law in the miracles; and to account for these he stretched the idea of the natural to its widest limits. He endeavoured to account for Christ's foresight by supposing an organization marvellously susceptible. The healing of the sick he explains by the simple forth-putting of unique power upon the minds of the diseased, which in turn reacted on their organism. Miracles were wrought by the supernatural might of one who was above nature, but that power effected its end through natural agency. However we may dissent from his explanations of the miraculous, we cannot forget the reverence and faith of Schleiermacher. He has contributed perhaps more powerfully than any single mind in modern times to direct the current of theology to the person of Christ, and to the ethical significance of his work. His influence is everywhere traceable in subsequent theological literature.

In the year 1829, Hase offered an important contribution to German theology in his *Manual*. Following Schleiermacher in his rational explanation of the miraculous, as far as that is possible, and attributing our Lord's works of healing to the power of the will over the body, the raising of the dead to the restoration of suspended animation, he nevertheless held that all these works were strictly miraculous, "the clear dominion of spirit over nature; no interruption of Nature's laws, but only a restoration of her pristine harmony and order." Unknown powers, possessed alone by Jesus, accelerated natural processes; this sinless perfection giving him an unique control over the material,—a power of which sin had bereft the race. "In every matter of fact," he says, "which has been handed down as a miracle, it belongs to science to search for its natural causes; when these cannot be shown with historic truth and certainty, then the miracle indicates either the limits of our natural powers and natural knowledge, or else those of the age in which the miracle is recorded." He thus defines the fundamental thought of his book, "that a divine principle revealed

itself in Jesus, but in a purely human form." The reports of our Lord's words and acts, however, he thinks may contain minor inaccuracies, due to the imperfect narration, and the blending of their own opinions by the historians. Hase, even more than Neander, represents the *via media* in German theology, midway between a frigid naturalism and a blind uncritical supranaturalism.

Six years later, in 1835, Strauss issued his famous *Life of Jesus*, intended only for the learned; and, after twenty-nine years, he has followed it by a *New Life of Jesus*, designed for the populace. The aim of the former treatise, as defined in the later, was to show that "all attempts to conceal or explain away the supernatural in the Gospel details were vain, and that consequently they were not to be claimed as strictly historical." The miraculous element was to be rejected *a priori*, and in addition a number of "contradictions and inconsistencies" could be freely pointed out. But how to account for the origin of the Gospel image of Jesus was the special puzzle which Strauss set himself to solve. His solution is well known as "the mythical theory." He admitted an original substratum of fact in the narratives, but round that nucleus of fact an imaginary series of myths had gathered, and the function of the historian was to separate or disintegrate the two. The original fact might be somewhat as follows:—There existed at the time of Christ's birth a special messianic hope in Palestine. A remarkable Jew appeared, and conceived the idea of morally revolutionizing his age, in accordance with the prevalent hope that God was about to interpose in behalf of the nation in some signal manner. His early popularity led some of his followers enthusiastically to call him the Messiah. He received the homage reluctantly at first, but afterwards willingly. Coming into collision with the traditional Jewish party, he, without difficulty, foresaw his own death, past instances of the prophet's fate perhaps suggesting it. After his death, his disciples, mourning his lot, began most naturally to idealize their departed master. They found in the books of the Old Testament words which they twisted into messianic predictions of what had actually happened. They believed that their late teacher was not really dead; and by their excited imaginations spectral visions of his presence were easily mistaken for the reality. They proceeded, under the delusion of his continued existence, to magnify the events of his previous life, freely to idealize them, and to attribute to him the highest conceivable greatness. Thus Strauss finds in the four Gospels, instead of the history of the real Christ, a

later idealized conception of him, "a legendary deposit of contemporaneous messianic ideas, the latter, perhaps, partially modified by his peculiar individuality, his teaching, and his fate."

The fundamental assumption which runs through Strauss's work is the impossibility of any history of a being other than one "entirely and clearly human. A personage half human and half divine may figure in poetry, but never in fact." Miracles are absolutely and inherently impossible. Miracle he repeatedly defines as "that heterogeneous element in life that resists all historical treatment." He refuses to believe in its real occurrence on any conceivable evidence whatever. To hear testimony from an eye-witness "would do no good; we should tell him downright that he was trifling, that he must have dreamt it, if we did not lose our opinion of his honesty, and accuse him of absolute falsehood." As to the evangelical miracles, "not one has been recorded by an eye-witness, but, on the contrary, by those who were disposed to do anything rather than try their tradition by a critical test." He therefore proceeded to apply the same principle of explanation to the Gospel miracles which had been applied so successfully by Welcker and others to explain the growth of Greek legends and Oriental fables. They were a series of later myths, which the reverence of an after age had created, and by which it had surrounded a remarkable man with a halo of posthumous glory! And these myths had been, by the same process, historically displaced, and thrust, like a fault in geologic strata, backwards in time. The Christian myths were "not, in their original form, the conscious and intentional invention of an individual, but a production of the common consciousness of a people or religious circle." The term "myth" Strauss would limit "exclusively to those original unconscious formations which arose as by necessity."

But gradually other stories palpably unreal were invented. In the narratives of the fourth Gospel, in particular, he has the hardihood to assert that we meet with much that is conscious and deliberate invention,—mere fraud, in short. In his later work, Strauss acknowledges that, "mainly in consequence of Baur's hints, he allows more room than before to the hypothesis of conscious and intentional fiction." Retaining only the fundamental ideas of his former work, the principal if not the sole consideration is to decide what the gospel history is *not*. The negation consists in this, "that in the person and acts of Jesus no supernaturalism shall be suffered to remain: for

no single Gospel, nor all the Gospels, can make us debase our reason to the point of believing miracles." The affirmative counterpart to this negation is twofold—*1st*, The determination of the real history of Jesus; and, *2dly*, The explanation of the way in which the unhistorical parts of the narrative arose.

We need not follow Strauss minutely in a counter-analysis of his "peculiar apparatus for causing miracles to evaporate in myths." It is of more importance to show how he has failed as a historical student of the era which witnessed the rise of Christianity. A deeper analysis of the state of Palestine at the time of the advent will prove the impossibility of the growth of a series of myths in the apostolic age. The very chaos of that time, the heterogeneous character of the Jewish sects, the perplexed state of political relationships, the variety of forces at work in society, the absence of simple spontaneous movements and social impulses—in short, the general alertness and multitudinousness of the time—was fatal to the growth of such a series of legends as those which Strauss has indicated. The age of the apostles was more critical and reflective than spontaneous and impulsive. There was doubt and hesitation, as well as expectancy, in the general mind. Enthusiastic idolatry of men was rare, hero-worship almost unknown. But it is only in the infancy of a nation that the mythical instinct has any range or field of operation—only in the twilight of national culture that fiction is mistaken for fact; while it is to the deification of the powers of nature (as in the polytheistic tendency) rather than to the deification of a man that the mythical instinct turns. But long prior to the advent, the Jewish mind had reached a high-water mark of intellectual vigour. Palestine had been divided for generations into opposite philosophical schools, led by astute and learned rabbis: and during the lifetime of our Lord a hot controversy raged between the pure theism of the Pharisees and the materialism of a sect which boldly denied the supernatural. If the existence of the sect of the Sadducees, and our Lord's frequent collisions with its leaders, be admitted, it is easy to see how eagerly they would have seized upon any alleged miracles that could be denied, and exposed them. This sect continued to flourish, and was variously modified, after the founding of the apostolic churches. If, then, some of the earliest acts of the church-leaders consisted in the elaboration of mythical incidents, it is inconceivable that the history of the first century should not have preserved some record of the collision of the disciples

with the rationalistic sects of Palestine. The recorded "acts of the apostles" make it clear that no such collision took place; and the apostolic epistles give no hint of controversies within the churches, or around them, as to the reality of our Lord's miracles,—which may be deemed a proof that no such controversies existed,—while the historical evidence we possess as to the moral character of the apostles, excluding on the threshold the supposition of conscious fraud, equally forbids the idea of credulity, and acquiescence in imposture. Further, the imagination of the apostles could scarcely have created the facts, when one of these which they record is their own incompetence to comprehend their Master's character, and the wonderfully delicate, but far-piercing rebukes they received for their repeated obtuseness of soul: truly a highly elaborate myth for a company of fishermen to concoct! In the Gospel narratives we are indeed in wonder-land; but it would be the *ne plus ultra* of marvels to imagine the disciples to have invented this fact, implying a dexterous artificial fraud and a wholly modern ingenuity the better to secure their credit. Besides recording without scruple these facts against themselves, some of them shortly afterwards sealed their testimony by their death. Men do not willingly die for the honour of legends. They must therefore have believed them to be facts; and if they could not easily be impostors, they must either have been true witness-bearers or the dupes of fallacious evidence. Let us therefore examine those documents received as authentic by almost all critics,—the epistles of St. Paul to Rome and Corinth, and his first epistle to Thessalonica. These letters are based upon the facts of Christ's life. They imply that they were recent and well known; and we ask if a legend could grow in twenty years into such dimensions? Could a series of elaborate and unparalleled myths spring suddenly into life, and sway a whole community, within the space of two decades, especially when we remember how slowly great movements grew in that age, compared with the swift current of our modern times?

Still further, while the creation of myths is thus negated by the character of the first Christian age, the unopposed reception of fabulous stories in the second or third age, in reference to an event so momentous, is equally inconceivable. There were hundreds and thousands of contemporary Jews who could have silenced the testimony of a few apostles, if it had been possible to contradict or to expose it; while there were many cultivated Greek and Roman minds,

not predisposed in favour of Jewish tradition or Oriental legend generally, who, during the lifetime of the apostles, gave in their adherence to the Christian faith. The conquest of *their* minds by a series of Hebrew myths is a fact which Strauss does not attempt to explain. Nor does he inform us how, if this be the natural genesis of the Christian faith, it has arisen but once, in one age, and amongst one people. The formation of such myths should have proceeded equally from several centres, and thus the uniqueness of the Christian faith is unexplained by the mythical theory. Strauss has told us that he will admit the uniqueness of Jesus only "when other instances of the same unique perfection shall be clearly proved from history;"—an utterly unwarrantable dictum. But we may validly reply that we will believe in the *possibility* of a mythic origin of the Gospel narratives when other instances of the same unique perfection shall have been proved to spring from legend, or even if we could discover one parallel instance of such a growth from such a nucleus.

In the positive part of his work, Strauss endeavours, as he had done in his earlier treatise, "to point out what might have formed the historical kernel." By the most reckless and haphazard guesses he tries to remove the first deposits of the unhistorical, and to show how layer after layer may have risen above each other. But we are left in the end to gather up the fragments of an imaginary Straussian Christ. The contrast between such individual conjecture and the ascertained results of modern science (with which it invites comparison) is even startling. Guesses are not tolerated in the scientific world, though a modest conjectural hypothesis may lead the way to the discovery of unknown laws. But while the temple of science is slowly reared by pupils who build humbly on foundations laid by their teachers, literary critics do not scruple to begin their labours by an attempt to abolish the work of their predecessors.

The admirable work of Neander on the life of Christ was mainly a reply to Strauss. But its controversial portion is not so valuable as its positive contribution to a true estimate of the life. It is so well known that it need scarcely be referred to; and amongst all subsequent "Lives" it still holds a place of honour. Defective on many points, and unmethodical in others, the manifold wisdom of the book, its large suggestiveness and rich detail, are unrivalled; while its innate truthfulness has called forth a tribute even from Strauss. Neander explains miracles by referring them to "laws of Nature as yet undiscovered," a fertile hint, which has been

largely developed since, but which may be delusive if the new processes are put in the same category of "law" with the old.

Baur, Weisse, Ewald, Olshausen, Tholuck, Harless, Lange, Stier, and Ebrard, amongst German theologians, have since treated the life of Jesus with varying talent and success. Ewald, is learned, profound, intense; Lange, rich in devotion, felicitous in fancies, but attenuated in his moral insight, is occasionally so fantastic that some of his thoughts depend for their beauty on the mere form of the words. There is a good deal of the mirage in his work. Stier is rich in exegetical suggestion, more imaginative than discriminative, prolix at times, and, though with occasional narrowness, has written an earnest and loving treatise on our Lord's life and works. Ebrard's is one of the most condensed and learned treatises on the subject. He considers the Gospel history first according to its form, and next according to its contents, his primary aim not being polemical, and being convinced that the statement of what he regarded as the true facts of the case is the best way to reply to objections. His tone is occasionally imperious and pragmatical, and there is a slight admixture of vanity in his work; all others having, in his opinion, failed to do that which he has succeeded in doing.

The work of M. Renan, which startled Europe in 1863, is a well-known book. Within a year it is said to have called forth a hundred replies. It is the natural sequel in the province of French religious criticism to the dominant *Philosophie Positive*. In the years 1860–61 M. Renan had charge of the French scientific mission to Phœnicia; and he tells us that, while traversing the country in all directions, "the history which at a distance seemed to float in the clouds of an ideal world, took a form, a solidity, which astonished me. The striking agreement of the New Testament text with the places, the marvelous harmony of the Gospel ideal with the country which served it as a framework, were like a revelation. I had before me a *fifth Gospel*, torn, but still legible." But as his philosophy abjured the supernatural, he had to *construct* a new life of Jesus by eliminating the miraculous element; and, given the problem, how to find a natural explanation of the origin of Christianity by reducing its alleged marvels within the limits of natural causation, or denying the more unmanageable ones as fictions, the ingenuity of M. Renan is great, though tainted by recklessness, and the "easy" morality which winks at minor faults. It is not difficult to see that a system which starts by denying the personality of God cannot end by ad-

mitting the divine personality of Jesus. It is a slight concession, that M. Renan admits the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel, against the school of Tübingen. This Gospel, no less than the others, he must critically test by a process of excision; and no single discourse can be received as authentic, because there were "no stenographers present to fix those fleeting words." It is noteworthy that, while he addresses himself to the stupendous task of reconstructing the history, he is not contented with suggesting a few facts as a possible nucleus, but he freely enlarges on its probable details. He has assigned himself a task almost rivalling the labour of Cuvier, who, from the fragment of a fossil bone, reproduced an ancient skeleton; and yet this seems to him one of the simplest processes in the world, requiring only modern enlightenment and the studied rejection of the miraculous! The result and the process together are utterly unscientific. He rejects and accepts at pleasure events which have the same historical vouchers, and for the mutilation of which he supplies us with no other crucial test than his own critical fancy. One fact is taken, and another is left. This event is true, but that is interpolated, and this is a forgery. No law of selection is stated except the *a priori* dictum that all the supernatural is legendary.\*

Strauss and Renan have both said that the miraculous is "that resisting element which defies historical treatment." But to give the investigator license to select, abridge, or erase at will, from a series of documents which come down to us with the identical witness of past testimony, is to transform history into legend, and criticism into romance; and the "fifth Gospel" which M. Renan "saw," and has striven to relate, is reduced to the level of an apocrypha. It is of little use to tell a historian in search of reality that "nothing to be found in the Gospels is strictly authentic," and yet that they "are truer than the naked truth, because they are truth idealized;" while the chemical test which will dissolve the spuri-

ous compound, and precipitate the pure truth, is the mere idealistic fancy of a learned and ingenious dilettante.

The chief source to which, according to Renan, we are to trace the early development of Jesus, was the influence of Nature, and the delightful climate of Galilee. The poetic aspiration after a brighter national future, nursed amid the valleys of the north, and beside the waters of its lake, imparted a soft and delicate tone to the earlier years. That delicious pastoral country inspired our Lord with his first ideas of the kingdom of God. Renan asserts that all the earlier teaching of Jesus was mild and gentle, in conformity with the gentleness of the district in which he was reared,—quietly ignoring a dozen facts to the contrary! From the "delicious idyll" of the earlier years, we pass by an abrupt transition to the period of action, when Jesus "most unwillingly became a thaumaturgist," and the gentle rabbi glided into "the charlatan with a high purpose." The hiatus between these two periods M. Renan has not filled up, even on his own theory. He contents himself with dogmatically assuming the change, as at the fall of the curtain in a drama. Though Jesus commanded his followers, "Let your Yea be yea, and your Nay, nay," and asserted that he came himself to "fulfil the law," M. Renan can affirm that he quietly made a compromise with truth, finessed with his contemporaries, and winked at the innocent enthusiasm of the populace, who ascribed unreal miracles to his power. "His greatest miracle," says he, in a delusive epigram,—“his greatest miracle would have been his refusal to perform any.” Yet they were "disagreeable to him," "imposed upon him." Some he only "thought he performed." Some were natural cures idealized by the populace, in their hunger for marvels; for example, the exquisiteness of his person cast out many devils! All the while the Founder of Christianity was utterly unacquainted with the processes of Nature, and in a state of exquisite "poetic ignorance" of her laws.

It is unnecessary to follow M. Renan through the legendary details of his own work of fiction. Its caricature of the original, its travesty of Christ's doctrine, its outrageous assumptions and utterly reckless manipulations of the story, its errors against art, have been admirably dealt with by M. Pressensé; and the rose-water adulation of the exquisite prophet of Galilee has been well described by another as "a betrayal of the Lord, but not without the kiss."

Immediately on the appearance of the *Vie de Jésus*, M. Pressensé wrote a short

\* He has indeed told us of "an excellent touchstone" to be found in "a kind of splendour, at once mild and terrible, a divine strength which emphasizes the authentic words, and detaches them from their apocryphal context. The real words of Jesus betray themselves spontaneously" (p. 21, Eng. Trans.) A more unscientific dictum could scarcely be devised. We may well ask whether, if a whole synod of critics were assembled, and urged to apply this touchstone independently, two of them would agree in their "detachments" of the text, or the reconstruction of its fragments—either in their analysis or their synthesis? A scientific touchstone should be precise, and not arbitrary or confusing.



pamphlet in reply, entitled *The Critical School and Jesus Christ*. Few fragments of controversial literature are superior to this small book. He has since then compiled a larger treatise, entitled *Jesus Christ, his Works, Life, and Times*, which covers the whole field discussed by Strauss and Renan. He briefly announces his aim to be to "dissipate some of the misconceptions by which the God-man is veiled from the eyes of my contemporaries." In an orderly manner, dealing first with those questions of philosophy and history "which hold the approaches to the subject," he vindicates the supernatural on speculative grounds, and seeks to prove the originality of the Christian faith by comparing it with the decaying religions of the East, and those Oriental and Western philosophies amidst which it came as a new birth. Pressensé has ably shown that Christianity was not "a product of the various elements in the ancient world, the confluence of its streams," though the resemblances between them prove that the new religion was "made for humanity, to answer its inmost needs." He has brought varied learning to the more delicate task of literary criticism, to which he next advances, dealing with the documents in which the records of Christianity have come down to us, to establish their place and value; and he concludes by unfolding the actual life of our Lord in its chronological sequences. In the latter part of his treatise we find a marked similarity of aim to Dr. Hanna's work. In Pressensé we find the French faculty of clear comprehensiveness. He traverses a wide area, and condenses the results of his survey in a few weighty paragraphs. His sentences shine like cut crystal; but they lack the calmer depth of German thought, and the warm glow of reverent enthusiasm, which pervades the Scotch divine. Clear, subtle, and eager, he has the characteristic fire of the best French writers on morals; but the meditative depth and the poetic sight of the British mind is on the whole more valuable in one who would attempt the great task of writing the Life of the Son of Man.

But the leading characteristics of Dr. Hanna's work will be more fully seen by comparing it with recent efforts in our own literature. We have alluded to Dr. Young's *Christ of History*, a volume of pre-eminent power. It stands somewhat in the same relation to Ullmann's treatise on the *Sinlessness of Jesus*, as these volumes of Dr. Hanna to such a work as the *Life by Lange*. It is full of genuine English sense and sagacious philosophy, and is pervaded by a high tone of reverence. Ullmann may deal in a

more philosophical manner with his special department of evidence, but for comprehensive wisdom in interpreting the phenomena of our Lord's life, and drawing the legitimate inferences from them, we know no volume equal to Dr. Young's—though Dr. Bushnell has also ably discussed the same question in a more condensed form, in one chapter of his treatise on *Nature and the Supernatural*.

In the Bampton Lectures for 1859, we find the Bishop of Gloucester endeavouring "to illustrate the connexion of the events in our Lord's life, and their probable order and succession." These lectures of Dr. Ellicott's are pervaded by a lofty tone of pious emotion; but they are diffuse, rhetorical, and of slight apologetic value. The notes are better than the text. The aim of the Bampton lecturer was similar to Dr. Hanna's—"to arrange, comment upon, and illustrate the principal events in our Redeemer's earthly history; to show their coherence, their connexion, order, and significance." But we miss in this treatise those clear and luminous outlines which Pressensé gives us, and those glances into the inmost secrets of the divine life,—that insight joined to catholicity which pervades the volumes before us. Dr. Ellicott is intense, poetic, reverential. He trembles with emotion in all that he writes. But his thought is too fluent. It loses precision in a deceptive rhetorical glow.

The Rev. Samuel Andrews has compiled a useful manual on the life of our Lord, dealing chiefly with its chronological aspects, in which he mainly follows Tischendorf's *Synopsis Evangelica*. His introductory essays on the dates of our Lord's birth, baptism, and death are valuable. The book is learned and accurate, but it presents a bare outline, useful mainly for reference.

The late Dr. Kitto has left a volume of "illustrations" of the life, which bears a certain resemblance in its aim to Dr. Hanna's.

It contains picturesque and vivid descriptions of the chief events of our Lord's ministry. His relation to contemporary Jewish life and the society of Palestine, the state of opinion in reference to him, its fluctuations, and the results of his life-work, are drawn with rare felicity. Kitto is a photographic archaeologist, who vivifies his descriptions of place and of manners with an almost Oriental wealth and profusion of detail.

We notice another English work, not so much for its intrinsic merit as for its partial anticipation of the order and plan which Dr. Hanna has followed. It is a series of seven volumes, by the Rev. Isaac Williams, Fellow of Trinity, Oxford, written in compara-

tive ignorance of the questions of modern criticism, and even with a fear lest "his own inquiries should degenerate into a merely critical or scholastic dissertation;" but in which the devout author ranges over the periods of our Lord's life with the view of introducing into his work "something of the depth and devotional thought of ancient interpretation." It is a work based largely on the ancient catenas, especially on the *aurea catena* of Aquinas. But it is curious to note that the author began with the last day of the passion (issuing a tentative volume), and proceeded thence to the rest of the life, as Dr. Hanna has done. The titles of his volumes are, *The Nativity, The Ministry*, (2 vols.), *The Holy Week, The Passion, The Resurrection*.

In the remarkable anonymous work titled *Ecce Homo* we have one of the ablest and most reverent attempts to estimate the meaning of our Lord's life, and his influence in the world. But as it is rather a treatise on Christian Ethics than a biographic study of the sacred character, we abstain from further reference to it.

Adequately to write the Life of our Lord, so as to bring out the wealth which lies half concealed and half revealed in the record of the evangelists, the biographer would require to possess such a combination of separate excellences that we can never expect to find the task executed to perfection. If it be true, as some one has said, that "it would require a second Christ to comprehend the first," it would no less require a divine biographer adequately to record a divine life. Knowledge of the philosophy of human nature, poetic insight into the physical universe and into human life, a wide knowledge of men, of the course of history, and of the forces that swayed the world prior to the Christian era, familiarity with antiquarian lore, a topographical knowledge of Palestine, the power of keen analysis and of large constructiveness, with personal reverence and devoutness of heart, are all prerequisites to the task. These are not combined in any single individual. It is therefore vain to look for a realized ideal of biography that shall surpass the story of the four evangelists.

The latest complete effort to reproduce the scenes of that distant age, and to reset them in the framework of the nineteenth century, now lies before us. And while most of the "Lives" written recently excel this of Dr. Hanna in some one respect, it may be doubted if any of them presents such a combination of excellences. The historical, analytical, literary, topographical, and devotional features of these six volumes

are less remarkable in themselves than in their union, and throughout the whole work there breathes an admirable humility. There is no parade of learning, no distracting foot-notes, no allusions for the erudite alone. It is an unencumbered, unartificial work. We are presented with the products and not with the processes of reasoning; with the results of scholarship without the display of the critical knowledge on which they are based. Dr. Hanna takes, as we have said, all the facts supplied by the four evangelists, and believing that each has its own significance, weaves the whole into a connected thread of narrative. Many surface discrepancies are thus harmonized, and the consecutiveness of the life, with its silently increasing purpose, is disclosed with a singular freshness. In addition, unsuspected harmonies reveal themselves, and evidence to which the harmonist who starts with the idea that the record is full of flaws which require the correction of modern criticism is blind, becomes apparent. It is true that Dr. Hanna relies less on critical analysis in his expositions than on that loving insight which sees into the heart of questions when verbal exegesis stands still at the door. He deals much more fully with the events themselves than with the records or channel by which they come down to us. His pre-eminent aim is to ascertain the inner character of the agents in the scenes, and especially of the central Character in the narrative.

Varied psychological insight reveals itself in all his analyses of character, especially in the account given of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Thomas. From incidental phases of thought and feeling a large significance is developed. The character of the betrayer, and the motives which led Judas to the commission of the crime with which his name is associated; the "inner workings of conscience and of humanity" in Pilate; the differences between St. Peter and St. John; the explanation of the denial by the former, and of the meaning of the look which led to his repentance; the conflicting elements in the soul of St. Thomas, are all admirably rendered. The dramatic portraiture is vivid, yet most delicate: photographic, as we have said, in the sharpness of the outlines, yet with coloured light and shade preserved, and with many of the phases of individuality suggested rather than portrayed; while the recital of the events of our Lord's life, so uncontroversial and undogmatic, so reverent and careful, leads at every stage to the adoration of faith. The classic grace with which the style of these volumes flows on may prevent many from perceiving the real depth of the stream, how clear the waters

are, and how the heavens are reflected in them. The pervading tone is that of reverential thoughtfulness and repose. We think that Dr. Hanna's descriptions of place excel those of any other writer, with the exception of Dean Stanley, in a quiet picturesqueness, in the subdued light of local colouring with which he has invested the localities he describes. By a few vivid touches he carries us into the very heart of the scene. We have the advantage of the writer's personal visit to the localities,—a fact never obtruded, but which gives a steady background of reality and of vividness to all his descriptions. We have no highly-coloured figure-painting, but an exquisite *felicity*, a directness and pictorial precision which leave little to be desired.

In their descriptions of Nature, and its possible influence on our Lord, the difference between Renan and Dr. Hanna is noteworthy. According to the former, "the aspect of Nature" was "the whole education of Jesus." The soft beauty of Galilean lakes and meads, woods and hills, created a correspondingly soft beauty in the soul of the tender prophet of Nazareth; and thus the whole history of his earlier years is "one delightful pastoral." To the deeper insight of our author, Nature's influence over Christ was only inspiring and suggestive. It supplied illustrations of the laws of his kingdom for the disciples, and the framework of parables for the people. Dr. Hanna does not presume to indicate the thoughts which the thirty years' residence in Nazareth may have quickened, but the place, "so retired, so rich in natural beauty, with glimpses of the wide world around for the morning or evening hours," where he had

"watched how the lilies grew, and saw how their Creator clothed them, had noticed how the smallest of seeds grew into the tallest of herbs; where outside the house he had seen two women grinding at one mill, inside, a woman hiding the leaven in the dough; where in the marketplace he had seen the five sparrows sold for two farthings; where the sleep-walks of the hills and the vineyards of the valleys had taught him what were the offices of the good shepherd and of the careful vine-dresser—all those observations of thirty years were treasured up, to be drawn upon in due time, and turned into the lessons by which the world was to be taught wisdom."

It is instructive to note the difference between these two travellers, who have both gone over the same ground, and traced the footsteps of Jesus so far as they can be now identified, the one with a faith in the supernatural, and the other without it,—both accurate observers and exquisite narrators.

The difference between their interpretations is wide enough, but are we wrong in ascribing the failure of the latter to his prepossession *against* the supernatural, so that "his eye saw only what it brought with it the power of seeing"?

As a specimen of picturesque beauty in Dr. Hanna's narrative, we may select the description of the source of the Jordan at Cæsarea-Philippi (*Galilean Ministry*, p. 317); and for instances in which the visit of the author to the places he has described has enabled him almost to photograph the scene, we may refer to his account of Jacob's Well, of the road from Bethany to Jerusalem past the hamlet of Bethphage, of the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, and his identification of Wady Fik as the ancient Gadara.

But the description of Nature is subordinated to a recital of the main incidents of the Life, and these incidents are again subservient to the development of character. The outward invariably yields to the inward, the physical to the moral and spiritual. Every other interest revolves around the Sacred Biography itself. The figures of the disciples move around their Master, and serve as a background of contrast to him; while all the minor characters, Jewish, Greek, Roman, Syro-phenician, are sketched by a delicate pencil and with singular tact. So that from a perusal of these volumes we believe that the sympathetic reader will carry away a more distinct image of the character and life of Christ, and his relation to his contemporaries, than he can gain from the more brilliant page of Pressensé, or the more elaborate discussions of Neander.

In the evangelical narratives there are frequent *breaks* in the continuity of the story, to fill up which by wise inference and not by rash conjecture is one end of historical study. These gaps are due not merely to the silence of the narrators, and the consequent want of connecting links, but to our ignorance of the motives which led to this or that course of action, and of the feelings with which our Lord's acts were accompanied. Much of what we may call the outward drapery of the scenes of the ministry is altogether omitted by the evangelists; and this, when supplied by a discreet interpreter, sheds peculiar light upon the incidents themselves. Or again, when several possible explanations of an event may be given, it is the part of the interpreter to choose the most likely, and, by a wise selection, it is singular how much light may be cast upon the narrative, while all trace of a hiatus between the events disappears. By thus clothing a scene with its unrecorded

moral drapery, much apparent harshness and arbitrariness vanish. For example, in the case of our Lord's cursing the barren fig-tree, when we see that he was "enacting a parable," selecting a type of moral barrenness, and shadowing forth its doom, the very act of destruction becomes morally beautiful. We may instance a few of these suggestions which occur in Dr. Hanna's volumes. The explanation of the sigh which escaped from our Lord's lips before he cured the deaf and dumb man at Bethsaida (*Galilean Ministry*, pp. 307-8); the explanation of the vernacular Aramaic word "Ephphatha" then used in the district of Decapolis, or the use of the Hebrew phrase "Talitha-cumi" to the dead maiden in Jairus's Hebrew-speaking household; the reasons suggested for our Lord's visiting at a particular time the northern district of Cæsarea-Philippi, where he was "surrounded by the emblems of various faiths and worships;" or the analysis of the motives which led the Greeks in Jerusalem to wish to see Jesus,—the act of cleansing the Temple having impressed them (*Passion Week*, p. 144); or the reasons why Galilee was selected as "the chosen trysting-place" for the appearances of the risen Lord with his disciples (*Forty Days*, pp. 109-11). In reference to all the manifold breaks in the narrative we may say what Dr. Hanna says of one set of them,

"We cannot doubt that if all the minor and connecting links were in our hands, we should be able to explain what now seems to be obscure, to harmonize what now seems to be conflicting. But in the absence of such knowledge we must be content to take what each writer tells us, and regard it as the broken fragment of a whole, all the parts of which are not in our hands, so that we can put them connectedly together."—(*Forty Days*, pp. 25-6.)

Another advantage of such a study of the Life of Jesus as this, is its unfolding of the exquisite *sequences* both in the acts and teaching of our Lord, and in the progressive testimony of others to his claim, those singular "ties of thought" and of incident, to which Dr. Hanna so often refers, the orderliness of the development of his plan, and the harmonious evolution of his whole work towards the world. The very key to the interpretation of one scene is often to be found in its sequence or connexion with another. The continuity of the story is marvellous, and when a blank occurs which cannot be filled up, a reason for the hiatus can usually be found. Incident leads on to incident, disclosure to disclosure. Testimony is added to testimony. Christ himself teaches only as the disciples are able to

receive his teaching. Enigmatic gleams of truth are dropped, which become intelligible only in the light of the sequel. This characteristic is one in which the life of Jesus differs from all other lives. There was no immaturity of plan or act, and no tardy development: nothing came too soon, nothing too late. The life advanced "without haste, yet without rest." Thus forming a grand and growing unity, it suggests, in its very uniqueness, that its subject himself "saw the end from the beginning." We can even see that to change its order would be to mutilate its parts, to reverse its sequences would be to mar its perfection.

In connexion with that inexhaustible fullness which Dr. Hanna most happily and sometimes unconsciously signalizes in our Lord, his lectures are eminently suggestive of new phases and unexhausted processes of thought. They raise a multitude of open questions at which they merely hint, and the curtain falls upon them, leaving them unsolved. Hence their catholicity. They proclaim one great Faith throughout, but they refuse to dogmatize upon details. It is difficult for a man with strong convictions which he holds firmly to be catholic towards those who differ from him; while it is easy for one who sits apart holding no form of creed to be blandly tolerant of all. But when we find catholicity in alliance with a strong faith, the union is as admirable as it is rare.

The most distinctive feature of these volumes remains to be noticed. It is the frequency with which the soundings of moral evidence are taken in the simplest manner. The author is not writing a formal *apologia*, but he has indirectly written one.

Thus in one of the earliest chapters, on the Nativity, our attention is turned to that "strange timing of events that then took place." Dr. Hanna shrinks from the attempt to penetrate within the veil which hides from us the secret things of God; but he finds it possible to detect "some natural and obvious benefits which have attended the coming of the Saviour at the particular period when it happened." It has enhanced the number and force of the evidences for his mission. For had Christ appeared at an earlier age, there would have been no room or scope for prophecy; and the record of his miracles coming down to us from a time when contemporary history was in the main legendary, would have been more open to question than it can possibly be when it proceeds from a literary age, and reaches us "through the same channel, and with the same vouchers for its authenticity, as a large portion of ancient history." Further,

the world seems to have been left for a long time to itself, "to make full proof of its capabilities and possibilities." Some of the highest forms of civilisation had already appeared; and the culture of Greek philosophy and art had failed to elevate human nature morally. History anterior to the advent seems to prove that, while human nature may variously elevate itself by efforts proceeding from within, and on its own plane, it cannot thus rectify its disorder and reach its ideal. Between the political condition of Palestine at the exact period of our Saviour's birth and the work which our Lord had to accomplish in the world, Dr. Hanna finds another pre-established harmony:—

"Had Jesus Christ appeared one half-century earlier, or one half-century later than he did; had he appeared when the Jewish authorities had unchecked power, how quickly, how secretly had their malice discharged itself upon his head! No cross had been raised on Calvary. Had he come a few years later, when the Jews were stripped even of that measure of power they for a short season enjoyed, would the Roman authorities, then the only ones in the land, of their own motion have condemned and crucified him?"—(*Earlier Years*, p. 33.)

Again, in comparing the four Gospels with the apocryphal narratives, we are arrested by the immense chasm between the two. "Men who wished to honour Christ in all they said about him;" men "better taught, many of them, than the apostles," men who

"had the full delineation of the manhood of Jesus before them, could not attempt a fancy sketch of his childhood without not only violating our sense of propriety, by attributing to him the most puerile and unmeaning displays of divine power, but shocking our moral sense, and falsifying the very picture they had before their eyes, by attributing to him acts of vengeance."—(*Earlier Years*, p. 120.)

The harmony between the life of childhood and youth at Nazareth and the period of public labour, is found to yield another testimony to the miraculous in Christ's life:—

"His self-recognition as the Son of God in Jerusalem, when twelve years of age, his declaration of it to his mother, his acting on it throughout life, his words in the Temple, followed by eighteen years of self-denial, and gentle, prompt obedience, his growing consciousness of divine lineage, and of the selfishness, worldliness, and hypocrisy he detected around him, his divine reticence, his sublime and patient self-restraint, his refraining from all interference in public matters and all exposure to public notice," are the natural signs of the

development of a life sprung not of this world. —(*Earlier Years*, pp. 134-5.)

In the call of the first disciples a sign of the supernatural is seen at the very opening of the ministry:—

"Silently, gently, unostentatiously, Christ enters on the task assigned to him. Would any one sitting down to devise a career for the Son of God descending upon our earth, to work out the salvation of our race, have assigned such an opening to his ministry; and yet could anything have been more appropriate to him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, than this turning away from being ministered to by the angels in the desert, to the rendering of kindly services to John, and Andrew, and Peter, and Philip, and Nathanael?"—(*Earlier Years*, p. 241.)

Similarly, the self-denial implied in Christ's turning from the Samaritan villages, where a ready reception was accorded to him, and sending his disciples exclusively "to the house of Israel" (*Earlier Years*, p. 346), is inexplicable on the naturalistic theory of his life.

Dr. Hanna points to the unbroken unity of plan running through the course of the public ministry as a further evidence of the supernatural, for it indicates "a previous foresight." He whose life was never deflected from its course by any of the cross-currents of human affairs must have seen the end from the beginning.

"It has not been so with any of those men who have played the greatest part on the stage of human history. Their own confessions, the story of their lives, their earlier compared with their later acts, tell us how little they knew or thought beforehand of what they finally were to be and do. There have been shiftings and changes of place to suit the shifting and changes of circumstances; surprises here, disappointments there; old instruments of action worn out and thrown away, new ones invented and employed; the life made up of a motley array of many-coloured incidents out of which have come issues never dreamt of at the beginning. Had Jesus seen only so far into the future as the unaided human eye could carry, how much was there in the earlier period of his ministry to have excited false hopes, how much in the latter to have produced despondency! But the people came in multitudes around him, and you can trace no sign of extravagant expectation. The tide of popular favour ebbs away from him, and you see no token of his giving up his enterprise in despair; no wavering of purpose, no change of plan, no altering of his course to suit new and obviously unforeseen emergencies."—(*Earlier Years*, pp. 262-3.)

The thread of a consistent harmony thus runs through the life from beginning to end; and here we meet the counter-assertion of

M. Renan with a direct and peremptory negative. Neander had already admirably replied to the attempt of De Wette and Paulus, to prove a change of purpose in our Lord's life; and the remarks of Dr. Hanna, with the criticism of Pressensé, are a sufficient reply to Renan.

The mysterious moral power which our Lord at times exercised over men offers fresh evidence of his superhuman origin. In the scene at the cleansing of the Temple, whence came that singular spell "over those rough cattle-drivers, and those cold calculators of the money-tables," that at the bidding of the youthful stranger all power of resistance vanished? And on the brow of the cliff at Nazareth, as well as in the garden of Gethsemane, whence came that sudden irresistible power over bands of men, that yielded they knew not why? No psychological analysis will explain these three events without the element of the supernatural.

Again, the evident ease and sense of power (never paraded) with which our Lord wrought his works of healing points in the same direction. He gives no explanations, and offers no argument to prove that he is the Christ, but simply and naturally, as one who held the key of Nature's storehouse, he proceeds to work a miracle as we would set about the commonest acts of our lives. When the miracle-workers of antiquity (as Elijah) are represented as raising the dead, they claim no personal power to do so; and it is only "with trouble and with pain," after long delay, and as the delegates of Jehovah, that they succeed, showing that they had to rise above themselves in the act. Our Lord, on the contrary, acts without any sign of rising above his accustomed level. He speaks to the dead, "in the style of him who said, Let there be light, and there was light."

A still more remarkable characteristic of our Lord's life remains to be unfolded, one which leads us to the very root of the moral evidence for his divinity. It is the infinite assumptions that he makes, which, if unsupported by an inward consciousness of their reality, would sink him, morally, beneath the majority of men. So that we must choose between the horns of a dilemma: either he was much more than human, or much worse than his calumniators. This is admirably indicated by Dr. Hanna. Take the words on the ground of which alone our Lord was condemned to die. "Art thou the Son of God?" was the question of the judges, and it was from his reassertion of the fact that he was condemned as a blasphemer. But if the fact was not true, in

the unique sense in which Jesus claimed it, and in which his accusers knew that he claimed it, it must have been the **very** height of blasphemy in him. No passing delusion could lessen the sin of such a reiterated assertion by one of sane mind, were it false.

"If only a man," says Dr. Hanna, "Jesus was guilty of an extent, an audacity, an effrontery of pretension, which the blindest, wildest, and most arrogant enthusiast has never exceeded. The only way in which to free his character as a man from the stain of egregious vanity and presumption, is to recognise him as the Son of the Highest. *If the divinity that was in him be denied, the humanity no longer stands stainless.*"—(*Last Day*, p. 78.)

To apprehend the full bearing of this remark, we must consider it in relation to the successive incidents of the life, and the continuity of the claim Christ made. He speaks of his oneness with the Father, of an hour coming in which all men, and even the dead, should hear his voice and live. "If this were but a man speaking of the Creator, and to his fellows, we know not which would be worst, the arrogance in the one direction, or the presumption and uncharitableness in the other" (*Earlier Years*, p. 375). Again, in pronouncing a doom over the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida, *for rejecting himself*, he "anticipates the verdict of eternity" (*Galilean Ministry*, p. 123). At Cæsarea-Philippi he minutely and circumstantially predicts the details of his own death; and on his last entrance into Jerusalem foretells the destruction of the city, which Josephus informs us was to the letter fulfilled. Strauss seems to perceive the force of this, as he admits (*New Life*, vol. i. p. 45) that "this previous certainty (if real) must have been as supernatural as the event itself." And in accordance with his theory, the prediction must be construed as an apostolic afterthought, to enhance the mythical glory of the Master. But it is not to the fact of Christ's prevision that we now point, but to the claim associated with it; the assumption of the right to judge mankind, his certainty of a future empire over the world and the realm of the dead; and the conviction is forced upon us, that if no supernatural consciousness supported our Lord in making these assertions, he sinks at once to the level of an inhuman impostor. He denounces terrible woes over the Pharisees. Could the greatest of the prophets have ventured to speak to them as from the throne of heaven, as one who would shortly be seated there? And if this was a delusion on his part, his words not only lose all meaning, but are

from first to last profane, and might be turned against himself. In the house of Simon the Pharisee he quietly makes the assumption that to him all debts are owing, and that by himself alone they could be forgiven. He arranges the future destinies of his disciples, pre-announcing and fixing the time and manner of their death. Deity incarnate alone was entitled to use the language, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" He washes his disciples' feet, and thereafter says, "Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am."

"No one ever made pretensions so high, no one ever executed offices more humble, no one ever claimed to stand so far above the level of our humanity, speaking of himself as the light of the world, having rest and peace and life for all at his disposal. No one has made himself more thoroughly one with every human being whom he met, or was so ready with the services which one man may claim from his brother."—(*Passion Week*, p. 290.)

Again, in the very institution of the Lord's Supper, Dr. Hanna sees a unique testimony to the supernatural in Christ. He says it must have been instituted at the time asserted in the narrative; for "how could any body of men, without a falsehood in their hands which every one could detect, at any posterior period commence the celebration?"

"But who would ever have risked his reputation, his prospect of being remembered by the ages that were to come, by exhibiting such an eager and premature desire to preserve and perpetuate the remembrance of his name, his character, his deeds? They have left it to others after them to devise the means of doing so; neither vain enough, nor bold enough, nor foolish enough, to be themselves the framers of these means. But who is this who, ere he dies, by his own act and deed, sets up the memorial institution by which his death is to be shown forth? Surely he must be one who knows and feels that he has claims to be remembered such as none other ever had? Does not Jesus Christ, in the very act of instituting in his own lifetime this memorial rite, step at once above the level of ordinary humanity, and assert for himself a position towards mankind utterly and absolutely unique?"—(*Passion Week*, pp. 380-1.)

Again, as to the Resurrection. "It is by this event," says Dr. Hanna, in common with many others, "that we desire the entire question of the supernaturalism of our religion to be decided." The most remarkable attestation of this fact is to be found where we would least expect it, viz., in the state of the disciples' minds before and after the event occurred. No writer of fiction,

no elaborator of floating myths, would have conjoined with the predictions of Christ as to his resurrection, before he died, such an entire forgetfulness of these facts on the part of the disciples a few days afterwards; "such an utter prostration of all faith and hope as that which the evangelists describe, lasting till the most extraordinary means were taken to remove them, and yielding slowly even then." We can easily account for the state of the disciples' minds when their hopes seemed shattered by their Master's death, and the very power of remembering his words had vanished: but we cannot understand how the inventor of a cunningly devised fable, or the credulous idolatry of a number of disciples, full of faith and idealism, could have conjoined these two almost repugnant facts—facts which no man could have foreseen, on a calculation of probabilities, because they run utterly counter to the ordinary course of human action. We need not insist on the fact that Christ had "perilled his own reputation on its occurrence;" nor do we rest so much on the positive testimony borne by multitudes to the fact itself. But the puzzle which anti-supernaturalism cannot explain is the moral hiatus between the utter gloom and di-may, nay, even the despair, of the apostles at the time of their Master's death, and the sudden kindling of their faith (the faith of martyrs), which, within a few days, leapt into flame. What link connected these two states of mind in the apostles? Could it have been wholly subjective? There is a gap to be filled, a moral chasm to be spanned, and no bridge but that of the supernatural reality will span it. This becomes even more evident when we consider the origin and education of the apostles. They were rude unlettered men, slow of heart to believe; men without the faculty of poetic idealization; some of them with a large infusion of the spirit of honest doubt. It is a mistake to suppose that the rustic mind of a peasant is usually more amenable to spectral delusions than the soul of the imaginative thinker; and these Jewish peasants, the fishermen of Galilee, required the strong, clear evidence of fact before they would believe that which at first seemed to them too good news to be true. Then it might have been possible for one disciple to have elaborated the myth of the resurrection, for one excited woman to report that she had seen a ghost, and that it resembled the dead Master whose loss they all mourned: but a mixed multitude of diverse minds, in every variety of circumstances, united their testimony to the fact; a cloud of witnesses declared it with

one voice. And such was the force of the evidence to them that they willingly sealed it by death, while the resurrection became the central fact of apostolical testimony and of missionary preaching for years. No link but that of a real resurrection, the re-appearance of the historical Christ for a season with his disciples, can explain this victorious faith of the men, the rapid assent to their doctrine, the planting of innumerable churches, and the speedy power of Christianity in the world.

But perhaps the best contribution to this line of evidence will be found in Dr. Hanna's chapter entitled "The Great Commission." In the narrative of one of those manifestations of Jesus to his disciples after the resurrection, we read that "he came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." "How," asks Dr. Hanna,—

"How could a man of woman born, who had lived and died as we do, have been regarded as other than the vainest and most arrogant of pretenders, who said that all power in heaven and earth was his, had there not been something in the whole earthly history of this man which corresponded with and bore out such an extraordinary assumption? The simple fact that there was a man who lived for three-and-thirty years in familiar intercourse with his fellow-men, yet, ere he left the world, was recognised and worshipped by five hundred of them, as one who was guilty of no presumption in saying, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,' goes far to sustain the belief that he was indeed the Son of the Highest. To imagine that a Jew, the son of a Galilean carpenter, educated in a village in the rudest part of Judea,—that such a man, being a man and nothing more, could have lived so long upon the earth without saying or doing anything to belie the belief in his divinity, presents a far greater difficulty than does the doctrine of the Incarnation."—(*Forty Days*, pp. 157-8.)

The commission to the infant Church followed this claim of power—"Go, preach the gospel to every creature:—"

"A mission so comprehensive was as novel as it was sublime. Familiarity with the idea blunts the edge of our wonder; but at that time, when, in a remote Jewish province, Jesus gathered a few hundred followers, and sent them forth, assigning them a task not to be accomplished till all nations had been brought to sit under his shadow; the idea of a religion addressed to all, equally adapted to all, and needed by all, had never been broached, never been attempted to be realized. Prior systems gloried in their exclusiveness; and, both socially and religiously, the Jew of the Saviour's time was one of the most shut in and bigoted of his race. His faith and his patriotism were one; and the deeper the patriotism

the narrower the faith. And yet it is among this people—it is from one brought up in one of its wildest districts, it is from one for whom birth, position, education, had done nothing in the way of weaning him from the prejudices of his countrymen; it is from him that a religion emanates whose professed object is to gather into one the whole human family. The very broaching of a project so original, so comprehensive, so sublime, in that age, and in these circumstances, stands out as an event unique in the history of our race. Had Jesus Christ done nothing more than set this idea for the first time afloat, that it was desirable and practicable to frame for the world a religious faith and worship which should have nothing of the confinements of country, or period, or caste, he would have stood by himself, and above all others. But he did more than this. He not only announced the project, but he devised the instrument by which it was to be accomplished. He put that instrument in its complete and perfect form, into the hands of those by whom it was to be employed. That instrumentality has never asked for, because it has never needed, improvement or change. When Jesus said, 'Go make disciples of all nations,' he announced, and that in the simplest, least ostentatious way, as if there was no novelty in the project, no difficulty in its execution, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that it should be taken up, and the surest thing that it should be carried out, the most original, the broadest, the sublimest enterprise that ever human hands have been called upon to accomplish."—(Pp. 156-166.)

Dr. Hanna has not written a book for scholars, yet in his volumes there are hints of problems which the most learned scholars may very easily miss. To a devout imagination and a mature judgment aspects of truth are sometimes disclosed to which mere erudition is often blind. We may mention several of these questions underlying the narrative of facts, which are hinted at rather than discussed by our author. The significant absence of any information as to the mode of ordination of the twelve apostles—Christ "having done nothing with his own hand to erect or organize the church" (*Galilean Ministry*, p. 329); the pretended primacy of St. Peter (pp. 332-6); the exposition of the relations of Church and State, in the analysis of the saying, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, but unto God the things which are God's" (*Passion Week*, p. 79); the trial to our Lord in bearing the burden of insoluble problems which should hereafter perplex his Church, as, for example, the destination of human souls after death (*Galilean Ministry*, pp. 124-5); the possible pain arising from the restriction of his earthly ministry, and its insignificant results (*Passion Week*, p. 147); the "room for the patriotic sentiment



in Jesus, that love of country by which every true man is characterized; and, mingling with that which was divine and broadly human, purified from all imperfection, narrowness, and selfishness, that patriotic grief which wept over the overthrow of Jerusalem" (*Last Day*, p. 168). In the answer to the question of the Sadducees (*Passion Week*, p. 90) the root of the system of materialism is disclosed; and the relation of a free personal being to his creation, with the possible changes which nature may undergo in the economy of the future, is alluded to. In the classification of the miracles, as wrought upon nature and upon man, and the reasons given for "the vast preponderance of the latter," we have a glance into the philosophy of the miraculous. To display omnipotence was not Christ's aim, or he could have done so far more strikingly than he did. His omnipotence was veiled under the moral import and the spiritual end to be reached. A deep question in morals, and the relation of the central commandment to the separate precepts, are discussed in connexion with the lawyer's question, "Master, which is the great commandment?" (*Passion Week*, p. 103). We may further notice the reasons assigned for our Lord's delay upon the earth for forty days between the resurrection and the ascension, and for the brief mysterious glimpses of these days, viz., that both the humanity and divinity should be signalized; the one by his residence so long, and the clearly human appearances; the other by their peculiar character, brief and fugitive, almost spiritual and spectral. Had the old Galilean life been resumed, the "rising faith in the divinity" of Jesus would have been checked. Had he ascended immediately from the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, "in the blaze of that new glory around his person, the man Christ Jesus had been lost, the humanity swallowed up in the divinity" (*Forty Days*, p. 39).

The view taken of the nature of our Lord's resurrection body is also noteworthy. It is represented as undergoing during the forty days a gradual transition from the material to a spiritual state, "the corruptible being on its way to the incorruptible, the mortal putting on the clothing of immortality" (*Forty Days*, p. 53). Strauss has affirmed that on this point there is an insuperable contradiction in the accounts of the evangelists: one statement representing the resurrection body as physical, because able to digest food, another representing it as a ghost, because able to pass through closed doors. He therefore speaks of the story as a "fantastic imagination." But

the supposition that the body which arose from the grave was physical, but that it gradually became etherealized, though not new, is so exceedingly suggestive, that we wonder it is not generally received by the Church. We have some analogies which bear it out. The spirit may gradually exercise a vast ascendancy over the body; and in proportion as a man acquires victory over the senses the form of his organization is refined. Matter may finally yield to spirit, so as to be its elastic and ethereal vehicle, rather than, as now, its impediment and drag. Spirit may gradually be able to dispense with the aid of matter, and after having been educated and enriched by it may stand less and less in need of its coarser stimulus. And in the resurrection body of Christ we have the type of what the bodies of men may become in a more etherealized universe. It is only in keeping with other divine laws to which he was subject that the process of transition in our Lord's case should have been gradual.

There are occasional repetitions in the course of these volumes, arising no doubt from the order in which they appeared. We have, for example, the analysis of the character of St. Peter given twice over in the same words. Had they been written in a consecutive series, beginning with the Nativity, the retrospect in the fifth volume on the *Last Day of the Passion* would not have occurred; nor such regressions as the biographic sketch of the Virgin, which is suggested merely by Christ's address to her from the cross. The admirable sermon on "the great invitation," introduced into the recital of the Galilean ministry, may be justified by the grandeur of the theme, and because it contains the very essence of our Lord's message to the world; but it somewhat breaks the continuity of the narrative, and, if treated in its evidential character, as testifying to him who could alone invite a world to find repose in himself, it would have been more homogeneous and complete. The two discourses on the parables of the Virgins and of the Talents, and the description of the day of final judgment (in the *Passion Week*), might have been retrenched, especially as some other discourses revealing the inner life of our Lord are briefly passed over. The reference to the abuse of works of fiction introduced into the lecture on the weeping for the daughters of Jerusalem is scarcely relevant.

While it is true that we find in these volumes some things more adapted to the pulpit than the permanent literary page, they are a very noteworthy specimen of Scottish Christian teaching. It is to be re-

gretted that a philosophical analysis and defence of the great data of the Christian faith is seldom heard from the modern pulpit. A notion seems to prevail that the elementary facts of the gospel of Christ ought to be the staple of the teaching there. It was not so always. If we consult the specimens which survive even of patristic and mediæval preaching, or examine the great masters of English Platonism in the seventeenth century (to select but two instances), we shall find that their ideal was widely different. The exclusion, or even the subordination, of those fundamental themes with which reflective men are struggling, from the place where they should be welcomed and cherished, will impoverish, if it does not arrest, the power of the pulpit. Believing as we do, with the *Spectator*, that questions of an "apparently refined and scholastic nature lie at the very basis of national energy and national morality," we think that these should be freely discussed from the place of direct Christian education.

We would suggest to Dr. Hanna the expediency of following this series of volumes with another, dealing with some of the questions which he takes for granted in these. Though the series is complete in itself, a supplementary discussion of some of the problems which the Tübingen school has raised would form an appropriate introduction. Much remains to be done in this direction. We have not as yet an absolutely accurate history of the results of modern criticism as to the origin of the Gospel narratives.

We should also have relished from the same pen some chapters devoted to the still more arduous task of gathering together the main elements in the teaching of our Lord, summarizing its results, and showing the reappearance of its germs in the apostolic doctrine of the Epistles. If we proceed beyond a mere recital of events to ponder the *meaning* of the facts narrated, we are immediately led into the region of doctrinal form. Doctrine is but the *explanation of fact*. But we think that the collection of "the first flowings" of Christian doctrine from the words of its Founder would reveal some curious discrepancies between it and the creeds of later ages, some modern growths and incrustations, possibly also some losses and departures from its first ideal.

We cannot part with these volumes without a further reference to the fundamental feature which distinguishes this Life of our Lord from those by Strauss and Renan. The admission or rejection of the superna-

tural determines that fundamental feature. Its recognition is the touchstone of success, its rejection the badge of failure. From the account we have given of the French and German works, it will be seen that they agree in pronouncing the supernatural unhistoric. Renan has not the hardihood to assert that miracles are impossible, but in the name of universal history he says, that "up to this time no miracle has ever been proved," as none has ever occurred in presence of men capable of testing its miraculous character. Strauss is at once bolder and more rash. In his judgment miracle is "that heterogeneous element which makes history impossible." He would admit nothing supernatural, no matter how numerous the witnesses or harmonious their attestation. Philosophy pronounces the verdict *a priori* which scientific history ratifies *a posteriori*. Miracle is contingency and lawlessness within an orderly world. It implies that God acts against his own laws. It amounts to a correction of the universe, and consequently involves its imperfection: and as the evangelical recorders had no critical tests, their evidence loses all power of proof.

It will be observed that we have here a gigantic *petitio principii*, a gratuitous assumption utterly inadmissible in philosophy, unless supported by the evidence of an intuition. But its advocates deny the validity of the intuitions, and found it on an induction from historical phenomena. As such it ignores the boundaries of human knowledge. It illogically infers a universal conclusion from a number of particular instances of fixed order in nature (these instances being irrelevant to the argument, as they are admitted on both sides). And it may be directly negated by positive testimony to the opposite. We therefore turn Strauss's dictum against his own theory, that "there may be things so incredible in themselves that this incredibility would invalidate the evidence of a witness in other respects the most credible of men" (by which principle he would reject a miracle, however attested). It may be applied with the greatest cogency to the assumption that Jesus was merely human, notwithstanding any amount of evidence as to the origin of the Gospel narratives. This is an assumption so incredible, that its incredibility would shake the evidence of any witness from the first century that attested it.

But we decline to admit the postulate from which both Strauss and Renan and all anti-supernaturalists start. They first define a miracle in a fashion which travesties the doctrine maintained, and then refuse

on the ground of their dogmatic postulate to admit the relevancy of the only kind of evidence that could substantiate that which they reject. Even although the occurrence of a miracle were tantamount to the suspension of Nature's laws (which it is not), to be entitled to assert that such a violation of Nature was impossible the objector should be conversant with the inmost secrets of natural phenomena, to be absolutely sure that no new force or set of forces had escaped his notice, or was held by the Divine mechanician in reserve. In short, if miracles are impossible, man in his ignorance cannot know the fact. The secret would belong exclusively to Him who has chosen to reveal the opposite. For a creature of limited intellectual vision to deny the possibility of miracle is indirectly to arrogate omniscience. M. Renan has seen this, and hence has fallen back on historical ground, and contents himself with affirming that no miracle has ever been critically attested.

The question of the miraculous thus recedes into a problem of speculative philosophy. Miracles are impossible except on a theistic theory of the universe. But no theist can validly deny their possibility. It remains for historical and more evidence to authenticate the fact. But the first postulate of theism, the free-will of God, and the existence of an infinite *reserve of power* in the Divine Nature,—power unexhausted in the creation and upholding of the universe,—supplies us with a firm philosophical basis on which the fact may repose.

Searching for a human analogy to the transcendent power which theism thus conceives as ever within and behind the veil of Nature, we do not betake ourselves to marvels and apparitions; for we find the true analogue within the human will. If our will is free in any sense, it is a source of power; it can originate new processes. By the forth-putting of our free causality we can produce a new series of effects, which, however, blend throughout the whole process with the customary sequences of Nature. We change the order of Nature by introducing a new force within its realm. And if God be free, if human freedom is but a dim reflection or adumbration of his, it is self-evident that he may introduce at will new forces within the existing order of things. We can alter no law of Nature: we can only discharge a new force from the centre of our personality amongst existing laws. And in the miracles of Christ we see Nature amenable to a Divine will, as it is amenable to the supernatural action of our human wills. The difference is not in the nature of the effects produced, but in the rank and power

of the Agent producing them. The reign of law is unbroken; but Nature is flexible, and bends before a new-born power. The novel and seemingly anomalous agent blends harmoniously with the existing framework of causation, and is itself subject to the sweep of mundane law the moment that it is introduced. Its miraculous character lies in its source. The new element is not lawless, nor does it come to violate law, or dethrone it. The supernatural is but *the higher natural*. God does not readjust his former work; he supplements it, out of the infinite reserve of his nature. Without the rigour of fixed law, confusion and anarchy would reign: and without the presence of a supernatural will behind the orderly phenomena, the universe would be locked up as in the chains of fate; and intermediate between the chance of the one system and the rigour of the other, between causalism and fatalism, the doctrine of a supernatural and living will emerges.

But we cannot affirm that the presence of God is more real in a miraculous event than in a natural process. That would be to banish God from the realm of Nature,—to limit him to the abnormal and exclude him from the normal. The spiritual and supernatural is rather the *source* of the natural and material. The latter is an apocalypse of the former, a revelation of God, "the garment we see him by." And the "signs and wonders" of the New Testament were not more truly (though they were *as truly*) the signs of the supernatural, than were the lilies of the field, or the fowls of the air, from which our Lord deduced the doctrine of a universal Providence. What we see in the phenomena of the universe is the apparatus by which God reveals himself constantly in Nature; what the disciples saw in the miracles of our Lord was the apparatus by which he revealed himself once in his Son. The supernatural is the same in both cases. We cannot affirm that the presence of God is less real throughout Nature at all times (though we may not discern it) than it was in the peculiar and unique machinery of the Christian advent; or, to make the distinction more emphatic, that in the *resurrection* of Lazarus God was more specially revealed than he was in the natural *death* of Lazarus. The former incident was but a selected means to impress upon a callous generation the reality of the supernatural, and to supply a type of the continuous miracle of history. But why should our biassed "men of science" so persistently deny the possibility of such a gentle incursion into the realm of Nature of that power which ever sleeps behind phenomena? They deny that there

can be "aught in heaven or earth but what is dreamt of in their philosophy." But Science itself is only the human interpretation of natural phenomena, and the human classification of Nature's powers. Why refuse to include within the limits of historical fact a series of new manifestations of which the cause is occult, underworking, and divine? We do not fall into the abyss of oriental dualism by so doing; for between the ordinary and the extraordinary the difference, as we have said, is only one of degree. And a miracle is the highest revelation of Nature, because of the supernatural Power which resides behind and within it everywhere. Apparent violations of order are but instances in which laws that are inferior yield normally before the power of the superior.

But some reason for the introduction of the new agency within the old order may be shown to exist. Nature was already marred by the introduction of moral evil, and the necessity for the supernatural arises simply from *the failure of the natural*—a failure not due to any physical defect within the universe, but to the loss of moral power in man. The original and normal state of the creature had by his own act become the abnormal; and the introduction of the supernatural was a means of his restoration to the normal, as human nature had failed to raise and regenerate itself. If the present condition of the earth were its normal state, and evil were merely a defect to be balanced in due time by excess, there would be no room for supernatural agency. But if evil be a moral blot in the universe, the interposition of God to remove the blot of the creature is immediately seen to be but the restoration of order.

But the restorative process which is introduced will be in strict conformity with the nature of that which it comes to restore, *i.e.*, it will be mainly spiritual and moral. The physical wonders which may accompany it will be altogether secondary and subordinate. Now, in discussing the Christian miracles, attention is often fixed on the physical marvels, which have no value and little meaning apart from their moral end. A prodigy is a mere finger-post pointing to some moral truth. And possibly the Christian miracles have repelled the scientific world, mainly because of the attention which Christian apologists have bestowed upon their outward forms. But the physical is the accidental, the moral is the essential in a miracle; and the radical conception of the supernatural in Christianity is the *restoration of a lost moral order, by the free act of one whose power is the mere energy of his love.*

Thus considered, the supernatural is not only an essential part of Christianity, it is Christianity *itself*. Eliminate it, and you eliminate root, branches, and the whole tree; and the religion of Christ falls at once to the level of the other religious systems, if it does not (because of its claim to the supernatural) sink beneath them all.

Strauss had attempted to show that if a belief in miracles has any warrant at all, it may be as freely extended to those of the Greek mythology, or oriental Buddhism, or mediæval Catholicism, as to those "signs" which accompanied the birth of Christianity. As we reject the former marvels as unhistorical, and make an exception in favour of the Christian miracles, we must show some valid reasons for the exception. If we can prove that it would involve a greater marvel, and tax our credulity more, to treat the Christian miracles as legends, than to accept them as facts, we have a presumption in their favour; just as if, by the rejection of all miracles, the life of Christ could be made to yield a more satisfactory result, we should have a presumption on the other side. We therefore accept the challenge, and point to the totally different *character* of the Christian miracles from the poetic idealizations of Greece or the apocryphal legends of Jewish story. The test of a divine moral purpose, in which power is ever "vassal unto love," will easily distinguish between the spurious and authentic; while the evidence of facts is in the one case clear, and in the other obscure. We think that the volumes of Dr. Hanna have abundantly proved this point. But a scientific vindication of the miraculous is comparatively useless to those critics who assert their impossibility *a priori*. Strauss virtually says, "I will not be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Renan desires that the alleged marvel should be performed before the Academy of Sciences, and *repeated frequently*, that no illusion or sleight-of-hand be mistaken for reality. But this demand is fatal to the very idea of the miracle. It is wrought not to excite wonder, but to produce a moral result. Renan ignores the spiritual element in the physical prodigy. But no miracle could have been wrought to gratify the scientific curiosity of men already biased against its evidence. It is recorded in the Gospels that in certain districts our Lord "could do no mighty works, because of the unbelief" of the spectators. But his miracles were varied sufficiently to prove that by no stock process, legerdemain, or fraud, could any one of them have been wrought; while the whole key-board of Nature was amenable to his will.

Pressensé has well said, "Falsehood may have its hour, but it has no future;" a maxim by which it would be unwise for any generation to test a novel doctrine submitted to it. But the advance of history, with its "increasing purpose," the gradual extinction of those forms of faith which have no permanent root in human nature, or in the facts of the past, and the severe strain to which those must have been subjected which have outlived the scrutiny of the ages, warrant its application to history at large. What stands the criticism of Time is true; and if error lives, its vitality is due to the truth with which it is in all cases mixed up. The constant and distracting succession of hypotheses as to the origin of the Gospels, and the twilight of uncertainty to which most of them conduct, present a strange contrast to the light which the supernatural casts upon the life of Christ. The first work with the majority of the critics is to abolish the conclusions of their predecessors. This is consistent enough in those who hold with Renan that "the ideal is ever a utopia." But we pronounce his dictum philosophically false, and historically untrue. The ideal *has been realized* in One Human Life. Its solitariness and its ideal completeness is the source of its unique power in the world; and it has "possessed the future" much more completely than it conquered the age in which it first appeared.

We have sufficiently indicated our high estimate of the work of Dr. Hanna, and of the contribution he has made to the apologetical literature of the Church. It has been written mainly for those who have not been perplexed by the questions of modern thought,—rather for the Church than for those outside its borders. But its function is much wider than its author states it, and it may yet take precedence of more ambitious treatises in the estimation of the Church catholic.

---

ART. II. — *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-Law, F.S.A.* Selected and Edited by THOMAS SADLER, Ph. D. 3 vols. London: Macmillan and Co., 1869.

In February 1867, Henry Crabb Robinson was gathered to his fathers, at the great age of ninety-one. His decease produced little sensation. To the general public his very name was unknown. A large circle of familiar friends and admiring acquaintances alone recognised and appreciated his personal

abilities. The ancient sage refused to consider any man happy till after his death. That the late Mr. Robinson did not enjoy this life thoroughly we should hesitate to admit. Yet we contend that to him, more than to contemporaries of greater celebrity, was it given to merit a large and enviable share of posthumous fame, to provide during his lifetime for the instruction of his successors, and to transmit to posterity information at once rare and valuable; rare, because within the compass of few to acquire, and valuable, on account of its intrinsic and enduring worth.

The Diary and Correspondence of Mr. Robinson constitute a work which is both the record of his life, and his monument. By birth a Dissenter, he was thus excluded, through the operation of rules now happily cancelled, from the advantages of a University education. His family belonged to that middle class which constitutes the backbone of English society. From youth to old age he delighted in acquiring knowledge. In his earlier years he busied himself in considering and discussing those religious and social problems which a century ago agitated the active and inquisitive spirits of the age. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, a taste for speculative inquiry, accompanied by an aversion to the existing order of things, was the marked characteristic, not of the Continent only, but of this country also. Our Revolution of 1688 had become an accepted fact. The oldest and most bigoted Tories had transferred their baneful services to the Hanoverian dynasty. At his accession, George the Third said that he gloried in the name of Briton; he had not long to wait before he could boast that the remaining adherents of the house of Stuart gloried in him. As years passed on, the pressure of personal government increased, and the power of the representatives of the people diminished. Wars were recklessly waged, the nation's treasure was lavished, the people's blood was spilled, at the bidding of a short-sighted and obstinate, yet powerful king. These sanguinary and dearly bought contests reduced the country's strength. Terrible and irretrievable defeats weakened England's prestige. The climax came when the American colonies conquered their independence.

For the discomfiture which the English arms underwent in America there was a compensation in the triumphs gained in India. A rising and sturdy colony was lost for ever; but a dependency, which was also an empire, was added to the territory of Great Britain. Yet the most glorious successes in the East produced very little

effect at home. The mind of the nation was barren in great works. There was more speculation than production. Dissatisfied with old forms and empty phrases, the younger men strove to transform literature from a manufactory of rounded sentences into a perfect image of living ideas. Godwin and Southey, and Coleridge and Wordsworth, were the earliest preachers of the new doctrines. While they were yet planning and elaborating their schemes, Henry Crabb Robinson was a youth craving for novelty, and ready to welcome it. Born in 1775, his earliest recollection was the illumination to celebrate the acquittal of Admiral Keppel, an admiral who had a narrow escape from being sacrificed to gratify party animosity, and to give increased point to the sarcasm which the execution of the unfortunate Byng called forth from Voltaire. Another remembrance of his childhood makes it clear that Cowper's ballad of John Gilpin at once became popular in the largest and most conservative of audiences, that which fills the nurseries of the land. Mr. Robinson remembers not only its publication, but also the fact of having received sixpence for getting it by heart. He was a boy when the news came that a Revolution had taken place in France. He rejoiced at the occurrence, not because he had any political knowledge, but because, as the son of a Dissenter, he had been taught to regard the Church as a persecuting body. Hence, he gloried in the thought that the Church, as represented by the French priests, and the upholders of the Church, as represented by the French monarch, had been forcibly overthrown. As with many others, so with him: the excesses of the revolutionists filled him with disgust.

When sixteen years old, and after he had been the articled clerk of an attorney at Colchester, Mr. Robinson heard Erskine deliver one of his effective speeches. There was a charm in the voice and a fascination in the eye of the great forensic orator, which made a lasting impression on the listener. He detected his trick of style, and afterwards profited by it. This consisted in frequent repetitions. "He had one or two leading arguments and main facts on which he was constantly dwelling. But then he had marvellous skill in varying his phraseology, so that no one was sensible of tautology in the expressions. Like the doubling of a hare, he was perpetually coming to his old place. Other good advocates, I have remarked, were ambitious of a great variety of arguments." About this time also he heard a sermon from one whose name will outlive Erskine's—the venerable John Wesley. Broken with years, and hardly able to make himself audible, his

preaching "was for the most part pantomime, but the pantomime went to the heart. Of the kind, I never saw anything comparable to it in after life." In a letter to his brother he gives a fuller account of the proceedings. One passage merits attention, testifying as it does at once to Wesley's freedom from bigotry and from sectarian cant. Mr. Robinson writes, "After the last prayer he rose up and addressed the people on liberality of sentiment and spoke much against refusing to join with any congregation on account of difference in opinion. He said, 'If they do but fear God, work righteousness, and keep his commandments, we have nothing to object to.'"

In 1795 Mr. Robinson read a book, then recently published, which materially biassed his opinions and influenced the course of his after life. This was Godwin's *Political Justice*. When it appeared this work produced a sensation among the reading and thinking public similar in kind, and perhaps greater in degree, than did the publication in our day of Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England*. The religious world was scandalized. The circle of independent reasoners was delighted. The crowd took its tone from the majority, and regarded Godwin as a man bent on subverting public order and striking a fatal blow at civilisation. Mr. Robinson records that it became a reproach to be a follower of Godwin, but that his enthusiasm was so great as to render him willing to become a martyr for the principles of Godwin's philosophy. He adds, what is the highest tribute of praise which could be paid to that misunderstood writer, that "in one respect the book had an excellent effect on my mind—it made me feel more *generously*." He also mentions, what he often repeated in after life, that his style of living, the training to which he voluntarily subjected himself, were adopted after a perusal of the work; that for many years he preferred freedom of action, a garret and a pittance, to any luxuries which he might have obtained through renouncing his life of self-denial and self-culture.

Those were the days when English liberty was little more than a name. The Stuarts were not more high-handed when the Star-Chamber was in full vigour than were the constitutional advisers of George the Third, after the French Revolution had aroused the apprehensions of the timid and given a handle to the tyrannical. Prosecutions, instituted for acts deemed treasonable and for writings styled seditious, nearly always ended in the conviction and severe punishment of the accused. Gilbert Wakefield, a scholar of merited and acknowledged position,

was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for hazarding the remark, in a letter written by way of reply to a sycophantic pamphlet of the devoted and the ultra-loyal Bishop of Llandaff, that the poor would lose nothing by French conquest! The publisher of Mr. Wakefield's letter expiated his crime by a few months' imprisonment. Nor was the anxiety to restrain the utterance of free political thought confined to cases in which the Sovereign or the Constitution of this country had been ridiculed or criticised. Two young men, editors of the *Courier*, were imprisoned for two months because they had written a paragraph to the effect that the Emperor of Russia "had acted oppressively, and made himself unpopular with the nobility, by a late decree prohibiting the importation of timber." When we learn that at this period the sufferings of the poor were very great, owing to the scarcity, and consequent high price of provisions, that the middle class was bending under the pressure of local as well as general taxes—the poor-rates alone amounting in many cases to as large a sum as that paid in the shape of rent,—we cannot wonder that many should have been tempted to despair of their country, that a few restless spirits should have meditated a revolution brought about by violence, and that men of calm judgment and unquestioned patriotism should have concluded that the time had come for sweeping reforms in the representation of the people, and for a thorough change in the conduct of the national affairs.

At the beginning of 1800 Mr. Robinson went to Germany with a view to acquire the language and study the literature of that country. In these days there is nothing unusual in this. Several young Englishmen are now to be found among the students at most of the German Universities. In many a German city and village is an English colony, composed of those who, for reasons either laudable or discreditable, think it advisable to quit their native land for a definite period, or for ever. But the case was otherwise seventy years ago. Then it was a feat to ascend the Rhine and visit the principal cities of Germany. It was a proof that Wordsworth and Coleridge did not conform themselves to the ways of their fellows in the ordinary affairs of life, any more than they observed the rules which had been accepted as binding upon all writers of verse, that both should have considered a visit to Germany as a part of their education. It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Robinson, who afterwards became the devoted admirer of one, and the attached friend of both, should in this matter have done as they did. However, his stay was longer than theirs. He

saw more of the country, and became personally acquainted with more of its distinguished men than they did. The first experience he had was by no means enviable. He had taken up his abode at Frankfort when the French were engaged in extending the principles of the Republic by overrunning and annexing the possessions of their neighbours. More than once he ran great risk of being taken prisoner, because, as an Englishman, he was an enemy of France. His knowledge of German stood him in good stead in some cases; in others the French officers being courteous enough to affect ignorance, thereby enabled him to retain his liberty. The account of a long tour, which he made in 1801, through Germany, Switzerland, and Bohemia, is filled with interesting details of the prevailing customs of the people and general character of the country in those days. The following anecdote might have been quoted with effect some years ago, when the Liberal party vainly tried to enforce that policy of "levelling up" in Ireland, which has now been abandoned for that of religious equality. When in Bohemia he made inquiries as to the position of the Hussites. He was told that "they are the most loyal and peaceable of all our people." "It did not use to be so?" "Oh, no! they were always breeding disturbances, but the Emperor Joseph put an end to that. Their priests were very poor, and lived upon the peasants; one man gave them a breakfast, another a dinner, another a bed; and so they went from house to house, beggars and paupers. When the Emperor came to Prague to be crowned, among the decrees which he issued the first day was one that the Hussite priests should be allowed the same pay as the lowest order of the Catholic clergy. And since then we have never had a disturbance in the country."

Most important to him, and most interesting to us, of all the visits Mr. Robinson made in Germany, and of all the acquaintances he formed there, were his visits to Weimar in the days of its glory, to Jena when at the height of its academical renown, and his introduction to Herder and Wieland, to Schiller and Goethe. The following is his account of the first interview he had with him whom the Germans venerate as the greatest man of their race:—

"My companion then took me to Professor Meyer, who introduced us into the presence of Goethe—the great man, the first sight of whom may well form an epoch in the life of any one who has devoted himself seriously to the pursuit of poetry or philosophy.

"I had said to Seume that I wished to *speak* with Wieland and *look* at Goethe—and I lite-

rally and exactly had my desire. My sense of his greatness was such, that had the opportunity offered, I think I should have been incapable of entering into conversation with him; but as it was, I was allowed to gaze on him in silence. Goethe lived in a large and handsome house—that is, for Weimar; before the door of his study was marked in mosaic, SALVE. On our entrance he rose, and with rather a cool and distant air beckoned us to take seats. As he fixed his burning eye on Seume, who took the lead, I had his profile before me, and this was the case during the whole of our twenty minutes' stay. He was then about fifty-two years of age, and was beginning to be corpulent. He was, I think, one of the most oppressively handsome men I ever saw. My feeling of awe was heightened by an accident. The last play which I had seen in England was *Measure for Measure*, in which one of the most remarkable moments was when Kemble (the Duke), disguised as a monk, had his hood pulled off by Lucio. On this Kemble, with an expression of wonderful dignity, ascended the throne and delivered judgment on the wrongdoers.

"Goethe sat in precisely the same attitude, and I had precisely the same view of his side-face. The conversation was quite insignificant. My companions talked about themselves—Seume about his youth of adversity and strange adventures. Goethe smiled with, as I thought, the benignity of condescension. When we were dismissed, and I was in the open air, I felt as if a weight were removed from my breast, and exclaimed, 'Gott sei Dank!' Before long I saw him under more favourable auspices; but of that hereafter."

During his subsequent residence at Frankfurt, he made the acquaintance of Goethe's mother, who had "the mien and deportment of a strong person." Of her son she spoke with affection and pride. She gave Mr. Robinson this account of the origin of Goethe's first drama, *Götz von Berlichingen*:—"Her son came home one evening in high spirits, saying, 'Oh, mother, I have found such a book in the public library, and I will make a play of it! What great eyes the Philistines will make at the Knight of the Iron-hand! That's glorious—the Iron-hand.'"

In the autumn of 1802 Mr. Robinson went to Jena, and matriculated as a student at the age of twenty-seven. His matriculation certificate seemed a curious document in his eyes. It set forth in Latin that he had been found fitted for studying all the arts and sciences, had undertaken not to knock anybody on the head, never to become a member of club or society, and to use all his knowledge for the advantage of religion and society. An account of his student life during five days of the week is given in an extract from a letter:—

"About six o'clock the man who brushes my clothes and cleans my shoes will open my bedroom, or rather closet, door, and light my candle. I shall instantly jump out of my wretched straw hammock, and go into my room, where in half-an-hour our pretty chambermaid will bring my dried carrots, called coffee, which I shall drink because I am thirsty, but not without longing after tea and toast. This done, I shall take up Schelling's *Journal of Speculative Physics* and, comparing the printed paragraphs with my notes taken last Friday, try to persuade myself that I have understood something. Then I shall listen to another lecture by him on the same subject. What my experience will then be I can't say; I know what it has been. Precisely at ten I shall run to the auditorium of his 'Magnificence,' the Protector Voigt, and hear his lecture on Experimental Physics, which we call Natural Philosophy. I shall admire his instruments, and smile at the egregious absurdity of his illustrations of the laws of Nature, and at his attempts to draw a moral from his physical lessons. He may possibly repeat his favourite hypothesis of two sorts of fire, male and female; or allude to his illustration of the Trinity, as shown in the creative or paternal, the preserving or filial, the combining or spiritual principles of Nature. Or he may liken the operation of attraction and repulsion in the material world to the debt and credit of the merchants' cash-book. (N.B.—These are all facts.) Wearing by the lecture, I shall perhaps hardly know what to do between eleven and twelve o'clock, when I shall reluctantly come home to a very bad dinner. Jena is famous for its bad eating and drinking. Then I shall prepare myself for a lecture or two from Geheimer-Hofrath Loder, on Physical Anthropology, by far the best delivered and most useful of the lectures I attend. I shall do my best to conquer my dislike of, and even disgust at, anatomical preparations, and my repugnance to inspect rotten carcases and smoked skeletons. And I expect to learn the general laws and structure of the human frame, as developed with less minuteness for general students than he employs on his anatomical lectures for students of medicine. From Loder I shall proceed to Schelling, and hear him lecture for an hour on *Aesthetics*, or the Philosophy of Taste. In spite of the obscurity of a philosophy in which are combined profound abstraction and enthusiastic mysticism, I shall certainly be amused at particular remarks (however unable to comprehend the whole) in his development of Platonic ideas, and explanation of the philosophy veiled in the Greek mythology. I may be perhaps a little touched now and then by his contemptuous treatment of our English writers, as last Wednesday I was by his abuse of Darwin and Locke. I may hear Johnson called thick-skinned, and Priestley shallow. I may hear it insinuated that science is not to be expected in a country where mathematics are valued only as they may help to make spinning-jennies and machines for weaving stockings. After a stroll by the river-side in Paradise, I shall at four attend Schelling's lecture on Speculative Philosophy, and I may be animated by



the sight of more than 180 enthusiastic young men, eagerly listening to the exposition of a philosophy which in its pretensions is more aspiring than any publicly maintained since the days of Plato and his commentators—a philosophy equally opposed to the empiricism of Locke, the scepticism of Hume, and the critical school of Kant, and which is now in the sphere of Metaphysics the Lord of the Ascendant. But if I chance to be in a prosaic mood, I may smile at the patience of so large an assembly listening, because it is the fashion, to a detail which not one in twenty comprehends, and which only fills the head with dry formulas and rhapsodical phraseology. At six I shall come home exhausted with attention to novelties hard to understand; and after, perhaps, an unsuccessful attempt to pen a few English iambics in translation of Goethe's *Tasso*, I shall read in bed some fairy tale, poem, or other light work."

The foregoing account of life at a German University sixty-seven years ago is doubly interesting. It enables us to understand that to professors and students alike the work was very exhausting. The toil of delivering several lectures daily must have been as trying as the task of listening to them. Very slight changes would have to be made in the picture were it altered so as to represent the daily existence of professors and students in Germany now. The reader must be warned, however, that Mr. Robinson was not a typical student. Not all those who studied at Jena then were as assiduous as he, if his fellow-students bore any resemblance to their living successors. German students, for the most part, are quite as fond of pleasure as of study. They frequent the lecture-rooms as often as it is required of them to do so in order to become qualified for the requisite certificate. It was doubtless the same at Jena in 1802. Indeed, Mr. Robinson records that these students drank beer, sang songs, and fought duels. He expressly protests against the notions current then, and not wholly extinct now, that their lives are loose and their manners coarse. Nor were the duels any more terrible in his than in our day. He says that a hundred were fought in the course of six months without limbs being seriously injured or lives being lost. Indeed, the greatest wound inflicted is a slight cut or trifling scratch. The student's duel is but a trial of skill with naked weapons, conducted according to rules which render fatal consequences almost impossible.

Among the notable personages whose acquaintance Mr. Robinson made at Jena was Savigny, afterwards well known as the greatest of German jurists and as a profound writer on Roman law; Paulus, the theologian, whose heterodoxy was quite as great

and his fame as well deserved as the heterodoxy and fame of Strauss; Voss, the translator of the *Iliad*; and Wolf, the disseminator of doubts as to the unity of the Greek epic. Of the first of these Mr. Robinson can recall nothing remarkable, excepting the remark, which modern writers of English law have shown to be well founded, that "an English lawyer might render great service to legal science by studying the Roman law, and showing the obligations of English law to it, which are more numerous than is generally supposed."\*

Being at Weimar in 1804, Mr. Robinson made the acquaintance of Madame de Staël, the most distinguished woman of her day, an authoress whose writings were universally read, whose talents were universally admired, who, at a time when good talkers of both sexes were to be met with in many a drawing-room, was renowned and envied on account of her marvellous conversational powers, whose sharp sayings were more dreaded by Bonaparte than a host of armed foes, and who was arbitrarily banished from France because she refused to bridle her tongue at the bidding of a despot. She had come to Germany in order to converse with the men of note, and collect materials for a descriptive work. Naturally, the fame of Weimar led her to choose that small yet brilliant capital as the temporary place of her abode. The most distinguished men were not at all eager to respond to her advances. Schiller and Goethe hardly concealed their dislike to the cross-examination to which Madame de Staël subjected them. Others of less note were flattered, and ready to serve her. However, she found it difficult to fathom the explanations they gave of the different philosophical systems then in vogue, which she professed a desire to understand. It was probably in the hope that Mr. Robinson would help her that she made his acquaintance. Whatever may have been the motive, the result was attained. Nor did the intimacy expire with the occasion which gave birth to it. On the contrary, it increased in strength as years passed away, for Madame de Staël soon discovered that in Mr. Robinson she had an admirer who would not stoop to flatter her vanity, but who was alike ready and willing to enlighten her mental darkness.

On his part, he was greatly pleased when first invited to pay her a visit. He was rather surprised, owing to his ignorance of

\* To the recently published edition of Reeves' *History of English Law*, Mr. Finlason has prefixed an elaborate Introduction in which the correctness of Savigny's remark is verified.

Parisian customs, to be ushered into her bedroom. "She was sitting most decorously in bed, and writing. She had her night-cap on, and her face was not made up for the day. It was by no means a captivating spectacle, but I had a very cordial reception, and two bright black eyes smiled benignantly on me." She paid him the compliment, which was doubtless deserved, of saying that of all those with whom she had conversed he alone had enabled her to comprehend German philosophy. He records his utter failure in making her feel the transcendent excellence of Goethe. Indeed, he once told her that she had never understood and never could understand that great poet. Her reply is a fine specimen of French audacity tempered with French wit: "Her eye flashed—she stretched out her fine arm, of which she was justly vain, and said in an emphatic tone: 'Monsieur, je comprends tout ce qui mérite être compris: ce que je ne comprends n'est rien.'" That the accusation was well founded and the defence insufficient is proved by the following example of her success in spoiling a fine thing. Mr. Robinson had repeated to her the noble saying of Kant: "'There are two things which, the more I contemplate them, the more they fill my mind with admiration—the starry heavens above me, and the moral law within me.'" She sprang up, exclaiming, 'Ah, que cela est beau! Il faut que je l'écrive,' and years after, in her *Allemagne*, I found it Frenchified thus: 'Car, comme un philosophe célèbre a très bien dit: Pour les cœurs sensibles, il y a deux choses!' " Mr. Robinson's sole yet sufficient commentary on this is "the grave philosopher of Königsberg turned into a *cœur sensible*!"

Although Mr. Robinson made the acquaintance of so many distinguished persons, yet he did not force himself on their society. Indeed, he regretted in after years that he made so little use of his opportunities. Instead, then, of having a long string of anecdotes picked up with infinite toil, and procured at some cost to those who were made to yield them, he has but a small number of sayings to record. Dining with Goethe, he was struck with, and made a note of, this remark, uttered after the poet has stated that he hated everything Oriental: "I am glad there is something that I hate; for otherwise one is in danger of falling into the dull habit of literally finding all things good in their place, and that is destructive of all true feeling." He records the impression of gloom cast over society by the premature death of Schiller, and adds that the only conversation with him he could recall turned upon an inquiry whether or not

Schiller knew English, to which the reply was, "I have read Shakespeare in English, but on principle not much. My business in life is to write German, and I am convinced that a person cannot read much in foreign languages without losing that delicate tact in the perception of the power of words which is essential to good writing." If for "read" the word "write" had been substituted, we should have heartily concurred in this remark. There is no doubt that the practice of writing a foreign language tends to vitiate style, inasmuch as our thoughts insensibly clothe themselves in foreign guise. The habit of conversation tends in the same direction. But reading is altogether different.

An incident which occurred at a party at which many persons of quality were present, gives us a fair impression of the esteem in which Schiller and such as he were held by the courtiers of Weimar. Referring to the loss occasioned by Schiller's decease, Mr. Robinson exclaimed, "The glory of Weimar is rapidly passing away." One of the Gentlemen of the Chamber was offended at this, saying angrily, "All the poets might die, but the Court of Weimar might still remain." He was right. The poets did all die. The Court of Weimar still remains, but its very name would be unknown if these despised poets had not hallowed it with their presence.

As a student Mr. Robinson had a narrow escape from expulsion. A professor named E—, who was unpopular among the students and his colleagues, committed the offence of delivering as his own, a lecture on the Roman Satirists which had been written by another. The book containing the proof of this plagiarism being put into the Englishman's hands, he made use of it in a way very uncomplimentary to the German professor. "As soon as the lecture was over, and E— had left the room, I called out to the students, 'Gentlemen, I will read you the lecture over again,' and began reading. I was a little too soon, E— was within hearing, and rushed back to the room. An altercation ensued, and I was cited before the Prorector." The most distinguished of the professors took Mr. Robinson's part; the students naturally sided with him also. He forwarded a statement to the Senate containing his version of the affair, sending along with it corroboratory documents. The result was a victory to him. This goes to prove that he had acquired a mastery over the German tongue. Soon after this he had an occasion for displaying his linguistic requirements. Journeying homewards he left Jena for Hamburg in August 1805, passing

through a part of North Germany then in possession of the French. Being an Englishman he was liable to capture and imprisonment as a prisoner of war. With a fellow-passenger, who was a Frenchman, he had many angry disputes in German. As soon as he had been ferried across the Elbe all danger of capture was over, because Hamburg had been declared neutral territory. When in the carriage again, and moving onwards, Mr. Robinson felt unable to repress his feelings of triumph, and, snapping his fingers at the Frenchman, exclaimed in German, "Now, sir, I am an Englishman." The other did not conceal his mortification, and said, "You ought to have been taken prisoner for your folly in running such a risk." The packet in which he sailed for England carried the news of a battle which humiliated Austria, and made the name of Bonaparte a word of terror throughout Europe, while not a few English statesmen were filled with consternation when they heard of the French having triumphed at Austerlitz.

After returning home he made the acquaintance of Mrs. Barbauld, of Charles Lamb and his sister. It is worthy of note that a stanza written by Mrs. Barbauld in her old age was a great favorite with Wordsworth, to whom Mr. Robinson repeated it. When the poet had got it by heart he walked up and down his room muttering, "I am not in the habit of grudging people their good things, but I wish I had written these lines." If for no other reason than this, the lines merit quotation, but they merit it also because they are really beautiful:—

"Life! we've been long together,  
Through pleasant and through cloudy  
weather:

'Tis hard to part when friends are dear,

Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear:

Tuen steal away, give little warning,

Choose thine own time;

Say not good-night, but in some brighter  
clime

Bid me good-morning."

Mr. Robinson was present at Covent Garden when Lamb's farce *Mr. H.* was performed for the first and only time. The prologue was well received; but on the disclosure of the hero's name, Hogsflesh, his dislike for which constituted the pivot of the piece, the hisses were loud and general. In these "Lamb joined, and was probably the loudest hisser in the house."

To eke out his limited means Mr. Robinson undertook some literary drudgery, translating from the French at a guinea and a half the sheet. An engagement as reporter for the *Times* afforded him more congenial

employment. In 1807 he was sent to Altona as special correspondent. The French had then overrun the Continent. The crushing defeat of the Austrians at Austerlitz was succeeded by a victory as thorough over the Prussians at Jena. Denmark was neutral. Whether that neutrality would be preserved or not was the problem of the day, and it was regarded with special interest by English statesmen. The defeat of the Russians at Friedland led to the conclusion that the French would soon compel the Danes to side with them. In order to prevent unpleasant consequences from this, it was decided to capture the Danish fleet, an operation which our Admiral performed with greater ease than was exhibited by those of our statesmen who had to defend the morality of the transaction. After narrow escapes from capture, Mr. Robinson first visited Sweden, and then returned to England, when his services as special correspondent were recompensed by promotion to the post of foreign editor of the *Times*. He did not long remain at his post. The Revolution in Spain in 1808 rendered that country for the moment the object of attention. What Mr. Robinson had done with success on the banks of the Elbe he was asked to repeat on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. Accordingly, as the special correspondent of the *Times* he sailed on the 23d of June 1808 for the little town of Corunna.

What the correspondent thought of Corunna, and what he did there in his official capacity, interest us less than the account he gives of the way in which the operation of the naval and military services were conducted. The following passage shows that for the worst misdeeds and the most inexcusable shortcomings in the Crimea, whereof an account was given to the public by another distinguished correspondent of the *Times*, there were only too many precedents:—

"This I must state as the general impression and result—that in the economical department of our campaign in Spain there was great waste and mismanagement, amounting to dishonesty. One day — came to me full of glee, and said, 'I have done a good day's work; I have put £50 in my pocket. C—[who was one of the commissariat] wanted to buy some [I am not sure of the commodity]. He is bound not to make the purchase himself, so he told me where I could get it, and what I was to give, and I have £50 for my commission.' On my expressing surprise he said, 'Oh, it is always done in all purchases.'

"Another occurrence, not dishonourable in its way, but still greatly to be regretted, must be imputed, I fear, to a very honourable man. Only a few days before the actual embarkation of the troops, there arrived from England a

cargo of clothing, a gift from English philanthropists (probably a large proportion of them Quakers) to the Spanish soldiers. The supercargo spoke to me on his arrival, and I told him he must on no account unload, that every hour brought fugitives, that the transports were collected for the troops, which were in full retreat, and that if these articles were landed they would become, of course, the prey of the French. He said he would consult General Brodrick. I saw the supercargo next day, and he told me that the General had said that the safest thing for him to do was to carry out his instructions literally—land the clothes, get a receipt, and then whatever happened he was not to blame. And he acted accordingly."

Of the famous battle he saw nothing. When the firing began he was dining in a hotel. He walked a mile or two out of the town, met carts arriving with wounded, saw some French prisoners, learned that the enemy had been driven back, and then returning, went on board the vessel prepared beforehand for his departure. Six months afterwards his connexion with the *Times* ceased. Having recorded this fact, he goes on to give sketches of two of the notable writers for that journal. Everything relating to the *Times* in its earlier days has acquired historical importance. We shall quote these sketches because they are revelations of what was at the time hidden in profound mystery:—

"The writer of the great leaders—the flash articles which made a noise—was Peter Fraser, then a fellow of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, afterwards Rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire. He used to sit in Walter's parlour and write his articles after dinner. He was never made known as editor or writer, and would probably have thought it a degradation; but he was prime adviser and friend, and continued to write long after I had ceased to do so. He was a man of general ability, and when engaged for the *Times* was a powerful writer. The only man who in a certain vehemence of declamation equalled, or perhaps surpassed him, was the author of the papers signed 'Verus'—that is Sterling, the father of the younger Sterling, the free-thinking clergyman, whose remains Julius Hare has published.

"There is another person belonging to this period who is a character certainly worth writing about; indeed, I have known few to be compared with him. It was on my first acquaintance with Walter that I used to notice in his parlour a remarkably fine old gentleman. He was tall, with a stately figure and handsome face. He did not appear to work much with his pen, but was chiefly a consulting man. When Walter was away he used to be more at the office, and to decide in the *dernier ressort*. His name was W. Combe. It was not till after I had left the office that I learned what I shall now relate. At this time, and until the end of his life, he was an inhabitant of the King's

Bench Prison, and when he came to Printing-House Square it was only by virtue of a day-rule. I believe that Walter offered to release him from prison by paying his debts. This he would not permit, as he did not acknowledge the equity of the claim for which he suffered imprisonment. He preferred living on an allowance from Walter, and was, he said, perfectly happy. He used to be attended by a young man who was a sort of half-servant, half-companion. Combe had been for many years of his life a man of letters, and wrote books anonymously. Some of these acquired a great temporary popularity. One at least, utterly worthless, was for a time, by the aid of prints as worthless as the text, to be seen everywhere—now only in old circulating libraries. This is *The Travels of Dr. Syntax in search of the Picturesque*."

In 1809 Mr. Robinson resolved to qualify himself for being called to the Bar. His legal studies did not hinder him from cultivating literature, and keeping up close intimacy with the notable men of the time. Henceforth his diary is filled with notes of his reading and critiques upon books, with statements of the way in which he passed his evenings, and records of the conversations which impressed him. With Lamb, Southey, Hazlitt, Coleridge and Wordsworth, he was on the most familiar footing, visiting or corresponding with them. His account of Coleridge is full and instructive. Page after page might be filled with extracts of extreme value. As we cannot quote more than a few fragments, we shall endeavour to select some of the shorter and more striking passages.

Speaking of Hume, whose preference for the works of the French writers of tragedy over those of Shakespeare was marked, Coleridge said that "Hume comprehended as much of Shakespeare as an apothecary's phial would, placed under the Falls of Niagara." Milton he regarded as "a most determined aristocrat, an enemy to popular elections, and he would have been most decidedly hostile to the Jacobins of the present day. He would have thought our popular freedom excessive. He was of opinion that the government belonged to the wise, and he thought the people fools." "Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying* he affirmed is a perfect poem, and in all its particulars, even the rhythm, may be compared with Young's *Night Thoughts*."

A criticism of Charles Lamb on Coleridge and Wordsworth is noteworthy. To the surprise of Mr. Robinson, "Lamb asserted the former to be the greater poet. He preferred *The Ancient Mariner* to anything Wordsworth had written. He thought the latter too apt to force his own individual

feelings on the reader, instead of, like Shakespeare, entering fully into the feelings of others."

Of Southey, Coleridge once said that he was not able to appreciate Spanish poetry. "He wanted modifying power: he was a jewel-setter—whatever he found to his taste he formed it into, or made it into, the ornament of a story."

As is well known, Coleridge delivered many lectures, of which but few, and these very imperfect, specimens are extant. Frequent references are made to these in this Diary, and some extracts are given. What sort of a lecturer the poet was, the following remarks, which occur in a letter to Mrs. Clarkson, very clearly show:—

"As evidences of splendid talent, original thought, and great powers of expression and fancy, they are all his *admirers* can wish; but as a discharge of his undertaking, a fulfilment of his promise to the public, they give his *friends* great uneasiness. As you express it, 'an enchanter's spell seems to be upon him,' which takes from him the power of treating upon the only subject his hearers are anxious he should consider, while it leaves him infinite ability to riot and run wild on a variety of moral and religious themes. In his sixth lecture he was, by advertisement, to speak of 'Romeo and Juliet,' and Shakespeare's females; unhappily, some demon whispered the name of Lancaster in his ear, and we had in one evening an attack on the poor Quaker, a defence of boarding-school flogging, a parallel between the ages of Elizabeth and Charles, a defence of what is untruly called unpoetic language, an account of the different languages of Europe, and a vindication of Shakespeare against the imputation of grossness!!!"

What wonder that Coleridge's contemporaries misunderstood him! How could the ordinary mortal, who, seeing an advertisement that a lecture was to be delivered on "Romeo and Juliet," went to hear it in the hope of being told something about the tragedy, help feeling surprise, mingled with anger, at the audacity of the lecturer in wholly disregarding his text, not even referring to it incidentally, and pouring forth a series of comments on things in general? It is well to bear this in mind when reading of the comparative unpopularity of Coleridge during his lifetime. A great man is not bound to stoop in order to conciliate the good-will of the prejudiced and uninformed; but he is merely discharging his duty when he keeps his promise, and acts with consistency. It is curious that in one respect two men so dissimilar as Coleridge and Byron should have had much in common. They both ostentatiously disregarded the opinion of the public, and both suffered in conse-

quence. These freaks of genius contemporaries rarely pardon.

After a hesitation extending over nearly thirteen years, Mr. Robinson finally determined to make the Bar his profession, and to cease attempting to add to his income by the pursuit of literature. He confesses that his literary ventures were failures. One of these was a translation of a German fairy tale by Anton Wall, and of some extracts from the writings of Jean Paul Richter, an author then unknown to fame in England. This volume was published in 1811. Coleridge and Charles Lamb praised it. The translator states that, as far as he knew, the book was never reviewed, and that it yielded him no credit. Commenting on this he sensibly remarks: "Perhaps, *happily*, for it was the failure of my attempt to gain distinction by writing that made me willing to devote myself honestly to the law, and so saved me from the mortification that follows a *little* literary success, by which many men of inferior faculties, like myself, have been betrayed into an unwise adoption of literature as a profession, which, after this year, I never once thought of."

Now that the subject of Church Establishments is the topic of the day, the following anecdote of Thurlow, and declaration by Wordsworth, will be read with interest. Meeting Dr. Rees, the editor of the Encyclopædia which bears his name, at one of Messrs. Longman & Co.'s literary parties, Mr. Robinson heard him relate "that when, in 1788, Beaufoy made his famous attempt to obtain the repeal of the Corporation and Test Act, a deputation waited on the Lord Chancellor Thurlow to obtain his support. The deputies were Dra. Kippis, Palmer (of Hackney), and Rees. The Chancellor heard them very civilly, and then said: 'Gentlemen, I'm against you, by G—. I am for the Established Church, d—n me! Not that I have any more regard for the Established Church than for any other Church, but because *it* is established. And if you can get your d—d religion established, I'll be for that too!' This declaration is at all events a candid if rather too strong expression of individual opinion. There are those who would shrink from using Thurlow's language who employ his style of arguing. Indeed, Wordsworth acted thus when, in 1812, he "earnestly defended the Church Establishment. He even said he would shed his blood for it. Nor was he disconcerted by a laugh raised against him on account of his having before confessed that he knew not when he had been in a church in his own country. 'All our ministers are so vile,' said he. The mischief of allowing the clergy

to depend on the caprice of the multitude he thought more than outweighed all the evils of an Establishment." The illogical character of these remarks is obvious. Under the existing system, the clergymen were "so vile," according to Wordsworth, that he abstained from church-going, yet he would shed his blood for a Church-establishment of which this was the alleged consequence. On this subject the poet reasoned with as little force as he did on that of constructing railways through the Lake district. In both cases his arguments were simple prejudices.

This Diary contains numerous examples of the morbid dogmatism of Wordsworth. Few men of genius ever had a higher opinion of themselves than he had. There was something sublime in his egotism. Here are two specimens of it, which tally with what others have related:—During a walk with Mr. Robinson in 1812, "he spoke of his own poems with the just feeling of confidence which a sense of his own excellence gives him." "He is persuaded that if men are to become better and wiser, the poems will sooner or later make their way. But if we are to perish, and society is not to advance in civilisation, 'it would be,' said he, 'wretched selfishness to deplore the want of personal reputation.' The approbation he has met with from some superior persons compensates for the loss of popularity, though no man has completely understood him, not excepting Coleridge, who is not happy enough to enter into his feelings. 'I am myself,' said Wordsworth, 'one of the happiest of men, and no man who does not partake of that happiness, who lives a life of constant bustle, and whose felicity depends on the opinions of others, can possibly comprehend the best of my poems.' I urged an excuse for those who can really enjoy the better pieces, and who are yet offended by a language they have by early instruction been taught to consider unpoetical, and Wordsworth seemed to tolerate this class, and to allow that his admirers should undergo a sort of education to his works." Not long after this, "speaking of his own poems, he said he valued them principally as being a new power in the literary world."

As a test of Mr. Robinson's taste respecting works of fiction, we may cite his opinion of *Waverley*, the book which made the year 1815 as memorable in the history of novels as the battle of Waterloo did in the annals of war. On the whole, his opinion, written when he was fresh from the perusal of the work, is a proof of his sagacity as a critic. It begins with this sentence:—"The writer has united to the ordinary qualities of prose

fiction excellences of an unusual kind." Then follows a brief analysis of the plot. The remark is made that "the author's sense of the romantic and picturesque in nature is not so delicate, or his execution so powerful, as Mrs. Radcliffe's, but his paintings of men and manners are more valuable." The concluding sentence is: "There is more than the usual portion of good sense in this book, which may enjoy, though not immortality, at least a long life."

A greater test of Mr. Robinson's critical power is furnished by his remarks on the poems of Keats. Having mentioned the fact of his reading them, he adds, the *Hyperion* is "really a piece of great promise. There are a force, wildness, and originality in the works of this young poet, which, if his perilous journey to Italy does not destroy him, promise to place him at the head of the next generation of poets." Again, "I am greatly mistaken if Keats do not very soon take a high place among our poets."

After Mr. Robinson began to practise as a barrister, his personal history is comparatively tame. He attended court, he went circuit; what is less common, he got a good deal of business, and earned a comfortable income. His professional duties did not interfere with his private pleasures. He corresponded with his friends, visited them, kept himself abreast of the literature of the day, and led not only a busy, but an enviable life. During the vacations he made trips to the Lakes, where he held instructive converse with Wordsworth; he made tours in France, Germany, and Italy, sometimes alone, sometimes in the company of Wordsworth or Southey. The narratives of these journeys are extremely readable. There is hardly anything in them about eating and drinking, hotels or conveyances. But of instructive conversations and shrewd comments, of curious meetings, and telling remarks on persons and scenery, there is large store. To give the most cursory account of these things is hardly possible within reasonable limits. Nor can a tithe of the anecdotes, which are at once novel and memorable, be quoted. At the sacrifice, then, of much that we should gladly place before our readers, we must pass rapidly over the remaining pages of this work, merely pausing at long intervals to reproduce some pointed and valuable saying to serve as an addition to the illustrations given rather of the general richness of the harvest than of the precise amount and worth of the yield.

Meeting Macaulay for the first time in 1826, Mr. Robinson characterized him as "one of the most promising of the rising

generation I have seen for some time." "He has a good face,—not the delicate features of a man of genius and sensibility, but the strong lines and well-knit limbs of a man sturdy in body and mind. Very eloquent and cheerful. Overflowing with words, and not poor in thought. Liberal in opinion, but no Radical. He seems a correct as well as a full man. He showed a minute knowledge of subjects not introduced by himself."

During a sojourn in Italy Mr. Robinson became acquainted with one of the Italian friends of Queen Caroline. This was the Marchioness Sacratì. She went to England at the Queen's request as a witness in her favour, but she was not summoned to give evidence at the trial. The Marchioness's opinion was that the Queen was innocent, that her manners were coarse, and that her sanity was doubtful. Interrogated as to whether she had seen Brougham, she replied, "Oh, yes! That Monsieur Brougham was a *grand coquin*." "Take care, Madame, what you say; he is now Chancellor." "N'importe; c'est un grand coquin." "What makes you use such strong language?" "Because, to answer the purposes of his ambition, he forced the Queen to come to England." "Indeed!" "The Queen told me so; and Lady Hamilton confirmed it. I said to her, when I first saw her, 'Why are you here?' She said, 'My lawyer made me come. I saw him at St. Omer, and I asked him whether I should go to England. He said, 'If you are conscious of your innocence you *must* go. If you are aware of weaknesses, keep away.''" The Marchioness raised her voice and said, "Monsieur, quelle femme, même du bas peuple, avouera à son avocat qu'elle a des faiblesses? C'était un traître ce Monsieur Brougham."

"I also asked her whether she knew of the other lawyer, Monsieur Denman. The change in her tone was very remarkable, and gave credibility to all she said. She clasped her hands, and exclaimed, in a tone of admiration, 'O, c'était un ange, ce Monsieur Denman. Il n'a jamais douté de l'innocence de la reine.'"

We quote the foregoing passages for a twofold reason. They are curious in themselves, and will probably be cited hereafter as valuable contemporary testimony. But they are misleading as far as Brougham is concerned. He had many sins to answer for, but that of compelling the Queen to visit England was not one of them. Yet he is generally believed to have been the instigator of this step. Probably owing to the circumstance that Mr. Robinson was in the

habit of repeating the words of the Marchioness Sacratì in society, the notion itself may have thereby not only have obtained currency, but have also been accepted as well founded. Although quite ready to retail whatever was damaging to Brougham, Lord Campbell yet treated this topic with impartiality and truthfulness. Miss Martineau, whose severity is that of the critic, not of the envious and impotent rival, has unfortunately written in her memoir as if she gave credit to the insinuation.\* That the Marchioness told Mr. Robinson what Queen Caroline told her is doubtless true. But, then, there is an insuperable objection to placing implicit reliance on every statement made by that Queen. Her innocence may admit of controversy, but as to her veracity there can hardly be two opinions. In this case, there is documentary evidence of an unimpeachable kind to prove that in leaving St. Omer and journeying to England, the Queen acted against the advice of her Attorney-General, and that she took her departure before he was even aware of her resolve to undertake the journey at all hazards. The truth was, that Brougham did not possess the influence over her which he supposed himself to have. She followed the dictates of her self-will. When the result was disastrous she had no hesitation in imputing the blame to others, and she had no difficulty in persuading biassed friends to believe that she spoke the truth.†

An interest of a different kind attaches to the notices of two men whose acquaintance Mr. Robinson made in 1832, and of whom he then wrote as follows. The first of these, Carlyle, he characterizes as "a deep-thinking German scholar, a character, and a singular compound. His voice and manner, and even the style of his conversation, are those of a religious zealot, and he keeps up that character in his declamation against the anti-religious. And yet, if not the god of his idolatry, he has at least a priest and prophet of his Church in Goethe, of whose profound wisdom he speaks like an enthusiast. But for him, Carlyle says he should not now be alive. He owes everything to him! But in strange union with such idolatry is his admiration of Buonaparte. Another object of his eulogy is—Cobbett, whom he praises for his humanity and love of the poor! Singular, and even

\* "He went to meet and escort her on the Continent."—*Biographical Sketches*. By Harriet Martineau. P. 159.

† For an authentic statement of this important episode in the life of Queen Caroline and the career of Lord Brougham, see Yonge's *Life of Lord Liverpool*, vol. iii. chapter 24.

whimsical, combinations of love and reverence these."

The second of these bears a name as widely renowned as that of Carlyle, and exercises an influence over the thoughts of mankind such as few living writers can rival, and who, even when a young man, gave expression to his opinions with that boldness which is his distinguishing merit in mature years: "We were joined by John Mill, certainly a young man of great talent. He is deeply read in French politics, and spoke judiciously enough about them, bating his, to me, unmeaning praise of Robespierre for his incomparable talents as a speaker—being an irresistible orator—and the respect he avowed for the virtues of Mirabeau."

In another place Mr. Robinson writes: "Met to-day the one man living in Florence whom I was anxious to know. This was Walter Savage Landor, a man of unquestionable genius, but very questionable good sense; or, rather, one of those unmanageable men,—

'blest with huge stores of wit,  
Who want as much again to manage it.'"

Passing over many pages, we pause only for a moment to note that Miss Wordsworth said Coleridge once likened a steam-engine to "a giant with one idea." Let us here add to the opinions given of many great Englishmen and Germans, that which is given of a great American writer. In a letter written to his brother in 1848, Mr. Robinson says:—

"I heard Emerson's first lecture 'On the Laws of Thought;' one of those rhapsodical exercises of mind, like Coleridge's in his *Table Talk*, and Carlyle's in his *Lectures*, which leave a dreamy sense of pleasure, not easy to analyse or render an account of. . . . I can do no better than tell you what Harriet Martineau says about him, which, I think, admirably describes the character of his mind: 'He is a man so *sui generis*, that I do not wonder at his not being apprehended till he is seen. His influence is of a curious sort. There is a vague nobleness and thorough sweetness about him, which move people to their very depths, without their being able to explain why. The logicians have an incessant triumph over him, but their triumph is of no avail. He conquers minds as well as hearts, wherever he goes; and without convincing anybody's reason of any one thing, exalts their reason, and makes their minds worth more than they ever were before.'"

Ten years after the date of this letter, and when Mr. Robinson had become an octogenarian, he made the following entry in the album of a friend:—Were this my last hour (and that of an octogenarian cannot be far off), I would thank God for permitting me to behold so much of the excellence confer-

red on individuals. Of woman, I saw the type of her heroic greatness in the person of Mrs. Siddons; of her fascinations, in Mrs. Jordan and Mdle. Mara. I listened with rapture to the dreamy monologues of Coleridge—"that old man eloquent;" I travelled with Wordsworth, the greatest of our lyric-philosophical poets; I relished the wit and pathos of Charles Lamb; I conversed freely with Goethe at his own table, beyond all competition the greatest genius of his age and country. He acknowledged his obligations only to Shakespeare, Spinoza, and Linnæus, as Wordsworth when he resolved to be a poet, feared competition only with Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton."

His latter years were free from the drawbacks which generally accompany and embitter those whose span of life is unusually protracted. Almost to the last hour he could take walking exercise, converse with his friends on the topics of the day, peruse the works of his favourite authors, and make regular entries in his diary. Perhaps no man who had attained the age of ninety-one has ever retained his faculties so well as did Mr. Robinson. His handwriting was firm and legible. But a few days before his death he wrote a letter of condolence to his friend the Rev. Harry Jones, whose mother had been taken away. This letter is notable as much for the circumstances under which it was composed, as for the character of its contents. We shall fitly end our extracts by quoting the half of it:—

"You are much more to be envied for the recollection of such a mother as you had, than pitied for the grief at her loss. The one is alleviated by everything that brings her back to your mind—the other is imperishable. I speak from experience. I had an excellent mother, although she was uneducated, and was not to be compared for a moment with yours in intellectual attainments. She died at Bath of a cancer, anno 1792, and her memory is as fresh as ever. I am not conscious of any habit or fixed thought at all respectable, which I do not trace to her influence and suggestion. Petty incidents, which have lain dormant for generations, I may say, spring up in that mysterious thing—the human mind. One of these started up to-day.

"When I was about twelve, I teased her to let me go to the Buryfair play, and see 'Don Juan,' which contained a view of *hell*. She steadfastly refused. 'No, my dear,' she said, you shall *not* go to see the Infidel Destroyed. If it had been to see the Infidel Reclaimed, it would have given me pleasure to let you go.'"

The letter from which the foregoing extract is made was written on the 4th of January 1867. On the last day of that month Mr. Robinson made the concluding



entry in his Diary. The last sentence is unfinished, and the words are added, "But I feel incapable to go on." Two days afterwards his illness alarmed his friends. On the evening of the 5th of February, after a few hours of insensibility, he quietly breathed his last.

Before taking leave of a Diary, which will doubtless become a favourite book with the lovers of our best literature, let us briefly indicate the character of its author as manifested in its pages, and as exhibited in his life.

It is impossible to resist the impression that Mr. Robinson had much in common with Boswell. They both set up for their ardent worship men whom they regarded as matchless heroes. To Boswell, Dr. Johnson was a literary Jupiter. In his eyes, wisdom was incarnated in the person of the burly, pompous, dogmatic, and proud lexicographer. Less narrow in his tastes, and more accurate in his judgment, Mr. Robinson selected, from among the celebrities of his generation, Goethe and Wordsworth as the two men who were depositaries of the sacred fire. To their weaknesses he was not blind, but he was most considerate for their shortcomings. Nothing gave him greater pleasure than to spread abroad their fame. During his lifetime he succeeded in persuading many Germans to read the poems of Wordsworth, and in inducing many Englishmen to recognise the genius of Goethe. His Diary will continue the work. It will enable thousands to appreciate both these poets more highly than formerly, by enabling them to understand them better.

Yet despite many points of resemblance, Mr. Robinson and Boswell were in essentials the antipodes of each other. Shrewd and sensible as Boswell undoubtedly was, he had in him an element of the buffoon. He was as happy to be made a show of himself as to exhibit the excellences of his mind's idol. If he had not been extremely vain he would never have written a Life which will keep alive the memory of one who would otherwise have been wholly neglected by succeeding generations. But there was no screw loose in the character of Mr. Robinson. A clear head and a logical intellect kept him from committing any gross mistake owing to the intensity of his admiration for certain men. He was competent to judge of their quality. He did not hesitate to point out a blunder in a poem by Wordsworth, nor to admit that Goethe had made mistakes. He was a hero-worshipper, but no idolater.

Mr. Robinson lived to a better purpose than merely reading poetry and collecting anecdotes. His love of liberty was as pro-

found as was his admiration of the beautiful in verse and prose. As a Dissenter he had experienced the deadening effects of intolerance. His efforts were naturally directed towards emancipating his brethren in the faith from the disabilities under which they pined. It was not till the middle of his life that he took up this work in earnest. In early manhood his religious opinions were lukewarm. As late as the age of forty, he wrote: "Though I am not religious myself, I have great respect for a conduct which proceeds from a sense of duty, and is under the influence of religious feelings." Afterwards, a reaction took place: he passed from the calm of indifference to the vehemence of conviction, and, formally professing himself a Unitarian, became one of the champions of his sect. Thinking that Dissenters should have the means of education within their reach, he actively co-operated with the founders of the London University. Believing that a training school for Unitarians was desirable he helped to found University Hall. He founded the Flaxman Gallery, which is not only one of the great attractions of University College, but is also the most splendid monument by which the genius of the great English sculptor could be honored and perpetuated. To the end of his life, the promotion of the interests of these places of education was pursued by him with untiring energy. His greatest political triumph was the passing of the Act relating to Dissenters' Chapels, an Act of which he was the energetic promoter and zealous advocate, and of which the effect was to extend to Unitarians the legal protection enjoyed by other Dissenters.

While the religious body of which Mr. Robinson was a member has the greatest cause to cherish his memory, his name and his good deeds will not fail to make a lasting impression on the public at large, when this Diary is in their hands, and its contents in their minds. Those who look back with pleasure to the time when they heard from the eloquent lips of the writer of the Diary many of the neatly-phrased stories and pithy anecdotes with which it is filled, will peruse it with the greater delight because the printed page, while recalling to their minds the image of the departed, is rich in materials wherewith to form an estimate of his disposition and talents, even more honourable and lofty than the flattering estimate which, during his lifetime they had formed and cherished. It is a work to which no review can do full justice. In order to be thoroughly appreciated it must be read from beginning to end. The three volumes which compose it are large. Upwards of fifteen hundred

pages are contained in them, yet there are few pages which the most exacting critic will desire to cancel, and there is not one which the sensible reader will pronounce to be dull. No small portion of the pleasure with which they will be read is owing to the care and discrimination with which the work has been edited. Dr. Sadler had at his disposal manuscripts of which but the thirtieth part has now been printed and given to the world. Additions and corrections may heighten the interest and increase the utility of a subsequent edition of this Diary. Still, we cannot more truthfully characterize and more justly commend the volumes before us than by pronouncing them invaluable to every student of English literature, and indispensable additions to every well-selected and really precious collection of English books.

---

ART. III.—*History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.* By WILLIAM ECCLES HARTPOLE LECKY, M.A., etc. etc. 2 vols. London: Longmans, 1869.

DR. WHEWELL divided his great work into two parts, first the "History," and then the "Philosophy," of the Inductive Sciences. In the one he traced the course of their development, in the other its derivation and causes. It appears to us that Morals might admit of a similar mode of treatment, and that their history might advantageously be considered apart from their philosophy; especially where, as in the case before us, the subject is taken up as a fragment only, and confined within the limits of certain ages of the world. The "History of Morals," strictly so called, may be treated bit by bit, and age by age; but the "Philosophy of Morals," the connexion of moral ideas and principles one with another, their interdependence and development, should rather be considered as a whole. Mr. Lecky seems to have undertaken his work without a distinct perception of this difference between the history and the philosophy of the subject before him, and there is a want of consistency in his treatment of it, by which the reader is liable to be perplexed. At the end of his first chapter we meet with the announcement of the object of the work. He there says: "My present object is simply to trace the action of external circumstances upon morals, to examine what have been the moral types proposed as ideal in different ages, to what degree they

have been realized in practice, and by what causes they have been modified, impaired, and destroyed." One would-naturally infer from this that it was intended to trace philosophically the generation of moral ideas in general, without any specific limit of time; but in the Preface the author has prepared us for an "examination of the moral history of Europe between Augustus and Charlemagne," a period of great interest, no doubt, in view of a complete history of Morals, but one, as it stands by itself, somewhat arbitrarily selected, and the consideration of which by itself can lead only to incomplete and inconclusive results. For the period is a peculiarly exceptional one in the history of the human mind and of human morals,—a period of general decline throughout, only broken and confused by the discoveries of the Christian teaching. As an introduction to a general history of Morals, which should extend from the culmination of the Pagan to the culmination of the Christian civilisation, the review of the morals of these eight early centuries is highly important; but the great question which it brings into debate, the comparison of Pagan ideas and Christian, of systems confessedly human and systems professing to be divine, it leaves entirely unsettled; as on a great American railway that ends in a morass, the reader at the termination of his eighth century is cast only upon the moral desolation of the darkest of the dark ages, and the history of Christian Morals sinks into the abyss of monkery and superstition.

We are indeed the more perplexed with the fragmentary way in which Mr. Lecky has treated the great subject of the history of Morals, by the character of the chapter with which he introduces it. In this preliminary disquisition he seems to be laying the foundation of a work of much wider scope than that which is covered by the chapters which succeed it. Under the title of the "Natural History of Morals," he there enters into a discussion of the first principles of our moral ideas, and lays carefully before us a very clear and very interesting account of the conflicting schools of thought, which, under the names of Platonists and Aristotelians, of Stoics and Epicureans, of the Intuitive and the Inductive, of the Sentimental and the Selfish or Utilitarian, have at all times divided the speculative moralists between them; and he has traced their principles in action, and shown with much subtlety and discrimination their respective tendencies in practice. Taking his own stand very decidedly with the maintenance of intuitive or innate ideas, Mr. Lecky explains his views with more

than usual lucidity, and argues with candour and moderation, at least, against those of his opponents. He may be assured that one half of the world will always be on his side, and that to that half his reasonings will appear sufficiently conclusive; but he is no doubt too good a philosopher himself to hope to persuade many, or even a single one, of the phalanx opposed to him: and we have already seen, in the notices of his book with which the press teemed in the first fortnight, the usual retorts for which all such speculators must prepare themselves,—that he has misunderstood and misrepresented their opinions before he undertook to demolish them. However this may be—and the result is so inevitable that we are content ourselves simply to notice it in passing,—we must remark the general want of connexion between this preliminary discussion and the remainder of the book. As far as Mr. Lecky treats the history and development of Morals, it matters not in the slightest degree what the true foundation of moral principles is proved to be. Nor does he attempt to establish any such connexion; to show, for instance, that because our first ideas of morality are instinctive, therefore the Stoics of one age became the anchorites of another, or the love of country of the Pagans was succeeded and displaced by loyalty to the city of God in the Christian. Still less is he at the pains to show, or attempt to show, that if we shift the foundations of duty from the Intuitive to the Utilitarian basis, the historical development of Morals must have been different, and to disprove the principles of the selfish school from the actual facts themselves. The chapter on the Natural History of Morals stands, as it seems to us, entirely independent. Once only, as far as we have observed, does Mr. Lecky seem to betray any consciousness of the want of connexion between his History and his Philosophy,—it is where he pauses to remark on the great change which he observes after the recognition of the principles of Christian asceticism, and the relation of the two great schools of Morals to active and political life (vol. ii. p. 155):—

“Among the ancients,” he says, “the Stoics, who regarded virtue and vice as generically different from all other things, participated actively in public life, and made this participation one of the first of duties, while the Epicureans, who restored virtue into utility, and esteemed happiness its supreme motive, abstained from public life, and taught their disciples to neglect it. Asceticism followed the Stoical school in teaching that virtue and happiness are generically different things; but it was at the same time eminently unfavourable to civic virtue. On the other hand, the great

industrial movement which has arisen since the abolition of slavery, and which has always been essentially utilitarian in its spirit, has been one of the most active and influential elements of political progress. This change, though, as far as I know, entirely unnoticed by historians, constitutes, I believe, one of the great landmarks of moral history.”

Here then, if anywhere, one might expect Mr. Lecky to enter into some explanation of the why and wherefore; to show how the same principles should at different periods lead to precisely opposite results; to acknowledge, at least, that a case had arisen for testing historically the generation of results from principles. But perhaps we were wrong in saying that he evinces here a consciousness of the want of connexion between his History and his Philosophy. It is to the reader that the defect is so apparent. We are not sure that Mr. Lecky has noticed it at all.

It is indeed to this kind of haziness of view that we are inclined to attribute the apparently fragmentary character of the work now before us. Bearing in mind the character of Mr. Lecky's former book, *The History of Rationalism*, the object of which briefly was to trace our modern discoveries in moral truth to the defeat and discomfiture of all ideas founded upon the belief in the supernatural, it is not impossible that he may regard the present volumes as the complement to the previous ones, and conceive that he has comprehended the whole history of Morals throughout the Christian ages in the four together. He may say to himself that the history from Augustus to Charlemagne contains the record of the decline of moral ideas from the highest Pagan standard under Augustus to the completest logical deduction from the teaching of primitive Christianity in the ascendancy of the Church under Charlemagne; and that all the advance we have made in morality since the eighth century has been owing to the efforts, gradual and painful, at least till very recent times, of the natural sense of man in revolt against the teachings of a grovelling superstition. Such a view would be a very important one, and demand close and candid investigation were we now engaged in examining it. Were we engaged in reviewing Mr. Lecky's earlier work, *The History of Rationalism*, from which we venture to deduce it, it would be our business to show that the Rationalism itself by which the superstitions adherent to Christianity have been destroyed, may be really the offspring of the free thought which is itself the true inheritance of Christianity. But we make the remark only to account to our own

minds for the apparent inconsistency in the author's present work. It is with the present work only that we are now concerned, of which we propose to give our readers some account, unless the temptation of the subject tempts us too irresistibly into speculations of our own.

The preliminary chapter, of which we have spoken, after stating and examining the conflicting pretensions of the two great schools of *Morals*, concludes with a series of reflections on "the order in which the moral feelings are developed;" or the general effects of the advance of civilisation and material culture upon the estimation in which the virtues and vices of human nature are held among men. These remarks, however, were of a desultory and rambling character, nor do they at all answer the purpose which we might expect them to serve, of laying down the outlines of the discussion which is to follow. It is not till we come to the second chapter, a great division of the subject (for the whole is comprised in five chapters only), that the real purport and interest of the work begins. It is in the collection and grouping of facts, in the very considerable research evinced, and the unflinching lucidity of statement, and again in candour and moderation, and warm personal sympathy with the best feelings of humanity, that Mr. Lecky's merits as a historian of *Morals* mainly consist.

The second chapter contains an account of the moral condition of the Roman Empire. Few things can be more interesting to intelligent inquirers, whether as Christians or philosophers, than to examine the actual results of Paganism from the moment when Paganism attained its highest moral development to the period of its decline and extinction. We are getting more and more to regard the history of our race as a continuous whole. We feel more and more sensibly how every volume, every page, every line of history is evolved out of those that went before it. History admits of no break, of no full stop, hardly of a pause. The child is still father to the man from generation to generation. Our task, then, in examining the history of *Morals*, is to set clearly before ourselves their state at the era of their highest development in the ancient or Pagan world, and then to trace the way in which they were accepted, transformed, or rejected under the gradual advance of the principles of Christianity, which have dominated so long over the conscience of the moderns. The march of novel ideas has continued, we may be sure, interruptedly, while it has admitted of modi-

fication, change, and revolution, from age to age, and almost from day to day. The history of *Morals* is a dissolving view, extending in Mr. Lecky's book over eight centuries—with which it is quite enough to occupy ourselves at present,—but really comprehending the whole history of the human race, as far at least as recorded facts enable us to trace it. We must content ourselves here with a glance at some of its most salient features.

It is true of heathen religion generally, as well as of the religion of classical antiquity, of which it is so often predicated, that they have differed from Christianity in the one essential particular, that they have made little or no pretensions to the inculcation of morality. It is by this characteristic, as it seems to us, that the perpetuity of the Christian system is, humanly speaking, guaranteed. When we see from time to time, and notably at the present era, around us, the signs of a breaking up of old dogmatic beliefs, and a disintegration of religious ideas, not dissimilar in many respects from that which heralded the extinction of classical Paganism, we may be reassured by the recollection of this fact, to whatever obscurity Christian dogma may at any period be subjected under popular impatience of definite creeds. The moral foundations of the Christian faith can never be removed, and can never be long overlooked. That teaching is founded upon indefeasible principles, and appeals to inextinguishable feelings. Remaining for ever as a fixed and indestructible landmark of opinion, it cannot fail to reassert from time to time the dogmatic beliefs with which it is historically connected, and to cluster around it again and again the articles of a theological creed with which it was at the beginning associated. We can see, therefore, no human prospect of any such crisis overtaking the religion of the Christian world as that which signifies the overthrow of the Pagan beliefs of antiquity. Nor need we, as Christians, feel any discouragement at the utter failure of the heathen philosophers to supply the place of the religion which they undermined, to afford a present sanction for the morals they taught, or associate with them a hope in the future.

That such was the mortifying result of the teachings of the Pagan philosophy, is abundantly, if not expressly shown in Mr. Lecky's chapter on "The Pagan Empire." The inculcation of moral principles, entirely neglected by the religions of the Pagan world, was definitively adopted by the rival schools of the Stoics and the Epicureans; and, from the age at least of Augustus, these

schools assumed a wide and comprehensive character. The Romans were very much in earnest in their philosophy, as in most other things. They were not content to trifle with the tenets of Zeno and Epicurus, after the fashion of the idle speculations of Athens and the Hellenic world. They really believed in them, and in their vital regenerative force; they carried them into practice themselves, and disseminated them among others with the zeal of proselytes or converts. They arrayed themselves definitively under the banner of the one leader or the other, and with their instinctive military notions, were wont to regard them rather as military chiefs, under whose word of command they had placed themselves by oath, than as guides of opinion or trainers in the discipline of virtue. There are few of the chief men of Rome in the first century, in which the war between the rival schools or factions was decided for the Romans, who did not openly enlist himself as a soldier of the one or the other. The contention of the Stoics and the Epicureans, the eternal conflict between the Intuitives and the Inductives, was carried on at Rome with the earnestness of an international struggle, and it resulted, in the first century of our era, in the decisive victory and the permanent ascendancy of the former. The principles of Stoicism, as the most congenial to the temper of the Roman people, carried the day. They formed the understanding, they directed the actions, and finally constituted the glory, of many of the greatest exemplars of Roman virtue; and they succeeded so far in impressing themselves on the page of Roman history, as typical of the Roman character. The disciples of Epicurus at Rome, the successors of Cæsar himself, of Atticus and Horace, though probably always more numerous than their opponents, were reduced to obscurity, and content to hide themselves from the general eye, and renounce the open assertion of views which were confessedly discredited. It was no doubt felt at the time, and it has been universally admitted since, that all that was noblest, most unselfish, and most magnanimous in the conduct of the Romans of the early Empire, was derived from their training in the Stoic philosophy; and Stoicism was undoubtedly more widely taught and more conscientiously practised by the Romans of that period than by any other people at any other.

Such a strain as the practice of the Stoical principles puts upon the human mind could only be endured under special circumstances. It was endured at Rome under the deep mortification and stern self-repression of the oppressed and persecuted votaries of

Roman liberty. It was the self-assertion of Roman pride and fortitude against the tyranny of the earlier Cæsars. It was thus that the spirit of the Republic wrapt itself closely round to resist the pelting of the storm of political adversity. Roman Stoicism relaxed under the first rage of returning serenity. The last of its genuine assertors was the patrician who bore his bodily infirmities with patience till he had witnessed the murder of Domitian, and then, but not till then, allowed himself to retreat from his sufferings by suicide. As soon as public liberty was restored, or such a compromise between liberty and monarchy effected as the Romans could be induced to regard with equanimity, the defiant attitude of the Stoic was abandoned, and the name and distinctive teaching of the school became rapidly lost. Under the Antonines, the Porch and the Garden have both equally disappeared from the history of opinion, and both have become practically merged in the Eclectic philosophy, which subsisted by the sufferance of all opinions, and the rigid enforcement of none. From the Epicurean and the Stoic sprang the Eclectic moralists, represented to us by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, who practically ruled in the schools of the second and third centuries, and who became the preachers of comprehensive humanity, as distinguished from the national and sectional exclusiveness which had hitherto prevailed in the teaching both of the Greeks and the Romans.

The great moral discovery of the Empire, which, when we take a wide survey of the history of our race, may serve to redeem it in our eyes from its fearful sins against liberty of action and independence of thought, was that of the common claims and rights of mankind in general, the solidarity, in modern phrase, of the nations. The overthrow, indeed, of the exclusive national prejudices which had for ages set up moral barriers between clan and clan throughout the world, which had laid the foundation of the special character of Jew and Greek and Roman, may be traced to the conquests of Alexander. These conquests themselves had been long prepared. Alexander could not have overrun the East with his thirty thousand Macedonians, had not the East been honeycombed, as it were, with Grecian colonies, and its moral ideas as well as its political spirit sapped by Grecian intelligence. But when the hour and the man arrived, ten years or less sufficed not only to subdue, under Grecian domination, the vast realm of Asia Minor, of Assyria, Media, India, and Bactria, but to effect the far wider and greater conquest of Grecian prejudices, and

dispose the Greeks as well as the Orientals to acknowledge one another as brethren, to start together on the career of intellectual conquest which dominated the civilized world for a thousand years, and the effects of which we feel to this day. It was to the Greek philosophy, modified by the cosmopolitan tincture it imbibed after the age of Alexander, that we refer the first conception of the dogma of our universal brotherhood; but it was from the Romans, when from the conquest of the West they proceeded to conquer over again the conquests of Alexander, that this conception received its practical exposition in the laws and institutions of the Empire.

The circumstances of universal empire rendered the fusion of the nations in one amalgam necessary, and this, with one great exception of freedom and slavery, became in a few generations complete. Every wall of partition was thrown down. The spirit of the age, the feelings of mankind in general, kept pace with, and helped no doubt to precipitate, the external action of law. No revolution of sentiment so wide and so rapid has ever perhaps taken place before or since. The religious prejudices of the Roman world accommodated themselves to the social and philosophical views of the period with a facility for which we may look in vain for a parallel; while, on the other hand, the physics and ethics of the Stoics and Epicureans yielded under the manipulation of the Eclectics and the New Platonists to the craving of mankind for dogmatic theology, and invited even the mystical religions of the East to share in their power over the hearts of the believers. These successive schools of thought are described by Mr. Lecky in detail, and their respective effect upon the morality of the age very fully and clearly indicated. The original sources from which this revolution is to be traced are very widely scattered over the remains of antiquity through three centuries, and have been examined by many inquirers. Our author has made himself very well acquainted with them; but his task has been lightened by the labors of those who have preceded him in the same field, and he is not slow in acknowledging his obligations to them. The materials for the history have been long since exhausted; nor was there much room left him for novelty of combination or illustration; but by grace of style as well as by clearness of statement and arrangement, he has succeeded in giving a new interest to one of the most interesting portions of human history. He concludes his chapter on the Moral Condition of the Empire with these discriminative observations:—

"Such were the influences which acted in turn upon a society which, by despotism, by slavery, and by atrocious amusements, had been debased and corrupted to the very core. Each sect which successively arose contributed something to remedy the evil. Stoicism placed beyond cavil the great distinctions between right and wrong. It inculcated the doctrine of universal brotherhood; it created a noble literature and a noble legislation, and it associated its moral system with the patriotic spirit, which was then the animating spirit of Roman life. The early Platonists of the Empire corrected the exaggerations of Stoicism, gave free scope for the amiable qualities, and supplied a theory of right and wrong, suited not merely for heroic characters and for extreme emergencies, but also for the characters and the circumstances of common life. The Pythagorean and Neo-Platonist schools revived the feeling of religious reverence, inculcated humility, prayerfulness, and purity of thought, and accustomed men to associate their moral ideas with the Deity rather than with themselves.

"The moral improvement of society was now to pass into other hands. A religion which had long been increasing in obscurity began to emerge into the light. By the beauty of its moral precepts, by the systematic skill with which it governed the imagination and habits of its worshippers, by the strong religious motives to which it could appeal, by its admirable ecclesiastical organization, and, it must be added, by its unsparing use of the arm of power, Christianity soon eclipsed and destroyed all other sects, and became for many centuries the supreme ruler of the moral world. Combining the Stoical doctrine of universal brotherhood, the Greek predilection for the amiable qualities, and the Egyptian spirit of reverence and religious awe, it acquired from the first an intensity and universality of influence which none of the philosophies it had superseded had approached.

"I have now," he continues, "to examine the moral causes that governed the rise of this religion in Rome, the ideal of virtue which it presented, the degree and manner in which it stamped its image upon the character of the nations, and the perversions and distortions it underwent."

Accordingly, in the two chapters or divisions of the work which follow, he traces the moral history of Christianity, first during the period of the conversion of the Empire, and next of the ages which succeeded down to the era of Charlemagne; lastly, he devotes a separate section to the "Position of Women" under its influence. So comprehensive and so full are the details of each of these chapters that we could not pretend within the limits of a review to give more than a dry analysis of any one of them, and we shall be more likely perhaps to interest our readers in the subject of the book, and in the book itself, if we confine ourselves, in the space before us, to putting forward such

particular reflections on the moral history of Christianity as its perusal has suggested to us.

Mr. Lecky is at pains to show, along with other philosophical historians, the sufficiency of strictly natural causes to account for the success and ultimate triumph of Christianity in the Empire. It is certainly scarcely worth while to refute in these days the ecclesiastical writers of a former generation, who could only ascribe the early diffusion of the Faith to a continuous miracle. There can be no doubt that the moral and spiritual condition of mankind in the period before us was eminently favourable to the reception of some of the cardinal doctrines of the gospel. We have seen how the idea of universal brotherhood, so important a feature in the teaching of Christ and the apostles, had been promulgated by philosophers, and very generally accepted by the conscience of mankind even at an earlier period. It is the preparation of the world for Christianity, rather than the conquest of the world by Christianity, that we admire in the counsels, so far as we seem to trace them, of the Divine Source of religious knowledge. On the other hand, our philosophical historians are too apt to forget that, with all this accommodation in some points to the ideas and cravings of mankind around it, Christianity is not less remarkable for its strong antagonism to them on others. We are not here laying undue stress upon the self-denial, in its ordinary sense, inculcated by Christianity, for the philosophers no doubt inculcated much self-denial, and Christianity, again, as popularly understood and practised, admitted of great relaxation from the ideal standard established by its founders. But we must insist strongly upon the scandal of the Cross of Christ, as a much more important element in the question than it has been generally considered in modern times. The ancients themselves, the primitive Christians especially, knew well the offence of the preaching of a crucified Founder. The doctrine was a special one, and was fundamental and absolutely necessary to the idea of the Christian faith, for the mortification of human pride, and the identification of the Divine Author with the character and the sufferings of humanity. But there can be no doubt that its repulsiveness to human prejudice, more especially to the prejudice of the Roman world, created an immense practical obstacle to the reception of Christianity; and so the contemporary literature of Christian and of Pagan equally testify. We do not say that it required a miraculous interference to counteract this injury and discouragement to the faith; but the falling in of

Christian preaching with the spirit of the age on the one point just mentioned would hardly, we think, have availed against it; and we must look, at least, to other human causes for the ultimate success of the gospel.

Of such causes there were doubtless many. We will point out the two which seem to us the most important:—

1. Doctrine of future life.

2. Formation of a strong character.

1. The great central doctrine of Christianity was the revelation of future life. This doctrine was placed in the head and front of all Christian preaching. The faith of the gospel was taught in public discourses weekly and daily; and every Christian sermon insisted upon this great doctrine as the cardinal point of all Christian instruction. Christianity had its mysteries, more or less, like other religions of the day; and there were various points of faith which its teachers unfolded gradually and with reserve; but upon this one point, at least, there was no reserve, and no hesitation. The future life was an exoteric doctrine, made known to every one from the first, held forth as a common boon for all mankind, maintained as the indefeasible right and possession of every son of Adam. In these respects the Christian doctrine of immortality differed essentially from the speculations of the philosophers, who, in the highest flights of their imagination, ventured only to regard it as the prize of a few superior spirits, as a reward extorted from nature by the little band of godlike men who had been endowed from their birth with a portion of the divine essence. Nor did the mysteries in their most popular interpretation go further. But, besides the universality of the Christian doctrine on this head, the unwavering confidence with which its certainty was proclaimed constituted an important element in the acceptance which it naturally met with. Undoubtedly, the hope of a future existence is one to which the human mind naturally clings, and with all the waverings and doubts and despondency so painfully apparent in the utterances of the wisest of the heathens about it, we are inclined to believe that this hope, blind and naked as it was, exercised no slight dominion over the thoughts and actions of great numbers of all classes among them. But none of the heathens ventured to assert it as a positive fact, susceptible of proof from actual experience, of which an instance could be drawn from veritable history. The resurrection of Jesus, and his subsequent residence among men in the body, professed to be the revelation of a great psychological fact, appealing to sensible proof in itself. This typical resurrec-

tion once admitted, upon what professed to be conclusive evidence, the universal resurrection of all men followed as a logical consequence, and admitted, in the breasts of the believers, of no dispute or hesitation. No limitation could henceforth be put upon the doctrine; no shade of doubt could fall upon it. Here was a standing point of certainty in metaphysical things amidst the shifting sands of mere human speculation, which could not fail to arrest the attention, attract the sympathy, and sustain the belief of all who were not repelled from it by unconquerable prejudices,—for into a critical examination of the facts alleged there was little disposition among the ancients to enter. It was by prejudices, not by logical or historical criticism, that the faith of the gospel was resisted; and of these prejudices none was so strong, none, we believe, so common, as the repugnance of the Greek and Roman mind to the notion of a crucified Master, of a Founder who had lived the life of a pauper, and died the death of a slave and criminal. And this prejudice was undoubtedly heightened by the eager acceptance of the faith by the paupers and the slaves of the Roman world, by the outcasts, of whatever class, from the luxuries and enjoyments of a voluptuous civilisation, by the blind and miserable, and poor and naked. Mr. Lecky observes, as so many have observed before him, on the almost total silence of Greek and Roman literature on the subject of the primitive Christians; but he will find that literature equally silent as to the inner life of all the Pariah classes of society; it is only of the upper ten thousand of the ancient world that any familiar knowledge has been vouchsafed to us by the philosophers and poets and historians of antiquity generally. Christianity has only shared, in this respect, the common lot of the masses throughout the Roman community.

And of this assured conviction of future life it is to be remarked that it was emphatically the aspiration and the despair of the age. The Paganism of Greece, and Rome, utterly unable to satisfy itself on this head from its own resources, was looking intently towards the East for the light which seemed from time to time to dawn in that quarter. Faint and uncertain indeed were the rays of hope which reached it from Chaldea and India; yet the very general acceptance of the Mithraic cults and superstitions in the West during the second and third centuries seems to have been mainly owing to the sanction they seemed timidly to give to the yearning of the human mind for the greatest of spiritual consolations. The disenchantment of the world from the

promises of material civilisation, and from the charms of a degrading sensuality, turned men's minds in the direction of a spiritual futurity. As the miseries of mankind, and the degradation of class upon class increased, the vehement cry for a higher and more enduring blessing than any this life could offer rose more generally, and more constantly. Philosophers and hierophants answered it to the best of their power, and vied with one another in suggesting the possibility of that blessed immortality which all the world sighed for; but their efforts, in spite of every prepossession in their favour, were almost utterly frustrated, simply because they had no objective evidence to offer of the fact; they could do no more than affirm upon conjecture what the Christian preachers proposed to demonstrate by proof. It was not till every other means had been exhausted to satisfy the universal craving, that men accepted the consolations of Christianity; it was not till the pride of man was thoroughly abased by defeat and disappointment that he consented to throw his last prejudices to the winds, and embrace, as he believed, the certainty of the Christian doctrine, together with the dishonour of the Cross of Christ.

2. This decision was itself an act of vigour, and it was carried vigorously into effect. We are accustomed to regard the age of the declining Empire as one of wide-spread languor and decrepitude. In its virtues we see but a pale reflection of the masculine virtues of antiquity; we deride even its vices as poor and spiritless in comparison with those of the lusty young world before it. And that such was the general character of Pagan society in its decline, both in its best phases and its worst, we are far from questioning. Nevertheless a want of earnestness and vigour and healthy activity is by no means to be wholly denied to the spirit of the age under which the Empire was converted to Christianity. There is, as we think, one great defect in the view Mr. Lecky takes of the secondary causes of this conversion. He thinks that society as a whole was ripe for the revolution; that it had been trained, by the schools of the philosophers and by the circumstances of the times together, into harmony with the creed of the gospel; in fact, he would not, we suppose, hesitate to affirm that the gospel was no more than the spontaneous expression of the general want and aspiration of humanity at the period. But he does not take into account the conditions under which the acceptance of the gospel by the age was alone possible. He fails to appreciate the fact that if Christianity was the expression of the want of the age, it



was so only in the same sense as the creed of Stoicism and the cult of Mithraism were so likewise. But Stoicism and Mithraism utterly failed to convert the Empire. Why so? Because Christianity embraced in itself a principle of conversion to which they were entirely strangers; because Christianity could enlist on its side all the heart and soul and vigour that still remained in the world; because Christianity approved itself the religion of moral strength in an age of general decrepitude. The acceptance of the gospel merely as a spiritual theory required the sacrifice of a natural prejudice, as we have seen; and the sacrifice even of a prejudice implied some force of character in those who made it; but the acceptance of the gospel as a practical rule of life implied the undertaking of many active duties, subjection to many restraints, a profound self-devotion, a rigid self-denial, in the mortification of many worldly interests; and these constituted in themselves a moral training of the highest and the most active faculties. A history of the Morals of the primitive age of Christianity is very incomplete without a full discussion of a subject to which we can only thus cursorily advert. The fact is, that the gospel, with all its scandals and its dangers, offered a very strong attraction to the most vigorous minds of the declining Empire. It spoke as with the voice of a trumpet, to the brave, the generous, the active, and the vigorous. It called out from the decrepit society of the philosophers, and the popular moralists and religionists, just those spirits with whom self-sacrifice was a natural religion, and who only yearned to find a Divine sanction for it. It was those, and few but those, who could renounce the allurements of Pagan luxury, who could accept the obligations of the Christian family, who could endure hardships and poverty and persecution for an idea; who could renounce employments and means of living which they reputed sinful, and content themselves with the work of their hands in many meaner and more irksome occupations; it was those only who embraced the Christian faith during the long period of its struggles for general acceptance. Great pains have been taken by the historians to estimate the rate of progress of the new faith in the Roman world; and it is generally admitted that in the time of Constantine, at the moment of its recognition and establishment, and again even a century later, at the period of its highest exaltation, it numbered but a small minority of the population of the Empire. Opponents of the faith, such as Gibbon, have insisted the most warmly on this point, with a view, as it would seem, to disparage Christi-

anity. But what then? How, if so, are we to account for its establishment at all? Was Constantine so devout a believer that in his lifelong struggle to obtain and maintain his power, he deliberately took the side of the minority against the majority of his people? And if so, by what force did he achieve the triumph of himself and his adopted Church in the face of rebellious Paganism? The historians do not generally credit the first Christian Emperor with a strong and lively and unhesitating faith, and few of them, we suppose, will appeal to the cross he professed to have seen luminous in the heavens, and resort to miraculous interposition to account for the victory of the Milvian bridge. But the fact was, that if he had but one-fifth in number of the Roman world with him, he possessed full two-thirds of its moral strength; and this he was shrewd enough to discern at the turning moment of his fortunes. He discerned the real strength of Christianity, and he believed in Christianity because it was strong. If Constantine has acquired the title of "the Great" more easily perhaps than many of the conquerors or rulers to whom it has been popularly awarded, and if he has actually obtained it from grateful churchmen and courtiers, rather than from the voice of impartial history, it may seem nevertheless to be not unworthily bestowed upon the man who had the genius to divine the real spirit of political arithmetic, and discover that truth does not always lie with a multitude, nor strength with a numerical majority.

It is, then, in the attraction it presented to all the moral strength of men, and in the power of stimulating and animating that strength which it developed, that the real moral revolution effected by Christianity is to be traced. Now, this is what we think Mr. Lecky has almost entirely missed. He sets out in his Preface with the statement that "the questions with which a historian of Morals is chiefly concerned are the changes which have taken place in the moral standard, and in the moral type. By the first," he says, "I understand the degrees in which, in different ages, recognised virtues have been enjoined and practised. By the second, I understand the relative importance that in different ages has been attached to different virtues." And this distinction he illustrates from a consideration of the different way in which the recognised virtue of humanity could be understood by the Roman who practised the combats of the gladiators, and the Englishmen of the Tudor period who patronised the baiting of animals. Undoubtedly the general impression which the perusal of his History

leaves upon us is, that while Christian morals rose in some respects in a marked degree superior to those of Paganism, yet in others they fell almost as much beneath them; in others, again, the balance seems to incline sometimes one way, sometimes the other; in no particular, perhaps, did they attain so high a standard or so excellent a type as to challenge our acknowledgement of them as a manifest revelation from the Divine Being. We do not say that Mr. Lecky avers any such conclusion himself; he studiously abstains from any declaration of his own judgment on the general result of his inquiries, and maintains throughout the character of a judicial inquirer and registrar of facts only. Nor does it concern us to fix upon him conclusions which he does not himself avow; in the matter in hand these can be of no importance; but as no one can read a searching and comprehensive history of the progress of ideas and practice in the great department of Morality without instituting in his own mind a tacit comparison between the worth of Paganism and of Christianity in their development and diffusion, we cannot quit the volumes before us without throwing out some considerations upon the subject which seem to have escaped the attention of the author.

The progress of moral ideas and practice in the first ages of Christianity, as attested by history, is precisely, as it seems to us, such as might have been expected from the capacity of the Christian faith to attract the strongest characters within the sphere of its influence. The corruption to which they tended, and which became only too painfully marked in the annals of the Church, is due to the superabundant energy and extravagant enthusiasm which naturally spring from the too luxuriant development of the strongest and noblest natures. The self-devotion of the early Christians under disgrace and want and persecution attracted the sympathy of the brave and ardent among the Pagans; but when disgrace and want and persecution were no more to be encountered for the faith, the same spirit forced a vent for itself in the self-abandonment of the cloister and asceticism of the desert, in fastings and macerations and self-tortures. Mr. Lecky is very eloquent, and even touching, on the subject of the irrational mania of the hermits and the cenobites; he stigmatizes their extravagances as the immoral and degrading superstition which they really were; but he does not take care to show us that they were no more than the excess and superfetation, so to say, of the true spirit of Christian devotion, and attest by their very extravagance the vigour

of the seed from which they sprang. But, in fact, the real force of Christian principles of action is known to us in history almost entirely from its excesses and perversions. We read little or nothing, we can only form imperfect guesses from inference, of the strong but equable current of the manly virtues of the Christians; of the strength of principle which presided at the domestic hearth, and bound together the husband and the wife, the parent and the child, with a sense of mutual responsibilities such as the Pagan rarely recognised. In a society drawn together by a natural affinity of fortitude and resolution, it was impossible but that the homely virtues of temperance and chastity, the civic virtues of justice and energy, the spiritual virtues of faith and prayer, must have flourished in abundance, and often most where they were least patent to the casual observer. It is only when these graces were corrupted, under special circumstances, and after all in a comparatively small number of instances, into the rampant follies of Eremites and Stylites, that they assumed a place in social history, and have served to point so many shafts against the fair fame of Christianity.

From the consideration of Christian asceticism, the position of which in the history of Christian Morals we think he has materially mistaken, Mr. Lecky proceeds to charge against Christianity the discouragement of patriotism. This, we know, is a very common charge, but surely there is much misapprehension involved in it. "An important result to which asceticism largely contributed," says our author, "was the depression, and sometimes almost the extinction, of the civic virtues. A candid examination," he continues, "will show that the Christian civilisations have been as inferior to the Pagan ones in civic and intellectual virtues as they have been superior to them in the virtues of humanity and of chastity." And so in another place he glorifies Polytheism for at least "three great merits" among "many faults,"—that it was "eminently poetical, eminently patriotic, and eminently tolerant." The first and last of these characteristics we set aside for the present; but as regards the countenance which Polytheism gave to patriotism, as contrasted with the discouragement of that virtue imputed to Christianity, we apprehend that the popular judgment may require some further enlightenment.

The patriotism of the Greeks and Romans was no doubt intense; it was the spring of their political life; but in exactly the same proportion it was intolerant. It consisted in the assertion of the predominance of the

State over all subjects and opponents; the denial of all rights of thought and action opposed to those of the State. It held the same position in the scheme of Pagan society that the theory of persecution has held in the Christian. The same principle which has been justly reputed the shame and scandal of the latter, is identified with the glory of the former. The patriotism of Greek and Roman only lived in the suppression and extinction of every rival in its own field of moral influence. The great patriots of Athens were the men who subdued and dominated over their subject islands. The patriots of Sparta delivered Athens to her thirty tyrants, and demolished her fortifications. The patriots of Rome were the destroyers of Veii and Capua, and Corinth and Carthage; the slayers of eleven hundred thousand Gauls in the defence of their own country; the sacrificers of myriads of oppressed and revolting Jews. The history of Roman patriotism is the record of a systematic all-pervading oppression, founded in violence and maintained by terror, allowing no freedom of heart or hand from Gades to Alexandria, except its own license to live upon the fruits of plunder. It was not till the Romans surrendered their own freedom, and abandoned their own patriotic principles and so-called civic virtues, that the subject provinces breathed again under the acknowledged despotism of the Cæsars. It was not till Rome had ceased to be a country, and had become a mere "geographical expression" for a cosmopolitan association of a hundred tribes and nations, that the whole class of freemen, at least, throughout the Empire, acquired some sort of equality before the law, with the extinction of the exclusive claims and privileges on which Roman patriotism was founded. The gradual decadence of the "civic virtues" had preceded the moral movement of Christianity, and would assuredly have run its course not less rapidly and completely had there been no Christian movement at all. Christianity, it may be allowed, did nothing to retard it. It was not likely that the first disciples, the Greeks and Asiatics who enjoyed the mild provincial administration even of a Tiberius and a Nero, should lend a helping hand to the misguided enthusiasm of the conspirators in the metropolis, who sought to restore the days of Marius or Sulla in Rome, and of Gabinius, of Verres, of Antonius, and of Fimbria, in the provinces. Roman patriotism had had its day, and none but a few dreaming philosophers, with very imperfect sense of the history of their forefathers, with still more imperfect human sympathies, had the slightest wish to restore

the domination of the Republic, under which the civic virtues of Rome had so fatally flourished. But, in fact, when Christianity came into the world, and for ages afterwards, what room was there for the exercise of patriotism? The sense of country had perished with the extension of the limits of Rome to the furthest borders of civilisation. The only possible "city" was the city of God, the spiritual realm of one Hope, one Faith, and one Baptism; at once visible upon earth, and invisible in the heavens; and to that the Christians taught all men to look with an undivided interest, to make the realization and extension of that the one great object of their lives. For that city they lived, for that city they died, with an exalted enthusiasm not unallied with the patriotism of Greek and Roman, but as much more intense in feeling as it was nobler in its idea and conception. When, however, in the course of ages, society became again reduced to its elements in small and definitely constituted communities, there was found to be no lack of the strictly civic virtues among professing Christians. The little republics of mediæval Italy were the centres of a genuine political interest, instinct, it will not be denied, and hallowed, we would add, with a Christian principle over and above the political. The period of the Great Rebellion attests alike the Christian principles and the patriotic interests of Englishmen. "Church and State" has been the watchword of many patriotic movements among us since, in which it would be hard to say whether the religious or the civic interest has predominated. In our own day, what Greek or Roman patriotism has exceeded the devotion of the millions of Christian Russia during the French invasion and the war in the Crimea? or of the millions of the American States, both Northern and Southern, in their recent civil dissensions? The French in 1793, and the Italians in 1859, both fought with the spirit of Rome and Athens, and both were born and bred at least under the influence of Christian teaching, encouraged by the traditions of many Christian centuries, and supported by the sympathy of Christian moralists. As a matter of fact, we do not think that since the formation of Christian States there has been the slightest degeneracy in civic virtues among them from the ancient Pagan standard so loudly vaunted. Christians may have been illogical in their application of the principles of their purely spiritual faith, and carnal in the worldliness of their civic views, but "Our country, right or wrong," has been their cry quite as generally, and almost as openly, as it was that of a Scipio or an Alexander.

Once more, let us examine the assertion that Polytheism was eminently tolerant, in as far as a contrast is implied in it between the moral practice of the of the Pagans and the Christians. We must regard Polytheism as its action was exemplified in the civic polity of the ancient nations; and we must remark at once that the toleration of the Roman government has been much magnified only because it has been much misunderstood. The Roman government tolerated all forms of religion towards which it entertained no jealousy. The Romans in their earlier period had a peculiar uneasy sense of their own intellectual and spiritual deficiency as a nation. They were eager to embrace the ideas of every people with whom they came in contact. They felt themselves inferior in these respects to the tribes which shared with them the soil of Italy, the Etruscans and the Greeks. They were conscious that, as conquerors of these old and decrepit communities, they had entered into possession of a culture higher and nobler than their own, and they bowed down with awe before the spiritual revelations of more august and more æsthetic religions. They incorporated with their own almost the whole of the Etruscan, almost the whole of the Hellenic ritual, until the religious system of Rome became the medley of jarring incongruities so unconsciously displayed to us in the *Fæsti* of Ovid.

But when they extended their conquests beyond Italy, and learnt to contemplate religious ideas and practices of a different, and, as they conceived, of an inferior type, the Romans were by no means disposed to regard them with the same favour. Perhaps, indeed, the imitative or receptive age of national childhood had then already passed with them. In Greece, beyond the sea, no doubt, they might find the same religion which they had already assimilated with their own at Neapolis and Tarentum; but with the ideas and practices of Carthage they felt no sympathy, nor allowed them for a moment to bear any part in the modification of their own. Neither in religion nor in polity, nor again in art, literature, or manners did the Romans accept or tolerate the ideas of their Punic foe. *Delenda est Carthago* was their motto, and they carried it out morally as well as physically. They rooted out the whole civilisation of Carthage as thoroughly as they overthrew her walls and levelled her palaces. A few lines of gibberish in a single play of Plautus represent all the intellectual genius which once illustrated the rival, the equal, for a moment the superior of Rome. If we do not read of any proscription or persecution of the Punic re-

ligion, it is because not the religion merely, but the whole political constitution, of the national enemy was devoted to proscription and annihilation. If the Armada had been successful, it would not have been a mere persecution of heresy that would have followed; the persecution would have merged in the extinction of the English polity, and, as far as practicable, in the destruction of the English people. This was what the Romans undertook and effected in Carthage. Certainly not a vestige of the Punic religion has survived in history from that catastrophe.

Of the Asiatic nations whom they conquered at a later period the Romans had generally no such jealousy. They did not care to exterminate the polities of Asia Minor and Syria, and accordingly they suffered their rituals to exist and flourish. But even this toleration was broken from time to time by outbursts of sanguinary repression. The mysteries of Bacchus were denounced as fatal to Roman manners, and hateful to the Roman gods. It concerned the honour of the gods, and the safety of the State depending on their favour, to interdict and banish them. The rites of Jews and Egyptians were proscribed for the same reason. The Jews were more than once expelled from Rome, and their worship severely prohibited, because in the Roman view the religion of the Jews was hateful to the gods, and therefore pregnant with danger to the polity of Rome. For the same reason, again, the Druidical caste was subjected to persecution, and actually exterminated by the arm of power. The religious ideas of the Gauls were in some degree assimilated with those of their conquerors, but the political expounders of their creed were utterly destroyed with fire and sword.

When Tiberius hazarded his politic sentiment that injuries to the gods may be left to the care of the gods themselves, the Roman conscience was outraged just as the conscience of mediæval Christendom would have been outraged. The Romans of that declining age felt as sensibly as our simple forefathers, in the flush of triumphant Christianity, the religious duty of protecting from foreign insult the object of their personal veneration. They had the same feelings as the Christian; feelings which were ready at any time to break out in acts of sanguinary persecution. It was only the immediate object of their feeling that was different. The Roman believed that his patrons must be protected to insure the safety of the State. The mediæval Christian held that the favour of God secured not only protection to the State, but spiritual help and benediction to the individual worshipper also.

Hitherto we have seen the Romans conquering and triumphant. The gods have been manifestly on their side. They have fought the battles of their patrons, and their patrons have fought their battles in return. There has been little occasion as yet to deprecate divine wrath for the protection of the legions or the laws of Rome. The conquerors have been free to tolerate the gods of the conquered, the puny rivals of their own victorious divinities. They have sanctioned the worship of them in their own homes, have introduced them even within the conquering city herself, have installed them on the Capitol by the side of the Roman gods, and amused themselves, or flattered their subjects, by imagining analogy, connexion, and even identity, between the powers of the one nation and of the others. A rationalizing system has arisen, philosophy has joined hands with superstition, and the Romans of the triumphant Empire are content languidly to acknowledge that, after all, the divers mythologies are all akin together,—the Jupiter of the Capitol is one with the Jupiter of Athens or Corinth, with Melcarth in Syria, with Teutates in Gaul, with Serapis in Egypt, with Hammon in the deserts of Libya; that the gods indeed are not jealous gods, but very indulgent to all who worship them, under whatever name, in whatever clime, with full hands and a fervent heart. The philosopher now thinks every religion equally false, but the populace thinks every religion no less equally true. A reign of universal toleration has been inaugurated by universal indifference. Such is the euthanasia to which the religion of Greece and Rome has come, or has seemed to come, at the culmination of Greek and Roman civilisation; and this is what modern philosophers point to when they declare that Polytheism, as contrasted with Christianity, was eminently tolerant.

But mark how utterly fallacious this dream of amiable toleration is proved to be. Another phase of the Roman polity appears. Rome is no longer conquering and triumphant. Rome can no longer maintain her own frontiers; she has lost battle after battle; emperors with their legions have fallen before Barbarian brigands. Her moral ascendancy is shaken along with her material force. She has felt the weight of the enemy's hand from without, and she quails beneath the influence of the enemy's ideas from within. The religious ideas of her own subjects, alien from those to which she has been herself accustomed, hostile to them, incompatible with them,—these ideas acquire new force, and begin to assume an alarming significance. The Roman instinctively connects them with the political

dangers and calamities around him. The one and the other appear distinctly in his mind as cause and effect. Has the German assailed the frontiers? has Fuscus lost his legions? has the Dacian crossed the Danube? has pestilence clung like the shirt of Nessus to the camp of Aurelius? has the Tiber inundated Rome? has the Nile refused to inundate Egypt? The gods are argy; the gods must be appeased; for gods there certainly are, and they have revealed themselves to the eye of faith in these public calamities.—“The Christians to the lions!” Here is Pagan persecution following immediately upon political disasters. The Pagan is not alarmed for his soul's health; he has not learned to anticipate spiritual judgments for the neglect or offence of his deities; he does not persecute for the good of his own soul, still less for the salvation of the soul of the offending unbeliever; but he persecutes swiftly, strongly, cruelly, unrelentingly, to secure himself from the temporal penalties which he apprehends from the indignation of the gods. The Romans threw the Christians to the lions, on the same principle as that on which the Church burnt the heretics,—because they apprehended from them the greatest evils that came within the scope of their comprehension. The difference was that, in the view of Paganism, the greatest of calamities were temporal and political, in that of Christianity they were spiritual and eternal. Hence the main endeavours of the Christian apologists was to prove from history that the polity of Rome had actually suffered often and grievously, even when the gods of Rome seemed to stand most secure on the thrones of Olympus. Rome had been defeated by Etruscans, Gauls, and Carthaginians, long before the advent of Christ, and the intrusion of a new religion; Rome had suffered plagues and famines through all the centuries of her conquests: her present sufferings could not then be ascribed to the diffusion of the gospel faith. But both Pagans and Christians agreed that this was the real ground of the persecutions of the age; the belief, right or wrong, that the Roman deities were incensed against Rome on account of the impiety imputed to Christianity. The principle, then, of persecution, was a natural development of the Pagan system, quite as much as of the Christian: its motives and presumed sanctions were analogous, if not identical. It is an utter mistake to suppose that it was generated on the soil of Christianity. The perverse corruption of the human imagination discovered it in the purer faith just as it had before discovered it in the grosser, and intensified it perhaps,

though even this may be doubted, in proportion to its intenser sense of the Divine favour or disfavour.

We are conscious that we have not done justice to the method and arrangement of the book before us in the desultory remarks into which we have permitted ourselves to diverge. But the scope of the work is so comprehensive, the topics upon which it expatiates so numerous and varied, the salient points so many and so provocative of question and discussion, the work itself, we may add, with full respect for the author's marked abilities, so deficient in unity and breadth of view, that we have perhaps unconsciously treated it rather as a collection of essays on the general subject than as a history, still less as a philosophy. After all, as Mr. Lecky himself acknowledges, the true history of Christian Morals can hardly be deduced in full from histories and public records. This is what we have already hinted in the course of these remarks as an important consideration, and these are the weighty words in which Mr. Lecky signalizes the same conclusion:—

"However much," he says (vol. ii. p. 156), "an historian may desire to extend his researches to the private and domestic virtues of a people, civic virtues are always those which must appear most prominently in his pages. History is concerned only with large bodies of men. The systems of philosophy or religion which produce splendid results on the great theatre of public life, are fully and easily appreciated, and readers and writers are both liable to give them very undue advantages over those systems which do not favour civic virtues, but exercise their beneficial influence in the more obscure fields of individual self-culture, domestic morals, or private charity. If valued by the self-sacrifice they imply, or by their effects upon human happiness, these last rank very high, but they seldom appear in history, and they therefore seldom obtain their due weight in historical comparisons. Christianity has, I think, suffered peculiarly from this cause. Its moral action has always been much more powerful upon individuals than upon societies, and the spheres in which its superiority over other religions is most incontestable are precisely those which history is least capable of realizing."

Assuredly it is impossible for the historian to describe the full effect of Christian principle, as it worked in the various classes of society in their domestic life, at any period between Augustus and Charlemagne. Of such operation there could be no records, and its visible phases appeared and disappeared with each succeeding generation. The quiet unobtrusive action of faith, hope, and charity, the purifying of the affections, the chastening of the passions, the extension

of the family affections, the intensifying of trust and love of God, the constant contemplation of the highest moral ideal, the assurance of a future life, and view of this present world as a trial and preparation for another, the conviction of the presence of God and Christ for ever with us, the "*circumfuso conscius ire Deo*" in a sense still higher than that of the most enthusiastic of the Stoics,—such things as these, the common heritage of all Christian souls, might leave little tangible on the surface of human affairs, or recognisable on the written page of history, while they were none the less real and active, and pervasive of the whole sphere of Christian life. We can only guess of the interior working of the faith in those earlier ages from what we can discern, and that too is but vague and fragmentary, of its effects among ourselves, in the domestic life of Christians around us. If we want to examine the history of Christian Morals we must look into our own hearts, and ask whether we are living the kind of life which we should be living if we were merely Pagans, Pagans born and bred, with Paganism before us, and around us, and beyond us. Are our own personal standards the same as what we can discover of theirs? Do we make any attempt to realize the Christian rather than the Pagan rule? And so of our neighbours and associates, of the classes with whom we have our daily dealings: do we or do we not recognise in them a higher rule, and a more or less conscientious striving after it? Failures there may be in ourselves, in our neighbours, among whole communities, sins glossed over with salves, virtues exaggerated into vices, many personal, some national, defects and departures from the Christian standard; nevertheless it is the fact, and it would be weakness, not humility, it would be treason rather than loyalty to our Master to deny it, that we discover no indistinct traces of an energy communicated by the faith that is in us, if it be in us at all; and so, little as we can really know of the interior lives of the earlier Christians, and much as we may discover of weakness and corruption and natural Paganism of the heart among them, we cannot doubt but that they too, like ourselves, having the same foundation as ourselves, did in fact exemplify in their lives a fuller conception of the requirements of the Christian law than can be traced in the imperfect records of external history.

But further, whatever be the shortcomings of Christian life, now or heretofore, they are no more than what a true understanding of the Scriptures themselves must lead us to expect. The gospel nowhere un-

dertakes to convert the world unto righteousness. On the contrary, we are required, in the most plain and striking terms, to be always prepared for its failure as regards the great majority of mankind. "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, and few there be that find it,"—this is the motto inscribed on the portals of Christianity. With all its array of sanctions and incentives, with the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier on our side, with objects no less awful than a heaven and a hell proposed for our choice, with a force and a solemnity to which no Pagan religion ever made pretension, we are never encouraged to expect that the most of men and women will choose the better way, or, choosing, will persist in it. On the whole, a candid review of the teaching of Scripture may assure us that Revelation is not given, and does not profess to be given, primarily for the promotion of morality upon earth. The advancement of morality is secondary with it, and incidental to it. The gospel claims to be a record of the means by which God is reconciled with man, with a view to man's final acceptance by Him hereafter. The Saviour is set before us as an object of faith. Faith in Him, a true and lively faith, will doubtless engender a moral life; but how many will embrace that faith, how many will persist in it, how many will apply it as a principle of moral purity? The gospel tells us very distinctly that the number of these will be few; and if so, it would be inconsistent in us to expect that true Christian morality should ever become general in the world, should ever so prevail as to overcome the common tendency to evil which Revelation asserts, and which the records of Pagan, and even of Christian, life so fearfully attest. Read with such a proviso as this, the history of European Morals, as detailed to us by Mr. Lecky, or by any other inquirer, even though it be more painful and mortifying to Christians than it is here on the whole represented, will serve, in the mind of the believer, to cast no impeachment whatever upon the claim of Christianity to be a revelation from God.

#### ART. IV.—GEOLOGICAL TIME.

1. *On the Secular Cooling of the Earth.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Trans. R.S.E., 1862, and Phil. Mag., 1863, ii.; Thomson and Tait's Natural Philosophy, vol. i. App. D.
2. *The Uniformitarian Theory of Geology briefly refuted.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Proc. R.S.E., 1865.

VOL. L.

N—15

3. *On Geological Time.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Trans. of the Geological Society of Glasgow, 1868.
4. *President's Address to the Geological Society of London, February 1869.* By Professor HUXLEY.
5. *Of Geological Dynamics.* Part I. *Reply to Professor Huxley's Address to the Geological Society of London.* Part II. *Origin and Total Amount of Plutonic Energy.* Part III. *Note on the Meteoric Theory of the Sun's Heat.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Trans. of the Geological Society of Glasgow, 1869.
6. *Mathematics versus Geology.* Pall Mall Gazette, May 3, 1869.
7. *The Origin of Species.* North British Review, 1867.
8. *Presidential Address to the British Association at Norwich, 1868.* By Dr. HOOKER.
9. *On the Age of the Sun's Heat.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Macmillan's Magazine, 1862.

THE papers above mentioned have a more or less direct bearing upon what is assuredly one of the most important as well as the most interesting scientific discussions of the present century. Well might it be said, considering not merely the importance of the questions at issue, but also the qualifications of the principal champion on either side—

"expectation stood

In horror: from each hand with speed retired,  
Where erst was thickest fight, the angelic throng,  
And left large field, unsafe within the wind  
Of such commotion; such as, to set forth  
Great things by small, if, nature's concord broke,  
Among the constellations war were sprung,  
Two planets rushing from aspect malign  
Of fiercest opposition, in mid-sky  
Should combat, and their jarring spheres confront."

Nothing short of such a classic extract can fitly describe the controversy carried on in the journals above named; the antagonists being undoubtedly each the foremost man in Britain in his subject—Sir William Thomson in Applied Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Professor Huxley in Physiology and Natural History. Why and about what should such authorities differ? If they have anywhere common ground, can their methods give inconsistent results? Is not truth single? These and like questions rise before us with breath-taking rapidity. The answer is unfortunately but too easily given; we find it proclaimed without any attempt at disguise in the (spoken) words of a great living geologist. (We quote from memory, but believe we express the exact

sense of his remark.) "I should certainly not accept any mathematical result connected with Geology if it were inconsistent with the results obtained by *our* mode of treating *our* subject. I would not accept a thousand, or even a hundred thousand, millions of years, or any limit whatever imposed by physical science. I am just as incompetent to judge of the evidence on which *you* go as you are to judge of *ours*." Which is equivalent to telling mathematicians and natural philosophers, in common slang, to "mind their own business, and let other folk be."

Something there is, in this, very much resembling those most objectionable theories and practices of the Trades-Unionists which have recently been held up to public execration. The unfortunate "knobstick" is, relatively to his delicacy of feeling, which requires at least a brickbat to make an impression upon it, not treated worse than the mathematician who presumes to undertake a part, however small, of the work arrogated to himself by a non-mathematical savant. We may compare it also to the senseless outcry against machinery which has disgraced almost every age of the world. That educated scientific men should thus fall into the wretched fallacies of handloom-weavers, boot-closers, and (*pudet dicere*) even of Irish reapers, is surely a very singular psychological phenomenon, worthy the attention of sensational writers on obscure diseases of the mind and brain. Even Professor Huxley says, in his Address (above mentioned, the capitals are ours),—"We have exercised a wise discrimination in declining to meddle with our foundations at the bidding of the first *PASSER-BY* who fancies that our house is not so well built as it might be:"—which looks like an unintentional parody of one of Victor Hugo's latest ironical queries, "*Où en serait-on si le premier venu avait des droits?*" In Sir W. Thomson's "*Reply*," this boast of Professor Huxley is met in the mildest and meekest spirit:—calculated, we think, as Geologists at present are, merely to produce fresh and more uncalled-for attacks upon him. For the *moment*, we fear he weakens, not his cause but, his chance of a hearing by not sufficiently showing his teeth:—

"I cannot pass from Professor Huxley's last sentence without asking, Who are the occupants of 'our house,' and who is the 'passer-by'? Is geology not a branch of physical science? Are investigations, experimental and mathematical, of underground temperature, not to be regarded as an integral part of geology? Are suggestions from astronomy and thermo-dynamics, when adverse to a tendency in geological speculation recently become extensively popular in England through the bril-

liancy and eloquence of its chief promoters, to be treated by geologists as an invitation to meddle with their foundations, which a 'wise discrimination' declines? For myself, I am anxious to be regarded by geologists, not as a mere passer-by, but as one constantly interested in their grand subject, and anxious, in any way, however slight, to assist them in their search for truth."

In connexion with Professor Huxley's metaphor, Dr. Hooker's remark about Lyell may be read with profit. The contrast is at least curious:—

"Well may he be proud of a superstructure raised on the foundations of an insecure doctrine when he finds that he can underpin it, substitute a new foundation, and after all is finished, survey his edifice, not only more secure, but more harmonious in its proportions than it was before."

This of course means that a *Geologist* is perfectly at liberty to retain his "superstructure" while entirely altering his foundations; but we shall see presently that even Dr. Hooker (who has allowed this much) is quite as indignant at the *Mathematician* who proffers assistance, as any geologist can be.

This sort of thing won't do in Science, and the sooner scientific men of every species recognise the fact the better. Although there is often something almost ludicrous and contemptible about the *mere* mathematician, whose *ratio existendi* it is difficult to conjecture, yet mathematics are indispensable to the complete development of every real science: and he who discourages their application simply repeats, in perhaps a more telling form, the bigoted blunder of the otherwise great astronomer, who persistently refused the aid of the telescope in his observations, and thus immeasurably diminished the usefulness of his long and important labours. The same foolish bigotry is even now-a-days not uncommon with a certain class of Physiologists and Anatomists, who cling to what they call "real old Anatomy," and look with scorn upon their brethren who avail themselves of the wonderful powers of the microscope.

Every scientific man ought to be, as far as he can, a mathematician: just as every literary man ought to be more or less of a classical scholar. In a certain, usually somewhat pedantic, sense this is the case in Germany and France; but certainly in no sense in Britain, for here few even of our Natural Philosophers, with a mere unit or two among our Chemists, and none of our Physiologists, can lay claim to more than the most beggarly elements of mathematical knowledge. Such a man as Helmholtz, Physiologist and yet Mathematician and Natural Philosopher



(and in the very front rank in all three), would be a *monster* in this country. It is mainly to this that we must ascribe the fact that there is little such hostility between different groups of genuine scientific men abroad as we find everywhere at home; few of those petty rivalries of subjects, which are the disgrace of all science. In saying this we are aware that even abroad the METAPHYSICIANS claim to have a word on every subject, as they have long done in this country; but there, as here, few really scientific men now-a-days pay much attention to them: mere soap-bubbles, they are uninjured by the keen thrust of the scientific rapier, but collapse into a drop of water before the blown bladder of the jester: and they are considerably left to form a sect *per se*, wherein complacent vanity and self-sufficiency are almost as rife as mutual recrimination.

According to Professor Huxley, "Mathematics may be compared to a mill of exquisite workmanship, which grinds you stuff of any degree of fineness; but, nevertheless, what you get out depends on what you put in; and as the grandest mill in the world will not extract wheat-flour from peascods, so pages of formulæ will not get a definite result out of loose data."

According to Common Sense (which, though it is not obvious in the preceding extract, Professor Huxley claims to wield as one of his most formidable weapons; and which we are therefore surprised to find taking the field against him), Mathematics cannot pretend to deduce from any data results not therein involved, nor can it pretend to improve observations which are known to have been loosely made, or in which good approximations were unattainable: but it has the special advantage (possessed by no other method) of being able to estimate numerically the *weight* or *value* of every conclusion it furnishes. And no mathematician, worthy of the name, would state, without indicating (as well as his information enabled him) the limits of error, a result derived from "loose data:" much less would he employ "pages of formulæ" for the purpose.

The fact is that, although many scientific men (in Britain) may attempt to ignore it, Mathematics is as essential an element of progress in every real science as language itself; but it cannot be usefully introduced until we have arrived at something a little beyond what may be called the mere "beetle-hunting" or "crab-catching" stage. If Professor Huxley is inclined to admit that Geology is still in this very imperfect state, all we can say is that, with Sir W. Thomson, we think otherwise, and so thinking feel that mathematical knowledge ought to be brought

to the aid of men of real merit and genius, who are now hopelessly floundering about for want of it.

It is the business of every real mathematician to make, as far as in him lies, useful applications of his grand instrument; if he do not, and yet is active, he too often works, not at improving his instrument (work which would of course be of value) but, at applying it to imaginary and in general ridiculous "Problems" in whose data the facts of physical science are ignored, or at quips and puzzles for the *Lady's and Gentleman's Diary*. Such a fate is worse than oblivion, it is a perennial self-gibbeting.

Let us then hear no more nonsense about the interference of mathematicians in matters with which they have no concern; rather let them be lauded for condescending from their proud pre-eminence to help out of a rut the too ponderous waggon of some scientific brother.

It is only within the last two or three years that a few logicians have been able so far to get over this abominably miscalled *esprit de corps* as to think the late Dr. Boole excusable for having published his magnificent work on *The Laws of Thought*; a work which, look at it from what side we may, is one of the grandest scientific monuments of the present century. But in Geology, as in Logic, Mathematics is now advancing to play the part of Henry VIII., and,

"We hear the sacrilegious cry,  
'Down with the nests and the rooks will fly.'"

We should not have associated, at the head of this article, with the acknowledged writings of men of such deserved reputation as Sir W. Thomson and Professor Huxley, the critical remarks of an anonymous journalist (we happen to know well the high qualifications of the former writer in this *Review*), were it not that these remarks have unfortunately obtained far more extensive publicity than the writings they refer to. This person may do considerable mischief by his assuming to speak with authority, and "not as the scribes." Who, where, or what, he is we have not the slightest notion; and we can therefore freely examine his production. It is one of a class which is now-a-days becoming far too common, and which every man of true scientific feeling ought to do his best to discourage, a critique (?) of the most one-sided character, made entirely without knowledge of the merits and defects of either side. Its tone, too, is throughout *studiously* insolent and offensive to Sir W. Thomson, and such as justly to deprive the writer of all claim to be treated with the courtesy ever due to an honourable opponent. Per-

haps, before we have done with it, we may be able to show that its author has in this outburst effected nothing but a complete and humiliating demonstration of his own ignorance and prejudice. Though a Hercules or a Briareus is usually required for any effective intervention in a war of the gods, we have legendary authority for believing that commoner mortals may occasionally be of some service; but Thersites makes his appearance only to be ignominiously exposed and sent howling to the hulks:—

μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ κάρη ὤμοισιν ἐπείη,  
μηδ' ἔτι Τηλεμύχοιο πατὴρ κεκλημένος εἶην,  
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἴματα δύσω,  
χλαῖνάν τ' ἥδ' ἑλκύνω, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θοᾶς ἐπὶ νῆας, ἀφήσω  
πεπληγὼς ἀγορήθεν ἀεικίσει πηγήσῃ.

By far the grandest question in Geology proper, though one which Hutton expressly declines to deal with, is that of the original formation and early history of the Earth, for in its answer are included, to a great extent, the present and the future. For our present purpose it is not necessary to consider any of the theories, some of them very plausible, which have of late been propounded as to the origin of Suns and Planets by the falling together of discrete masses originally scattered about in space. What we wish to consider is how far observation of those strata with which alone the geologist can ever be acquainted, assisted by such astronomical and physical information as we can gather from the earth's figure, internal heat, rate of rotation, etc., is fitted to guide us in reckoning back to what must have occurred in earlier ages of the world. Have we any means of forming an opinion as to the state of our globe so much as one, ten, or one hundred, million years ago? Let us first consider what the geologists can fairly attempt by data derived from their own science. If we find their methods at best extremely inadequate to the solution of such grand questions, we must next inquire whether physical science has not other resources at least a little superior to theirs.

Geologists may argue the point from various sides, most easily from the important action of water in modifying the earth's surface. For instance, given the thickness of a bed of stratified rock, whose appearance at once proves that it has been deposited at the bottom of an ocean or of an immense lake, and assuming from what we see going on at present around us the most probable rate at which such deposits are formed, we can at once calculate the most probable requisite time. Or we may consider the disintegrating and wearing effects of water,

instead of its constructive effects, and seek how long time has been required for the erosion of portions which we see have been by its agency removed from a rock or deposit whose character is known from the fragments which remain. Still there is a possible fallacy, for deposition and denudation may have alternated many times during the formation or destruction of such beds of rock. All deductions of these kinds are therefore necessarily of extreme vagueness, and they can at best only supply an exceedingly rough approximation to an *inferior* limit of the time required, leaving the superior limit capable of any magnitude whatever. There are various other conceivable methods, open to the geologist as such, but they all have the same utterly unsatisfactory character, and yield an inferior limit only. Now what is wanted is a *superior* limit, and the veritable origin of the present discussion is the fact that, when methods capable of giving a superior limit of time have been applied, they are found to show that even the inferior limits usually assigned by geologists are of totally inadmissible duration. Such periods were really first introduced by the so-called *Uniformitarian* school of geologists, of whom Hutton and Playfair in former days, and Lyell in the present, may be taken as types. Their ruling notion is that all changes are essentially periodic, and thus that the earth has a sort of normal state, from which it can never differ more than a little, and about which it continually oscillates. To deny this, was, according to Playfair, virtually to assert that "the Author of nature has given laws to the universe, which, like the institutions of men, carry in themselves the elements of their own destruction." The whole passage from which this extract is taken is given by Sir W. Thomson, and he has summarily pointed out its outrageous fallacies. It has been quoted over and over again with approval by Teleologists and authors of Systems of Natural Religion, but it is simply a confusion of two perfectly distinct things, the *permanence of physical laws* (an idea whose correctness we have no reason to doubt), and the *permanence of the present state of things* on the globe (which no one acquainted with modern science can for a moment believe in). A better observer, though not a less pious or less orthodox man than any of the Teleologists, says

"Change and Decay in all around I see;"

yet in the eyes of many of the unenlightened a denial of Playfair's assumption is even now little better than atheism. But these gigantic periods, introduced by the Uniformi-

tarians without any physical proof of their admissibility, have been even farther extended by more recent theorists; such as Darwin, for instance, who requires them for his *Development of Species*.

As we have just seen, the ordinary geological methods are quite incapable of setting any superior limit to such periods: and, before proceeding farther, it may help us a little, as regards the strange revelations presently to come, if we look for a moment at the way in which even a President of the British Association speaks of a branch of science of which there can be no offence in saying he is certainly not a master. The attack is directed against conclusions of physical science, with regard to geology, which have been expressed in our pages, and its fallacies *must* therefore be at least noticed here.

A brief *résumé* of a few of Sir W. Thomson's views on Geological Time was given in this *Review* in 1837, in an article on *The Origin of Species*, and the only attempt at an answer to them, as there stated, which we have yet seen, was that made by Dr. Hooker in his Presidential Address to the British Association at Norwich. We cannot now enter into a complete examination of his reasoning, but we may take a single very curious specimen—

"While fully admitting that Astronomy is the most certain in its methods and results of all sciences, that she (*sic*) has called forth some of the highest efforts of the intellect, and that her results far transcend in grandeur those of any other science, I think we may hesitate before we admit her queenship, her perfection, or her sole claims to interpretation and prophecy. Her methods are mathematics, she may call geometry and algebra her handmaidens, but she is none the less their slave. No science is really perfect; certainly not that which lately erred 2,000,000 miles in so fundamental a datum as the earth's distance from the sun."

There is here a most unaccountable confusion between the results deduced *directly* from measurements of a quantity which requires some telescopic power to observe it at all, and those deduced from rigorous mathematical processes. That an *Observer* should make an error of a few *hundredths* of a second of arc (each corresponding to about a *hundred thousand miles* in the thence computed distance of the sun), in a quantity whose utmost value is some eight or nine seconds, surely need excite no surprise. Rather is it remarkable that such a close approximation has already been reached in a determination of such extreme delicacy. He who would deny this must have a very

singular idea of what a second of arc is, and what limit of accuracy is attainable in the most perfect of astronomical observations. The coming transits of Venus will show what amount of improvement instruments and modes of observation have received within the last century, but few astronomers will say that there may not still remain an uncertainty of some hundreds of thousands of miles in the sun's distance. It is well worthy of notice, however, that experimental determinations of the velocity of light demonstrated the inexactness of the former estimate of the sun's distance, and that such physical methods may possibly prove as efficient as more direct astronomical ones. The nature of the difficulty here considered has been well compared to that of determining the distance of a steeple some ten or twenty miles off; the observer being limited to the length of base-line afforded by an ordinary window-sill. But that unavoidable instrumental imperfections, and necessarily inadequate conditions of observing, should be regarded by *any* genuine scientific man as a defect in the *Science* of Physical Astronomy altogether passes belief.

To get a superior limit to the possible duration of something not very different from the present state of things on the earth other sciences than Geology must be appealed to; and here, because, and *only because*, our scientific men are usually mere specialists, the Natural Philosopher is required. What can a geologist, as such, tell about the nature, origin, and duration of the Sun's heat? Yet, suppose it could be shown that ten million years ago the sun was very much hotter than it now is, would not that fact have an important bearing on the length of time during which plants and animals have inhabited the earth? What can he tell us about the internal heat of the earth, and the rate at which it is at present being lost? Yet if it could be shown, on strict physical principles, that ten million years ago the underground temperature was at least that of red heat at a depth of one thousand feet below the surface, would not that materially influence his speculations? He may tell the mathematician to "mind his own business;" but the mathematician must reply, "My business is in this case to save you from ignorantly committing egregious blunders, which not only retard the progress of your own science, but tend to render all science a laughing-stock to the uninitiated."

Having thus pointed out the nature of the questions involved in the present discussion, we shall examine, in order, the more

especially combative of the various articles enumerated above.

Sir W. Thomson's paper, *On Geological Time*, was read to the Glasgow Geological Society last year. The main point referred to in it is the tidal retardation of the earth's motion, but the questions of the loss of energy from the sun and earth by radiation are also considered. He takes as his text the oft-quoted passage from Playfair, already alluded to, in which it is asserted that, however far we look into the past or the future, with reference either to the solar system or to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, "we discover no mark either of the commencement or the termination of the present order." As regards the solar system, he founds his statement upon the celebrated result, then just obtained by Lagrange and Laplace, that the dimensions, inclinations, and eccentricities of the orbits of the planets could not be permanently altered by their mutual action, but must fluctuate in value between certain very narrow limits, though the periods of these fluctuations were shown to be in general very long. This was no doubt a most remarkable conclusion, one which still remains worthy of our highest admiration, but unfortunately it is not true; and with it falls the main prop of Playfair's statement. In obtaining the result, the French mathematicians used methods of approximation only (the solution of the problem in its generality appears even now to be hopeless), equivalent on the whole to omitting squares of the disturbing forces, i. e., they virtually assumed, in calculating the effect of one planet on another, that the position of the first had not been affected by the second, besides formally neglecting terms of the third and higher orders of small quantities such as the eccentricities and inclinations. No doubt the quantities thus left out of account are exceedingly small, and negligible with perfect propriety, so long as the result of a few thousand years', or even a few tens of thousands of years', perturbations are considered; but it remains to be shown that, small as they are, they do not involve as surely the destruction of the solar system as the infinitesimal effect of each passing foot-step renders in time new pavement necessary on a frequented street. In all probability this cannot be done; but even if it could, there is something more which at once decides the question. The investigations of Lagrange and Laplace took no account of the resistance, which physical science has shown is called into play by every motion of matter, and of which Newton was well aware, for he distinctly says,—“Majora au-

tem planetarum et cometarum corpora motus suos, et progressivos et circulares, in spatiis minus resistentibus factos, conservant diutius.” This implies that he knew that all motions of the planets and comets are resisted, but that in virtue of the masses of these bodies and the rarity of interplanetary matter, the effects of such forces of resistance would take a long time to accumulate sufficiently to become discoverable. But a “long time” is one thing, and “however far we look into the past or the future” is another and a very different thing (containing, in fact, the point originally at issue in this discussion.) Taking this into account, the proposition of Lagrange and Laplace retains merely its present mathematical and astronomical value; properly estimated, it turns against Playfair, and upsets his conclusion. To show how fixed was this notion of permanence in Playfair's mind, and to what astounding limits of extravagance he was prepared to go, in spite of his better reason, whenever it was by possibility involved, take the following extract from his critique on *Vince's Gravitation* in the *Edinburgh Review* (1808–9). He is speaking of a very ridiculous hypothesis, put forward by John Bernoulli (who was no physicist, and as inferior to his brother in mathematics as he was in temper and in honesty), as to the cause of gravitation:—

“One circumstance in the favour of a hypothesis which has so little in other respects to recommend it, we must not omit to mention. It is, that the formation of the particles issuing from the sun into little balls which return to the sun again, presents us with something like a circulation, by which light is made to return to the luminary from which it was originally emitted. That light does so return in reality, by some means or other, is extremely probable, and conformable to the maxim, that nature nowhere admits of unlimited and progressive change. Such change, however slow, must destroy the order of which it makes a part, and is therefore very unlike the economy observed in the other phenomena of the heavens. Bernoulli's theory, therefore, includes at least one particular, in which the wisdom and simplicity of nature appears to have been consulted.”

Sir W. Thomson proceeds to give an exceedingly clear and simple statement of the effects and *modus operandi* of one very interesting case of resistance—that offered by the tides to the earth's rotation. The celebrated Kant, who was a mathematician and a naturalist before he took up the study of metaphysics, and whose conclusions (like those of Sir W. R. Hamilton) are therefore usually of real value, or at least such as in general to merit serious consideration, long ago pointed out that the tidal wave, held back

as it were by the moon and sun while the earth revolves underneath it, must act as a sort of friction break, gradually diminishing the velocity of the earth's rotation. But Kant had no means of ascertaining, even roughly, what may be the amount of this effect; nor does he seem to have pointed out any other consequences of this action: such, for instance, as change of the moon's distance from the earth, or change of the earth's distance from the sun, and consequent change of length of the year. Now-a-days, with the principles of Energy to guide us, we know that in all friction heat is produced, and that this heat corresponds to so much energy of visible motion irrecoverably transformed, and therefore degraded. This degradation must last so long as there is relative motion of the earth and the tide-wave; and thus the final tendency (so far as the moon alone is concerned) is to diminish the earth's velocity of rotation until it shall turn always the same side to the moon, *i. e.*, to make the day of the same length as the lunar month and lunar day. What an admirable verification of this physical prediction is afforded by the moon herself! The present condition of her surface shows that at some former period her whole crust, if not her whole substance, must have been in a molten state. Thinking of the enormous tides which must have been produced by the earth in this viscous mass of molten rock, we can easily understand how quickly its rate of rotation, whether originally greater or less than that of its rate of revolution, must have been compelled by friction to become identical with it; as we know it to be (*pace* Jellinger Symmonds, and his followers) by the simple fact that only one side of the moon has ever, within historical time, been visible to us. The following extract from Thomson's paper gives some additional particulars, and is well worthy of note as a most luminous verbal explanation of a subject which one might be inclined to fancy could hardly be raised from the domain of symbolic calculation:—

"But we may go further, and say that tidal action on the earth disturbs, by re-action, the moon. The tidal deformation of the water exercises the same influence on the moon as if she were attracted, not precisely in the line towards the earth's centre, but, in a line slanting very slightly, relatively to her motion, in the direction forwards. The moon, then, continually experiences a force forward in her orbit by re-action from the waters of the sea. Now, it might be supposed for a moment that a force acting forwards would quicken the moon's motion; but, on the contrary, the action of that force is to retard her motion. It is a curious fact easily explained, that a force continually

acting forward with the moon's motion will tend, in the long run, to make the moon's motion slower, and increase her distance from the earth. On the other hand, the effect of a resisting force on, for instance, the earth would undoubtedly be, in the course of ages, to make the earth go faster and faster round the sun. The reason is, that the resistance allows the earth to fall in a spiral path towards the sun, whose attraction generates more velocity than frictional resistance destroys. The tidal deformation of the water on the earth tends, on the whole, therefore, to retard the moon's angular motion in her orbit; but (by the accompanying augmentation of her distance from the earth) to increase the *moment of her motion* round the earth's centre. And the ultimate tendency—so far as the earth's rotation is concerned—must be to make the earth keep always the same face to the moon.

"It may be remarked, in passing, that the corresponding tendency has probably already had effect on the moon itself. The moon always turns the same face to the earth. If the moon were now a liquid mass, there would be enormous tides in it. The friction in that fluid would cause the moon to tend to turn the same face towards the earth: and we find the moon turns the same face always to the earth. It seems almost inevitable to our minds, constituted as they are, to connect possible cause and real effect, and say that a possible cause is a real cause; and thus to believe the reason why the moon turns always the same side to us is because it was once a liquid mass which experienced tides and viscous resistance against the tidal motion. The only other view we can have—the only other hypothesis we can make—is, that the moon was created with such an angular velocity as to turn always the same face to the earth. But the course of speculative and physical science is absolutely irresistible as regards the relation between cause and effect. Whenever we can find a possible antecedent condition of matter, we cannot help inferring that that possible antecedent did really exist as a preceding condition—a condition, it may be, preceding any historical information we can have—but preceding and being a condition from which the present condition of things has originated by force acting according to laws controlling all matter."

But, it may be asked, how can even so beautiful a physical deduction as this be brought to bear upon the speculations of geologists? We answer, in many ways; but of these we need mention but one, our object at present being to show the nature rather than the extent of the argument. We again quote Thomson:—

"Now, if the earth is losing angular velocity at that great rate, at what rate might it have been rotating a thousand millions years ago? It must have been rotating faster by one-seventh part than at present, and the centrifugal force must have been greater in the ratio of the square of 8 to the square of 7, that is, in the ratio of 64 to 49. There must have then been

more centrifugal force at the equator due to rotation than now, in the proportion of 64 to 49. What does the theory of geologists say to that? There is just now at the equator one two-hundred-and-eighty-ninth part of the force of gravity relieved by centrifugal force. If the earth rotated seventeen times faster bodies would fly off at the equator. The present figure of the earth agrees closely with the supposition of its having been all fluid not many million years ago.

"The centrifugal force a hundred million years ago would be greater by about 3 per cent. than it is now, according to the preceding estimate of tidal retardation; and nothing we know regarding the figure of the earth, and the disposition of land and water, would justify us in saying that a body consolidated when there was more centrifugal force by 3 per cent. than now might not now be in all respects like the earth, so far as we know it at present. But if you go back to ten thousand million years ago—which, I believe, will not satisfy some geologists—the earth must have been rotating more than twice as fast as at present—and if it had been solid then, it must be (*sic*) now something totally different from what it is. Now, here is direct opposition between physical astronomy, and modern geology as represented by a very large, very influential, and, I may also add, in many respects, philosophical and sound body of geological investigators, constituting perhaps a majority of British geologists. It is quite certain that a great mistake has been made—that British popular geology at the present time is in direct opposition to the principles of natural philosophy. Without going into details, I may say it is no matter whether the earth's lost time is 22 seconds, or considerably more or less than 22 seconds, in a century, the principle is the same. There cannot be uniformity. The earth is filled with evidences that it has not been going on forever in the present state, and that there is a progress of events towards a state infinitely different from the present."

Surely the dullest of unprejudiced readers can hardly fail to see the gist of this passage; but, lest there should be any difficulty, we may summarize it thus: The figure of the earth, while still fluid, depended on its rate of rotation, being the more flattened the greater its velocity. The loss of velocity by tidal action is known well enough to show that had the earth become solid ten thousand million years ago, its shape could not have been that which it now presents. Why we have thus given again, in the roughest and coarsest form, one small part of the above extract, the reader will soon see.

As an amusing but painful contrast, let us turn to the remarks made on this in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Here we find Thomson's reasoning about the *figure* of the earth transformed into something absolutely astounding:—"The first argument is based on the fact that the tides tend to retard the rate of the earth's rotation on its axis, and that,

therefore, there was a time when the earth ROTATED TOO SWIFTLY FOR THE EXISTENCE OF LIFE." (The capitals are ours.) "Call you that, backing of your friends? A plague upon such backing, give me them that will face me." We can well fancy Professor Huxley's disgust at the "backing" of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Thomson proceeds to consider, as irrefragable disproofs of the Uniformitarian hypothesis, the rates at which both Sun and Earth are even now cooling. A hot body, cooling, has just before been somewhat hotter, and was then in all probability cooling more rapidly. This argument may be extended backwards for any required amount of time, without the least risk of physical error, and it must finally lead us, and within a very moderate number of millions of years, to a period when the earth, in consequence partly of its internal heat and partly of solar radiation, had at its surface a temperature quite inconsistent with the existence of organic life. The details of the requisite calculation, so far as internal heat is concerned, are very simple, and will be found appended to the paper (above mentioned) in the *Proc. R.S.E.*, 1865, which we are tempted to quote in full:—

"The 'Doctrine of Uniformity' in Geology, as held by many of the most eminent of British geologists, assumes that the earth's surface and upper crust have been nearly as they are at present in temperature, and other physical qualities, during millions of millions of years. But the heat which we know, by observation, to be now conducted out of the earth yearly is so great, that if this action had been going on with any approach to uniformity for 20,000 million years, the amount of heat lost out of the earth would have been about as much as would heat, by 100° Cent., a quantity of ordinary surface rock of 100 times the earth's bulk. [The calculation is appended.] This would be more than enough to melt a mass of surface-rock equal in bulk to the *whole earth*. No hypothesis as to chemical action, internal fluidity, effects of pressure at great depth, or possible character of substances in the interior of the earth, possessing the smallest vestige of probability, can justify the supposition that the earth's upper crust has remained nearly as it is, while from the whole, or from any part, of the earth, so great a quantity of heat has been lost."

That the reader may feel the full force of this argument, it is only necessary to point out to him that Sir W. Thomson expressly gives uniformitarianism the best possible conditions—conditions in fact really inadmissible, though (even when allowed) found utterly inadequate to the defence of the theory. For nothing in physics can be more

certain than that the hotter a body is (*ceteris paribus*), the faster it loses its heat. Hence Thomson might have carried his argument (with perfect accuracy and propriety) a great deal farther than he has done in this paper. Here, however, he was dealing professedly with the geologists, and had to consult their exceeding weakness in matters pertaining, however slightly, to mathematics; while, three years before, in the first paper cited above, he had treated the question in a masterly way, and with the help of some of Fourier's beautiful formulæ, taking account of the greater rate of dissipation when the temperature of the globe was higher. This, of course, led him to results (as to the possible limit of time which can be allowed) considerably more restricted than those advanced in the paper we are now considering; and the geologists at once seize upon this *palpable inconsistency* (!) and declare that it shows that none of his results are worthy of acceptance. Their reasoning, if we can call it such, is not less absurd than would be that of a man who could say that there is *inconsistency* between such statements as the following—In order that two individuals who have been taxed, the one at ten per cent. on his capital, the other by an annual fine of £10, may now have each £100, twenty years ago the one must have had £822 and the other only £300:—neither being supposed to gain from any external source during the process. Or, from another point of view, if £300 be the greatest capital either could have had at starting—the process may have lasted *twenty* years with the annual fine of £10, while it could not have lasted so much as *eleven* years at the annual ten per cent. of simple interest.

This Uniformitarianism has received its death-blow, and the operation has been performed as a duty, cheerfully but considerably, without malignity or ostentation. No one, in fact, except our Thersites, who seems neither to have got up the case made for the side he advocates, nor even apparently to be capable of distinguishing between Don Quixote and his squire,\* has attempted a word in its defence. For, when we look to the Address of Professor Huxley, we find that, far from defending Uniformitarianism, he does his best to drop it entirely as an awkward witness, or rather as a discreditable acquaintance. In passing, for the time, from the consideration of Sir W. Thomson's

first paper, we would say of it that, while it brings forward a formidable array of well-put objections, completely subversive of Uniformitarianism, it is obviously not meant as a complete sketch of the subject, fitted to answer, by anticipation, ingenious criticisms which may be, and have (since it was published) been brought forward by men of the calibre and determination of Professor Huxley. And it is therefore very satisfactory that such a man, qualified not merely by knowledge, but by acuteness of intellect, should have done his best (as we presume he has done from the circumstances under which his Address was delivered) to point out a possible flaw here and there in the argument, if not entirely to upset it. We do not, of course, assume that Professor Huxley has condensed into this brief Address all that he could say in answer to Sir W. Thomson; for the rest we must probably wait a little; but we may take for granted that he has seized upon what appeared to him to be the most inadmissible of Sir W. Thomson's statements.

Also, we may be allowed to remark, that it is unfortunate for the cause of progress that these statements should have appeared in a journal as yet comparatively obscure: though that journal, if it often contain contributions of such value, will soon, as regards circulation, stand on a par with any of its now more favoured rivals. No matter should they be lightly treated for the present, such articles will be dug up and admired by another generation:—when geologists have at length been brought to see that there can be no incompatibility between genuine scientific methods; and when the really good work which Huxley has done is alone remembered—this phase of opposition to rigorous physics being mercifully forgotten.

Let us here record that the writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* introduces Professor Huxley's Address as a "crushing refutation of Sir W. Thomson's conclusion." This will prepare the reader for the next scene of the tragedy.

The Address, which we now proceed to examine, is certainly clever, dashing, and plausible; but when perused with attention it is found to be seriously illogical. Professor Huxley several times changes front, and at least twice attacks Sir W. Thomson for saying what he has in effect himself conceded a page or two before.

He prefaces his Address by the following quotations from Sir W. Thomson's paper:—

"A great reform in geological speculation seems now to have become necessary." "It is quite certain that a great mistake has been

\* "We entirely agree with Sir W. Thomson, that 'it is quite certain that a great mistake has been made;' but it is one similar in kind to Sancho Panza's (*sic*) attack on the windmill, and it has not been made by the British popular geologists."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, ut supra.

made,—that British popular geology at the present time is in direct opposition to the principles of Natural Philosophy."

The first of these is perhaps, if taken alone, rather vague, and therefore somewhat sensational. But the second completely explains the sense and bearing of the whole paper. What do we understand by British *popular geology*? Obviously not the views which may be held by a very few of the leading geologists, who are therefore in a sense looked on as heretics by the rest, but those views which are now being disseminated in all directions in Popular Lectures and Popular Text-books. It is mighty well for Professor Huxley to come forward and show that, so far as his own notions are concerned, a comparatively few millions of years will suffice for the observed development of organic life on the earth; but if in this respect he has by his own methods (possibly assisted by the conclusions of the first paper on our list, published about six years ago) arrived at nearly the same conclusions as Sir W. Thomson, why cry out against the Natural Philosopher? This is, to say the least, disingenuous, as is his oblivion of the very title of Thomson's second paper (above mentioned), which shows at once against which school the remarks were directed. But still more so is his affected ignorance of the patent fact that *popular geologists* (who in this country form the great majority of the geologists, and to whom Sir W. Thomson pointedly refers), with no less authorities than Lyell, Ramsay, Darwin, and Jukes at their head, still talk with the wildest looseness about thousands and tens of thousands of millions of years as the very least periods they can accept. Seeing that he is at one with Sir W. Thomson, inasmuch as the period which he considers to be required is nearly that which Thomson shows may be admitted, why does he not hail the coincidence as greatly strengthening his own independent conclusions? We fear the true answer must be what we indicated above: Sir W. Thomson is not a professional geologist, and therefore must perforce be snubbed—*coûte quo coûte*. As we have but too lately seen, when two Irish mobs are engaged in the sweet pastime of murdering one another, the interference of the police at once reconciles the hostile factions into one great brotherhood, which proceeds incontinently to sacrifice the police, as a votive offering on the altar of Peace.

The style of Professor Huxley's Address is well exhibited by the following extract from its opening sentences:—

"It surely is a matter of paramount importance for the British geologists (some of

them very popular geologists too), here in solemn annual session assembled, to inquire whether the severe judgment thus passed upon them by so high an authority as Sir W. Thomson is one to which they must plead guilty *sans phrase*, or whether they are prepared to say 'not guilty,' and appeal for a reversal of the sentence to that higher court of educated scientific opinion to which we are all amenable."

"As your attorney-general for the time being, I thought I could not do better than get up the case with a view of (*sic*) advising you. It is true that the charges brought forward by the other side involve the consideration of matters quite foreign to the pursuits with which I am ordinarily occupied; but in that respect I am only in the position which is, nine times out of ten, occupied by counsel, who nevertheless contrive to gain their causes, mainly by force of mother-wit and common sense, aided by some training in other intellectual exercises."

Three things are very noticeable here:—*First and least*, there is satiety of what we are usually inclined to look upon as mere exuberant superfluities of metaphor: "attorney-general," "getting up the case," "not guilty," and so on—which have their climax, later in the Address, when Sir W. Thomson is "Hansardized," final causes are called the "*hetaira* (*sic*) of philosophy," "Uniformitarianism insisted upon a practically unlimited bank of time, ready to discount any quantity of hypothetical paper," etc. etc. We are sorry to see that, in his reply, Sir W. Thomson has to a certain extent fallen in with this fooling, for we can give it no other name. Professor Huxley is far too acute and sensible a man to use such language except when it is required to mask defects in his case, and, it may be, to tickle the ears of some not particularly scientific audience. *Second*, "The higher court of educated scientific opinion" is certainly the true tribunal to decide on such a question,—but, unfortunately for Professor Huxley, there are many more educated scientific men who are mathematicians and natural philosophers, and to whom, in consequence, Sir W. Thomson's arguments bring the full force of intellectual conviction, than there are geologists of the same high scientific training. And *Third*, How can a counsel hope to gain his cause (before such a court) who produces mere "mother-wit and common-sense," and an exercised intellect, if he has to discuss matters quite "foreign to his ordinary pursuits"? To humbug an every-day British jury, is not, except in some very special cases, by any means a difficult, or even a very creditable, undertaking,—for now-a-days a British jury is in many respects nearly as effete and laughable (and very often also as dangerous)



an institution as a British municipal corporation,—but the court of educated scientific opinion (understood as limited to those who are really scientific men) is, and always has been, quite capable of appreciating the merits of a case, and of detecting and exposing hollowness and unreality whenever they are present.

Professor Huxley begins with a most interesting semi-historical sketch and classification of the three systems of geological thought which have, in his opinion, alternately held sway. We cannot do better than quote some of his very clear descriptions:—[In all that follows the italics are ours, and the capitals are Professor Huxley's.]

"By CATASTROPHISM I mean any form of geological speculation which, in order to account for the phenomena of geology, supposes the operation of forces different in their nature, or immeasurably different in power, from those which we at present see in action in the universe."

"The Mosaic cosmogony is, in this sense, catastrophic, because it assumes the operation of extra-natural power. . . . *There was a time when catastrophism might pre-eminently have claimed the title of 'British popular geology';* and assuredly it has yet many adherents, and reckons among its supporters some of the most honoured members of this Society."

"By UNIFORMITARIANISM I mean pre-eminently the teaching of Hutton and of Lyell." . . .

"No one can doubt that the influence of uniformitarian views has been enormous, and, in the main, most beneficial and favourable to the progress of sound geology."

"*Nor can it be questioned that uniformitarianism has even a stronger title than catastrophism to call itself the geological speculation of Britain, or, if you will, British popular geology.* For it is eminently a British doctrine, and has even now made comparatively little progress on the continent of Europe. Nevertheless it seems to me to be open to serious criticism upon one of its aspects." . . .

"To my mind there appears to be no sort of necessary theoretical antagonism between Catastrophism and Uniformitarianism. On the contrary, it is very conceivable that catastrophes may be part and parcel of uniformity. Let me illustrate my case by analogy. The working of a clock is a model of uniform action; good time-keeping means uniformity of action. But the striking of the clock is essentially a catastrophe; the hammer might be made to blow up a barrel of gunpowder, or turn on a deluge of water; and, by proper arrangement, the clock, instead of marking the hours, might strike at all sorts of irregular intervals, never twice alike in the intervals, force, or number of its blows. Nevertheless, all these irregular and apparently lawless catastrophes would be the results of an absolutely uniformitarian action; and we might have two schools of clock-theorists, one study-

ing the hammer and the other the pendulum."

"Still less is there any necessary antagonism between either of these doctrines and that of EVOLUTION, which embraces all that is sound in both Catastrophism and Uniformitarianism, while it rejects the arbitrary assumptions of the one and the, as arbitrary, limitations of the other. Nor is the value of the doctrine of evolution to the philosophic thinker diminished by the fact that it applies the same method to the living and the not-living world, and embraces in one stupendous analogy the growth of a solar system from molecular chaos, the shaping of the earth from the nebulous coohood of its youth, through innumerable changes and *immeasurable* ages, to its present form, and the development of a living being from the shapeless mass of protoplasm we term a germ."

"*I do not know whether Evolutionism can claim that amount of currency which would entitle it to be called British popular geology;* but, *more or less vaguely,* it is assuredly present in the minds of most geologists."

We must have one more extract, but it is of a really astonishing character:—[Here, however, the capitals are ours, the italics Professor Huxley's.]

"I do not suppose that, at the present day, any geologist would (*sic*) be found to maintain absolute Uniformitarianism, to deny that the rapidity of the rotation of the earth *may* be diminishing, that the sun *may* be waxing dim, or that the earth itself *may* be cooling. Most of us, I expect, are Gallios, 'who care for none of these things,' being of opinion that, true or fictitious, THEY HAVE MADE NO PRACTICAL DIFFERENCE TO THE EARTH, during the period of which a record is preserved in stratified deposits."

"The accusation that we have been running counter to the *principles* of natural philosophy, therefore, is devoid of foundation."

If the reader will take the trouble to look back again to these quotations, and especially to the portions which we have italicised in the earlier ones and put in capitals in the last, he will see that Professor Huxley says in effect: There *was* a time when Catastrophism was British popular geology, Evolutionism can but vaguely claim that amount of currency which would entitle it to be called British popular geology, but Uniformitarianism has the stronger title to call itself British popular geology. Let him remember that (as above quoted) Sir W. Thomson's remarks are directed entirely against British popular geology—and that he has distinctly pointed out that by this term he meant the Uniformitarianism of Hutton, Playfair, and Lyell:—and then let him read these further remarks of Professor Huxley:—

"I have said that the three schools of geological speculation which I have termed Catastrophism, Uniformitarianism, and Evolutionism, are commonly supposed to be antagonistic to one another; and I presume it will have become obvious that, in my belief, the last is destined to swallow up the other two."

That is, because Professor Huxley, with but a few geologists as yet to back him, sees that Uniformitarianism cannot be successfully maintained (although according to him it is the teaching of British popular geologists), therefore

"It is not obvious, on the face of the matter, that we shall have to alter, or reform, our ways in any appreciable degree."

The only comment which this quibble requires is the pointing out how convenient is the Presidential "we," which really means Professor Huxley and a few other enlightened men, but is put forth to the world as meaning the Geological Society of London and with it the British popular geologists.

But the same spirit of quibbling is evident throughout all the foregoing extracts. Take, for instance, the so-called "analogy" of the clock. If Professor Huxley would only condescend for a moment to look at the question from the point of view of common sense, he would see that there is no uniformitarianism whatever in a clock—not even in a British, as distinguished from a French, one. For the *running down* of a clock is essentially a catastrophe; and, whether it pass uniformly (as a clock with weights, or with a spring and fusee, does) to its final stoppage; or, like French spring-timepieces which have no fusee, approach that consummation with continually decreasing force; matters not to the question. A clock bears absolutely no analogy to the case of the uniformitarian theory of the earth, treat it from what side you please: the mere fact of more or less chain being on the barrel than on the fusee, and the constant change of their proportions, is alone sufficient entirely to upset Professor Huxley's reasoning; this *want of uniformity* being essential to the uniformity of the clock's going. But there is more to be observed, there is the exceedingly insidious danger that (as Professor Huxley without hesitation assumes may occur) there can be two, or more, sets of scientific men, studying the same phenomenon, and yet regarding it from such different points of view as to render unlikely any agreement between them. This, we need scarcely say, is absolute nonsense: for, if it has any meaning, it is calculated to justify the most perfunctory performance of the duties of an observer, and to give credit to him who notes only those phases of a phenomenon

which particularly suit his own views of its cause and relations. We are bound to assume that it is so meant, though Professor Huxley is surely far too shrewd a man to say (even to a popular audience, much less) to the great "court of scientific opinion to which we are all amenable," that there can be any excuse for a scientific man who looks at a question from so limited a point of view as his "analogy" appears to indicate.

There are many other points of a similar character, about which we should much like to say a few words. But we must let Sir W. Thomson have his own way in the matter of upsetting them. From his "Reply" to Professor Huxley we quote the following passage, which, long as it is, we fancy the reader would not wish to have had shortened: in fact the obscurity of the Journal in which the Reply has appeared renders it more than usually necessary to furnish copious extracts:—

"I must, therefore, in the beginning, be permitted to say that the very root of the evil to which I object is that so many geologists are contented to regard the general principles of natural philosophy, and their application to terrestrial physics, as matters quite foreign to their ordinary pursuits. I must also say, that though a clever counsel may, by force of mother-wit and common sense, aided by his very peculiar intellectual training, readily carry a jury with him to either side, when a scientific question is before the court, or may even succeed in perplexing the mind of a judge; I do not think that the high court of educated scientific opinion will ever be satisfied by pleadings conducted on such precedents. But jury and judge may be somewhat perplexed as to what it is on which they are asked to give verdict and sentence, when they learn that Professor Huxley himself makes the gravest of the accusations which he repels as made by me. In the course of his address he describes Kant's Cosmogony; and, pointing out anticipations in it of some of the 'great principles' taught in the *Theory of the Earth*, somewhat later by Hutton, he says, 'on the other hand, Kant is true to science. He knows no bounds to geological speculation, but those of intellect. He reasons back to a beginning of the present state of things; he admits the possibility of an end.' Professor Huxley does not use words without a meaning: and these mean that Hutton was *not* true to science, when he said, 'The result, therefore, of this physical inquiry is, that we find no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end.' The chief complaint on which I am now brought into court is, that I have extended the same accusation to modern followers of Hutton who have used this dictum as a fundamental maxim of their geology.

"In opening his case, Professor Huxley asks, 'What is it to which Sir W. Thomson refers when he speaks of "geological speculation" and "British Popular Geology?"' then enters on a highly interesting and instructive discus-

sion of various schools of geological philosophy, which constitutes the chief substance of his address, and recurs to the question, 'Which of these is it that Sir William Thomson calls upon us to reform?' But instead of answering this question he says, 'It is obviously Uniformitarianism' which Sir W. Thomson 'takes to be the representative of geological speculation in general.' I have given no ground for this statement. Not merely 'obviously,' but avowedly and explicitly, I attacked Uniformitarianism; but I did not attack geological speculation in general. On the contrary, I anxiously and carefully guarded every expression of my complaint from applicability to other speculations than those involving more or less fundamentally the particular fallacies against which my objections were directed; and the very phrases I used to limit my accusations showed that I had not taken Uniformitarianism to be the representative of geological speculation in general. The geology which I learned thirty years ago in the University of Glasgow embodied the fundamental theory now described and approved by Professor Huxley as Evolutionism. This I have always considered to be the substantial and irrefragable part of geological speculation; and I have looked on the ultra-uniformitarianism of the last twenty years as a temporary aberration worthy of being energetically protested against.

"In the course of his lecture, Professor Huxley says: 'I do not suppose that at the present day any geologist would be found to maintain absolute uniformitarianism, to deny that the rapidity of the rotation of the earth *may* be diminishing, that the sun *may* be waxing dim, or that the earth itself *may* be cooling. Most of us, I suspect, are Gallies, "who care for none of these things," being of opinion that, true or fictitious, they have made no practical difference to the earth, during the period of which a record is preserved in stratified deposits.'

"It is precisely because so many geologists 'have cared for none of these things,' which (though not matters of words merely) do certainly belong to the law of Nature, that they have brought so much of British popular geology into direct opposition to the principles of Natural Philosophy. Professor Huxley tells us that they have been of opinion that the secular cooling of the earth has made no practical difference to it during the period of which a record is preserved in stratified deposits. On what calculation is this opinion founded? One considerable part of the reform in geological speculation for which I ask is, that evidence adduced in favour of the opposite opinion should be thoroughly sifted, and not merely disposed of as matters of opinion, or of faith beyond the realm of reason.

"It was, however, in reference to the special subject of my paper, 'Geological Time,' that I chiefly urged the necessity of reform, and it is satisfactory now to see that in this respect considerable progress must have been made, when, on the 19th February 1869, Professor Huxley ventured before the Geological Society of London to suggest that 'the limitation of the

period during which living beings have inhabited this planet to one, two, or three hundred million years, may be admitted, without a complete revolution in geological speculation.' When he says that on me rests the *onus probandi* of my assertion in January 1868, 'that a great reform seemed to have become necessary,' as I had brought 'forward not a shadow of evidence' in support of that assertion, I cannot complain that he puts a heavy burden on me. No moderately well read or well instructed student of modern British popular geology wants evidence from me, in addition to that supplied by his reminiscences of books and lectures, that the admission of such a limit as even worthy of attention, is a sweeping reform. Here, however, is some of it, if desired."

We must refer to the original, or to the works, whether of Darwin and Jukes, or even of Haughton, Page, and others, for the unnecessarily elaborate proof of his accuracy given by Thomson. One of the extracts from Darwin is quite enough:—

"So\* that, in all probability, a far longer period than three hundred million years has elapsed *since the latter part of the secondary period.*"

Pages of extracts to the same purpose might easily be given. But if the reader will only carefully think of the bearings of this one, he will have as complete an idea of the circumstances as is required for our present argument.

In passing, however, let us once more cite the opinion of Thersites. He is actually presumptuous enough to say—

"One or two millions of years would be sufficient capital for the most extravagant disciple of Hutton and Lyell."

The reader, who may have thought, till now, that we were dealing too hardly with the *Pall Mall Gazette* critic, may well rub his eyes as he meets the above most astonishing display of ignorance on the part of a man who undertakes to criticise Sir W. Thomson.

A final quotation contains matter from Huxley and Darwin as well as from Thomson:—

"Professor Huxley, immediately after his statement . . . . 'If we accept the limitation of time placed before us by Sir William Thomson, it is not obvious on the face of the matter that we shall have to alter or reform our ways in any appreciable degree;' says, 'we may therefore proceed with much calmness, and, indeed, *much indifference to the result*, to inquire whether that limitation is justified by the arguments employed in its support.'

\* Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Edition 1859, p 287.

(The italics are mine.) This method of treating my 'case' is perfectly fair, according to the judicial precedents upon which Professor Huxley professedly founds his pleading. I make no comment or reply, but simply ask permission to put in the following evidence (the italics again are mine):—"He who can read Sir Charles Lyell's grand work on the Principles of Geology, which the future historian will recognise as having produced a revolution in natural science, yet does not admit how *incomprehensibly vast* have been the past periods of time, *may at once close this volume.*" (Darwin's *Origin of Species* by means of *Natural Selection*, Edition 1859, p. 282)."

In the preceding pages we have, first, shown in what a very peculiar spirit the Geologists have received the proffered assistance of Mathematicians and Natural Philosophers, and we have given some apt, but painful, analogies from very common life. There are, however, some notable exceptions deserving of all honour; among them we may mention especially Professor Phillips, whose language on the subject of Geological Time has always been exceedingly moderate and philosophical. Secondly, we have endeavoured to show how it is that the "intrusion" of mathematical and physical science must be endured by the Geologist—since his subject requires such assistance, and he is generally unable to provide it for himself. Thirdly, we have briefly glanced at a few of the more prominent parts of two papers by Thomson, and of the Address of Huxley, and we hope we have made it clear that the Geological "Attorney General," however ready and versatile, has by far the worst case: that his side, in fact, cannot fail to lose. We must now, in conclusion, make a general survey of the subject, pointing out as far as our space enables us the extent to which it has been developed, the amount of uncertainty at present necessarily attending it, how far the mathematician has as yet been successful in his raid, and what data he requires in order to push the war still more vigorously home.

There are three points of view raised by Thomson which are at present mainly to be considered, and these we will briefly examine.

*First. The argument from underground temperature of the earth.* In regions where bores have been made, or mines sunk, the temperature is almost invariably found to increase (after the first few fathoms) as we penetrate more deeply, the accepted average being an increase of about  $1^{\circ}$  Fahr. for every 50 feet of descent. Now, the fundamental principle of the Dissipation of Energy, as exhibited in Thermal Conduction, is that heat *always* tends to a uniform distribution of

temperature; and therefore always passes from places where the temperature is higher to those where it is lower. But it is certain that the upper strata are not, on the whole, becoming warmer year by year. Hence from mere observation of underground temperature, we *know* that there must be, even now, a constant flow of heat outward through the earth's crust. The problem then suggests itself:—How long has this outflow been going on, through a solid and habitable crust, and what was its rate at long distant epochs? The question is not easy to answer at once and definitely, for the difficulty consists not in the mathematical part of the solution, but mainly in the *want of experimental data*, such as, for instance, the temperature of fusion of average surface rock, the law of its thermal conductivity as depending on temperature, its laws of dilatation, and its specific heat. Hence, at present, our solutions can only be approximate, but for all that the Natural Philosopher is enabled to assign certain limits; which are far less vague than those of the "popular geologists," and which have at least a genuine physical foundation. We must, however, first inquire whence is supplied that internal heat which is even now being lost. Several hypotheses have to be considered. Poisson long ago suggested that the earth may have, at some early period, passed through a warmer region of space, and there acquired, from without, the heat which it is now dissipating. This hypothesis is not very difficult to dispose of. The data, regarding the conductivity and thermal capacity of the different surface rocks in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, furnished by the underground thermometers of the late Principal Forbes, have enabled Sir W. Thomson to show that if this supposed passage through a warmer region took place from 1250 to 5000 years ago, the temperature of that region must have been from  $25^{\circ}$  to  $50^{\circ}$  Fahr. above the present mean temperature of the earth's surface. If it took place 20,000 years ago, the excess must have been  $100^{\circ}$  F., being doubled when the period allowed is quadrupled. History proves the first to be untenable, and it is not likely that the geologists will admit the second. The hotter we assume this region of space to have been, the longer ago must the passage through it have been; and the longer must the temperature at the surface of the earth have been consistent with organic life. But, when we thus come to enormous periods, the actual *cause* of the earth's heating is comparatively of little consequence, so that this hypothesis becomes undistinguishable in results from the third below.

Next we have the supposition that the earth's internal heat is due to chemical action, in itself very improbable, except possibly in certain small detached regions of volcanic activity. It is scarcely necessary to make any farther remark on this than the very obvious one that, if it could be shown that such is really the cause, it is fatal to the Uniformitarian theory, for, in consequence of the steady loss above mentioned, the earth must now contain far less potential energy of chemical affinity than it did ages ago. Obvious as this may appear to the Natural Philosopher, it would seem that some geologists, with Lyell at their head, actually imagine that a species of uniformitarianism may be maintained in the interior by thermo-electric processes; the heat produced by chemical combination being supposed to produce thermo electric currents, and these in turn being employed in decomposing again the products formed, thus giving a perpetual cycle. As Sir W. Thomson remarks, this extraordinary notion "violates the principles of natural philosophy in exactly the same manner, and to the same degree, as to believe that a clock constructed with a self-winding movement may fulfil the expectations of its ingenious inventor by going for ever."

If we take the far more probable hypothesis that the internal heat of the earth, like that of the sun, is due mainly to the impacts of discrete masses falling together from great distances by mutual gravitation, and that now it is merely a hot body cooling according to ordinary laws; it is obvious that by making reasonable assumptions (in the present want of definite experimental data) as to the melting-point of ordinary rock masses, we may determine roughly a superior limit to the time which has elapsed since the superficial strata were in a molten state. This has been done by Thomson, and he finds that 200,000,000 years may have elapsed since the crust consolidated if the melting point of rock be about 10,000° F. (this being an extremely high estimate). If, however, the more reasonable estimate of 7000° F. be taken, this superior limit is reduced to 98,000,000 years. Thomson goes on to show that when once the surface is consolidated, if it do not break up and sink (it contracts, according to Bischoff, 20 per cent. in solidifying) in the lighter fluid below, not many years may have passed before the globe became habitable. In fact, after 10,000 years the rate of increase of temperature downwards would not be more than about 2° F. per foot, a quantity which would produce little effect except on deep rooted plants; and almost none as regards altera-

tion of the mean temperature at the surface. It is well to observe, in connexion with these speculations, that Sir W. Thomson seems to prefer to assume that the consolidation took place almost simultaneously *throughout* the globe; the inner strata tending to consolidate at a far higher temperature than those near the surface, in consequence of the enormous pressure to which they are subjected. This follows as a thermodynamic consequence from the result of Bischoff just quoted. Though the melting point may be raised considerably by pressure, it does not necessarily follow that solidification takes place nearly simultaneously at all depths; so that it is possible that the crust may have solidified long before the interior. What would probably happen in such a case has been graphically described by Thomson as follows:—

"It is probable that crust may thus form over wide extents of surface, and may be temporarily buoyed up by the vesicular character it may have retained from the ebullition of the liquid in some places, or, at all events, it may be held up by the viscosity of the liquid, until it has acquired some considerable thickness sufficient to allow gravity to manifest its claim, and sink the heavier solid below the lighter liquid. This process must go on until the sunk portions of crust build up from the bottom a sufficiently close-ribbed solid skeleton or frame, to allow fresh incrustations to remain bridging across the now small areas of lava pools or lakes.

"In the honeycombed solid and liquid mass thus formed, there must be a continual tendency for the liquid, in consequence of its less specific gravity, to work its way up, whether by masses of solid falling from the roofs of vesicles of tunnels, and causing earthquake shocks, or by the roof breaking quite through where very thin, so as to cause two such hollows to unite, or the liquid of any of them to flow out freely over the outer surface of the earth; or by gradual sub-sidence of the solid, owing to the thermodynamic melting, which portions of it, under intense stress, must experience, according to views recently published by Professor James Thomson. The results which must follow from this tendency seem sufficiently great and various to account for all that we see at present, and all that we learn from geological investigation, of earthquakes, of upheavals, and subsidences of solid, and eruptions of melted rock."

*Second. The argument from tidal retardation of the earth's rotation.* We have already considered this part of the subject, so far, at least, as to show its bearing upon the question of geological time. The discovery of this retardation, as something which really exists and can be measured, in contrast with Kant's pointing out that there is a *vera causa*, is very curious. The secular acceleration

of the moon's mean motion, proved by calculating back to the recorded eclipses of the 3d and 8th centuries B.C., was long a serious difficulty to physical astronomers, till Laplace first suggested a possible cause in the secular alteration of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit. His calculations gave almost exactly the observed result; and the question was supposed to be settled. Some years ago, however, Adams showed that Laplace's investigation was seriously defective, and that a correct analysis reduced his result by half; so that half of the acceleration of the moon's mean motion remained unaccounted for.

Then the hint given by Kant (which had been recently brought forward independently by Helmholtz, Mayer, J. Thomson, and others) was remembered, and applied to remove the remaining difficulty. It is obvious that, if the earth's rotation be really becoming slower, since it is employed fundamentally in our measurement of time, all other motions must appear relatively accelerated. With reference to this argument, Professor Huxley has committed a singular blunder, in meeting his adversary with a suggestion which is at once and with deadly effect turned against its author. In fact, as Sir W. Thomson says, "Professor Huxley's hypothesis, . . . if it were valid, would therefore prove retardation by the tides six times as much as that which we have ventured to estimate!" He proceeds to make another and still graver blunder, when he asks, "If tidal retardation can be thus checked and overthrown by other temporary conditions, what becomes of the confident assertion, based upon the assumed uniformity of tidal retardation, that ten thousand million years ago the earth must have been rotating more than twice as fast as at present?" Thomson at once shows that this really entitles him to *shorten* the period which he had before roughly assigned: and he appends a note which, from so quiet and gentle an antagonist, Professor Huxley must look upon as strangely sarcastic, as to the opinion implied in the above extract, that tidal retardation is a *temporary* condition. A very small amount of mathematical training would have sufficed to preserve so able a man from serious mistakes like these.

*Third. The argument from the Sun's Heat.* Here again we must quote Thomson, as he has put the argument into an exceedingly compact and comprehensive form:—

"But it is not only to the effect of the tides that we refer for such conclusions. Go to other bodies besides the earth and moon; consider the sun. We depend on the sun very much for the existing order of things. Life on this earth would not be possible without the sun, that is,

life under the present conditions—life such as we know and can reason about. When Playfair spoke of the planetary bodies as being perpetual in their motion, did it not occur to him to ask, What about the sun's heat? Is the sun a miraculous body ordered to give out heat and to shine for ever? Perhaps the sun was so created. He would be a rash man who would say it was not—all things are possible to Creative Power. But we know, also, that Creative Power has created in our minds a wish to investigate and a capacity for investigating; and there is nothing too rash, there is nothing audacious, in questioning human assumptions regarding Creative Power. Have we reason to believe Creative Power did order the sun to go on, and shine, and give out heat for ever? Are we to suppose that the sun is a perpetual miracle? I use the word *miracle* in the sense of a perpetual violation of those laws of action between matter and matter which we are allowed to investigate here at the surface of the earth, in our laboratories and mechanical workshops. The geologists who have uncompromisingly adopted Playfair's maxim have reasoned as if the sun were so created. I believe it was altogether thoughtlessness that led them ever to put themselves in that position; because these same geologists are very strenuous in insisting that we must consider the laws observable in the present state of things as perennial laws. I think we may even consider them as having gone too far in assuming that we must consider present laws—a very small part of which we have been able to observe—as sufficient samples of the perennial laws regulating the whole universe in all time. But I believe it has been altogether an oversight by which they have been led to neglect so greatly the fact of the sun's heat and light.

"The mutual actions and motions of the heavenly bodies have been regarded as if light had been seen and heat felt without any evolution of mechanical energy at all. Yet what an amount of mechanical energy is emitted from the sun every year! If we calculate the exact mechanical value of the heat he emits in 81 days, we find it equivalent to the whole motion of the earth in her orbit round the sun. The motion of the earth in her orbit round the sun has a certain mechanical value; a certain quantity of steam power would be required, acting for a certain time, to set a body as great as the earth into motion with the same velocity. The same amount of steam power employed for the same time in rubbing two stones together would generate an enormous quantity of heat, as much heat as the sun emits in 81 days. But suppose the earth's motion were destroyed, what would become of the earth? Suppose it were to be suddenly, by an obstacle, stopped in its motion round the sun? It would suddenly give out 81 times as much heat as the sun gives out in a day, and would begin falling towards the sun, and would acquire on the way such a velocity that, in the collision, a blaze of light and heat would be produced in the course of a few minutes equal to what the sun emits in 95 years. That is, indeed, a prodigious amount of heat; but just

consider the result if all the planetary bodies were to fall into the sun. Take Jupiter with its enormous mass, which, if falling into the sun, would in a few moments cause an evolution of 32,240 years' heat. Take them all together—suppose all the planets were falling into the sun—the whole emission of heat due to all the planets striking the sun, with the velocities they would acquire in falling from their present distances, would amount to something under 46,000 years' heat. We do not know these figures very well. They may be wrong by ten or twenty or thirty per cent., but that does not influence much the kind of inference we draw from them. Now, what a drop in the ocean is the amount of energy of the motion of the planets, and work to be done in them before they reach their haven of rest, the sun, compared with what the sun has emitted already! I suppose all geologists admit that the sun has shone more than 46,000 years? Indeed, all consider it well established, that the sun has already, in geological periods, emitted ten, twenty, a hundred, perhaps a thousand—I won't say a hundred thousand—but perhaps a thousand times as much heat as would be produced by all the planets falling together into the sun. And yet Playfair and his followers have totally disregarded this prodigious dissipation of energy. He speaks of the existing state of things as if it must or could have been perennial.

"Now, if the sun is not created a miraculous body, to shine on and give out heat for ever, we must suppose it to be a body subject to the laws of matter (I do not say there may not be laws which we have not discovered) but, at all events, not violating any laws we have discovered or believe we have discovered. We must deal with the sun as we should with any large mass of molten iron, or silicon, or sodium. We do not know whether there is most of the iron, or the silicon, or the sodium—certainly there is sodium; as I learned from Stokes before the end of the year 1851; and certainly, as Kirchhoff has splendidly proved, there is iron. But we must reason upon the sun as if it were some body having properties such as bodies we know have. And this is also worthy of attention:—naturalists affirm that every body the earth has ever met in its course through the universe, has, when examined, been proved to contain only known elements—chemical substances such as we know and have previously met on the earth's surface. If we could get from the sun a piece of its substance cooled, we should find it to consist of stone or slag, or metal, or crystallized rock, or something that would not astonish us. So we must reason on the sun according to properties of matter known to us here.

"In 1854, I advocated the hypothesis that the energy continually emitted as light (or radiant heat) might be replenished constantly by meteors falling into the sun from year to year; but very strong reasons have induced me to leave that part of the theory then advocated by me which asserted that the energy radiating out from year to year is supplied from year to year; and to adopt Helmholtz's theory, that the sun's

heat was generated in ancient times by the work of mutual gravity between masses falling together to form his body. The strongest reason which compelled me to give up the former hypothesis was, that the amount of bodies circulating round the sun within a short distance of his surface, which would be required to give even two or three thousand years of heat, must be so great, that a comet shooting in to near the sun's surface and coming away again, would inevitably show signs of resistance to a degree that no comet has shown. In fact, we have strong reason to believe that there is not circulating round the sun, at present, enough of meteors to constitute a few thousand years of future sun-heat. If, then, we are obliged to give up every source of supply from without—and I say it advisedly, because there is no submarine wire, no 'underground railway,' leading into the sun—we see all round the sun, and we know that there is no other access of energy into the sun than meteors.—If, then, we have strong reason to believe that there is no continual supply of energy to the sun, we are driven to the conclusion that it is losing energy. Now, let us take any reasonable view we can. Suppose it is a great burning mass, a great mass of material not yet combined, but ready to combine, a great mass of gun-cotton, a great mass of gunpowder, or nitro-glycerine, or some other body having in small compass the potential elements of a vast development of energy. We may imagine that to be the case, and that he (*sic*) is continually burning from the combustion of elements within himself; or we may imagine the sun to be merely a heated body cooling; but imagine it as we please, we cannot estimate more on any probable hypothesis, than a few million years of heat. When I say a few millions, I must say at the same time, that I consider one hundred millions as being a few, and I cannot see a *decided* reason against admitting that the sun may have had in it one hundred million years of heat, according to its present rate of emission, in the shape of energy. An article, by myself, published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, for March 1862, on the age of the sun's heat, explains results of investigation into various questions as to possibilities regarding the amount of the heat that the sun could have, dealing with it as you would with a stone, or a piece of matter, only taking into account the sun's dimensions, which showed it to be possible that the sun may have already illuminated the earth for as many as one hundred million years, but at the same time also rendered it almost certain that he had not illuminated the earth for five hundred millions of years. The estimates here are necessarily very vague, but yet, vague as they are, I do not know that it is possible, upon any reasonable estimate, founded on known properties of matter, to say that we can believe the sun has really illuminated the earth for five hundred million years."

Professor Huxley endeavours to answer this by attempting to show that Sir W. Thomson, fifteen years ago, "entertained a to-

tally different view of the origin of the sun's heat, and believed that the energy radiated from year to year was supplied from year to year, a doctrine which would have suited Hutton perfectly." Thomson shows that this assertion is incorrect, and that his view of the entire possible meteoric supply of solar heat, from masses nearer to the sun than is the earth, when properly stated, would give, at the utmost, material for 300,000 years only, at the present rate of dissipation. He carefully guarded himself, in his original paper, from any such charge as that brought by Huxley, for he expressly showed that a meteor supply, such as would annually make up for the sun's loss, if coming from space external to the earth's orbit, would involve such an augmentation of the sun's mass as would within the last 2000 years have dislocated the seasons by a month and a half:—the observed dislocation in 2600 years being but an hour and three-quarters. And he pointed out that the true test of how much of the sun's loss can be supplied by meteors at present circulating in orbits less than that of the earth is best to be determined by the perturbations of Mercury. These have been examined with great care by Leverrier; and the result is unfavourable to the existence of any supply worth taking into consideration in the study of the question before us, indicating, as it does, an amount of potential energy equivalent only to a few hundred years of solar heat. Hence, as it has been shown by Helmholtz, Thomson, and others, that if the sun's mass had been made up in the most effective manner of those chemical substances known to us, which would give the greatest possible result, the heat of combination of these could not have supplied so much as 5000 years' loss, even at the *present* rate of radiation; the only theory of solar heat left us is that developed by Helmholtz, which regards the sun as a hot body cooling; the heat having been produced during the falling together of its parts. The specific heat of such a mass, in consequence of the pressure to which it is subject in the interior, must be, according to Thomson's latest estimate, from 10 to 10,000 times as great as that of an equal mass of water under ordinary pressure. These limits are purposely left very wide; and they show that the sun loses by its radiation  $1^{\circ}$  F. in temperature in a period longer than four years, but less than 4000 years. Thomson ends his reply on this part of the subject with the very sensible remark: "A British jury could not, I think, be easily persuaded to disregard my present estimate by being told that I have learned something in fifteen years."

Now it is to be carefully observed, with regard to the three independent lines of argument just explained, that it is no answer to show that each is, from its very nature, somewhat vague in the results which it yields. The argument from the three is not, as Professor Huxley seems to think, only as strong as the weakest of the three; on the contrary, the reasoning is strictly cumulative, and Thomson's position cannot be successfully attacked except by a complete upsetting of at least two of his lines of argument, combined with a great enfeebling of the third. In truth, when we come to examine the question as a whole, giving its full weight to each of the separate details, we find that we may, with considerable probability, say that Natural Philosophy already points to a period of some *ten* or *fifteen* millions of years as all that can be allowed for the purposes of the geologist and palæontologist; and that it is not unlikely that, with better experimental data, this period may be still farther reduced. In fact, even Professor Huxley's enlightened concession that a limit of 100,000,000, 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 years requires no complete revolution in geological speculation (though it is matter of notoriety that to Lyell and Darwin, and to the great mass of British popular geologists, such periods would be of little use):—even this concession will soon not satisfy the Natural Philosophers; who, but with the important difference of having right on their side, will soon follow up their advantage in a manner somewhat resembling the recent behaviour of the great Yankee nation in the matter of the *Alabama Claims*. For, elaborate and suggestive as have been all of Thomson's articles, this great question can hardly yet be said to be more than opened; and its future progress rests quite as much with the physical experimenter as with the mathematician.

At the commencement of this article we borrowed from Milton an account of the concomitants of the preparations for a terrific combat: there we had to stop, as farther quotation might have been personal; we have seen the issue of the fight, and can now sum it up in the words of Horace, which we take to be descriptive of the triumph of *Scientific Truth* over all assailants, however numerous and powerful:—

"Sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,  
aut quid minaci Porphyrio statu,  
quid Rhœtus, evulsis-que truncis  
Encecladus jaculator audax,  
contra sonantem *Palladis agida*  
possent ruentes?"

In conclusion, as the assailants named by



Horace are unfortunately all of the gigantic order, we must supplement the passage by again recurring to our Thersites who writes anonymous nonsense for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and who bitterly attacks, without understanding them, the conclusions of one of the greatest philosophers the world has ever seen. That a man should be more ignorant of Cervantes' great novel than is the merest schoolboy, implies no blame: no more does it imply blame that he should be so ignorant as to consider this question as one of "*Mathematics versus Geology*," instead of "*Reasoning versus Unreason*"; that he should fancy that any disciple of Hutton and Lyell could be content with one or two millions of years: nor even that he should imagine that Sir W. Thomson's arguments concerning an increase of 15 per cent. in the earth's angular velocity have something to do with the existence of life:—all this is his own misfortune; but why should he increase it by publishing his ignorance to the few readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who are able to distinguish between true science and venomous but absurd attempts at smartness? Such a writer does real harm, by preventing the popular extension of true scientific knowledge: and too often, as is the case with the present specimen, tries to hold up to ridicule lofty merit which he is utterly unable to appreciate. No true scientific man could have written as he has done about Sir W. Thomson, certainly not in such a tone, without appending at least his initials. And a genuine *littérateur* would never have made such an exhibition of himself; but would, in the shrewd words of Professor Huxley, have endeavoured "to gain his cause, mainly by force of mother-wit and common-sense, aided by training in other intellectual exercises."

7. *Bidrag til en Skildring af Holberg.* Af Prof. M. HAMMERICH. Kjöbenhavn, 1858.

Among the authors who appear at comparatively rare intervals in history, as the creators of literary epochs, may fairly be reckoned Ludvig Holberg. The name, "father of modern Danish literature," which is generally bestowed upon him, is a plain indication of the light in which his life and labours have been viewed by the vast majority of his countrymen; and all acquainted with the subject will cheerfully allow that the appellation is well deserved. Before his time, indeed, Denmark, in common with the two other Scandinavian countries, could vaunt her ancient literary treasures, among the noblest of their kind which the world has ever known,—the Sagas, and the songs that still charm posterity, that have so often anew inspired the popular heart, and reawakened the slumbering poetic impulse in times of intellectual and spiritual torpor. But long ere the birth of Holberg, or at least ere the period of his first literary activity, the Danish people, like their brethren of the Scandinavian peninsula, had learned to lose, all too readily, the recollection of "that large utterance of the early gods;" and the trumpet voices of the Eddas and the Sagas, which, wild and half-savage though they were, yet rang accordant with the true tones of Nature's poetry, were buried in profound, if temporary, oblivion. The second of the three great periods into which we may divide the history of Danish literature—the "Latin," that succeeded the previous "Icelandic,"—was now drawing to a close, and, during its protracted course, with the exception of some weak reverberations of the earlier ballad minstrelsy, it could boast of little to attract attention or deserve respect. The east wind of intellectual barrenness was blighting all in Denmark. Men, when they did write, wrote in Latin—hence the name assigned already to the period,—and, as a general rule, their lucubrations were of the driest, dreariest kind imaginable. In that special branch of literature which has mainly conferred immortality on Holberg—the department of the Comic Drama,—a beginning doubtless had been made; but what miserable abortions were the attempts of the first Danish Dramatist, Christen Hansen, the Odensee schoolmaster, and his successors, Ranch and Hegelund! Rudeness, vapidity, vulgarity, such were the literary characteristics of the time. Persons of rank repudiated their native language, and read exclusively French and German; the literati, such as they were, perused Latin, and wrote Latin solely;—here, as Holberg himself ex-

- ART. V.—1. *Holberg's Comedier i eet Bind.* Udgivne ved J. LEVIN. Kjöbenhavn, 1861.
2. *Holberg's Peder Paars.* Udg. ved A. E. BOYE. Kjöb. 1844.
3. *Holberg's Niels Klim's underjordiske Reise.* Overs. af DORPH. Kjöbenhavn, 1841.
4. *Hundredo og tyve af Holberg's Epistler.* Udg. ved F. FABRICIUS. Kjöbenhavn, 1858.
5. *Holberg's Dannemark's Riges Historie.* Deelt udi 3 tomer. Udg. af J. LEVIN. Kjöbenhavn, 1840.
6. *Holbergiana. Smaaskrifter af og om L. Holberg.* Udg. af A. E. BOYE. Kjöbenhavn, 1832-35.

claims, "is almost the only land on earth where people are found willing to make it a point of honour that they should be ignorant of their fathers' tongue." The literary pabulum of the middle classes, who gradually advanced in power and position after the establishment of regal autocracy in 1660, consisted simply of meagre sermons, and yet more meagre chronicles, or old ballads that were only a weak reflection of the sweet and noble songs of a preceding age; songs which, from their very sweetness and nobleness, failed to find admission into the hearts of the degenerate descendants of their original composers. Such was the state of literary affairs in Denmark when Holberg commenced his career. The times needed a reformer, and in him the reformer came—came with a power and energy that were equal to the cause for which he fought throughout a long life of severe and unremitting toil. The result was the intellectual emancipation of his countrymen, and the laying, fast and firm, the basis on which, in due course, was erected the entire substantial edifice of modern Danish literature. Some slight account of Holberg's life and works may therefore be acceptable to those who take an interest in the development of the different national branches of later European literature, and who, although well aware of Holberg's renown as a comic dramatist, second alone to Plautus and Molière, may yet be ignorant of the immense services which he rendered, in many most important ways, not merely to the literature of his native country, but to that of the whole north of Europe.

Ludvig Holberg was born at Bergen, in Norway, on the 3d December, 1684. His father, an officer in the army, had risen from the ranks to the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, had seen foreign service, and at home distinguished himself against the Swedes, especially at the relief of Trondhjem in 1658. Ludvig, the youngest of twelve children, was as yet an infant when his father died. Shortly afterwards there occurred a disastrous fire, which in a single night reduced his surviving parent to poverty. She died when her son was ten years old, and the household was broken up. At this age he was, being an officer's son, enrolled as corporal in a regiment; but his desire for study was so great that his uncle by his mother's side, who felt an interest in the lad, took him to live in his own house, and sent him to the grammar-school of Bergen. When eighteen years old, Ludvig went to prosecute his studies at the University of Copenhagen, in the summer of 1702. Lacking, however, adequate means of support in the Danish capi-

tal, he soon accepted the situation of tutor and assistant to a clergyman in Norway, where, as he says, he spent a whole year in "flogging children and converting rustics," while, at the same time, he suffered severely from various kinds of illness, both bodily and mental. He then returned to Copenhagen to pass his "second examination;" thereafter studied theology, along with the modern languages, and next spring (1704) underwent his theological examination with much success. Necessity ere long obliged him to accept once more the post of tutor; this time in a family at Bergen. But in the house of his new employer he stumbled upon a book of travels, which to such an extent aroused within him the longing to visit foreign countries, that, in spite of the earnest advice of every one, he gave up his situation, sold the little he possessed, and set sail by the first ship that happened to leave the harbour. He never again beheld the place of his nativity.

Holland was, in the first instance, the goal of his travels. He had a capital of sixty Danish rix-dollars, and hoped to further himself as a teacher of languages; but he speedily discovered that in Amsterdam "the most learned professors were not respected so much as was a common sea-captain." On account of his slim figure and his girlish countenance, he became the object, sometimes of admiration, sometimes of impertinent questions, as for example, "*Hoor gij wel, mannetje! quando deseruisti studia tua?*"—questions which, in similar fashion, he was not slow to answer. An obstinate fever helped to exhaust his purse, and he was compelled to borrow money for the purpose of returning home. On arriving in Norway he took up his residence at Christiansand, where he soon acquired reputation as a language master, especially as a teacher of French. At first, notwithstanding, he nearly gave mortal offence to many of the citizens by his love of paradox, and, in particular, by his zeal in defending a newly published work, which endeavoured to prove, by no fewer than sixty arguments, that women were not human beings; yet he abjured ere long this most ungallant heresy, and continued during his subsequent career of authorship to maintain with much ardour the social equality of the female sex. His musical talents also contributed to his popularity; and for his linguistic acquirements he became, at least in Christiansand, "as renowned as King Mithridates, who spoke twenty-two tongues." But Holberg's restless spirit would not allow him to remain; and in 1706 he undertook a voyage to England, where he lived for two years at Oxford. There he spent his time

studying in the libraries, partly Church history, partly modern history, and the law of nations; he held familiar intercourse with the students, and became in many ways acquainted with the various aspects of English life. At first he and a fellow-countryman, who had been his travelling companion, were forced to live so parsimoniously that for a whole quarter of a year they only every fourth day tasted animal food—a mode of diet which was quite congenial to Holberg's constitution, but which brought his comrade to the verge of despair, so that Ludvig had to console him with the words of the sage Bion, "It is unreasonable to tear the hair for sorrow, as if sorrow could be cured by baldness." Ere long he managed to support himself as teacher of foreign languages and flute-playing; in musical society his presence was indispensable. He pursued his own quiet path, during a lengthened period, bearing the name of "Myn Heer," which title some persons had heard given to him by his barber, who believed him to be a German, and wished to show his own knowledge of the language. As there was no evil intention in such a misnomer, Holberg never heeded to correct it, and his real name would scarcely have been discovered if he had not by accident met an English student called Holber, with whom he forthwith formed acquaintance as a namesake, and perhaps a relative, through one of his ancestors who had sailed to England along with Canute the Great. By the Oxford students Holberg was greatly liked. When he was preparing to depart, one of them came to him as a deputy from Magdalen College, and offered him a considerable sum of money to defray the expenses of his journey; but with grateful thanks he declined their friendly proffer. From London he sailed in a Swedish ship to Elsinore, and thence walked on foot to Copenhagen, arriving there in the summer of 1708.

Here he thought of commencing as public lecturer, and actually began a series of discourses on what he had witnessed in foreign countries. Hearers he had in plenty, but when the time for paying their instructor came, they suddenly, to his mortification, vanished; his only recompense was a low bow when he chanced to meet any of them on the street. Most opportunely, however, at this crisis, he was offered, and accepted, the appointment of travelling-tutor to a young man about to visit Germany—a country which in general seems to have had less attraction for Holberg than some other lands. On his return he was fortunate enough to receive free residence in Borch's Collegium for five years, and, in addition, a small salary

therewith connected. Now, at last, he had more leisure for his studies. The duty which devolved upon him, of taking part in academical exercises, he discharged by composing Latin *declamations*, all relating to subjects with which he was practically acquainted: scientific travels in foreign regions, history, music, and languages. He lived, both from choice and necessity, in a very frugal manner, and made frequent pedestrian excursions for the sake of his health, but otherwise dwelt entirely among his books. At the age of twenty-seven he published his first work, for which he had gathered materials in Oxford, *Introduction to the History of the European Kingdoms* (1711), and afterwards a statistical appendix to the same. A treatise, on the *Achievements of Christian the Fourth and Frederick the Third*, composed, like the former, "for the use of the Crown Prince," and sent in manuscript to King Frederick the Fourth, procured the nomination of its author as "Professor Extraordinarius" in 1714, to the chagrin of the learned pedants of the day, who refused to rank him with the rightful *Academici*. Shortly before he had been assigned a stipend of one hundred rix-dollars for four years, and on the strength of this meagre income he undertook, in the spring of 1714, his fourth and longest foreign journey. Having first proceeded to Holland, he walked all the way to Paris; and, although so long a teacher of languages, he had such difficulty in making himself understood, that he sometimes heard the people say, *Il parle Français comme un cheval Allemand*. By degrees he formed acquaintances as well with various Parisians as with some of his countrymen who resided in the capital. He was an assiduous frequenter of the libraries, and saw all that was to be seen in the city. Sometimes he attended the public tribunals to hear the pleadings of the advocates, sometimes he was present at public discussions on the advantages of the Catholic religion, and about this latter point he had also many private disputations. After residing a year and a half in Paris he happened to be informed by a French student that one could travel to Rome for twenty rix-dollars, and Holberg was not able to resist the temptation of such a journey. He started forthwith for the Eternal City, provided with a passport, in which he was described as Mikkel Rög of Aix-la-Chapelle; and that was the name he bore during his Italian expedition. Arrived at Genoa, he was assailed by a dangerous fever, and believed himself to be dying. In his helpless state, and under the roof of an extortionate landlord, who, every time that "Signor Recco" was prostrated by illness, reckoned *tanto*

*per lanotte e tanto per il giorno*,—apprehensive of monkish visitation, longing for spiritual comfort and physical support, he would in all probability have succumbed to his disease, had it not been for the attention and kindness of a complete stranger, whom, however, he subsequently found out to be a countryman of his own. It was in the autumn of 1715, shortly after the decease of Louis the Fourteenth; and Holberg tells us that he used to draw patience from the thought, "What is thy life compared with that of such a man?" Sailing from Genoa, he and his fellow-passengers, a whole company of monks and females, were nearly captured by pirates. Amid the universal cries of terror, he stood on deck, worn out by illness, with his sword by his side, and, like the rest, invoked St. Antony, when, most fortunately, the pirate vessel left them, and attacked another ship. After this happy escape he reached Rome in safety, and the sight of St. Peter's made him forget all his past troubles and dangers. In Rome he lived according to the customs of the people, cooked his own food, and sat by the hearth, "with a book in one hand and a ladle in the other." He prosecuted his studies zealously in the public libraries, and also devoted much attention to the monuments of antiquity. After spending the winter in Rome, he made his way on foot back to Paris, "with fever," as he tells us, "the whole way, for his fellow-traveller." It was only when he reached Amsterdam, that he felt completely restored to health, not, strangely enough, by medicine, but by playing on the violin all night in the company of some kindred spirits. Fully reinvigorated in mind and body, he returned to Copenhagen in the summer of 1716.

There he lived a year and a half in comparative poverty, until the Chair of Metaphysics in the University became vacant, and, although far from being a friend of metaphysical studies, he agreed to accept it. A second vacancy shortly occurring, he was appointed Professor of Latin and Rhetoric, and also made a member of the Consistory (Assessor), by which his income was materially improved. And now, with so fortunate a change in his outward prospects, there came a corresponding change in his literary activity, a change which resulted in the production of that series of works which have mainly rendered him illustrious. At this period he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age. Since his boyhood he had never written verses, and "could not hear the finest piece of poetry read to him without a weary yawn." But after the lapse of long years he determined to try his hand once more at poetical composition of the didactic kind, to in-

culcate good morals, and refine the language as well as the manners of his countrymen. The determination bore fruit in the inimitable mock-heroic poem, *Peder Paars*, to which we shall afterwards at greater length refer. *Peder Paars* was published in 1719, and soon gained such popularity that it passed through a number of editions, and was also largely circulated in Sweden and in Germany, where people learned Danish for the sole purpose of being enabled to read the work. But the singular success of *Peder Paars* was a small matter compared with Holberg's subsequent literary triumphs. His genius had now discovered the secret of its true power, and hastened to achieve fresh victories. A troop of French actors, who had for some time been performing at the Palace, aroused a general desire for the establishment of a theatre in Copenhagen. It was opened in 1722, with the representation of Molière's *L'Avare*, translated into Danish; but, in order that they might have original Danish plays as well as French translations, the promoters of the theatre had naturally recourse to the author of *Peder Paars*, and he with small reluctance agreed to meet their wishes. Holberg used the same form of comedy which had been employed before him by Plautus and Molière, but, more than they, he kept his own time and his own land in view, inasmuch as his chief object was "to depict the national faults and follies which had not been castigated in other comedies," and his knowledge of mankind was so rich and varied, his lively fancy so inexhaustible, that in a very few years he penned in swift succession no fewer than between twenty and thirty comic dramas, replete with vivid typical delineations of the most dissimilar human characters, who, through some ridiculous habit, or the favourite follies either of certain individuals or certain social conditions, only all too easily became the butt of the author's telling satire. Already, in 1722, *The State Tinker* was performed to such a large audience that many were compelled to stand in the passages. The same year there followed *The Fickle-minded*, *Jean de France*, *Jeppe paa Bjergot*, and *Gert Westphaler*; in 1723 appeared *The Eleventh of June* and *The Lying-in Chamber*; in 1724 there were represented as many as eight new pieces, among them *The Christmas Party*—which could scarcely be played to the close for the laughter of the spectators, and at last of the actors themselves,—*Jacob Von Tybo*, *Ulysses of Ithacia*—a merciless parody on the productions of the German stage,—*Melampo*—a tragi-comedy, which evoked at once tears and smiles,—and *Henrich and Pernille*, where the chief figures are two servants, a valet and lady's-maid, who have

played subordinate parts in several of the preceding dramas. After a short interval, caused by the bankruptcy of the theatre, five additional pieces were performed, among which we may specially mention *The Man without a Moment's Leisure*; contemporary with these there were also three, which were not in the first instance represented, but of which at least two are among the choicest productions of the author's genius,—we mean *Don Ranudo* and *Erasmus Montanus*, the latter an almost perfect specimen of genuine comedy. Thus the period of Holberg's dramatic fruitfulness may be said to have been the brief time immediately before and immediately after the fortieth year of his age.

This unbroken intellectual exertion,—rarely paralleled in the history of literature,—began at last to tell on Holberg's physical frame; and, for the purpose of recruiting his strength, he once more went abroad, and spent the winter of 1725–26 in Paris. Reinvigorated by his residence in the French metropolis, and his intercourse there with theologians, antiquarians and other men of learning, he devoted himself, after his return to Copenhagen, with fresh zeal and assiduity to the pursuit of his favourite studies. These studies had been broken for a time by his brief but marvellously successful excursion into the territory of the comic Muse, and he now resumed them with characteristic ardour. Another circumstance may possibly have confirmed him in his resolution to stand aloof during the future from the field of dramatic authorship. In 1727 the theatre was closed on account of the lack of popular support; next year the great fire of Copenhagen occurred, and after 1730, when King Christian the Sixth ascended the throne of Denmark, a pietistic tendency predominated in the Court and among the people, and the stage was naturally discouraged as savouring altogether of the world. On Holberg's last return from foreign travels he had been appointed to the Chair of History and Geography, his two favourite branches of study; and these were the subjects which he now handled in a series of weighty and substantial works. In Danish historical literature there are few treatises more valuable than his *Dannemark's Riges Historie* (History of the Realm of Denmark), published originally in three quarto volumes. There followed from his unwearied pen a *Church History to the Time of the Reformation*, a *History of the Jews* in two quarto volumes, and, under the title of *Tales of Heroes and Heroines*, a collection of comparative biographies in the style of Plutarch. These scientific works, as well as his poetical compositions, made Holberg's name renowned

far beyond the limits of his native country. In Germany, for example, they were disseminated in the form of translations, and the very sustenance of the theatres there for many years was just the comedies of Holberg. Meanwhile he continued, in yet other directions, his course of authorship. Diverging into the regions of Moral Philosophy, he published a work entitled *Moral Thoughts*, or commentaries on some of the Latin epigrams—about a thousand in number,—into which, from time to time, he had compressed his favourite principles and ideas. Translations of the book ere long appeared in Sweden, Holland, France, and Germany. To this period also belongs one of Holberg's most memorable productions, *Niels Klim's Subterranean Journey*,—a work originally written in Latin, and which we shall describe more fully afterwards. Wonderfully replete with the true Holbergian humour, it soon gained vast popularity, and *Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum* was speedily translated into most modern languages (even into Russian and Hungarian), and was edited, studied, and criticised throughout nearly the whole of Europe.

As Holberg was never married, and lived with great economy, he had by degrees amassed a considerable fortune, which he intended to devote, after his death, to some public object. He had bought an estate in the charming district of Sorø, where he generally spent the summer, returning in winter to the capital. At the age of sixty-three he was elevated by King Frederick the Fifth to the rank of Baron,—an exaltation which he himself says “was less paradoxical than that of various German literati, inasmuch as *their* baronies lay in the moon, while *his*, on the other hand, actually existed on the earth's surface, and lay in the province of Zealand.” In his new position he lived as frugally as when he was a simple Professor, and continued with unrelaxing zeal to prosecute his studies. His chief work after this period was his *Epistles*, a collection, in the form of letters, of brief essays on a multitude of themes,—historical, political, metaphysical, moral, philosophical, and humorous. Above five hundred of these *Epistles* were published, in five volumes, the last volume appearing after the author's death. That event was now not far distant. Having prepared for it by devising his property—a noble bequest—to the new Academy of Sorø, he calmly anticipated the hour of departure. After his return from the country in the summer of 1753 his bodily powers began rapidly to decay, and it soon became evident that the end was fast approaching. During his last illness he exhibited signs of

devotion, but declined to converse on any religious topic, as indeed might have been expected from his whole mental tone and tendency. He expired in his seventieth year, on the 28th January 1754, and was buried at Sorø, beside the grave of Archbishop Absalon.\*

What largely contributes to increase our astonishment at Holberg's marvellous literary fertility, is the fact, to which he himself so often alludes, that he was borne down by almost continual bodily suffering,—that, like Schiller, he scarcely ever passed a day without enduring pain. Doubtless this bodily suffering was alleviated by the simple and frugal mode of life to which he had been accustomed from his boyhood. He imagined, and rightly, that the peculiar nature of his ailments demanded the observance of strict rules, both with reference to exercise and diet. It was for such a reason that he made long pedestrian excursions, and only partook of the plainest kinds of food. His sole luxury, he tells us, was coffee; and wine he abhorred "worse than poison." For a time, he even went so far that, following Cornaro's advice, he partook of his meals in strict accordance with fixed weight and measure; but this "mathematical precision" began to tell injuriously on his system, and he was compelled to give it up ere long. Yet, although thus strenuously endeavouring to curb, if not to cure the maladies under which he laboured, he was hardly ever free from suffering throughout the whole period of his life. Excruciating headaches formed one of the chief diseases that afflicted him, so much so, that for two entire years he was obliged to give up everything in the shape of heavy literary labour. And, besides other severe bodily ailments, Holberg was liable to mental trouble in one of its worst forms,—we refer to deeply-rooted hypochondria. Strange that he who had contributed so much to the innocent mirth of his fellow-men, should himself have been the victim of this distressing malady; nay more, should have penned some of his most laughter-provoking words while specially under its baleful influence. It may be interesting, however, to mention that in Holberg's features and expression, as transmitted to posterity in his portrait by the contemporaneous Danish artist Roslin, there is scarcely the slightest trace of either bodily or mental anguish. Altogether it is a striking picture. From beneath the ponderous

Louis Quatorze peruke there looks out a calm, contemplative, high-browed countenance, as of one possessing world-wide experience, and breathing a serener air than that of the region inhabited by ordinary mortals; marked not by unrest, but rest,—the rest, as has been graphically said with regard to Goethe, of a giant after his completed toils. We have frequently compared it with the likeness of his great dramatic brother Molière, a face in many ways diametrically the reverse of Holberg's. The one is of the northern, the other of the southern type; and the features have assuredly not the shadow of a resemblance. Yet we hardly deem it a mere fancy of our own when we affirm that in the lines at the corners of the mouth, in both portraits, there may be discovered a certain similarity, suggestive of that keen sense of the humorous which alike distinguished the two, and shadowing forth the bond of brotherhood, which, by common consent, is believed to exist between them.

Although the works of Holberg are so numerous, and embrace such a great variety of different subjects,—forming, in fact, of themselves an entire literature,—there is little difficulty in defining the distinctive features of his genius. These, it appears to us, are three in number—breadth and clearness of observation, calmness of reflection, and vivid perception of the humorous. It may perhaps be said that, after all, such a combination has frequently existed in the case of individuals, without resulting in any transcendent intellectual ability, to say nothing of what is strictly styled genius; but the reader must remember that in Holberg the three qualities were, so to speak, potentized—that in him they attained, or at least approximated to, the maximum of their vigour, and that, moreover, in him also they were harmoniously blended in a way by no means usual. One of Holberg's inborn gifts was a broad and clear capacity of intellectual vision, which enabled him to take in at a glance objects the most dissimilar, to discern their true significance without at the same time confounding them together, and to assign to each its real name and nature, its proper place in the world and in life. And this innate power had been cultivated and intensified by the whole tenor of his existence from a very early period. In his youth he had to encounter difficulty and hardship, and was brought into contact with many scenes and persons of different, often quite opposite, kind and character; and, as soon as he could accomplish it, he visited foreign lands, made pedestrian excursions through Holland, France, and Italy, and spent his times of rest in the capitals of the most civilized na-

\* For much contained in the above summary of the life of Holberg we are indebted to the admirably comprehensive sketch by Professor M. Hamme-rich, in his *Danska og Norske Læsestycken*.

tions, the centres of learning and culture, where, however, he expressly tells us, "he studied yet more the people than the libraries." It was just this circumstance that at home gave so much offence to his stiff academic colleagues; they complained that he "listened to women's gossip more frequently than became a grave philosopher," and "derived greater pleasure from the rude talk of a peasant than from the most polished converse of the learned." He himself says that he regularly frequented houses of public entertainment, yet left them without wetting his lips, and that he was daily among players, yet never touched dice or cards. It was not Holberg's object to enjoy life, but to observe it. The latter, indeed, was with him a ruling passion, and he retained it to the last. Hence the singularly acute remarks,—the name of which is legion,—in so many of his writings, on all possible variety of subjects, which he seems to have contemplated alike broadly and clearly, and almost at a first glance to have intuitively comprehended. But, conjoined with this, there was the faculty of calm and equable reflection. Holberg, although not wholly devoid of prejudice, still shows little of it in his works. He knew how to separate—yet by no means always, and hence some of the defects of his writings—the accidental from the essential, the ephemeral from the eternal. His large and tolerant nature raised him above the paltry pursuits and objects, the fantastic whims and caprices, of the period in which he lived, and thus he remained unaffected by them, except in so far as—which, indeed, was very often—he discharged against them the keen shafts of his remorseless wit and irony. The immense amount of knowledge he had acquired by observation his power of reflection enabled him easily and perfectly to digest; and the width and clearness of his views, which tolerated everything but cant and folly, harmonising with the reflective element, set the broad impress of their conjunct seal on well-nigh all his works. Lastly, there falls to be mentioned Holberg's vivid perception of the humorous, and the power he possessed to give it such opulent outward life and shape. The deeper student, of course, cannot fail immediately to perceive the combination, in Holberg's nature, of the two elements to which we have just referred; but even the most superficial readers find the humour that so pre-eminently distinguished him, pervading every page of some of his more celebrated productions, as, for example, the Comedies, *Niels Klim*, and *Peder Paars*. What we might say with regard to this peculiar feature of Holberg's genius may perhaps better

find its place in our succeeding observations on the works just named, more especially the Comedies. We reserve it, therefore, until then. A chief object which Holberg contemplated in all his writings was the diffusion of culture through the whole mass of the people. His earnest desire was, as Heiberg truly affirms, to create a self-subsistent Danish literature, or to make available for the mass of his countrymen what had before been the exclusive property of the learned, and to develop, that he might effect this, the capabilities of his mother tongue, and render it suitable for the propagation of views and ideas which had been previously communicated through the medium of the Latin language. "Nationality" is therefore the word which, perhaps, best expresses one great principle that influenced him, and the one great goal of his entire career of authorship. But it must not be forgotten that he also claimed to be an instructor in ethics,—to impart to the Danish people a purer and sounder system of morals than that which was unfortunately prevalent in his own day. We may almost affirm that he looked upon this as his supreme, peculiar work. He never viewed himself as a poet, but as a moralist; and, in his laudable zeal to fulfil the mission of the latter, he not unfrequently became so one-sided as to see in morals the sole thing worth striving after,—a one-sidedness which derogated from the beauty and value of some of his literary productions. Every work he penned,—*Peder Paars*, the *Satires*, *Metamorphoses*, the *Comedies*, the *Moral Thoughts*, the various historical treatises, the *Epistles*,—he contemplated more or less as ethic lessons embodied in diverse forms; and his intention was, just by the very difference of these forms, to render the imparted instruction agreeable as well as profitable, that it might find a ready entrance into the minds of men. Universal moral and literary education, in short, was the twofold object of his endeavours. And unquestionably there was infinite need of such a double education at that time in Denmark. Morality had sadly degenerated; it was divorced from religion in the practical life of the people, and exerted little influence on their conduct. Literature, again, as we have already indicated, was at an equally low ebb; all the learned were soulless pedants, and the vast majority of the people were destitute of intellectual culture. It was Holberg's work to shame the pedants into silence, and awaken to fresh life the love of art and letters among the bulk of his benighted countrymen. In both respects he proved the agent of a successful and salutary revival. Still, with regard to Holberg's moral teach-

ing, we must guard against a possible misconception on the part of our readers. The morality which Holberg inculcated was chiefly of a minor kind,—invaluable in its own way, yet not necessarily springing from the deep roots of religious thought and religious life. Dishonour has, indeed, been cast upon his name by insinuations that he was little better than a concealed sceptic, a confirmed rejecter of revelation. His large-hearted tolerance,—a virtue rare in those days,—may have lent colour to such a charge. The sworn foe of bigotry and barren orthodoxy, he incurred by his outspoken statements continual suspicion. We can easily fancy the hostility that would be evoked in many quarters by the author of an epigram like this, addressed *Ad Fabium, hæreticem maxime strenuum* :—

“Quæris præcipue, quam damno religionem,  
Quas sectas dignas judico suppliciis.  
Me nimium poscis: de re non judico tanta;  
Solos damnantes damno, aliosque fleo.”

But while we certainly cannot claim for Holberg the possession of aught resembling fervent faith, we see no basis for the accusation of utter indifference and unbelief which has been so often brought against him. In his writings he speaks of religious matters with the utmost caution; and vainly will the reader search them to find a single word that could be construed into ridicule of holy things. It is true that he attaches much more importance to practice than to theory; in his *Church History* he specially singles out the first three centuries, when doctrine and external service were plain and simple, and when to the doctrine the life responded, so “that this shows us the way to true Christianity, which consists in humility, love, contempt of the world, and walking in the Redeemer’s footsteps.” It is always in a similar spirit that in his other works he moralizes on the truths of the Christian religion. In his earlier years, he frankly confesses, he had cherished scruples about revelation; but he adds that he was fortunate enough to obtain deliverance from them in the end. While entertaining ideas the reverse of strict about Church creeds and catechisms, he still can speak of himself as follows :—“I willingly subscribe all the fundamental articles of faith embraced in our Confession, although I would rather curtail them than increase their number. For I hold that there are certain things which consist alone in theory and speculation, and which can without danger be either affirmed or denied, inasmuch as they should rather exercise the minds of metaphysicians than theologians.” It is very truly remarked by Hammerich,

that the excessive tolerance of Holberg “did not proceed from indifference to religious truth.” Perhaps it might seem paradoxical if we numbered him among Danish theological authors. But every one who knows his writings will feel the force of his own testimony when he asserts that he “always with great concern has investigated the matter of his own salvation.” “If we have gone astray,” he affirms in another passage, “it has cost me more to do so than it has cost many others to believe aright.” Our object in thus drawing attention to Holberg’s religious views is to disprove the charge of scepticism which has not unfrequently been adduced against him. At the same time, we must repeat what has been already stated, that the morals which he made it the great business of his life to inculcate were in so far defective that they were based on no profound religious principle, and therefore lacked the element of power which invariably exists where faith is the fountain-source, and morality the stream that flows from it. But the moral instructions communicated by Holberg to his countrymen were nevertheless of much value and importance. They were rife with sound, solid, practical sagacity, and greatly helped to elevate and civilize the mass of the Danish people.

There is yet another point on which we wish to touch, before proceeding to review the leading works of Holberg. Their author was not merely, the “father of modern Danish literature;” he was also, in a certain sense, the “father” of the modern Danish language. It was he who moulded that language into the shape which it has essentially retained until the present day; he rescued it from the influence of pedants,—who were men of learning and nothing more,—pedants who chiefly wrote in Latin, and when they *did* attempt a work in the mother tongue, deformed it by bastard Latinisms, and modes of expression foreign to the genius of the language. To civilize the people it was necessary that there should be a native literature, but to create a native literature it was necessary that there should be for it a worthy medium of communication; and so he labored simultaneously to supply the lack of both. His intense desire, as he tells his readers, was “to refine not merely the people but their speech,”\* and the good taste of which his own writings were such excellent models exerted an influence that proved powerful and enduring. He delighted to discover in ancient law-books, and the conversation of the peasants, good old Danish words and phrases that had lapsed

\* “For Folk ei ene, men for Sproget et polere.”



from common use, yet at the same time he did not depart in his writings from the plain and simple conversational style, of which there was hardly a single trace in the learned lucubrations of the period. He taught the Danes, as it is happily expressed in the lines of Christian Wilster, that they were born to speak in the tongue of their fathers, and that the "noble mead" that alone rightly refreshes the heart must be brewed at home and not in a foreign country.\* It may be objected that Holberg himself borrowed many French words, and used them frequently in his works, and this is no doubt true. But we should remember that in the first place his object was to stem the tide of Germanizing innovations which were threatening altogether to break up the integrity of the Danish language, and that, therefore, when in want of a word or term which the latter at its present stage of progress could not supply, he preferred rather to draw on French than on German to remedy the lack; and, in the second place, that the French words which abound in his productions are so unmistakably foreign, that they could not perplex the reader, but rather tended to advance the development of the Danish tongue. Holberg's style is in general characterized by clearness and simplicity, and by an accompanying easy flow, which features have ever since his time been the distinctive marks of the genuine Danish form of speech, both conversational and literary. Heiberg, the great Danish critic of Denmark, unhesitatingly asserts that the entire Danish prose has been created by Holberg, and that its style in its now existing shape is only a modification of the Holbergian. All who know anything of the subject will cordially indorse this statement.

We proceed to the consideration of Holberg's three principal works,—*Peder Paars*, *Niels Klim*, and the *Comedies*; and, as it is mainly through the latter that he has acquired his European renown, we will devote the larger portion of our space to their consideration. The earlier work, *Peder Paars*, appeared at intervals,—the first of its cantos having been published in 1719, and the remaining cantos of the poem afterwards. It is a satirical production in the style of Butler's *Hudibras* and Boileau's *Lutrin*, but in some respects surpassing both of them in wit and humour. The hero, a shopkeeper at Callundborg, while proceeding to visit his betrothed at Aars, is wrecked on the island

of Anholt; by the assistance of Venus, however, he manages to save the vessel and the crew; thereafter he wages war with the islanders, and, when peace has been concluded, Nille, the bailiff's daughter, like a second Dido, becomes enamoured of the illustrious stranger,—upon which he sails privately away to new achievements and new dangers. This work, in which Holberg by degrees passes over from a parody on the bombastic heroic diction of contemporaneous poets to ironical delineations of the ideas and customs of his countrymen, was received by different persons very differently. Some were pleased with it, others were offended by its tone and spirit; some found in it personal allusions, others viewed it as the jest of an idle brain, and beneath the dignity of a professor. The proprietor of Anholt actually preferred a legal complaint against the writer for the improper and insulting way in which he had spoken of the island's inhabitants; nay more, for the language he had used concerning constituted authorities, the University and academical studies, bishops, clergymen, even religion itself; and, for such reasons, he demanded that the author should be punished, and his book burned by the public executioner. The matter assumed a serious aspect; it came before the Council of State. But Frederick the Fourth, who had read and been greatly amused by *Peder Paars*, quashed further proceedings in the case, and the complaint was rejected, inasmuch as the book "consisted of pure jesting fiction, which," it is added nevertheless, "might rather have been unwritten than written." Through *Peder Paars* there runs a vein of the keenest irony, and certain passages in it—as, for example, where Holberg satirizes the unworthy lives of the judges and clergy of his day, the superstition of the populace and the pedantry of the learned—are replete with the most caustic ridicule. Abiding though varying interest is kept alive in the reader's mind to the close, by the masterly caricature of the Homeric and Virgilian heroes and their exploits, by the ingenious plan and management of the whole poem, by the admirably drawn characters that figure in it, the ludicrous positions in which they are placed, and the comic power which suits their words so thoroughly to their actions. The earnest irony of the author remains undisturbed from the first line to the last. "With all possible seriousness of aspect," it has been truly said, "he accompanies his hero along his not peculiarly heroic path, employs the traditional mythological machinery to raise or depress his fortunes, is unwearied in laudation of his virtues, careful to expound the difficulties that environed

\* "Han lærte de Danske, at Dansken er født  
At tale med Faedrenes Tunge,  
Thi hjemmehrygt var jo den herlige Mjød,  
Som styrkede Hjerte og Lunge."

him, to defend his procedure, and to beautify achievements which in themselves are far from being glorious. The continued and manifold contrast between the objects and their treatment is therefore the more piquant, in that it seems always self-originated, and without the consciousness of the author."\* The very form of verse, it may be added, which Holberg employs—the pompous Alexandrine—enhances the reader's enjoyment, by the parodic gravity with which it rolls along.

Holberg's profoundest work is, without question, the *Subterranean Journey of Niels Klim*, a strange half-philosophical, half-satirical romance. Suggested by Swift's masterpiece (for *Gulliver's Travels* was published in 1726, while the *Itor Subterraneum* did not appear until 1741), there is yet sufficient originality in *Niels Klim* to entitle it to a very high position of its own in literature. In it the sexton Klim, of Bergen, relates the marvellous story of his life. When a young man he was let down by a rope into a cave in the neighbourhood of that town, in order that he might investigate its character; but the rope unfortunately gave way, and he was precipitated into subterranean regions. First he came to a planet, whose inhabitants were trees with heads and feet,—cypresses, limes, briars, etc.; and being, on account of his long legs and power of rapid locomotion, appointed courier to the Court, he travelled in many provinces, and learned to know the customs of the country. Afterwards, he was banished to the land of the apes, where, on account of his dulness of comprehension, as compared with the vivacity of the natives, he was made a sedan-bearer, but rose in the end to great power and dignity by his introduction of *perukes*. In a new land of wonders he became emperor, but, a revolt occurring, Klim took to flight, made a desperate plunge into an abyss, and found himself again in proximity to his native town, where at last an old friend recognised him, and procured for him the post of sexton, in which capacity he is represented by the author to have died in 1695. The work being a politico-moral allegory, especially intended for the educated classes, and referring to the general relations of European society both in Catholic and Protestant countries, Holberg wrote it in Latin, and had it published anonymously, not in Copenhagen, but in Leipzig. The first copies which reached the Danish capital set the whole city in commotion; and the clergy asked that they should be confiscated. By and by the storm was

lulled, and the book acquired much popularity. *Niels Klim* is a fiction wonderful for its fancy and humour, in which wellnigh all human relations—spiritual as well as temporal—are reviewed by the writer, stripped of the false veil which custom has drawn around them, and the most comprehensive wisdom is communicated in the most witty and attractive manner. It is a satire on a colossal scale, inasmuch as it exposes the entire life of cultivated Europe to unsparing ridicule, by laying bare its most deeply-rooted religious, moral, and political follies and delusions. Comparisons have often been drawn between *Niels Klim* and its prototype, Dean Swift's immortal fiction; but the two books are, in many respects, of an altogether different character, and cannot be set side by side appropriately. In originality and power *Gulliver's Travels* surpasses, without doubt, the work of Holberg, but the latter is a production of infinitely wider range, and its humour, although coarse in not a few passages, is generally more refined than that of *Gulliver*. The dissimilar nature, to a large extent, of the two works, is evident from the fact that while, as is well known, there are many allusions of *Gulliver's Travels* to the Court and politics of England, and the secret history of the period, there are, on the other hand, few personal references in *Niels Klim* to the mere State politics of his native country, and the book is therefore one, not of Danish, but of European significance. It may be interesting to note that several English translations of *Niels Klim* have appeared,—the first as early as 1742, the second, by Weber, in 1812, and the last, at least the last with which we are ourselves acquainted, in 1828. The earliest of these we have never seen, but from certain statements of Weber it is presumably the same translation which he has reprinted in his *Popular Romances*, and so is not a new work,—simply a new edition; while the last follows the edition of 1745 with the apologetic preface and appendix, and gives an English version of the Latin poetry with which the original is interspersed.

That Holberg had a certain aptitude for the tragic drama he was himself not indisposed to believe, and it was also the opinion of many of his contemporaries; but the latter drew their conclusion from the grandiloquent scenes in *Melampe*, which was a partial caricature of high-flown tragic utterances, and from the *Metamorphoses*, which produce a similar impression. We perceive here the boundary line of Holberg's intellectual endowments. He was able to attain a very exalted place as a comic dramatist,—second, we again repeat, alone to Plautus and Molière,—but to win even the lowest position

\* Thortsen's *Historisk Udsigt over den danske Litteratur*, p. 49.

in the realm of the tragic was completely beyond his power. For this he lacked the intensity of passion, the depth of agonising wrath or sorrow, the opulence of those conflicting elements of emotion that create a temporary hell or a temporary heaven within the breast of the true tragic poet. He well knew history; but from its records he could not single out and array in robes of splendour or of terror the giant shapes with which the stage had been peopled by great tragedians, and which had thrilled hosts of spectators with admiration or with awe. Of Holberg it never could be said, as Goethe says of his own illustrious compeer, the author of *Wallenstein* and *Wilhelm Tell*, that—to supply fit subjects for his Muse—

“Ihm schwellen der Geschichte Fluth auf Fluthen,  
Verspülend, was getadelt, was gelobt,  
Der Erdbherrscher wilde Heere: gluthen,  
Die in der Welt sich grimmig ausgetobt,”—

and that he had seized them as they surged upon his soul, and employed them with the creative genius of a master. Holberg's strength lay in the region of the humorous, and he wisely abstained from any attempt at the introduction of the tragic element into the great majority of his dramatic works. It is this very feature that in reality prevents Holberg from rising to the supreme place attainable by humorists,—a throne beside Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Jean Paul. With all our respect for his extraordinary talents, we must still confess that the humour which formed one of his chief intellectual attributes was devoid of the foundation that supports the truest, purest humour—the foundation, namely, of solemn earnestness, of intense impassioned emotion. All humour of the highest kind, such humour as we find in the works of the above-named writers, rests upon this solid basis; and so the truly tragic and the truly comic are connected by the closest bonds, and are, in fact, just two phases of the same completest order of intellect—the intellect gifted at once with world-wide clearness of vision and world-wide power of sympathy. Hence, although for convenience's sake we use the word “humour” to denote a chief aspect of Holberg's genius, we are at the same time aware that such a term does not properly define the peculiar gift to which we thus apply it. *Erasmus Montanus* and *Jeppes paa Bjerget* are perhaps the only comedies of Holberg in which he can be said to rise to the region of the strictly humorous; and with difficulty, even in *their* case, do we arrive at this conclusion. Of jest and irony, especially the latter, Holberg is indeed a consummate master; but

these things, although springing from the humorous, are not properly the humorous itself. It is very desirable in any estimate of Holberg's writings to keep such a point steadily in view, as otherwise there may occur a serious misconception, both with regard to their general features and their individual distinctions. After this necessary explanation we turn now to the Comedies.

Heiberg has entered into an able and elaborate analysis\* of these productions, based on the system of Hegelian æsthetics which he so sedulously cultivated,—an analysis which contains much that is alike subtle and ingenious. Without reproducing here all its details, we may simply mention that the Danish critic divides Holberg's thirty-two dramas into four great classes,—burlesque comedies, comedies of character, comedies of situation (*Lystapi*), and ideal comedies. We believe this division to be on the whole a sound and satisfactory one. The majority of the Comedies appertain to the first two classes; and the class of ideal comedy includes fewer than all the rest—a circumstance naturally arising from the peculiar bent of the author's mind to which we have already referred. As regards the general tone and spirit of Holberg's dramas, it may be remarked that he adopted the form which comedy, under the influence of the later Attic and Roman species (along with the *Commedia dell' arte* of the Italians), had assumed in France, especially through the instrumentality of Molière. Not a few ideas, nay even passages, were borrowed from these foreign sources by the writer; and the usual typical characters that occur in all the plays were the legacy of the Italian comic stage. Holberg is notwithstanding one of the most original dramatists to be found in the history of literature. While the works of Molière bear the impress of that refinement which prevailed at the period of Louis the Fourteenth, Holberg's present to us a series of life-like, sharply-drawn, strongly-marked pictures of the manners of the middle and lower classes, both in town and country. The typical figures—Jeronimus, Magdalene, Leander, Leonora, Henrich, Pernille,—are by no means stereotyped; they are varied in marked manner in the different pieces; and, as has been truly said, they are fresh with the very breath of national life in Denmark. Other characters—the “Political Tinker,” the “Man without a Moment's Leisure,” “Peer Degn,” etc.—are in the strictest sense original. Drawn with great psychologic skill, they are always true to themselves in action and in language. How-

\* J. L. Heiberg's *Prosaiske Skrifter*, vol. iii. p. 105.

ever much Holberg may love to enliven the dialogue by the introduction of pungent witticisms, he never does so at the expense of the dramatic consistency of his various characters, but every word that falls from them is in all respects appropriate to each allotted part. The plot in Holberg's comedies is, in the majority of cases, hardly designed to possess independent interest, or arrest notice by an artistic construction, or awaken wonder by the reciprocal play of external motions and relations; yet, on the other hand, the author knits it in such a masterly fashion to his characters, that it both obtains from these characters its own dramatic life, and places *them* before the mind's eye in clearest, fullest light. At the same time there is no lack of irresistibly comic scenes, caused by misunderstandings, blunders, or surprises,—scenes peculiarly effective on the stage. Holberg in this department possesses great inventive genius, and varies his ludicrous situations so frequently that one never experiences a sense of lassitude. To Plautus he bears considerable resemblance, as well in the plan of his plays and the portraiture of character as in the comic power of dialogue. Holberg himself assures us that he valued highly the Roman author; he set him much above Terence, and says that "his *Amphitryo*, *Aulularia*, and *Menachmi*, are the greatest plays which we have." With regard to Molière, Holberg stands behind him in correctness and elegance of diction, in regularity of plot, and perhaps also in delineation of character; but he may almost be said to surpass the French writer in comic strength and force. Holberg seems to have planned his plots far more hastily than Molière,—which often gives his plays, not to their advantage, somewhat of an improvised appearance; yet, for the same reason, there is sometimes a greater liveliness imparted to his dialogues than we find in those of Molière. In the erotic scenes Holberg is sure to fail, while the similar scenes of Molière are fraught with ease and grace. But why should we pursue the parallel? We may safely come to the conclusion that, if the Frenchman holds by common consent supreme place on the Parnassus of the comic drama, the Dane is entitled to take rank next to and not greatly lower than, his predecessor's throne at the summit of the sacred hill.

It is exceedingly difficult, by translated extracts, to convey to the reader any full and satisfactory idea of the true character of Holberg's comedies. Each play should be considered as a whole, and read, at a single perusal, from beginning to end. Nor

will our space permit us to give at present more than the analysis of a single drama. Perhaps, however, this course of procedure may serve to communicate a livelier impression of the comic genius of Holberg, than if we were to quote a series of disjointed scenes, selected from many of his different plays. We therefore fix upon *Erasmus Montanus*, as one of his most striking works, and proceed to offer some account of it, accompanied by a few translations. Holberg's clear, forcible, idiomatic Danish prose loses not a little by its appearance in an English dress; but we will faithfully preserve all the meaning, and strive after an approximation to the spirit, of the vigorous original.

In *Erasmus Montanus*, the author pours a flood of ridicule on the pedantry which was, in his day, so prevalent, in Denmark; and he at the same time holds up to scorn the superstition and ignorance that existed among the peasant classes. The contrast between the two things is brought out in strong relief, and forms the special burthen of the whole drama. Its hero is the son of a yeoman, who has been sent by his father to the University of Copenhagen, in the natural paternal hope that he may advance himself in the world by his devotion to learned studies. At the time that the play opens his parents are expecting his return, and his betrothed, Lisbed, the daughter of Jeronimus, is also looking forward to it with happy anticipation. The first act is of a prefatory character, and Rasmus Berg, old Jeppe Berg's son (who had changed his name to the Latin form, Erasmus Montanus), does not make his appearance until the commencement of the second act. But in the first act there are some admirable scenes, especially the fourth and fifth, where Peer Degn, Peter the parish clerk,—who is a ludicrous compound of crass ignorance and intolerable self-conceit,—plays the fool to perfection, unintentionally, in the presence of the youthful student's relations. The second act opens thus:—

*Montanus (with his stockings down about his ankles).* I have only been a single day out of Copenhagen, and I am wearying already. If I had not brought with me my precious books, I could not have existed in the country. *Studia secundas res ornant, adversis solatium præbent.* It seems as if I lacked something, since I have had no disputation for whole three days. I know not if there are any learned persons in the village here; if there are, I will give them enough of work, for I cannot live without disputation. To my poor parents I cannot say much; for they are simple folks, who know hardly aught but what they learned in childhood, and so I have small consolation in their society. The clerk and the schoolmaster, it is

reported, have studied; but I know not to what extent. I will try, however, what they can do. My father and mother were alarmed when they saw me so early, for they had not expected that I would travel from Copenhagen in the night-time. (*He strikes a light, applies it to his pipe, and puts the pipe's head through a hole which he has in his hat.*) This I call smoking tobacco *Studentikos*. It is a good enough invention for one who would write and smoke simultaneously.—(*Sits down to read.*)

An amusing scene with his uncultivated brother Jacob terminates in Montanus hurling the book at his head in a rage, whereupon the old mother and father appear:—

*Jeppe.* What is this noise?

*Jacob.* My brother Rasmus was beating me.

*Nille.* What does that matter? He has not beaten thee without reason.

*Mont.* No, mother; it is true. He comes hither and uses language to me as if I were his equal.

*Nille.* What a devil's imp! dost thou not know better how to respect such a learned man? dost thou not know that he is an honour to our whole house? My darling Herr Son! \* Do not take it ill of him; he is only an ignorant blockhead.

*Mont.* I am sitting here and speculating on weighty matters, when this *importunissimus* and *audacissimus juvenis* comes in and disturbs me; to have to do with those *Transcendentalibus* is no child's play. I would not for two merks that it had taken place.

*Jeppe.* Ah, be not angry, my dear son! It shall never again happen. I am afraid that the Herr Son has got into a passion; learned folk bear not many interruptions. I know that Peer Clerk was in such a passion once, he could not get the better of it for three days.

*Mont.* Peer Clerk,—is he learned?

*Jeppe.* Yes, truly, so long as I can remember we have had no clerk here in the village that could sing so well as he.

*Mont.* He may be very unlearned for all that.

*Jeppe.* He preaches also most beautifully.

*Mont.* He may be very unlearned for all that likewise.

*Nille.* Ah, no, Herr Son! how can he be unlearned, when he preaches well?

*Mont.* True enough, little mother,† all unlearned folk preach well; for, as they cannot out of their own heads write anything, they use borrowed sermons and learn by heart brave men's homilies, which sometimes they don't themselves understand, while, on the other hand, a learned man would not employ such, but out of his own head would write his sermon. Believe me, it is a general fault in the country here, to judge of the learning of the students far too much by their preaching. But let the fellows dispute as I do; *that* is the touchstone of learn-

ing! I can dispute in good Latin on whatever subject you please. If any one were to say this table is a candlestick, I would maintain it, and I have done so many a time. Hear, little father! will you believe that he who drinks well is happy?

*Jeppe.* I believe rather that he is miserable, for he may drink away both his understanding and his money.

*Mont.* I will prove to you that he is happy. *Quicumque bene bibit, bene dormit.* But it is true, you do not understand Latin. I must say it in Danish: He who drinks well sleeps well, is that not true?

*Jeppe.* True enough; for when I am half-fuddled I sleep like a horse.

*Mont.* He who sleeps well sins not. Is not that true?

*Jeppe.* True enough; we don't sin so long as we are asleep.

*Mont.* He who sins not is happy.

*Jeppe.* True likewise.

*Mont.* Ergo, he who drinks well is happy. Little mother! I will change you into a stone.

*Nille.* Nonsense! that would be worse to do.

*Mont.* Now you will hear it done. A stone cannot fly.

*Nille.* Well, that is quite true, except it be thrown by somebody.

*Mont.* You cannot fly.

*Nille.* True also.

*Mont.* Ergo, little mother is a stone (*Nille weeps*). Why does little mother weep?

*Nille.* Ah! I am so afraid that I become a stone; my legs are getting cold already.

*Mont.* Make yourself easy, little mother, I will change you into a woman again. A stone can neither think nor talk.

*Nille.* It is true. I know not if it can think, but talk it cannot.

*Mont.* Little mother can talk.

*Nille.* Yes, God be praised, and can talk like any poor peasant's wife.

*Mont.* Good. Ergo, little mother is not a stone.

*Nille.* Ah, that has done it; I have come to myself again. My faith, it requires strong heads for studying. I know not how their brains can stand it.

In the second scene of act third, Jesper the bailiff, and therefore a man of considerable importance among the simple country folk, comes to visit Montanus.

*Jesper.* *Serviteur*, Monsieur! Congratulations on your arrival!

*Mont.* Thanks, Mr. Bailiff.

*Jesp.* I am very glad that we have now got such a learned man in our village. It must have cost much brain-racking before he could advance so far in his studies. I wish you also luck of your son, Jeppe Berg. Now you have joy in your old age.

*Jeppe.* Yes, doubtless.

*Jesp.* But listen, my dear Monsieur Rasmus, I want to ask you about something.

*Mont.* My name is Montanus.

*Jesp.* (*aside to Jeppe.*) Montanus is Rasmus in Latin.

\* The fond parents generally give Montanus the title of "Herr," in token of their respect for his extraordinary learning.

† There is no single English word equivalent to the expressive "Morille" of the Danes.

*Jeppe.* Maybe so.

*Jesp.* Listen, my dear Monsieur Montanus Berg! I have heard that learned folk have the strangest notions. Is it true that they maintain in Copenhagen that the earth is round? Here, in the country, nobody will believe it; for how can such a thing be, seeing that the earth seems evidently flat?

*Mont.* The reason of that is, that the earth is so large that we cannot mark its rotundity.

*Jesp.* Yes, that is quite true: the earth is big; it is almost half the size of the world. But listen, Monsieur, how many stars does it take to make a moon?

*Mont.* A moon! The moon is like P-blinge lake compared with the whole of New Zealand.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha, ha! The learned folk are never right in their heads. I have heard, my faith, of some who say that the earth moves, and the sun stands still. Monsieur, I suppose, believes that also?

*Mont.* No rational man doubts it any longer.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha! if the earth moves, we must sometimes fall and break our necks, then.

*Mont.* Cannot a ship move with you, and still you need not fall and break your neck on it, surely?

*Jesp.* But you say that the earth runs round; now, if the ship were to turn upside down, would not the people fall into the sea?

*Mont.* Nay; I will explain it to you more clearly, if you will only have patience.

*Jesp.* My faith, I will hear nothing more about it! I would be mad if I believed such nonsense. So the earth may turn upside down, and still we may not tumble headlong into the devil's clutch below! Ha, ha, ha! But, my dear Monsieur Berg, how comes it that the moon is sometimes so little, and sometimes so large?

*Mont.* If I were to tell you, you would not believe it.

*Jesp.* No, pray, let me know.

*Mont.* It comes of this, that when the moon has grown to its full size, they clip slices out of it to make into stars.

*Jesp.* My faith, that is curious. I never knew such a thing before. If they did not clip slices out it would grow as broad as the whole of Zealand. Nature most wisely governs all things. But how comes it that the moon does not warm us like the sun, when it is every whit as big?

*Mont.* It comes of this, that the moon has no light, but is made of the same dark material as the earth, and borrows its radiance and lustre from the sun.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! let us speak about something else; it is such ridiculous nonsense that one would get mad with thinking of it.

### THIRD SCENE.

*Jeppe, Nille, Montanus, Jesper, Peer Clerk.*

*Jeppe.* Welcome, Peer! where good folk already are, thither will good folk come. There you see my son, who has newly returned home.

*Peer.* Welcome, Monsieur Rasmus Berg!

*Mont.* In Copenhagen I am accustomed to be called Montanus; I pray you to address me thus.

*Peer.* Yea, truly; to me it is all one. How goes it in Copenhagen? Did many students pass examination this year?

*Mont.* The usual number.

*Peer.* Were there any rejected?

*Mont.* Two or three *conditionaliter*.

*Peer.* Who is *Imprimatur* this year?

*Mont.* What is the meaning of that?

*Peer.* I mean who is *Imprimatur* for the verses and books that are sent to press?

*Mont.* Is that Latin?

*Peer.* Yes, in my time it was good Latin.

*Mont.* If it was once good Latin it must be good Latin still. But it has never been Latin in the sense that you attach to it.

*Peer.* Yes, by my faith, it is good Latin.

*Mont.* Is it then a *nomen* or a *verbum*?

*Peer.* It is a *nomen*.

*Jesp.* Right, Peer! Speak up bravely.

*Mont.* *Cujus declinationis* is *imprimatur*, then?

*Peer.* All the words we can name may be referred to seven things, which are *Nomen, Pronomen, Verbum, Principium, Conjugatio, Declinatio, Interjectio*.

*Jesp.* Hear, hear! Only listen to Peer when he speaks off-hand! That's right, Peer, grip him hard!

*Mont.* He answers not a syllable to the question I asked him. What has *imprimatur* in *Genitivo*?

*Peer.* *Nominativus Alo, Genitivus Alae, Dativus Alo, Vocativus Alo, Ablativus Alo.*

*Jesp.* Hear, hear, Monsieur Montanus! We too have learned folk in the country.

*Peer.* I should think so. There passed examination, my faith, different fellows in my time from those that pass examination now,—fellows that had themselves shaved twice a week and could *scandere* all kinds of verse.

*Mont.* That is a mighty thing forsooth; any one in the second class can do it. Fellows now pass examination at Copenhagen University who can make Hebrew and Chaldean verses.

*Peer.* But they won't know much Latin then?

*Mont.* Latin! If you went to study there you would not rise higher than the lowest form.

*Jesp.* Speak not so, Montanus! Peer is, by my faith, a truly learned man; I have heard both the revenue-officer and justice say it.

*Mont.* Perhaps they understood as little Latin as he does.

*Jesp.* I hear, though, that he answers bravely for himself.

*Mont.* But he answers nothing to the questions put to him. *E qua Schola dimissus es, mi Domine?*

*Peer.* *Adjectivum et Substantivum, genere, numero, et caso conveniunt.*

*Jesp.* He measures out to him, by my life, the half-bushful. Right, Peer! we shall, good faith, have a pot of brandy on the top of it.

*Mont.* If Mr. Bailiff knew how he was replying to me, he would burst his sides with laughter. I asked him in what College he

passed examination, and he answers with something else at random.

*Peer.* *Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*

*Jesp.* Hear, hear! Now he's going ahead! Answer *that*, come?

*Mont.* I cannot answer,—it is sheer balderdash. Let us speak in our own language, which the others can understand, and they will soon get to know what sort of a fellow he is.

*Jesp.* Why do you weep, grandame? (*Nille weeps.*)

*Nille.* I feel so grieved that my son should be beaten at his Latin.

*Jesp.* Peace, grandame! There is no wonder that he should. Besides, Peer is much older than he, and so there is no wonder. Let them now speak Danish, which we all understand.

*Peer.* Yes, yes! I am ready for whatever language he may choose. We will ask each other some questions; for example, Who was it that cried so loud that they could hear him over the whole world?

*Mont.* I know none that cry louder than donkeys and country parish-clerks.

*Peer.* Fudge! Can *they* be heard over the whole world? It was the ass in Noah's ark, for the whole world was in the ark.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha! By my faith, that is true. Ha, ha, ha! There sits a clever head on Peer Clerk's shoulders.

*Peer.* Who smote to death the fourth part of mankind?

*Mont.* I do not reply to such vulgar questions.

*Peer.* It was Cain, who slew his brother Abel.

*Mont.* Prove that there were only four persons then living.

*Peer.* Prove *you* that there were more.

*Mont.* No need of that, for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*. Do you understand this?

*Peer.* To be sure. *Omnia conando docilis solertia vincit*. Do you understand this?

*Mont.* I am as great a simpleton myself, to stand here and argue with a blockhead. You pretend to dispute, and you neither know Danish nor Latin,—far less what *Logica* is. Let me just ask; *Quid est Logica*?

*Peer.* *Post molestant senectutem, post molestam senectutem nos habebit humus.*

*Mont.* Rascal! will you trifle with me? (*Seizes him by the hair; they come to blows.*)

*Peer.* (*Escapes crying*) Blockhead! Blockhead!

(*Exeunt all, except the Bailiff.*)

In the fifth scene of the same act we find Montanus, Jesper, and Jeronimus, the intended father-in-law of the former, engaged in conversation:—

*Mont.* Welcome, my dear father-in-law! I am delighted to see you in good health.

*Jer.* Health can never be very good in people of my age.

*Mont.* You look wonderfully well, however.

*Jer.* Do you think so?

*Mont.* How is Miss Lisbed?

*Jer.* Well enough.

VOL. L.

N—17

*Mont.* But what is the matter? I think, my dear father-in-law, that you answer me coldly.

*Jer.* I have no reason to act otherwise.

*Mont.* Why, what evil have I done?

*Jer.* I am told that you hold such strange opinions; folk think that you must have gone crazy; for how can a rational creature fall into the folly of saying that the earth is round?

*Mont.* Yes, truly, it is round; I must affirm that which I believe to be the fact.

*Jer.* It is no fact, in the devil's name! Such a thing must come from Satan, the father of lies. I am certain that there is not a person in the village who does not condemn such an idea; ask only the bailiff, who is a reasonable man, if he is not of the same opinion with myself?

*Jesp.* It is all one in the end to me, whether the earth be round or flat; but I must believe in my own eyes, which show me that it is as flat as a pancake.

*Mont.* It is also all one to me what thoughts the bailiff or any other person in the village may have about the matter; but this do I know, that the earth is round.

*Jer.* It is *not* round, in the devil's name. I trow you are clean crazy. Have you not eyes in your head like the rest of mortals?

*Mont.* It is quite well known, my dear father-in-law, that there are people dwelling right under us who turn their feet against ours.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha, hi, hi, hi, ha, ha, ha!

*Jer.* Yes, the bailiff may well laugh; for there is in reality a screw loose in your head. Just try now to walk under the roof here, and turn your head down, and see what will happen!

*Mont.* That is quite another thing, father-in-law, for . . .

*Jer.* Never will I be your father-in-law. I love my daughter too well to give her to one like you.

*Mont.* Your daughter is as dear to me as my own soul, that is certain; but that I should, for her sake, subvert philosophy, and drive my reason into exile, is more than you can possibly require.

*Jer.* Ha, ha! I perceive that you have some other sweetheart in your mind. Keep your Sophy or your Lucy then, and welcome! By my troth, I will not force on you my daughter.

*Mont.* You do not rightly understand me. Philosophy is nothing but a science, which has opened my eyes, as well in this respect as in other matters.

*Jer.* It has rather both blinded your eyes and your understanding. How can you make good such an opinion?

*Mont.* It is something which it is unnecessary to prove. No man of learning doubts it any longer.

*Jesp.* My faith, Peer Clerk will never confess that he believes it.

*Mont.* Peer Clerk! Yes, that is a stupid animal, and I am a fool that I stand here and talk to you of philosophy. But to oblige Monsieur Jeronimus, I will adduce a couple of proofs; first, the testimony of travellers, who, when they go some thousand miles from home,

have day when we have night, and see another heaven and other stars.

*Jer.* Are you a lunatic? Is there more than one heaven and one earth?

*Jesp.* Yes, Monsieur Jeronimus! there are twelve heavens, the one higher than the other, until you get at last to the crystal heaven; there, so far he is right.

*Mont.* Alas, *quantis tenebris!*

*Jer.* Why, in my youth I was sixteen times at the fair of Kiel, but as sure as I am an honest man I never saw any other heaven than the one we have at home.

*Mont.* You must travel sixteen times as far, *Domine Jeronime!* before you can observe such a thing; for . . .

*Jer.* Have done with this nonsense; it is nothing to the purpose! let us hear the second proof.

*Mont.* The second proof is taken from eclipses of the sun and moon.

*Jesp.* Only listen to him now! He has gone fairly mad.

*Mont.* What do you think that eclipses are?

*Jesp.* Eclipses are certain signs placed in the sun and the moon when any mishap is to occur on the earth, which I can prove from my own experience; for example, when my wife took ill three years ago, and when my daughter Gertrude died, there were eclipses both times previously.

*Mont.* It will drive me frantic to hear such drivel.

*Jer.* The bailiff is right; for an eclipse never happens except it has something to portend. When the last eclipse took place everything seemed to be well, but this did not last long; because a fortnight afterwards we got tidings from Copenhagen that there were whole six candidates rejected at graduation—all men of quality, and among them two deans' sons. If we do not hear of something bad in some place after such an eclipse, we are sure to hear of something bad in another.

*Mont.* That is doubtless true; for there never passes a single day without some mishap occurring in some part of the world. But as regards these students, they did not need to lay the blame on the eclipse, for if they had studied more closely they would not have been rejected at last.

*Jer.* What, then, is an eclipse of the moon?

*Mont.* It is nothing else than the shadow of the earth, which deprives the moon of the light of the sun; and as the shadow is round, it is thereby plain that the earth is round likewise. All this occurs in the course of nature—for we can calculate eclipses; and it is foolery to say that such things are prognostic of evil.

*Jer.* Ugh, Mr. Bailiff! I am ready to expire. It was in an unhappy hour that your parents sent you to your studies.

*Jesp.* Yes; he is nearly becoming an atheist. I must have Peer Clerk to tackle him again. That is a man, now, who speaks with emphasis. He shall sufficiently convince you—in Latin or in Greek, as you please—that the earth (God be praised!) is as flat as my hand. But here come Madame Jeronimus and her daughter.

There follows an affecting interview between Montanus and his betrothed, when she earnestly entreats him to surrender his opinion, and for her sake agree to believe in the flatness of the earth; but he lends a deaf ear to her repeated request. In the fourth act Montanus receives a letter from her, upbraiding him with his cruelty, and informing him that if he does not hold the same faith held by all other persons in the neighbourhood, not merely will her father never bestow on him her hand, but that she herself will pine away and die. Montanus has a hard struggle; but at last decides for philosophy instead of love. In the fifth act we have a new character introduced, a lieutenant in the army, who, knowing the whole circumstances of the case, undertakes to set all matters right by a sharp correction administered to Montanus. This operation is described as follows:—

#### SCENE SECOND.

##### *The Lieutenant, Montanus.*

*Lieut.* I congratulate you on your arrival in the village.

*Mont.* I heartily thank you.

*Lieut.* I take the liberty of visiting you, as there are not many learned men here with whom one can converse.

*Mont.* I am glad to hear that you have studied. When did Mr. Lieutenant pass his final examination, may I ask?

*Lieut.* Ten years ago.

*Mont.* So then Mr. Lieutenant is an old *academicus*. What was Mr. Lieutenant's chief study when he was a student?

*Lieut.* I read for the most part ancient Latin authors, and studied the law of nature and of morals, as I still continue to do.

*Mont.* Nay, that is trumpery, it is not *academicum*. Did you never apply yourself to *Philosophiam instrumentalem*?

*Lieut.* Not particularly.

*Mont.* Then you have never disputed?

*Lieut.* No.

*Mont.* What? is that to study? *Philosophia instrumentalis* is the only solid *studium*. The rest may be pretty enough, but it is not learning. One who is well versed in *Logica* and *Metaphysica* can extricate himself from everything, and can argue on all subjects, although he is a stranger to them. There is no point which I might not undertake to defend, and where I would not be successful. There was never any disputation at the university, where I did not step forth as the opponent. A *Philosophus instrumentalis* can pass for a *Polyhistor*.

*Lieut.* Who is the greatest disputant at the present time?

*Mont.* It is a student called Peer Iversen. When he has refuted his antagonist, so that he has not a word more to answer, he says, "Support now my thesis, and I, again, will defend yours." For all this he is helped wonderfully by his *Philosophia instrumentalis*. It is a pity



the fellow has not become a barrister; he would soon have a first-rate income. Next to him I am the chief disputant; for the last time I disputed he whispered in my ear, *Jam sumus ergo pares*. Yet to him I will always yield.

*Lieut.* But I have heard it said that Monsieur can prove it to be the duty of children to beat their parents. That seems to me unreasonable.

*Mont.* If I have affirmed it, I am the one to defend it.

*Lieut.* I will wager with you a ducat that you are incapable of doing so.

*Mont.* I wager a ducat that I can.

*Lieut.* Done! It is settled. Let us hear now.

*Mont.* Those we love most we beat most. We should love none more than our parents; *ergo*, we should beat none more than them. Yet in another *sylogismo*: What I have received, I should, according to my ability, return; I have in my childhood received blows from my parents; *ergo*, I should give them blows again.

*Lieut.* Enough, enough! I have lost. You shall, by my faith, have your ducat.

*Mont.* Nay, you cannot be in earnest; I will, *profecto*, have no money.

*Lieut.* You must take the money; I swear you must.

*Mont.* Well, then, I will take it, that the Lieutenant may not perjure himself.

*Lieut.* But may not I likewise try to make of you something else? For example, I will make you a soldier.

*Mont.* Oh, that is very easy; all students are spiritual soldiers.

*Lieut.* Nay, I will prove that you are a bodily soldier too. He who has taken money in his hand is an enlisted soldier: you have done so; *ergo* . . .

*Mont.* *Nego minorem.*

*Lieut.* *Et ego probo minorem*, by the two rix-dollars you have got in your hand.

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter nummos.*

*Lieut.* No distinction! You are a soldier.

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter rō simpliciter et rō relative accipere.*

*Lieut.* No jargon! The contract is closed, and you have got the money.

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter contractum verum et apparentem.*

*Lieut.* Can you deny that you have got from me a ducat?

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter rem et modum rei.*

*Lieut.* Come, follow me quickly, comrade! Now you will get on your regimentals.

*Mont.* There are your two rix-dollars again. Besides, you have no witnesses that I took the money.

### SCENE THIRD.

*Jesper, Niels Corporal, Montanus, the Lieutenant.*

*Jesp.* I can testify that I saw the Lieutenant give him money in his hand.

*Niels.* And I likewise.

*Mont.* But wherefore did I take the money? *Distinguendum est inter* . . .

*Lieut.* Come, we will listen to no nonsense. Niels! wait you here, while I fetch the regimentals.

*Mont.* Hey! murder!

*Niels.* Silence, you hound! or I will drive my bayonet into your body. Is not he enlisted, Mr. Bailiff?

*Jes.* That he is, truly.

*Lieut.* Come! Off with the black coat, and on with the red instead! (*Montanus weeps while they dress him in the regimentals.*) What? It ill becomes a soldier to weep; you are far better now than you were before. Drill him briskly, Niels Corporal; he is a learned fellow, but raw yet at the exercise. (*Niels Corporal takes him away in his new dress, and drills and cudgels him.*)

The remedy proves efficacious. Montanus confesses his besetting sins of pedantry and self-conceit, is set at liberty again, effects a reconciliation with his intended father-in-law, and on at last repudiating, still after some reluctance, his belief in the earth's rotundity, receives the hand of his betrothed bride, and all things end in peace. We give the conclusion of the final scene:—

*Lieut.* Good! I will set you free again, when you have made promises of amendment to your own parents, and your future parents-in-law, and craved from them forgiveness.

*Mont.* I ask most humbly, and with tears, your pardon, and promise to lead a new life hereafter; and I condemn my former conduct, from which I have been weaned, not merely by the condition in which I now find myself, but by this brave man's sound words of counsel, and for whom therefore, next to my parents, I shall always have the highest respect.

*Jes.* So, then, you no longer believe, my dear son-in-law, that the earth is round,—for it is that matter which lies most on my heart.

*Mont.* My dear father-in-law, I will not dispute further concerning it. But I only say this, that all learned men are now of the opinion that the earth is round.

*Jes.* Ah! . . . Mr. Lieutenant! Let him become a soldier again, till the earth grows flat.

*Mont.* My dear father-in-law! the earth is as flat as a pancake. Are you now satisfied?

*Jes.* Yes; we are good friends once more, and you will get my daughter. Come in, all of you, and drink to our reconciliation; Mr. Lieutenant will also give us the honour of his company. (*They enter the house.*)

There are two objections which have been not unfrequently urged to Holberg's comedies, the one of a general, the other of a special character. They are, it is said, overcharged with caricature. Now, to this it may be replied, that as Holberg's *forte* was irony, and as he seldom rose to the region of pure and perfect humour, it would be wonderful if we did not find in his plays, as in his other works, strong indications of a desire on the part of the writer to lay on his

colours with a heavy brush, and to bring out into unduly bold relief the faults and imperfections of his leading characters. Moreover, it should be remembered that the same charge, although perhaps in lesser degree, might be adduced against some of the greatest masters of the comic drama that ever lived. There is caricature in the plays of Molière beyond all question; and if we pass to a name eminent in Italian dramatic literature,—we mean Goldoni,—we easily discover in his compositions caricature more extravagant than that which doubtless forms no small element in the works of the Danish dramatist. The truth is, Holberg *intentionally* caricatured; his object was, as we have already endeavoured to show, instruction and not amusement; and in order to carry home sound and useful truths to the bosoms of his countrymen, it was almost necessary that he should exaggerate the follies and absurdities which he wished them to avoid. A second objection is the frequent coarseness of his dramas. Now, we have no undue desire to defend Holberg against this second charge; it is one which cannot be denied; and we are aware that in any English translation of his dramatic works considerable portions of the original would have to undergo excision, in deference to the better taste of the present day. But in extenuation of the charge we must remind the reader that, compared for instance with the writings of our own Elizabethan dramatists, Holberg's plays are in this respect white as the driven snow; that the coarseness, of which many complain, was the fault of the age and not of the author in particular; and finally, that it is alone to be found in some of the expressions, and by no means in the spirit of his works. Holberg uses plain language to denote plain facts; but his comedies have in general a high moral tone, and there is little in the leading thoughts which pervade them that could offend the most delicately-minded individual. How could it be otherwise, when the very purpose for which they were penned was just to refine the customs and elevate the morals of the people among whom he sojourned?

We can only refer to the last great work of Holberg,—his *Epistles*,—in a very few sentences. Of these *Epistles* Heiberg truly remarks that "they are to be contemplated as the final extract of his thoughtfulness, wit, and learning. All that we find scattered through his other many and various writings is here, as it were, gathered together in a single focus." Not only are the *Epistles* replete with sound, sagacious information on a vast variety of subjects,—a species of social, moral, political, and historical *vade-*

*mecum*,—but they also give us numerous interesting particulars concerning Holberg's own previous life, and throw fresh light on the views he held and the principles by which he was actuated. Yet in themselves they possess great value. Each important question of his period is discussed by the author in simple yet exhaustive fashion, while, at the same time, he draws from former ages copious materials for reflection and comparison,—and out of all this educes plain, practical lessons of universal bearing and significance, which must have appealed to his contemporaries,—as they still appeal to ourselves,—in a singularly convincing and attractive manner. The *Epistles* contain many admirable historical comparisons, as, for example, between Alexander the Great and Charles the Twelfth, Peter the Great and Christian the Fourth, the former of these two and Gustavus Adolphus, Marlborough and Eugene, Corfitz Ulfeld and Griffenfeld, Kort Adeler and Tordenakiöld, and Kings Charles the Tenth and Twelfth of Sweden. The author's liberality of view is displayed in the brief essay on *Pietism*, his historical clear-sightedness and impartiality in the *Contribution to a Character of Cromwell*, his biting irony in *How scandalously Greek and Roman authors have corrupted the Northern Names*, and his humour in the *Necessity for a Shoemaker being a Polyhistor*, and the half-solemn, half-jesting *Apology for the Devil*. While the short, yet most suggestive, historical fragments in the *Epistles* are worthy of all serious study, the same may be affirmed of Holberg's larger historical treatises,—to only one of which, his *History of Denmark*, we can now allude. This work may with justice be called classic in Danish literature. A living conception of the truly historical, and an equally living delineation of it, are the chief characteristics of the book,—which has enjoyed great and well-merited popularity from the date of its publication down to the present day. As regards the older legendary historic period the narrative is no doubt defective; but the nearer it approximates to modern times, the more solid, trustworthy, and interesting it becomes.

If Holberg's numerous productions may be still perused by ourselves with benefit and pleasure, we can easily fancy that they must have wrought with double power upon the minds of his contemporaries. To them the blessings of modern culture were comparatively unknown; they lacked a previous intellectual spring-time to enliven their perceptions and improve their taste; and thus the entire cyclus of the Holbergian literature, so wonderfully rich and varied, must have put forth a mighty influence in

the awakening of dormant spiritual energies, and the bestowment of sound intellectual instruction on the mass of the Danish people. That such *was* the case is a patent fact of history; and hence it is that Holberg has been so often styled the father of modern Danish literature. Danish *belles-lettres* was created by his *Comedies, Satires, Peder Paars, and Niels Klim*; Danish historical literature was created by his *History of Denmark, Tales of Heroes and Heroines*, and certain portions of his *Epistles*; and Danish philosophical literature was created,—especially in the direction of ethics,—by his *Moral Thoughts*, a large number of the *Epistles*, and some other similar productions of his pen. Yet this work of literary creation was rather indirect than direct in itself and in its consequences. Holberg left no distinct school of authorship to follow in his footsteps; on the contrary, the immediate result of his literary labours was rather to prevent the origin of such,—a happy circumstance for the Danes, because that school might, by its servile imitation of the departed master, have produced a succession of mere copyists devoid of originality, and thus checked for a hundred years the development of an independent literature in Denmark. But he deposited the precious and varied intellectual seed in the bosoms of his countrymen; he laboriously cleared away all obstructions to its future growth; and in due season the period of germination came, and was followed by a ripe, rich harvest. Nor let it be forgotten that, while Holberg has been thus, on the one hand, the creator, at least indirectly, of his country's literature, he has, on the other hand, left behind him, in *Niels Klim* and in the *Comedies*, a true *monumentum ære perennius*, to adorn the literature of modern Europe.

---

ART. VI.—*Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh.* By JOHN VEITCH, M. A., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1869.

THE lives of men who have devoted themselves to abstract studies seldom furnish much material for the kind of biography most interesting to mankind in general. They are usually devoid of incident, and the pursuits which they chronicle are removed from the sympathies of the work-a-day world. The conquests and discoveries they

record are in realms beyond the common ken, and however great and beneficial, they make no such appeal to the common imagination as the deeds of the soldier, the adventures of the voyager, or the struggles of the artist. This is especially true of those who claim *par excellence* the name of Philosophers, the explorers in Mental Science, a study for which but few of mankind have either aptitude or inclination, and pre-eminence in which implies a certain special abstraction of attention from the world without to the world within. We are apt, indeed, to regard such men as impersonations of mere Reason, calm and passionless voices, addressing us out of some far region of space,

“Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot  
Which men call earth.”

This very fact, however, gives a peculiar interest to the lives of such men, as revelations of character. The mere proof of their being truly creatures of flesh and blood, capable of laughter, of tears, and of anger, is a pleasant discovery, if we have been accustomed to think of them as bodiless phantoms, who never had any existence out of their printed books. How interesting, for example, to know that Aristotle, which to many minds is the name of a book, and not of a man, was something of a “swell” in the matter of dress and cosmetics. How pleasant that incident in the life of Descartes, when lying apparently asleep on ship-board, in the midst of a ruffianly crew who were plotting to rob and murder him, the plucky philosopher sprang up and drew his sword, looking so fierce and determined that the cowardly knaves fairly knocked under. How much we are indebted to the man who has given us that vivid picture of the last days of Immanuel Kant, “the meagre, arid, and parched anatomy of a man,” who could not swallow his tea because one friendly human being was sitting opposite to him; but when he lay speechless, and that friend asked him if he knew him, “turned his face towards me, and made signs that I should kiss him.” To many minds that dying kiss,—reminding of Nelson and Hardy,—that last confession from stoical lips of the supreme necessity of human love, is worth the whole *Kritik of Pure Reason*. It is well, therefore, that the lives of philosophers should be written, and that the world should know what manner of men they have been, whose thoughts, unintelligible to the crowd, have yet exercised a mighty influence on the progress of the human race.

There have been few men of modern times

of equal influence in the world of thought with Sir William Hamilton, of whose personal life the world has known so little. Even that common form of recognition, which makes the features of public characters of every class, from premiers down to prize-fighters, familiar to us all, has not yet exhibited to the popular eye, in any shop-window, the noble physiognomy of him who in Britain was entitled to be called "the most learned of the philosophers, the most philosophical of the learned." Now at last, and in good time, that lack of knowledge is supplied. A graphic and admirable paper by Mr. Spencer Baynes, published in the *Edinburgh Essays*, in 1856, contained a sketch of his life and labours, giving the outer world for the first time a glimpse, full of interest, into Sir William's class-room, and illustrating eloquently the manner and the effect of his teaching. But it was reserved for another distinguished pupil of that class, Professor Veitch, to present, in the form of elaborate biography, the portraiture of "the man, as he lived, thought, taught, and wrote." It has come, as we have said, in good time, for the interest in Sir William's name has rather increased than diminished since his death, and Mr. Mill's *Examination*, though to some impressive minds it seemed to inflict a mortal wound on Hamilton's reputation, will probably be found in the end to have rather promoted it. Considering the comparative scantiness of biographic resources, in the shape of anecdote or correspondence, and the more than usually secluded and quiet tenor of the philosopher's life, it is but justice to his biographer to say that he has achieved a decided success. He has apparently made the best use of his materials, without falling into the common error of making too much of them. The style is clear and dignified, slightly wanting in flow and vivacity, but never heavy or ungraceful, and in some passages showing considerable felicity of expression as well as of thought. The great aim of biography—the production of a faithful and, as far as possible, vivid representation of the subject, as he appeared to the eyes of those who knew him best—is in this book distinctly realized. Even those who care nothing for Logic or Metaphysics, and perhaps shudder at the names, will find it an interesting life, the life of a man great in his domestic simplicity and worth, not less than in learning and power of mind, full of generous devotion to truth and duty, in a true sense one of the "Martyrs of Science," whose reward in this life was chiefly in that which cannot be seen nor handled. To those, on the other hand, who are students of

Philosophy, this book will have a special value; and it may be said of it, on the whole, that no better piece of philosophical biography has hitherto been produced in this country.

Professor Veitch has not considered it any part of his task to attempt a critical estimate of Sir William's philosophy, though he has devoted some space in an appendix, besides one or two passages in the body of the work, to a vindication of Hamilton from some of the charges of Mr. Mill. In this he has shown the sound judgment which is one of the characteristics of his performance, and we shall probably best show our appreciation of that quality by following his example. Of the portion of the work above mentioned, we feel bound to say that it seems to us an able fulfilment of what Hamilton's biographer might well consider a duty to his memory, and to the interests of philosophical truth. The charge of "inability to enter into the mind of another philosopher" is rebutted on the assailant with signal success, and, as we think, with no undue asperity. All things considered, plain speaking in defence of Hamilton is not a thing of which Mr. Mill or his followers have any right to complain. Had Sir William only been alive to speak for himself!

Sir William Hamilton was born on the 8th of March 1788, within the College of Glasgow, where his granduncle, grandfather, and father, held, in succession, the Chair of Anatomy and Botany. His grandfather, Dr. Thomas Hamilton, was, along with Cullen, one of the founders of the Medical School of Glasgow, a man of liberal accomplishments, and eminently distinguished by geniality and humour. Sir William's father, Dr. William Hamilton, died in 1790, in his thirty-second year, leaving behind him the reputation of great scientific attainments, and a singularly lovable character. His mother, Elizabeth Sterling, daughter of a Glasgow merchant of old and good family, was, as the mothers of remarkable men usually are, a remarkable woman. She was of stately and handsome presence, and her own and her husband's good looks were inherited by their children. The relations between her and William, her eldest son, as exhibited in a few relics of their correspondence, were peculiarly characteristic and interesting, showing on the part of both great force of character and will, combined with perfect mutual confidence and affection. The only other surviving child of the family was Thomas, two years younger than William, but earlier known to the world, as the author of *Cyril Thornton*, and other works of a kind very different from the productions

of his brother, and, though certainly not so important, more generally read and enjoyed.

The year of Sir William's birth was that in which Dr. Thomas Reid published his *Essays on the Active Powers*. The old man, now in his seventy-eighth year, but still fresh and hale, inhabited an official residence in the College, and for a few years longer went out and in there, while the future corrector and editor of his Philosophy grew up under his eyes, a bright-eyed and playful child. After attending the Glasgow Grammar School for some years, William, at the early age of twelve, entered the junior Latin and Greek classes of the University, then taught by Richardson and Young. Both were men of fine scholarship, and Young, in particular, so invested his subject with the fascination of genius, that his teaching became memorable to his pupils in after life. In 1801 Hamilton was sent to school in England, first, for a short time, to Dr. Horne of Chiswick, afterwards to Dr. Dean of Bromley. Already he expresses himself with Hamiltonian emphasis: he "hates and execrates" speaking at "public nights" in the school; he even hates England generally, and earnestly desires to know where he is to spend the Christmas holidays. His mother sternly rebukes his impatience, and hopes to have the satisfaction of hearing that he will attend to what she has lately said, that he will weigh its importance, and strive more than ever to do his duty and *submit cheerfully* to what she requires, in which case she will perhaps think of seeing him soon in the spring. In 1803 he was recalled home, to re-enter the University. The intervening months were spent by him and Thomas in the manse of Mid-Calder, under the kind and careful superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Sommers. William, though already marked by sedateness and power of application, as contrasted with his more dashing and volatile brother, was as fond of sport as a manly boy should be, and the acknowledged leader of his companions in all feats of strength and dexterity. As a vaulter and swimmer he was particularly distinguished, both there, and afterwards at Oxford. In after years he generally spent part of the long vacation at Mid-Calder, where his presence was always hailed with enthusiasm by the boys. As a specimen of the prodigies of strength with which he was wont to delight them, one of them has recorded that Hamilton allowed him to stand on his outstretched palm, and so held him in the air. Writing to his mother from Mid-Calder for the first time, he informs her, "Mother, you have lost your wager, for I asked Mr. Sommers and Mr. Cruickshanks

both, who both were astonished at me asking such a question, as any child of ten years old knows that the sun is nearer us in winter than in summer." These authorities he fortifies, as was his manner afterwards in graver discussions, by an additional "testimony" in the shape of an extract from a French geography.

In the winter of 1803 he attended the senior Latin and Greek classes, and also those of Logic and Moral Philosophy, taught respectively by Jardine and Mylne. In both of the latter he carried off the first prize. During the ensuing vacation, Dr. Sommers writes to his mother: "William, I see, is very anxious to become his own master, which has rendered it necessary for me to be excessively pointed and strict in everything I require of them all. He, in particular, is very much inclined to be idle, although more studious than at first." The inclination to idleness in vacation time may be forgiven, when it is known that the youths were daily occupied from seven in the morning to one, and from six to eight in the evening. Another youthful weakness the good Doctor finds in need of frequent correction,—"their extravagance in clothes, and needless absurd expenses." The two following winters were spent in Glasgow, where, besides the usual literary classes, Hamilton attended Chemistry, Botany, and Anatomy, with a view to the study of Medicine, which naturally had attractions for him. The winter of 1806 was spent in Edinburgh, and seems to have been devoted exclusively to medical studies. The extravagance of which Dr. Sommers complained was now getting concentrated on one luxury,—books, of which the young philosopher had already begun to be a "hunter," in Mr. Burton's best sense of the term. Apologizing to his mother on this head, he assures her that the bank-notes have only changed their shape, and suffered "the glorious metamorphosis of being converted into historians, and philosophers, and poets, and orators, and, though last not least, into physicians."

In 1807 Hamilton entered Balliol College, Oxford, as an Exhibitioner on that Snell Foundation which has sent so many distinguished Scotchmen from Glasgow to Oxford. Here he prosecuted his studies with extraordinary vigour, and at the final examination for his degree acquitted himself with unparalleled distinction. The course of instruction then pursued there was little calculated to call forth independent thought or effort, "the tutors," to use words of his own, "whistling to their pupils the old tune, which, as pupils, had been piped to them." Hamilton was in fact his own tutor, and pre-

sents one of the most singular instances of a great scholar and thinker who owed little or nothing to any living man, in the way either of direct instruction or of moulding influence. The great subject of study was, of course, Aristotle; but though Hamilton acquired a perfect knowledge of his works, and a veneration for his genius, which rather increased than diminished with years, the monotony of the course of study was intolerable to him. "I am so plagued," he says to his mother, "by these foolish lectures of the College tutors, that I have little time to do anything else: Aristotle to-day, ditto to-morrow; and I believe that if the ideas furnished by Aristotle to these numbskulls were taken away, it would be doubtful whether there remained a single notion. I am quite tired of such uniformity of study." It argued wonderful vigour of mind in a youth under twenty, not merely to resist the deadening influence of such a servile system, but to pursue, unaided, in the midst of it, a course of study far transcending the ordinary bounds of Oxford reading, and embracing authors whose very names are familiar only to the learned. In addition to his philosophical and literary studies he still devoted some of his time to anatomy, and dissected with Sir Christopher Pegge. So little also was he of a mere book-worm, that a stranger meeting him at this time would probably have set him down as a thoroughly "good fellow," without pretension or pedantry, ready to join in any manly fun, and whose athletic qualifications were of a kind that might be called "topping." His letters to his mother are full of simple and confident, but undemonstrative affection. He occasionally reports his purchases of books, especially when he has got a bargain. In an old shop near St. Giles's, in London, he lighted on a treasure, which he thus announces, "I paid £0, 4s. 0d. for—oh, incredible!—a ms. volume, which, on my examining it at home, I found to be most beautiful illuminated mss. of the Rhetoric and the book on Invention of Cicero, and another ms., at the end of the volume, of Macrobius. The man was completely ignorant of the treasure he possessed. They are at least six centuries old."

Among his most intimate friends were J. G. Lockhart, J. H. Christie, barrister, and James Traill, now a magistrate in London. With Lockhart his intimacy was peculiarly close and affectionate, both at this time and during their early years at the Bar. It unhappily terminated some time about 1818, through some cause probably connected with the bitter political feuds of the time. Whatever the cause, the breach was so painful to

both that they never could bear to tell the story, and though they did not meet again, their mutual kindly interest in each other still continued warm in spite of outward estrangement. Mr. Christie and Mr. Traill have contributed to this biography some reminiscences of Hamilton, which are not only highly interesting, but very remarkable, at once in their vividness and their harmony of impression, considering that they go back to a period nearly sixty years ago. The following extracts are from Mr. Christie's sketch:—

"Hamilton's intellectual eminence has been acknowledged by the world, but I do not happen to have met with any adequate appreciation of the qualities of the man. He was, as I knew him, the most noble-minded, the most generous, and the most tender-hearted of men. . . . I wish I were able to convey a just notion of the singular beauty and nobleness of his most intellectual countenance. His oval face, perfectly-formed features, deep-set black eyes, olive complexion, his waving black hair, which did not conceal his noble forehead, combined as happily to give the result of perfect manly beauty as it is possible to imagine.

"The studies which Hamilton pursued were perfectly in harmony with the Oxford studies of those days; but it so happened that he owed little to the actual teaching of Oxford. He was the only pupil of a Fellow of the College, who was himself a singular, if not a remarkable, character. (Mr. Powell, the Daniel Barton of Lockhart's *Reginald Dalton*.) This gentleman lived in rooms in the tower over the gateway of the College, and led the life of a hermit. He never attended hall or chapel, nor held any intercourse with any of the authorities of the College. He was a powerfully made man, with rather a striking countenance, who appeared to have totally sequestered himself from his fellow-creatures. No one but his servant ever entered his rooms. He walked out frequently, but always alone. He was never seen to speak to any one. It seems, however, that he had accepted Hamilton as a pupil, but the pupil and tutor soon discovered that they were by no means necessary to each other, and in fact, before I came to the College, had ceased to have any intercourse. He must, however, have been a man of some mark, for he had inspired Hamilton (who was not given to overrate men) with respect. It thus happened that Hamilton had no teacher, and was strictly a solitary student; for though it was not unusual for us to join in our readings, Hamilton had no companion in his studies.

. . . Though, as I have said, Hamilton was a solitary student, he was far from an unsocial man. When he joined in the festivities and amusements of the place, he did so with buoyant spirits and thorough enjoyment. His manners, though without the slightest taint of coarseness or vulgarity, were brusque, but thoroughly agreeable. I wish I could convey an adequate notion of those qualities, which made a deeper impression on others as well as

myself than any of the characteristics I have noticed. . . . I have never known a heart so open to the claims of distress, and with him misery was a sufficient claim when his help was asked. The turn he gave the matter was that he was the party obliged, not the asker of the favour. If any one was depressed by fortune below those who would have otherwise been his equal, Hamilton was sure, by the most delicate means, to make him as far as possible forget what was painful in his position. Hamilton, as far as I can recollect, was not wanting in the performance of any of the duties which society expects from all its members, but he did not rest there. On many occasions he seemed to me to love his neighbour better than himself."

Mr. Traill's reminiscences contain some interesting additional particulars. He says:—

"At the period of my entrance at Balliol, Hamilton was in the second year of his residence. His habits of study were then confirmed, though somewhat irregular. His manner of reading was characteristic. He had his table, chairs, and generally his floor, strewn with books; and you might find him in the midst of this confusion studying with his foot on a chair, posing one great folio on his knee, with another open in his hand. His mode of 'tearing out the entrails' of a book, as he termed it, was remarkable. A perusal of the preface, table of contents, and index, and a glance at those parts which were new to him (which were few), were all that was necessary. It was by this facility in acquiring knowledge, and his great faculty in retaining it, that he was able, in the short period of his undergraduate-ship, to become the most learned Aristotelian in Oxford. In addition to the usual Oxford course of the Ethics, Rhetoric, and Poetics, and the Politics and Economics, he had studied the analytical, physical, and metaphysical treatises, and the History of Animals, and had consulted all the principal commentators. His reputation as an Aristotelian collected a large audience in the schools at his examination. Few of them were capable of estimating the amount of his learning; and, to judge from their style of examination, the examining masters themselves seemed to feel his superiority. Still his examination, in the Oxford sense of the word, was not a brilliant one. Though a sound and even learned scholar, his was not the kind of scholarship that told in an Oxford examination. His early education in Scotland had not been fashioned after the model of an English public school. He wrote Latin prose with ease and correctness, but he was not in the practice of verse-writing—not that he was without a thorough knowledge of metres and of the niceties of the languages. Taken altogether, his examination, both for scholarship and science, has never been surpassed. His reading was not confined to the ordinary College course; it embraced also the learning of the period of the Reformation, and of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His attention was at this period turned to medicine as a profession, and the early writers on this branch of science formed part of his study. We may well be surprised when we

consider this amount of labour, and remember that it was the spontaneous and unassisted effort of his own mind. . . . It was a dangerous affair accompanying Hamilton to an old book-shop. He was sure to persuade you to buy some favourite folio, and as soon as you had got it he would comfort you with the assurance that you would not understand a word of it. His own collection was of the most miscellaneous nature. In addition to every commentator upon Aristotle, it included the learned squabbles of the Scaligers, Scioppius, and the authors of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. He was fond of controversial writings, and enjoyed the learned railings of the Scioppian style.

"Any account of Hamilton's Oxford life would be defective that did not notice him in his hours of relaxation, which were equally characteristic of the man. Whatever he did, whether work or play, was done with his whole heart and soul. He had no turn for hunting, shooting, or boating, the usual outdoor studies of Oxford; nor would they have furnished the sort of relaxation he required. Gymnastics, as now scientifically practised, would have been exactly the thing for him, and he would have excelled as a gymnast. We were obliged to content ourselves with the simple feats of leaping, vaulting, and the use of the pole. In these our proficiency was by no means contemptible. When tired with work, we started off, pole in hand, to Port Meadow or Bagley Wood, or took a round of the fields and lanes (our home preserves), clearing the gates and fences as we went. On these occasions, to relieve the severity of his study, Hamilton was in the habit of reciting, in his *ore rotundo* manner, passages from favourite authors. The last lines of the Prometheus of Æschylus, the beginning of the second book of Lucretius, and the concluding sentences of Tacitus's Life of Agricola, were amongst his favourites. Sometimes he would repeat the same line over and over again, when it was sonorous and filled the ear. One of these lines I remember, and mention it as now so applicable to himself. It was from Cowley's lines to Hobbes, in which he addresses him as—

'Thou great Columbus of the golden lands of new philosophies.'

Mr. Traill gives some amusing illustrations of Hamilton's love of fun, and adds, to his honour, that he never knew him to be troubled by a dun, or to have been intoxicated, all the time he was at Oxford,—in those days a rare exhibition of virtue. He concludes by saying that he never knew a man who had "less of the dross of mere human nature." There was probably some exaggeration, in the course of tradition, of the number of books "professed" by Hamilton at his final examination for his degree, but the evidence of Mr. Villers of Balliol, who was present on the occasion, may be regarded as unexceptionably authentic. In his testimony to Sir William, when a candidate for the Moral Philosophy Chair, he stated:—

"In the department of science, his examination stood, and, I believe, still stands, alone; and it certainly argued no common enthusiasm and ability for philosophical pursuits, that in a university like Oxford, where the ancient philosophers are the peculiar objects of study and admiration, and the surest passports to academical distinction, his examination should not only remain unequalled for the number, but likewise for the difficulty, of the authors. Besides other subjects less immediately connected with a professorship of morals, it contained every original work of antiquity, difficult or important, on logic, on the philosophy of the human mind, on ethics, politics, and other branches of practical philosophy, on rhetoric and poetical criticism; and after a trial of many hours, besides the honours of the University, he received the thanks and the public acknowledgment of the examiners, that he had never been surpassed either in the minute or the comprehensive knowledge of the systems on which he had been examined."

Mr. Villers added, that in fourteen of his books on the abstruser subjects of Greek philosophy he was not examined, "the greater part of these being declared by the masters to be too purely metaphysical for public examination." Hamilton was at this time in his twenty-second year. How he felt himself on the occasion we gather from a letter of Lockhart's to his father, in which he says, "Hamilton is going up for his examination to-morrow. I daresay he will make a fine figure; but in the meantime he is sadly 'funcked' as they all call it." The examination extended over two days, occupying twelve hours, and at the close Hamilton wrote to his mother, "This morning I received your pleasing letter, which gave me the happiness to hear that Tom was well. I was just going to the schools when I received it, and am not plucked."

It now became necessary for him to determine his future career. His thoughts had apparently been gradually diverted from Medicine to Law. He had found anatomy sufficiently interesting as a scientific pursuit, but so far as the practice of medicine was concerned, he had probably already come to the conclusion, which he expressed with a freedom so offensive to the profession, in one of his *Edinburgh Review* papers (1832), that it had not made "a single step since Hippocrates," and that the precept of Hoffmann embodied true wisdom, "Fuge medicos, et eorum medicamenta, si vis esse salvus." The advice of Mr. Scott of Benholme, whose son Alexander was his dearest friend, appears to have had considerable influence in deciding him to study for the Scottish Bar. Having speedily fixed his choice, he returned to Scotland, and in July 1813 passed as advocate.

His time for the first three years after

passing was occupied to a large extent in researches connected with his family history, in which he had the assistance of the learned antiquarian Mr. John Riddell. The result was that in 1816 he was duly adjudged heir-male in general to Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, the head of that house, who died in 1701, and declared entitled henceforth to bear the name and style of "Baronet of Preston and Fingalton." Of these nominal possessions the only fragment that came into his hands was acquired by purchase in 1819. It consists of a small plot of ground, now occupied as an orchard, in the midst of which, visible to the traveller as he passes the village of Prestonpans, there rises, with some dignity, in spite of decay, a square and massy tower, whose roofless walls and ruined battlements are redeemed from austerity by a kindly growth of long grass, clasping shrubs, and fragrant wallflower. This is all that remains of territorial estate to the house of Preston, the eldest of the junior branches of the line of Hamilton. Mr. Veitch gives an interesting sketch of the family history and its more eminent representatives, from the time of Robert the Bruce to that of Sir Robert aforesaid. They were a stout race, and played no unworthy part in the history of Scotland. In the cause of civil and religious liberty, and equally in devotion to the Crown, they distinguished themselves, in successive generations, by indomitable firmness and generous self-sacrifice, ending in the total waste of their once wide possessions. One, Sir David, a leader of the Scottish Reformation, suffered attainder for his loyalty to Queen Mary, whose banner he followed at Langside. Another, Sir John, one of the Lords of the Articles, maintained an uncompromising opposition to the aggressions of the Crown in the reigns of the first James and Charles. His son, Sir Thomas, at once a Covenanter and a Cavalier, fought against Cromwell at Dunbar and Worcester. With his son, Sir Robert; the title and the historical fame of the house passed away together, till both were revived in the person of Sir William. As the recognised and trusted head of the Covenanters, Sir Robert led them to victory at Drumclog and defeat at Bothwell Bridge. He appears to have embodied in excess the unyielding firmness of his race and the intense religious convictions and fervour of his party. His intolerant zeal and want of wisdom may, however, be now forgiven, in remembrance of the sufferings which drove him and his followers into revolt against a wicked government, of his unflinching valour, and his stern though unenlightened honesty.



The natural impulses that led Sir William to connect himself, "by a species of formal service," with a family history so full of stirring and congenial associations, are well touched upon by his biographer. With all his independence and love of freedom, he had an intense reverence for the past, and, both in the sphere of intellectual and of political history, turned with an eye of sympathy and admiration to the mighty men of other days. Nor is it mere fancy that traces in his own character the same boldly marked lineaments that figure in the history of his ancestors, and recognises in his trenchant polemics the swing of "the sword-arm that charged at Drumclog."

Soon after coming to the Bar Sir William writes to his mother: "I have had my time sadly consumed in pacing these vile Parliament House boards—nothing to do—which I am not sorry at in the present state of my legal acquirements." This experience did not undergo much variation for some time. He took due pains, indeed, after passing, to increase his legal knowledge, and in that respect, not less than in mental capacity, it cannot be doubted that his qualifications as an advocate, especially in times when written pleadings were largely used, were greatly above the average. In Civil Law, the foundation of Scottish jurisprudence, he might probably, in comparison with the common standard, be considered learned. Neither was he by any means briefless. He spoke himself of his practice as having been in 1820, for his standing, "highly prosperous." Some of his written arguments still survive to attest the care, ingenuity, and force which he could bring to bear on a question of law. It cannot be denied, however, that he lacked some of the qualities which are essential to success at the Bar. He was never a fluent speaker; as a boy he hated public display of the art of speech. His fondness for minute distinction, and his severe accuracy, were qualities which might be considered valuable to an advocate. But they are not always so, especially when joined, as in him, to excessive fastidiousness and elaboration in the working up of his materials, resulting in inconvenient delay. The successful making up of "records" and "pleas in law" does not necessarily imply high artistic talent, and rough expedition is generally more valued than more perfect but tardy work. Nor was it even to be expected that the recondite scholar and silent thinker, however fit for conducting a high legal argument, should ever have become proficient in the valuable art of contending before a Lord Ordinary about a small question of expenses, or the inter-

pretation of an Act of Sederunt regulating the lodging of papers, with as much fire and vehemence as if the most sacred interests were at stake. Apart from these constitutional obstacles to his success, it must not be lost sight of that the very things for which he was most distinguished were rather deterrent than attractive to the general run of those on whose favour an advocate has to depend for employment. The average "agent," like the average of mankind, has a natural distrust in business matters of anything approaching to genius, and there can scarcely be a more dangerous reputation with which to come to the Bar than that of literary tendencies, and devotion to any books or studies, except those which instruct a man how to prevail against his adversary in *foro contentioso*. This seems an absurd and even cruel prejudice. But Themis is a stern and jealous goddess; those at least who minister at her gates require exclusive devotion of the postulants for the honour of serving at her altars. Lord Jeffrey is almost the only example of a literary man who succeeded in obtaining a large practice at the Scottish Bar. Though, therefore, Sir William possessed all the capacity necessary for becoming a great lawyer, and might, with adventitious circumstances to favour him, have risen high in his profession, it is no matter of wonder that his career at the Bar, though by no means quite a failure, was far from being a great success.

Next to the possession of the practical qualities which secure success in that profession, political connexion has always been a valuable aid to advancement; in some cases, indeed, it has been found to compensate for the absence of any other special claim to recognition. But in this respect also Sir William was doomed to comparative neglect. Politically he was a Whig, a staunch and honest one, and though not a demonstrative politician, and in his earlier years at the Bar associated most intimately with men of the opposite party, he did not hesitate to profess that faith during the long years when such profession implied absolute exclusion from any public appointment within the sphere of Government influence. But the gradual progress and triumph of the opinions with which he had identified himself brought him little advantage; the only recognition he ever received from his political friends being the appointment to the poor office of Solicitor of Teinds in 1832. The cause of this is as easily explained as his want of success at the Bar. Though a firm and faithful adherent, and the representative of a family which had suffered the

loss of all but honour in the cause of liberty, he was not an available partisan; he was, in fact, practically useless. He was not a man to spout at public meetings, to write telling articles and letters in newspapers, to busy himself in canvassing or committee work, or indeed to do anything for party purposes, of the kind which is usually regarded as constituting a claim to solid recognition. It may seem unreasonable to complain when such a man suffers neglect. For has he not deliberately chosen another path than that which leads to worldly success? Has he not turned his steps from the vulgar highway to the steep and secluded ascent which leads upwards to the habitations of the gods? Is it reasonable to demand that such a man should secure the double treasure of a life of high endeavour in the search for truth, and with it the material rewards that are the appanage of devotion to pursuits more practical? Perhaps not. Looked at from a point of view beyond that of a world of tradesmen's bills and taxes, looked at especially after the lapse of a century or two, when the name of Hamilton will still be remembered and revered, while no mortal can tell, without looking in an almanac, who were the Prime Ministers or Lord Presidents of his day, it may seem of small consequence whether he received much or little of this world's goods; it may even seem fitter that his fees were few and his fortune small. But looked at from the point of view of the time when he lived and moved among men who had it in their power to recognise his merits, we must still say that it was not well done, and perhaps, also, that in no other country would it have been so but in Britain. But we are anticipating.

It might have been expected that in these circumstances Sir William would have devoted himself to literary composition, as an outlet for energy, and a means of increasing his income. But, rich as he was in stores of various knowledge, and gifted with no common power of clear and forcible expression, he was provokingly free from the *coethos scribendi*. He had in fact an extreme reluctance to begin the work of formal composition, and, as already mentioned, was severely fastidious in his choice of words. It seems, indeed, very probable that, but for the instigation of others, he would never have become known as an author during his lifetime; he had already reached the age of forty-two before he produced the first of those remarkable criticisms which spread his fame throughout Europe. It is somewhat surprising to find that, during the whole time of Jeffrey's editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*, there seems to have been no over-

ture made that he should contribute to its pages. But during Sir William's early years at the Bar their acquaintance was slight. "Lord Jeffrey," says Mr. George Moir, "while admitting Sir William's vast erudition, seemed to know little or nothing of him besides, and used to call him an unpractical person; in other words, that he kept extremely aloof from party demonstrations of any kind." This is perhaps not quite the correct interpretation of Jeffrey's words; he may have considered Hamilton unpractical from the editorial point of view, and there can be no doubt that he was so, as Jeffrey's successor, Mr. Macvey Napier, afterwards found. Still, it is to be regretted that the more catholic and philosophical sympathies of the latter, which led to his enlisting Sir William as a contributor, did not operate with his more brilliant predecessor, otherwise Sir William might have had at least a dozen years' earlier start as a writer known to the world.

His mother took up her residence with him in 1815, and lived with him till her death in 1827. Not long after, a niece of hers, Miss Janet Marshall, became an inmate in the house, who afterwards became Sir William's wife. In 1817 he paid a short visit to Germany, in company with two of his professional brethren, Lockhart and Hyndman, for the purpose of inspecting a library at Leipzig, which he had recommended the Faculty to purchase. He again visited Germany in 1820, spending some time in Berlin and Dresden. About this time he secured for the Advocates' Library a valuable collection of tracts and pamphlets, chiefly in law and theology, known as the "Dieterichs Collection." With the exception of these events, there is nothing further on record of his life during the period from 1813 to 1820. We only know that he lived a retired and meditative life, sounding his solitary way in regions of research where few could follow him, but mingling cheerfully in society, and even at that early period occasionally sought out by visitors from foreign countries, attracted by the report of his learning. Among his principal friends were Wilson, Lockhart, and De Quincey, and at his own house and that of his brother, who had now retired from the army, and settled in Edinburgh, there was many a pleasant gathering of these and other friends. His intimacy with the *Blackwood* set of men was probably not approved of by some of his political friends. It has been even said, though with little probability, that he assisted at the concoction of the famous "Chaldee ms." The exceptionally respectful description of him in it as "the great black

eagle of the desert, whose cry is as the sound of an unknown tongue, and whose dwelling is in the tombs of the wise men," was doubtless the work of Lockhart. With Dugald Stewart he was but slightly acquainted, and Dr. Thomas Brown he does not appear to have known at all. That Hamilton had already arrived at conclusions in Philosophy hostile to the views of Brown is probable enough, but that they should have lived for some years in the same city without becoming acquainted is somewhat remarkable. The only anecdote on record relating to this period of his life is given by Professor Baynes. Dr. Parr, when on a visit to Edinburgh, met Sir William at the house of Professor John Thomson, the distinguished pathologist. The omniscient doctor was so astonished to find that the young advocate, whom he had never heard of, was not only able to accompany him in his discursive expatiation in the fields of Greek philosophy, but to keep pace with him in the least frequented tracks of classical, and mediæval, and modern Latin literature, capping his quotations, and even correcting his references, that at length he broke out with the inquiry, "Why, *who are you, sir?*"

On Dr. Brown's death in 1820, followed by the resignation of Mr. Stewart, the Moral Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh became vacant. There were several candidates, but it soon became apparent that the contest lay between Wilson and Hamilton. Of the superiority of Hamilton's claims, on the special ground of philosophical attainments, there can be no doubt. But as he happened to be a Whig, and Wilson a Tory, that, according to the usual rule in those days, settled the matter. The contest was a bitter one on both sides, but only on the part of the candidates' supporters. It caused no interruption whatever of the kindly relations between themselves, a fact equally creditable to both. Hamilton was represented by the Tory partisans as a man of dangerous views in politics and theology, while Wilson was even more heartily denounced by the Whigs, as the very incarnation of all the evil that showed its face so unblushingly in the pages of *Blackwood*. We learn from Hamilton's own testimony that he was informed, from an influential quarter, that if he would "allow it simply to be said that he was not a Whig—not a political opponent of the then dominant party,—the election would be allowed to take its natural course." He refused to do so, and thereby sacrificed any chance he had, which, politics apart, was considerable, of obtaining the Chair. It has to be noted also, that the mere fact of his can-

didature must have seriously injured his further progress at the Bar.

As some little compensation for this disappointment, he was in the following year elected to the Chair of Civil History, vacated by Mr. Fraser Tytler. The appointment was virtually in the hands of the Faculty of Advocates, who, though for the most part Tories, showed an honourable disregard for political considerations, by unanimously nominating their most learned member to the office. The salary was only £100 a year, and attendance on the class being optional, none of Sir William's predecessors had ever succeeded in forming a regular class. Sir William, however, not only prepared a course of lectures, but attracted for some years an average of from thirty to fifty students. The subject he chose was the history of Modern Europe, from the close of the fifteenth century to the year 1789. He also delivered some lectures on ancient politics, on European literature, including that of the Middle Ages, the Feudal System, the Papal Supremacy, etc. Of the character of these lectures we learn, on the authority of Professor Wilson, that the most distinguished students of the University spoke with enthusiasm of their sagacity, learning, eloquence, and philosophical spirit. Latterly Sir William lectured only in alternate years, and when the salary ceased to be paid, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the city, he ceased to lecture altogether.

The next important landmark in Sir William's life was his marriage, in 1829, to his cousin, Miss Marshall. His mother's death was a heavy blow to him, and the two years that followed it were the only period of his life that could be called unhappy. For though in one sense a solitary thinker, his social sympathies and affections were so strong that even in his most abstruse studies he found aid rather than distraction in the companionship of those he loved. There is no aspect of his character more interesting than that in which he appears in his latter life, at work in the family parlour, surrounded by his wife and children, whose presence and ministry afforded him never-failing happiness and help. During that dreary interval between his mother's death and his marriage, the proof of its being "not good that the man should be alone" was in his case somewhat ludicrously illustrated. Though naturally of very methodical and orderly habits, his sitting-room became gradually littered with books, which he had no heart to keep in order, till it became necessary to escape from the chaos by taking refuge in another room. There the same process followed, till at length, having passed

from room to room, he finally established himself in the upper flat. Here he found life a little more tolerable, having a cheerful view of the northern suburbs, the Firth of Forth, and the distant hills. The influence of his marriage on the character and subsequent career of Sir William was of the best and happiest kind; and it may be said, without any reserve, that no man ever was more indebted to the devotion, good sense, and practical ability of his wife. How, without any pretension to be versed in the subjects of her husband's labours, she identified herself so thoroughly with all he did; how, after he entered on his professional work, she sat up with him till the winter dawning, three nights a week, copying his lectures as he composed them; how, with her own hand, she wrote out for the press every fragment of his composition; how she kept her husband up to his work by the inspiration of cheerfulness and resolution, wisely contending, as Mr. Veitch happily expresses it, "against a sort of energetic indolence which characterized him;" above all, how she upheld and ministered to him during the years of his bodily infirmity;—all this it was necessary, to a true delineation of Sir William Hamilton's life, that the world should know. His biographer has told it well, and the example it presents may be said to form one of the most instructive and interesting features of the biography.

Among the chief things to be noted regarding the period between 1820 and 1829, are Sir William's researches on the subject of Phrenology, which at that time was attracting much attention, its principal exponent in this country being Mr. George Combe. Sir William opposed no doctrine on the ground of novelty alone, and, as might be expected, took the deepest interest in any new development of the science of mind. In the phenomena of Mesmerism, for example, he recognised a scientific reality, deserving of the most careful investigation, and the subject continued to interest him to the latest period of his life. In Phrenology he was a total disbeliever, but on no merely theoretical grounds. His conclusions were the result of minute and extensive personal experiment and observation, including, as regarded the functions of the cerebellum, the dissection and weighing of "above a thousand brains, of above fifty species of animals." On this subject he read two papers before the Royal Society, and delivered two lectures in the University in 1826 and 1827. He afterwards contributed papers on the brain to some scientific journals, which are now to be found collected in the appendix to his lectures on Me-

taphysics. Dr. Spurzheim, on the occasion of his visit to Edinburgh in 1828, wished to have a public discussion with him on Phrenology, and to have the decision of the question referred to the vote of the audience, but Sir William wisely declined the proposal. The effect of one of his papers on Phrenology, on a hearer of more than ordinary capacity, is characteristically described by Mr. Carlyle, in his interesting contribution to this biography, which has been so abundantly quoted that we shall extract only a few passages. The first part refers to a period in 1819 or 1820, when the writer was a student at the University of Edinburgh. He has made an unimportant mistake in regard to Sir William's residence, which was then in Howe Street:—

"Somewhere in Gabriel's Road, there looked out on me, from the Princes Street or St. David Street side, a back window on the ground-floor of a handsome enough house—window which had no curtains—and visible on the sill of it were a quantity of books lying about, gilt quartos and conspicuous volumes, several of them—evidently the sitting room and working room of a studious man, whose lot, in this safe seclusion, I viewed with a certain loyal respect. 'Has a fine, silent neighbourhood,' thought I; 'a fine north light, and wishes to save it all.' Inhabitant within I never noticed by any other symptom; but from my comrades soon learned whose house and place of study this was.

"The name of Sir William Hamilton I had before heard; but this was the first time he appeared definitely before my memory or imagination; in which his place was permanent thenceforth. A man of good birth, I was told, though of small fortune, who had deep faculties and an insatiable appetite for wise knowledge; was titularly an advocate here, but had no practice, nor sought any; had gathered his modest means thriftily together, and sat down here, with his mother and sister (cousin, I believe, it really was), and his ample store of books, frankly renouncing all lower ambitions, and, indeed, all ambitions together, except what I well recognised to be the highest and one real ambition in this dark ambiguous world. A man honourable to me, a man lovingly enviable; to whom, in silence, I heartily bade good speed. It was also an interesting circumstance, which did not fail of mention, that his ancestor Hamilton of Preston, was leader of the Cameronians at Bothwell Brig, and had stood by the Covenant and Cause of Scotland in that old time and form. 'This baronetcy, if carried forward on those principles, may well enough be poor,' thought I; 'and beautifully well may it issue in such a Hamilton as this one aims to be, still piously bearing aloft, on the new terms, his God's-Banner intrepidly against the World and the Devil!'

"It was years after this—perhaps four or five—before I had the honour of any personal acquaintance with Sir William; his figure on the street had become familiar, but I forget,

too, when this was first pointed out to me; and cannot recollect even when I first came to speech with him, which must have been by accident and his own voluntary favour, on some slight occasion, probably at the Advocates' Library, which was my principal or almost sole literary resource (lasting thanks to it, alone of Scottish institutions!) in those obstructed, neglectful, and grimly-forbidding years. Perhaps it was in 1824 or 1825. I recollect right well the bright, affable manners of Sir William, radiant with frank kindness, honest humanity, and intelligence ready to help; and how completely prepossessing they were. A fine, firm figure of middle height; one of the finest cheerfully-serious human faces, of square, solid, and yet rather *aquiline* type, and a pair of the beautifullest kindly-beaming hazel eyes, well open, and every now and then with a lambency of smiling fire in them, which I always remember as if with trust and gratitude. . . . I recollect hearing much more of him in 1826 and onward, than formerly: to what depths he had gone in study and philosophy; of his simple, independent, meditative habits, ruggedly athletic modes of exercise, fondness for his big dog, etc. etc.: everybody seemed to speak of him with favour, those of his immediate acquaintance uniformly with affectionate respect. I did not witness, much less share in, any of the swimming or other athletic prowesses. I have once or twice been on long walks with him in the Edinburgh environs, oftenest with some other companion, or, perhaps, even two, whom he had found vigorous and worthy; pleasant walks, and abundantly enlivened with speech from Sir William. He was willing to talk of any humanly-interesting subject; and threw out sound observations upon any topic started: if left to his own choice, he circled and gravitated, naturally, into subjects that were his own, and were habitually occupying him—of which I can still remember animal magnetism and the German revival of it, not yet known of in England, was one that frequently turned up. . . . On German bibliography and authors, especially of the learned kind—Erasmus, Ruhnken, Ulrich von Hutten—he could descant copiously, and liked to be inquired of. On Kant, Reid, and the metaphysicians, German and other, though there was such abundance to have said, he did not often speak; but politely abstained rather, when not expressly called on.

"He was finely social and human, in these walks or interviews. Honesty, frankness, friendly veracity, courageous trust in humanity, and in you, were charmingly visible. His talk was forcible, copious, discursive, careless rather than otherwise; and, on abstruse topics, I observed, was apt to become embroiled and revelly, much less perspicuous and elucidative than with a little deliberation he could have made it. 'The fact is,' he would often say; and then plunging into new circuitous depths and distinctions, again on a new grand, 'The fact is,' and still again—till what the essential 'fact' might be was not a little obscure to you. He evidently had not been engaged in *speaking* these things, but only in thinking them, for his

own behoof, not yours. By lucid questioning you could get lucidity from him on any topic. Nowhere did he give you the least notion of his not understanding the thing himself; but it lay like an unwinnowed threshing-floor, the corn-grains, the natural chaff, and somewhat even of the straw, still unseparated there. This sometimes would befall, not only when the meaning itself was delicate or abstruse, but also if several were listening, and he doubted whether they could understand. On solid realistic points he was abundantly luminous; promptitude, solid sense, free-flowing intelligibility always the characteristics. The tones of his voice were themselves attractive, physiognomic of the man: a strong, carelessly-melodious, tenor voice, the sound of it betokening seriousness and cheerfulness; occasionally something of slightly remonstrative was in the undertones, indicating, well in the background, possibilities of virtuous wrath and fire; seldom anything of laughter, of levity never anything: thoroughly a serious, cheerful, sincere, and kindly voice, with looks corresponding. In dialogue, face to face, with one he trusted, his speech, both voice and words, was still more engaging; lucid, free, persuasive, with a bell-like harmony, and from time to time, in the bright eyes, a beaming smile, which was the crown and seal of all to you.

"In the winter 1832-33, Captain Hamilton, Sir William's brother, was likewise resident in Edinburgh; a pleasant, very courteous, and intelligently talking man, enduring, in a cheery military humour, his old Peninsular hurts, and printing his Peninsular and other books. At his house I have been of literary parties—of one, at least, which I still remember in an indistinct but agreeable way. Of a similar party at Sir William's I have a still brighter recollection, and of his fine nobly simple ways there; especially of one little radiancy (his look and his smile the now memorable part of it) privately addressed to myself on the mode of supping I had selected; supper of one excellent and excellently-boiled potato, of fair size, with salt for seasoning—at an epoch when excellent potatoes yet were."

After his marriage Sir William removed to Manor Place, where he resided till 1839, when he went back to his former house, 16 Great King Street, in which he spent the remainder of his life. The time had come at last for him to justify to the world, in the form of published writing, his reputation among a limited circle as a thinker and scholar. The editorship of the *Edinburgh Review* came, in 1829, into the hands of Mr. Macvey Napier, who was a great friend of Sir William's, and took much interest in metaphysical studies. He was determined to have a philosophical contribution from his friend in his first number, and the subject he proposed was the recently published Introduction to Cousin's *Cours de Philosophie*, which was then making a sensation in the

intellectual world of Paris. Sir William was very reluctant to undertake the task, for two reasons. He felt assured that a thorough discussion of the subject could not be made intelligible to British readers, and he had the highest admiration for M. Cousin, of whose philosophy it would be necessary for him to demonstrate the radical unsoundness. The editor's persistency, however, fortunately prevailed, and the criticism, hastily written, made its appearance in October 1829, under the title "On the philosophy of the Unconditioned, in reference to Cousin's Infinite-Absolute." Mr. Veitch correctly says, that, with the exception of the fragmentary utterances of Coleridge, this famous review was the first indication that any one in Britain had become aware of the true import of the highest philosophical thought of this century. It formed a new landmark in the history of speculation, and though in this country at first considered incomprehensible, it was the beginning of that strong revival of interest in the higher questions of philosophy, which Hamilton's subsequent writings and teaching contributed so powerfully to stimulate. On the Continent its merits were at once recognised, and by no one with such chivalrous enthusiasm as by the philosopher whose fundamental doctrine it so vigorously attacked. M. Cousin pronounced it "a masterpiece," so excellent that he thought "there could not be fifty persons in England competent to understand it." He naturally considered his critic wrong in his objections, but added, "I must do him the justice to say that he has profoundly studied and perfectly understood me." A warm friendship between the two philosophers was the result of this criticism, and though they never met, they kept up a pretty regular correspondence, and took the deepest mutual interest in each other's labours and personal welfare. M. Cousin's letters to his "*très cher confrère*" are very interesting, and full of the kindest sympathy. One winds up with this naïve little outburst *apropos* of Brown's Lectures:—

"Je reçois en ce moment la 7<sup>ème</sup> édition de Brown. Mon Dieu! Luttons, mon cher Monsieur, luttons sans cesse contre cette funeste popularité. En vous sont toutes mes espérances pour la philosophie en Angleterre. Dieu donc vous soit en aide, et vous donne ce que je souhaite à tous mes amis et à moi-même: courage et constance. C'est mon perpétuel refrain."

Sir William was now fairly enlisted as a contributor to the *Review*, and during the next seven years contributed fourteen articles, all full of the most solid thought and pro-

found learning. His last contribution was in 1839. These were collected in a volume in 1852, with large appendices, and speedily reached a second edition. The most important of the philosophical articles, after the first, were those on Perception and on Logic. The former was the natural sequel and complement of his first article, expounding the positive side of the philosophy which he professed, of which the basis was the authority of Consciousness, as the other had presented its negative aspect, in a denial of the possibility of any knowledge beyond that of phenomenal reality. The article on Logic may be called the first really scientific exposition of the province and principles of that science in this country, and displayed an extraordinary range and minuteness of knowledge of the subject and its literature. It contained a somewhat severe criticism of Whately's work, and as a specimen of the author's powers in that line may be read with enjoyment by persons ignorant of Logic. Speaking of these three articles as related, though apparently isolated, contributions to Philosophy, and embodying in a real unity the author's fundamental doctrines, his biographer well remarks:—

"Yet impressive as is the suggestion which they give of power and learning, it is melancholy to think that those accomplishments appeared so late in the lifetime of their possessor—appeared, too, almost by accident; and that even after they were revealed, they were kept by him in a reserve, which stayed his hand from completing the edifice designed—one so rare in conception, so grand in its ideal proportions, that even the tracings of its first lines stir the soul which ponders them with emotions akin to those inspired by the fragments of the state-liest architecture, or by the partly-shrouded form of a far-reaching, undefined, mountain height."

His articles on University Reform, especially with reference to Oxford, excited much attention, and also much hostility, which they were eminently calculated to provoke. For, with a knowledge of the subject probably beyond that of any other man in Britain, they combined a somewhat old-fashioned strength and outspokenness of language in denouncing what he considered to be abuses. They produced a powerful effect, and bore fruit after many days, both in England and in Scotland. Of his other articles the most notable are the one on the *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum*, which displayed prodigious learning and research, and for the first time settled conclusively the authorship of that famous satire, and that on the study of Mathematics, which, among other results, called forth an irrepressible protest from the

much-trying editor, on the score of its extravagant length, and the writer's intolerable disregard of the ordinary necessities of periodical publication. The spirit which animated all his discussions is expressed in the favourite motto which he put on the title-page, "Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook, it shines."

In 1834, Professor Mylne, who had for thirty-seven years held the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, proposed to Sir William that he should become his assistant, with the assurance, so far as the Professor's influence could go, of being appointed his successor. The appointment lay with the Senatus Academicus, and Sir William declined the proposal. A more congenial prospect was within his view. The Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh, Dr. David Ritchie, was now a very old man. He resigned his chair in April, 1836, and the usual struggle for the office began. The candidates were Sir William Hamilton, Mr. Isaac Taylor, Mr. George Combe, and Mr. P. C. Macdougall (afterwards Professor Wilson's successor), besides some others whose names are forgotten. To intelligent spectators at a distance it seemed that the author of the articles which were recognised in France and Germany as the one proof existing that Britain had a philosopher, required only to announce that he was a candidate, in order to secure the appointment. The electors, however, consisted of those thirty-three persons composing the Town Council of Edinburgh, of whom Sir William, in his article on University Patronage, had said that it was "only in a country far behind in all that regards the theory and practice of education, that the notion of intrusting a body like a municipal magistracy with such a trust would not be treated with derision." It may be supposed that his chances were not improved by his indignant refusal to canvass the electors, a proceeding which he considered equally insulting to them and humiliating to the candidate. It is unnecessary to go minutely into the history of the contest,—suffice it, that Sir William was appointed, by a small majority over Mr. Isaac Taylor, the final numbers being 18 to 14. The principal ground on which the minority supported their favourite was not his eminence as a philosopher, his sole title to recognition in that respect consisting of a little manual called *Elements of Thought*, explaining the meanings of certain philosophical terms. But he was considered, truly enough, to be a man of great religious earnestness, and his recently published *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, though in some respects rather beyond the reach of ordinary municipal intelligence, was

incomparably better calculated to secure their favour than those wonderful discussions on the Absolute and the theory of Perception, which M. Cousin had said there were not fifty persons in Britain capable of understanding. One of his supporters laid great stress on the assurance they had, that, in electing him, "the interests of pure and undefiled religion" would be advanced. Sir William, on the other hand, produced no certificates of religious character, and in the absence of any such evidence of his personal piety, the opposite conclusion, if it could not be openly asserted, was at least strongly insinuated. If nobody testified to his being a good Christian, was it not natural to infer that he was "little better than one of the wicked"? He was not only a valued contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, which was the next thing to being an "infidel" publication, but he was known to be profoundly, dangerously intimate with German Philosophy, and did not every one know that Germany was the hotbed of all heresy, and its philosophers generally mere Pagans? —*Q. E. D.* This is no caricature. We have heard something similar over and over again in Edinburgh, in analogous cases, and though the *Teutophobia*, in particular, is happily much on the decline, any one who occasionally attends to the utterances of certain theologians, clerical and lay, on the subject, must be aware that it is by no means to be reckoned among extinct maladies. In the case of Sir William Hamilton the suspicion was peculiarly unfounded, and showed a hopeless ignorance of the scope and meaning of his writings, it being obvious to the meanest capacity that, so far as there was anything distinctive in his philosophy, it was characteristically Scottish in its character, and antagonistic to the doctrines most peculiarly identified with German speculation. This was very forcibly stated by M. Cousin in a letter to Professor Pillans, in which he expressed himself in regard to Sir William's claims with an emphasis which, combined with the similar testimony of other high authorities, had considerable influence in determining the result of the contest. After referring to Sir William's antagonism to his own views, he said :—

"Now on this question Sir W. Hamilton is the man who, before all Europe, has, in the *Edinburgh Review*, defended the Scottish philosophy, and posted himself its representative. In this relation the different articles which he has written in that journal are of infinite value; and it is not I who ought to solicit Scotland for Sir W. Hamilton; it is Scotland herself who ought to honor by her suffrage him who, since Dugald Stewart, is her sole representative in Europe.

"In truth, what characterizes Sir W. Hamil-

ton is precisely the Scottish intellect; and he is only attached to the philosophy of Reid and Stewart because their philosophy is the Scottish intellect itself applied to metaphysics. Sir W. Hamilton never deviates from the highway of common sense, and at the same time he possesses great ingenuity (*esprit*) and sagacity; and I assure you (I know it from experience) that his dialectic is by no means comfortable to his adversary.

"Inferior to Reid in invention and originality, and to Stewart in grace and delicacy, he is perhaps superior to both, and certainly to the latter, by the vigour of his dialectic; I add, and by the extent of his erudition.

"Sir W. Hamilton knows all systems, ancient and modern, and he examines them by the criticism of the Scottish intellect. His independence is equal to his knowledge. He is, above all, eminent in logic. I would speak to you here as a philosopher by profession.

"Be assured that Sir W. Hamilton is the one of all your countrymen who knows Aristotle the best; and were there in all the three kingdoms of his Britannic Majesty a Chair of Logic vacant, do not hesitate—make haste—give it to Sir W. Hamilton."

The election took place on the 15th of July 1836, and the class did not open till the 21st of November. This gave the new Professor some time for the work of preparation; but so far as the composition of his lectures was concerned, it does not appear to have made much progress in the interval. His materials were of course familiar to him, but the task of putting them in a form suited to a class composed chiefly of very young men, was new and difficult. Hitherto he had employed himself chiefly in discussing the most abstruse questions of Philosophy, and now, at the mature age of forty-eight, the moulding of his style to the requirements of his new audience seemed in anticipation a more serious problem than it really proved to be. In short, the preparation of his lectures was put off to the very last moment, and it seems in point of fact that the commencement of the session found him no further advanced in composition than his introductory lecture, the subject of which he more than once changed. The lecture at once stamped the new Professor as a man born for the work of educating, in the highest sense of the term, and the impression it produced was perfectly sustained all through the course. On those who heard him for the first time, both then and in after years, especially the young and ardent, the effect was singularly inspiring. Professor Wilson was grand, and his looks, tones, and words, had a mighty fascination. Sir William Hamilton had not so extraordinary and majestic a presence, nor the same gift of thrilling eloquence, but his aspect and utter-

ance were not less memorable, perhaps even more deeply impressive. "Fortunate," it has been said, "beyond expression or comparison, were the students who saw and listened" to these two men. Sir William's manly figure, the look of clear decision that marked his keen and handsome features, and, above all, the wonderfully piercing glance of his eye, at once arrested attention and commanded respect. That impression was heightened by the manner and matter of his delivery. His calm and dignified earnestness, the stately procession of his thoughts, descending in clear and orderly array, as if from lofty and untrodden heights, clad in a style of exquisite fitness, with few but noble ornaments, carried the hearer away into new and wide fields of thought, making him feel how little he knew, how much was to be known, how elevating was the quest which he was invited to join, how glorious the company to which he was being introduced,—the seekers for truth, the hierarchy of the sages, the lovers of wisdom,

"the great of old!

The dead but sceptred sovereigns who still rule  
Our spirits from their urns."

The lectures were delivered three times a week, the other two days being devoted to examinations. During the first session the course was on Psychology, and each lecture was composed on the night preceding its delivery, Sir William writing out the rough draft, which Lady Hamilton copied sheet after sheet as it was ready. As already mentioned, this labour went on all through the winter nights, and on some occasions, Mr. Veitch says, "Sir William would be found writing as late as nine o'clock of a morning, while his faithful but wearied amanuensis had fallen asleep on a sofa." The same thing happened in the following session, when the Logic lectures were composed. These lectures, it seems, were never substantially changed afterwards. But though later in date than Sir William's *Discussions*, his biographer is quite justified in protesting against Mr. Mill's assumption that they contain "the fullest and only consecutive exposition of his philosophy." He shows very satisfactorily that for the fullest and most authoritative statement of Sir William's special doctrines, both in Logic and in Metaphysics, we must look to his supplementary dissertations to Reid, and the appendices to his *Discussions*, while unfortunately "a consecutive exposition of his philosophy" the author has nowhere given. The mere fact that the lectures were composed in the circumstances above mentioned,



and were never revised for publication by the author, is indeed sufficient to place them on a different footing, as regards authority, from his more elaborate published works.

The influence of Hamilton as a teacher is well and eloquently described by Mr. Veitch, and by two other pupils of Sir William's, than whom none more distinguished ever issued from his class—Dr. Cairns and Mr. Baynes. The aspect of the class and the manner of carrying on the work were in some respects quite peculiar. On entering the room, and taking his seat on one of the benches, which were all lettered in alphabetical order, the visitor's attention was first arrested by a large green ornamented board, fixed below the ceiling behind the Professor's chair, on which, in letters of gold, stood out the motto—

ON EARTH THERE IS NOTHING GREAT BUT MAN;  
IN MAN THERE IS NOTHING GREAT BUT MIND.

Below this inscription was a longer one in Greek, to the effect that emulation in high pursuits is a noble thing, ending with the words of Hesiod,—

*Ἀγαθὴ ἐπὶς ᾗδε βροτοῖσι.*

All along this wall were hung a series of smaller tablets, painted in like manner, containing, in letters of gold, the names, in the order of merit, of the students who in successive sessions had, by the votes of their fellows, been adjudged worthy of the honours of the class. On the opposite wall hung a less numerous row of similar tablets, with the names of a still more select class, those who had won the summer prizes for extra study and special essays. The effect of these visible incitements on the impressible minds of youthful students may easily be imagined; they were, in fact, a perpetual appeal to their ambition and emulation. Sir William's style and the effect of his lectures are thus graphically portrayed by Mr. Baynes:—

"Whatever the previous expectations of Sir William's appearance might be, they were certainly realized, if not surpassed; and however familiar one might afterwards become with the play of thought and feeling on that noble countenance, the first impression remained the strongest and the last—that it was perhaps altogether the finest head and face you had ever seen, strikingly handsome and full of intelligence and power. When he began to read, Sir William's voice confirmed the impression his appearance and manner had produced. It was full, clear, and resolute, with a swell of intellectual ardour in the more measured cadences, and a tone that grew deep and resonant in reading any striking extract from a favourite author, whether in prose or poetry—from Plato or Pascal, Lucretius or Virgil, Scaliger or Sir

John Davies, whose quaint and nervous lines Sir William was fond of quoting.

"The new comer naturally listened to the lecturer with interest and some curiosity, knowing perhaps little or nothing of the subject, and having his own misgivings, notwithstanding Sir William's fame, whether anything could be made of it or not. After hearing a few lectures, the impression produced was probably one of mingled surprise and admiration, wonder and delight. The subject had been described as abstruse. He fancied it must be dark, mysterious, and uncertain, and that perhaps it would be impossible to understand the lecturer at all. On the contrary, the exposition was found to be clear, forcible, and even vivid in its distinctness—the thought striking the intellect as sharply as near objects do the eye on a bright day; and the style a perfect mirror of the thought—exact to a nicety, every word the right one, and each in its place, giving in fact quite a new idea of the precision of which language is capable. This naturally excited surprise, and awakened unexpected admiration. The lecturer's whole tone and manner, too, at once powerfully stimulated curiosity, and inspired confidence. The pupil was conscious of breathing a fresh intellectual atmosphere as bracing to the mind as sea air to the body, and already began to feel a new and reviving sense of elasticity and power. The appetite for knowledge was suddenly sharpened, and he felt at the same time that he had found one who could satisfy it to the full. It is difficult to say, exactly, how this feeling of exhilarating confidence, of glad but undefined expectation, was produced; partly, no doubt, by what was said, but chiefly from the manner of the speaker. There was much in it strictly personal;—the instinctive feeling naturally awakened in listening to one who spoke with the serene insight and authority of a master both in history and science. . . .

"When, becoming familiar with the manner, the attention of the student was concentrated on the matter of the lectures, and the objects exciting the new feeling of wonder gradually grew more distinct, the first conviction was, that he had entered into an entirely new world, wholly different from the world of men and the world of books which he had hitherto known. And what struck him most of all probably, was the fact that it really *was* a world—a veritable Cosmos, with facts and laws of its own, with phenomena, processes, and results not less vast and varied, harmonious, and sublime, than the sensible facts and physical laws of the universe,—a world within as full of wonder and mystery, of secret activities and unknown powers, as the material earth and heaven around and above us. It was soon discovered, moreover, to be a region, in exploring which he needed and could receive but little help from others; the objects of research and the instruments of investigation, the observer and the phenomena to be observed, being alike within. He awoke to the sudden consciousness that the living spirit moving amidst the clouds of passion, and behind the veil of innumerable, but often unconscious ac-

tivities, was far more full of strange and prophetic inspiration than the fabled oracle of Delphi, while the inscription on the temple of the one was the true key to the mysteries of the other—*γνῶθι σεαυτὸν*—know thyself. And he was powerfully impelled to acquire this self-knowledge, because it in turn would obviously furnish the key to the vaster world opening before him in the dawning light of a new experience.

"It was soon discovered, moreover, from the lecturer's method, that this new world was, in the strictest sense, the object of science—that its facts could be observed, and its laws known. And if the science were thus possible, it must obviously, when achieved, be superior to all others—must in a sense be inclusive of all others—at once a key to the past, a guide in the present, and a prophecy for the future. It would necessarily explain every special history, interpret every old form of religion and government, every successive phase of past civilisation, by reaching the psychological laws whose development they reflect. It must throw a flood of light on the complex forces working amidst the crowd and dust of actual life, and powerfully help to solve the urgent social problems arising from their blind or misguided activity; while the prospect opened for the future was inspiring in its boundless extent, as it was obviously impossible to measure the powers or limit the development of humanity. The true clue for exploring the intellectual world being once found, it was natural to believe that future progress would be sure, rapid, and almost limitless; and this clue was found in the rigorously inductive method of observation and analysis pursued in the scientific exposition. Nor did the treatment of history in the lecturer's hands at all diminish one's confidence in the certainty of the science. True, the speculations of illustrious thinkers were assailed without pity, and remorselessly destroyed. Sir William's path was, in the words of one of his critics, 'emphatically over the wreck of systems which he demolished as he went;' but, strange to say, this but strengthened instead of weakening confidence, because it was clearly seen to be done upon principle. A tithe of such destructive criticism from a teacher of less power, might have left one utterly sceptical, while Sir William's inexorable dialectic inspired the fullest trust. For though much was destroyed, more was left. The indurated hull of system was shattered only to set free the germ of truth it contained; and the severest criticism but illustrated the maxim of Leibnitz, that philosophers are true in what they affirm, false in what they deny. It was continually shown that every error is only a truth abused, and all partial systems but contributions towards a perfect science. The theories of elder philosophers that lay isolated, barren, and far asunder on the fields of speculation, came like the dry bones in the Valley of Vision at the voice of the prophet, marshalling to their place, bone gathering to bone, sinew to sinew,—the scattered fragments growing into form, and waiting only the breath of higher inspiration to ap-

pear as a living whole. The entire exposition thus tended powerfully to confirm the first impression, strengthening at every step the rising belief in a new and noble field of investigation, offering to the zealous explorer results of the highest certainty and value."

Not less distinct and interesting are the reminiscences of Dr. Cairns, from which, however, we must content ourselves with a brief extract:—

"The fascination of so commanding a personality for young and susceptible minds can easily be understood. It was assisted by the novelty of the lectures, and by the sense of novelty even on the part of the lecturer, which had its stimulating effect on the audience as they strove to march with him through the unexplored regions of a first course. If I may judge from myself, it must have cost even those who at all succeeded a great effort. The style was wholly new in our philosophical literature. It was replete with technical terms, and bristled with Latin and even Greek words and quotations. It carried with it a constant load of definitions and distinctions, and involved, even in its elementary statements, difficult processes of analysis and criticism which could only be fully mastered at an advanced stage. It was liker stretches of Aristotle and steppes of Kant than the flowery field opened out in Stewart and Brown. After the border of the wilderness was passed in the introductory lectures, I well remember the sense of difficulty and even desperation that seemed to fall upon the class as the definition of logic was unrolled in all its formidable proportions—'the science of the laws of thought as thought, or of the forms of thought, or of the formal laws of thought.' Another slough of despond was the enunciation of the fundamental laws of thought; and many a shuffle of the feet entreated the lecturer to pause upon and repeat, for the enlightenment of a wholly bewildered audience, such dark formulas as that of the law of contradiction, ' $A-A=0$ .' I do not think, indeed, that I ever saw more blank dismay upon any countenances than that which sat upon the majority of the class during this lecture. Some, perhaps many, abandoned the effort henceforth; but to a select minority, and that by no means inconsiderable, the sense of difficulty acted with the force of inspiration. In the throes and struggles of the unwonted exercise an altogether new power of thought was created, and the frowning and rugged cliffs, at the base of which some sank to rise no more, became to others the means of ascent to the command of a wide and unsuspected horizon of land and sea. Gradually, to those who waited for it, day broke upon the extensive prospect, and the toil of climbing, with the horror of darkness, gave place to exhilaration."

The work of the class consisted of essays, exercises, and examinations. The latter were of two kinds, voluntary and compulsory. To the compulsory examinations all

members of the class, not amateurs, were liable at intervals during the session. The voluntary examination was, however, the chief and peculiar feature of the work, and the prizes were awarded only to those who took part in it. The main part of it was not an examination at all, but consisted in recapitulating any portion of the recently delivered lectures which the Professor chose to call for. It was a most difficult and trying exercise, and those who imagined that it could be achieved by servile "getting by heart," were sadly mistaken. The lectures were so full of condensed matter, and so strict in the sequence of thought, that without understanding them it was hopeless to think of mere parrot-like repetition. The dropping of a link in the chain of exposition was fatal in such a case, besides that the speaker's intelligence and self-possession were continually being tested by questions from the chair. For those who thoroughly went into this work it was undoubtedly an admirable discipline. It had the disadvantage, however, of absorbing a somewhat unreasonable amount of time in the writing out and preparation of the lectures, and of being generally confined to some twenty or thirty members of the class. To those who took part in it, the examination days were full of excitement. One never knew when he might be called, the system being to have the letters of the alphabet mixed up in a jar on the Professor's table, into which he dived his hand, and picking out a letter, held it up and inquired, "Any gentleman in A," or whatever it might be. The venturesome man who first stood up was sure to be greeted with hearty applause of feet. During the course of the session the class had full opportunity of judging who were worthy of its honours, and their judgment was very rarely at fault. Occasionally this exercise was varied by the Professor's inquiring if any gentleman had any "additional information" to give on any point touched on in the lectures. This sometimes elicited interesting matter, in the form of difficulties suggested, a manifestation of independent thinking which the Professor specially encouraged. On such occasions, or when an essay of more than usual originality was being read, a lively interlude would sometimes take place, in the form of a little discussion between the Professor and the student. We have a very distinct recollection of one such scene, when a student of mature years and great ability read an essay propounding a somewhat novel and bold idea. Sir William stated an objection,—the essayist replied with promptness and decision, and for nearly half an hour a most interesting interchange of cour-

teous logic-fence went on between master and pupil. It is hard to say whether the Professor or the class enjoyed it most.

A pleasant illustration of the same kind of thing is given by Dr. Cairns:—

"I well remember that during the private gatherings of this season, discussions between Sir William and his more advanced students, took a larger compass; that some difficulties in regard to his philosophy of perception, and other points, which have since been abundantly urged, were proposed, and that he endeavoured to meet them with the greatest candour and fairness. I can distinctly recall one evening in Great King Street, when successive groups of querists assailed him, not with objections so much as with difficulties calling for explanation; and when, I believe for hours, with his back leaning against the shelves of his library, he met all comers with the most perfect good-nature, and with that unconsciousness of his own greatness, which was the charm of his friendly intercourse."

Sir William's courtesy to his students was one of his most attractive qualities as a Professor, and all the more when it was remembered how formidable he could be in controversy. It was the spontaneous fruit of his kind and cordial nature, which, with little of demonstrative effusion, made itself felt even without words. His brief, but warmly uttered farewell at the close of the session, "God bless you all!" can never be forgotten by those who heard it.

On the general effect and value of his teaching, as constituting an epoch in the history of British Philosophy, we cannot do better than quote Mr. Veitch. After referring to the low state of speculative thought and learning in this country at the time when Hamilton wrote his first paper in the *Edinburgh Review*, he proceeds:—

"With the already published writings of Hamilton the spring-time of a new life in Scottish speculation had begun. A more profound analysis, a more comprehensive spirit, a learning that had surveyed the philosophical literature of Greece and Germany, and marked the relative place in the intellectual world of the sturdy growths of home thought, were the characteristics of the man who had now espoused the cause of Scottish speculative philosophy. The speculation of the country had been raised above its comparatively low level, and brought face to face with the highest metaphysical problems. The modified doctrine of Experience of the Scottish school had been marshalled with the skill of a great general against the positions of the highest representatives of modern Absolutism. Hamilton had shown that he knew the strength and the deficiency of the line of speculation which had been pursued in Scotland. Now that he was called upon to devote his energies in an academical position to the study and the teaching of

philosophy, a keen sifting, purification, and amplification of preceding doctrines were to be looked for at his hands. In his Lectures, accordingly, we find, for the first time in the history of British speculation, an appreciation of the nature and number of the departments of intellectual philosophy, of their mutual relations, and of the questions appropriate to each, a restoration to their proper place of neglected branches of the study, and a thorough and serviceable acquaintance with the literature of the subject. These points are now familiar among us; but they were unknown thirty years ago: and adherents and opponents of the views then inculcated are alike indebted for their knowledge of the departments of philosophy, and of the attempted solutions of many of its higher problems, to the writings of Hamilton."

On the influence of his writings in America we find in the Appendix an excellent paper by Professor Porter of Yale College, from which we select a short passage:—

"If it was Hamilton's distinguishing merit to have re-animated philosophy in Great Britain, when it was near to breathing out its life under the hands of its guardians and devotees—if it will be remembered to his honour that he restored it to a position of higher dignity than it had enjoyed for centuries before, and this at a time when the prevailing devotion to material interests had well-nigh materialized philosophy itself, and when the splendid triumphs of physical discovery might naturally render men indifferent to those less obtrusive metaphysical truths on which all discovery depends,—it was his privilege in America to act upon the rising philosophical spirit which had never been discouraged or suppressed, and at a critical moment when it most needed wise direction, and a stimulating as well as a safe example. Hamilton found us just as we were becoming interested in what the French and Germans could teach us, and when not a few were ready to be dazzled by systems that were largely imaginative and fantastic, provided that erudition and genius made them plausible. Hamilton was so learned that he could not but command respect. He was critical enough to inspire confidence. He was daring enough to satisfy the aspirations of the most adventurous. He was wise and solid enough to quietly displace pretentious assertion by well-reasoned truth, and to effectually set aside ambitious rhapsody by discriminating logic. While he has not by any means been the only teacher of this generation—while his own writings have directed and encouraged us to study the philosophers of the Continent—yet his influence has been most potent to repress what might otherwise have been magniloquent pretension, and to stimulate those who but for him would have been discouraged by uncertainty and bewildered by scepticism."

In the midst of his labours during his first session, Sir William began the preparation of a revised edition of Reid's Works, with the view of using portions of it as a

text-book. At first he contemplated only the addition of a Preface, but as the revision of the sheets proceeded he added notes, and the work of editing gradually expanded as he went on. It suffered characteristic interruption and delay. In September 1839 he writes about it to M. Cousin: "The work has been nearly ready for a year and a half, but having been obliged to change my publisher, I have allowed the publication to be delayed, without any good reason for it, longer than it ought. I mean to set about printing it in the course of a few days, and hope to have it out in about six weeks." Having experienced some difficulty in arranging about the publication, the work, in fact, lay dormant for seven years after this, and did not finally appear till 1846. Even then it was not complete, Note D\*\*\* suddenly ending the last page in the middle of a sentence, of which the conclusion was not given till the posthumous publication of the sixth edition of the work in 1863. Of this great work there is no need here to say more than this, that, apart from its importance as a new edition, not only of Reid's Works, but of the Scottish Philosophy, the original matter added by the editor stands, for combined acuteness and learning, alone in the philosophical literature of this country.

On the subsequent career of Sir William as a Professor we cannot dwell, nor does space remain to narrate his controversies with the Town Council, with the *Senatus Academicus*, with the Non-Intrusionists, with Professor De Morgan, with Archdeacon Haïre, into each of which in turn he threw himself with the most intense vigour, sometimes wasting the darts of splendid logic, learning, and sarcasm, on mere rhinoceros hides, at other times throwing them away on subjects with which his admirers would have preferred that he had not meddled, but always with a high and noble aim, and, despite considerable sharpness of language, never undignified.

In 1840 Sir William was elected a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, one of a long list of honours conferred upon him from abroad, including, among others, the quite unique distinction of D.D. from the University of Leyden. While not without honour in his own country, he received, as already indicated, small recognition from those in power. The free emoluments of his Chair were under £300 a year, and a sense of duty to his family constrained him reluctantly to make application for any legal appointment compatible with his duties as Professor. Lord Melbourne was then Prime Minister, and to him

Sir William, in February 1840, addressed a statement of his claims, in one of the most remarkable letters that perhaps ever was written for such a purpose. It is too long for citation, and must be read as a whole to be judged of. Remembering that the writer was one of the greatest intellectual lights of Europe, and that this humble but manly plea for the interests of his children and the science he loved came from a high and proud but most modest nature, it is impossible to read it without being moved,—all the more when we know further that it was written in vain. Well might Sir William with emphasis quote the lines:—

“Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,  
At nos philosophi turba misella sumus.”

In the month of April following he addressed another letter to the Lord Advocate, which, being shorter, we shall extract:—

“MY DEAR RUTHERFURD,—As I understand that it is probable that some new appointment must be immediately made among the Principal Clerks of Session, I earnestly entreat that you would take my claims to such appointment into account.

“I do not request you to second any application on my behalf on the ground of personal favour. I should, indeed, feel most grateful for any act of friendship from you; but I would be the last to request of you, in your public character, to do anything not justifiable on public grounds. I may be mistaken, but I do not think that any one has now a higher claim on the present Government to such an office than I have; and I am so situated that, however disagreeable to my own feelings, it is my duty—my *urgent* duty—to do what an honourable man can, to make that claim effectual. I am induced to hope that Lord Melbourne is not indisposed to me; and, were you free to support my suit, I would be desirous to lay a statement of my claims before Lord Normanby. Seconded by you, I should indeed have little doubt of success; and there is assuredly no one whose recommendation and good opinion would be more flattering to me on their own account.

“I have been no importunate and habitual suitor; and no one with equal claims has asked or received from his party less. I have never, indeed, been the candidate for any office to which I was not fairly entitled; and I can confidently affirm that I have undertaken no public duty which I have not discharged with more than satisfaction. For a sheriffship I have not pressed, as I was conscious that it required a knowledge of forms and details with which I had not made myself familiar. But as to the office of Clerk of Session, in which, with a general knowledge of law, precision of language and of thought, is the principal requisite, I may without presumption say, that no one is better qualified to discharge its duties; while I would endeavour to devote my-

self, without distraction or anxiety, to pursuits which I trust will not be found to be without result.”

To one who knows something of the offices referred to, and the qualifications of some of their occupants, there is something exquisitely comical, and yet really tragical, in the idea of Sir William Hamilton considering himself hardly quite fit to be a Sheriff, but thinking it no presumption to say that he was well qualified for the office of Clerk of Session! He was not, alas! “practical” enough to be free from modesty, and so he got neither Sheriffship nor Clerkship.

These unpleasant revelations are unfortunately not yet exhausted. In July 1844 Sir William was suddenly and without warning struck down by paralysis of the whole right side. His intense occupation of mind, and his unfortunate habit of devoting the ordinary hours of sleep to study, easily account for this seizure. It was at first very severe, but its effects were entirely physical. His mind was totally unaffected, then or afterwards, except in an increase of nervous irritability, insomuch that the patient, as described by his medical attendant Dr. MacLagan, was busy all the time of this attack “making a physiological study of himself.” He slowly recovered, but thenceforth his right hand was powerless, his right leg partially so, his articulation sometimes difficult, and the sight of his right eye somewhat impaired. And so he appeared in the remaining years of his life, a sad but noble sight, the strong brave man, now crippled and dependent on the help of others, yet patient, cheerful, and ever active in his work. With the exception of the first session after his illness, when the duties of the class were conducted by his attached friend Professor Ferrier, he continued, with the help of an assistant, to discharge the duties of the Chair as before, and did so heroically to the last. Had his means allowed it, there can be no doubt that he would have preferred to retire from office. But there were then no retiring allowances for Professors, and his whole income from the Chair did not average £500 a year, out of which, among other burdens, he paid for the first seven years an annuity of £100 to his predecessor. The salary consisted of £30 a year from Parliament, and £22, 4s. 4d. from the Town Council, the class-fee was £3, 3s., and the average attendance of the class during the twenty years of his professorship was 135, which makes an average yearly income of £477, 9s. 4d. In these circumstances it was considered by some distinguished members of the Conservative party, which was then

in power, that the public services of Sir William Hamilton, and his acknowledged pre-eminence in learning and philosophy, made his case a suitable one for public recognition in the form of a pension. Such public rewards had been conferred in many other cases of literary or scientific eminence, sometimes on persons of no conspicuous fame, and in the absence of the special claim constituted by bodily infirmity. One of Sir William's colleagues, a much younger man, and in good health, was already in the enjoyment of a considerable pension, on account of his contributions to physical science. Sir William's case seemed a peculiarly strong one. But *Dis aliter visum est*, and he was a metaphysician. Here, we regret to say, *Dis* means Lord John Russell, who had become Premier in place of Sir Robert Peel before the application was presented. The matter was brought under his Lordship's attention in 1846 by Lord Advocate Rutherford, and the reply was, "I found that of £1200 pension £900 had been distributed by Sir Robert Peel. I have advised pensions of £200; there remains only £100. But I will recommend £100 a year to Sir William Hamilton, if he thinks proper to take that sum. I can only say that it is all that is left." The apology for the smallness of the sum was quite adequate, though the terms of the offer might have been more cordial. Sir William, however, thought it his duty respectfully to decline the offer, as being an inadequate recognition of his claims. Lord Jeffrey and other friends having expressed the opinion that he was wrong, he lost no time in writing to the Lord Advocate, to assure him and Lord John Russell that he felt most grateful for the offer, but that, if the grant were to be published without explanation, it would appear to the world as if this were an estimate of his claims, and that by a Government of his own party, which, independently of the consideration of his illness, he should be mortified to think correct. If it were not published, however, he should most gladly avail himself of the intended kindness, and begged that his former letter should be held *pro non scripto*. The Lord Advocate appears to have thought it advisable not to communicate this conditional acceptance to Lord John Russell, and so the matter rested for that year. Next year he informed Sir William that Lord John Russell had found it impossible to include his name in the pension list, owing to the smallness of the fund, and the pressure of other claims, "more especially as he could not now have proposed a larger sum than was last year rejected as inadequate and unbecoming, though it was

all he had then to bestow." There accompanied this a polite assurance of being "very sensible of your great merits," and "deeply lamenting the circumstances," etc. etc. The feelings produced by this communication among Sir William's friends are expressed in a note of Lord Cuninghame's:—

"I return you the Lord Advocate's letter, which Lord Jeffrey had for some days, and tells me he perused with great pain. That Lord John has taken same offence at the refusal last year is plain; and I own I am shocked at the unreasonableness and littleness of the feeling. It has produced the deepest condemnation among all classes of Liberals, and justice must and will be done to Sir William next year, without any effort. That I and all our friends are confident of."

Next year Sir William personally addressed a letter to Lord John Russell, fully explaining the whole matter, and couched in terms the most respectful. He received no answer, and the pension list for 1848 appeared without his name. In 1849 the matter was again represented to Lord John, who then wrote to the Lord Advocate, "The Queen has sanctioned a pension of £100 a year to Sir W. Hamilton. This is all that can be spared, but it may be increased next year if there are the means of doing it." Sir William still declined to accept this pension for himself, but he consented to an arrangement, brought about by Mr. Gibson-Craig, by which it was bestowed on Lady Hamilton. No addition was ever made to it, and an application for that purpose to Lord Palmerston, after Sir William's death, though signed by an unusual number of the most eminent names in the kingdom, met with no success. This is a painful story, and it is only necessary to add, as crowning it, that the same Minister who could spare only £100 to Hamilton, bestowed on his colleague, Professor Wilson, on his retirement two years later, a pension of £300 a year, coupled with the "most gratifying" expression of his Lordship's sentiments towards the illustrious man who had more than any writer in Britain exerted himself to make Whig principles and Whig statesmen contemptible. Wilson's claims, apart from such paltry considerations, were undeniable. But the supposed gracefulness and magnanimity of the act must rather suffer now, in the estimation of those who think due kindness to deserving friends a virtue at least as respectable as generosity to inveterate enemies.

During the remaining years Sir William was little out of doors, with the exception of his daily drive to the University at one o'clock. The records of these years are

therefore confined chiefly to glimpses of his domestic life and literary labours. This, however, is one of the most interesting portions of the biography. The details of his manner of working, his various appliances for facilitating reference to books, his mechanical ingenuity in binding favourite volumes, or in making kites for his children; the illustrations of his simple tastes, his delight in works of imagination and fairy tales, or in a round game with his family, his sense of humour, his tenderness of heart, his kindness to the lower animals, are all full of interest, and make up a very attractive picture. Such little revelations of character as the tracing of grotesque faces on his ms., in the midst of some of his most abstruse discussions on Logic and Metaphysics, his reading through two volumes of Macaulay's History without stopping or going to bed, his enjoyment in being gently consoled into going to see a review in the Queen's Park on Waterloo day, though he had said "No," are very pleasant to read of. A few of his letters to his eldest son, who was now a soldier in India, are perfect models of simplicity and parental tenderness. Among the most curious and interesting materials in this part of the work are some full notes of his conversations made at the time by Mr. Baynes. They are eminently characteristic, and give a most faithful idea of the style in which he used when at ease to unfold the stores of his vast and various knowledge. The account which his daughter gives of his daily mode of life, and the kind of reading he indulged in for relaxation, is also exceedingly interesting. In the concluding chapter Mr. Veitch gives an excellent sketch of the chief contents of his library, and his favourite authors, and a description of his extraordinary Commonplace-Book, of which one or two specimen pages are given. There are many passages in these chapters which we had marked for quotation: we must content ourselves with one, from the pen of one of the late Professor More's daughters. It will pleasantly recall to Sir William's later students the evenings on which they were wont to see him at home:—

"The rooms in which he and his family usually sat were surrounded by books; and how clearly does one in which we passed many a pleasant hour rise to mind! In it, from floor to roof, the book-shelves mounted one above the other, almost entirely covering the walls. The books were of all sorts and sizes, but the brown folios and great volumes clothed in velvet, which were level with the eye, inspired us at an early period with profound respect, from seeing them so near, and yet feeling they contained treasures of wisdom and knowledge which we would never reach. Above the

black marble mantelpiece the picture of a strikingly handsome man (Sir William's brother) looked grandly down, and at his side the wall was occupied by fine engravings of the Italian poets—Dante's earnest face always seeming to catch the eye, and to be reminding one that the way to paradise is steep and long. Beneath these, on a table inlaid with brass, stood two handsome malachite vases, some pieces of old china, and usually a glass with flowers—all looking like homage offered to the immortals above. The room was lighted by one large window, and in its embrasure stood a great Indian jar covered with strange devices, which must have had a charmed life, since it had survived many generations of children unscathed. Outside the window, the top of a tall poplar (planted in the court below) swayed to and fro with every breath of air.

"At the further end of the room, two pillars supported a beam which crossed the roof. By some inexplicable combination of ideas, these always reminded us of the two middle pillars in the temple of Dagon. Without doubt, the impression which the pillars in themselves first conveyed was afterwards confirmed, by Sir William in his latter years being almost invariably seated near them at the side of the fire; the sight of the strong man, shorn of his strength by the mysterious malady which had laid hold of him, almost naturally suggesting thoughts of Samson. What a brave spirit his was, which in a form of such massive mould that physical strength seemed its right, endured with patience being held captive and bound with fetters which no effort of his will could break! His grand appearance was adorned with that essential and most ethereal attribute of beauty—colour; and the gleam of the silvered hair, with the deep, dark fire in the eyes, and the delicate carmine which often mounted to the cheek, produced a combination which pleased indescribably. Time and increasing feebleness only made the spirit shine out more visibly from its house of clay, and the sharp distinction between the mortal and immortal part always grew more vivid and interesting."

Sir William's general health was not impaired by the paralytic stroke, and his latter years were among the most laborious of his life. His edition of Reid, as already mentioned, was published in 1846. His *Discussions* appeared in 1852. In 1853 he commenced the superintendence of a collected edition of the Works of Dugald Stewart, which occupied a considerable portion of his time till his death. In addition to the work connected with these publications, he devoted a large amount of research, and accumulated extensive materials, in connexion with a work on Luther, which he did not survive to complete. The papers he left on the subject, Mr. Veitch says, would occupy a large volume. From a specimen extract, apparently intended for a preface, we take the following sentences:—"I know a hundred

portraits of Luther the Angel, and a hundred pendants of Luther the Devil; but I know not a single true likeness of Luther the Man." "Luther I not merely admire, but love. My love is, however, limited to the real Luther, and him I love with all his faults and weaknesses—nay, more, perhaps, that he is no 'monster of perfection.' As to the ideal Luther, angel or devil, for such I care no more than for any other fancy which folly, ignorance, prejudice, or perfidy may engender. I look to truth alone." Another work he had contemplated, and to which he at an earlier period devoted much time, was a Life and new edition of the poems of George Buchanan. In his annotated copy of Ruddiman's quarto edition, some of the pages are perfectly covered with illustrative quotations, parallel passages, and references to ancient and modern Latin poetry. It may be hoped that this work, though unfinished, will not be lost to the world. As an illustration of his other miscellaneous labours, we quote from a letter of Lady Hamilton to her son in 1848, "As soon as he was able after his attack of erysipelas, he took to answering a letter from Mr. Thomson of Oxford, on some of his logical theories, and last night we despatched a second letter of twenty-two folio pages of close writing, all of which I had to write twice over."

While at Largo, in Fifeshire, during the summer of 1853, Sir William, in walking up-stairs alone, fell and broke his right arm. He speedily recovered from that injury, but the shock to his head appears to have resulted in a serious illness during the following winter, after which he never recovered his former vigour. During that session he was for some time absent from the class, and was thereafter carried in a sedan chair up the weary flight of stairs that led to his class-room. The summer was again spent in the country, and he was busy with Stewart's Works, but now easily tired and agitated. Next winter he got through the session well, though the work was fatiguing. How affecting it is to read such words as these—"To his own feelings and ours it is certainly very painful that, when so unable for his work, he should be compelled to go on with it for the sake of income; but at the same time it is good for him, . . . and for these reasons it is well that he should retain his professorship as long as he can at all fulfil its duties." The autumn of this year was spent in Fifeshire, and symptoms of declining strength became more visible. But again the session work was faithfully gone through, without missing a day, till it terminated in the middle of April. On the 28th of that month he was down-stairs for

the last time, and finished his last literary labour, the correction of a proof-sheet for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, of a biography of Heyne, written by him for the previous edition. That night he was taken ill with congestion of the brain. On the 5th of May 1856 he became unconscious, though in lucid intervals he recognised and faintly spoke to those around him. It was not in his nature at any time to give much expression to his deepest feelings or his faith, which was as firm as his conviction of man's impotence to grasp the Infinite. In his last conscious hour he was heard to utter these words, "Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." As night approached the darkness deepened over him, and with the morning dawn he gently passed to where there is no darkness at all.

We may close with the words of another of Scotland's acutest metaphysicians, who, though widely differing from Hamilton in philosophy, had the fullest appreciation of his greatness, and loved him like a son,—Professor Ferrier:—

"A simpler and a grander nature never arose out of darkness into human life: a truer and a manlier character God never made. How plain and yet how polished was his life in all its ways; how refined, yet how robust and broad his intelligence in all its workings! . . . His contributions to philosophy have been great; but the man himself was greater far."

#### ART. VII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF MAN.

WE propose briefly to consider three points connected with the early history of man: the first respects his antiquity; the second his primitive condition; and the third the method of studying his early progress.

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.—Our proposition is that the antiquity of man is very great—the popular chronology entirely wrong. The point to be cleared is, Whether all the races of men can have had their progenitors in the members of a single family 2348 B. C.—the date of the deluge? If we can show that to be impossible our proposition will be proved, since the chronology which asserts it is the only obstacle to our believing man to have been on earth for any length of time. It is commonly supposed that this chronology is founded on Scripture; but in the Old Testament there is no connected chronology prior to Solomon. "All that now passes for ancient chronology beyond that fixed point is the melancholy



legacy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a compound of intentional deceit and utter misconception of the principles of historical research."\*

In the earliest historical times great and highly civilized nations existed in different parts of the world. This is what we should expect, because history begins with records, and before a people can bring to perfection the arts which make enduring records possible, they must have made great progress in civilization. Of the ancient communities we select for consideration three—the Egyptian, the Chinese, and the Indo-European "mother-tribe." The facts ascertained respecting the antiquity and ancient condition of these communities establish our proposition.

(1.) *Ancient Egypt*.—Those entitled to have an opinion respecting the commencement of history in Egypt differ from one another, but agree in referring it to a time precedent to "the dispersion of mankind." Lepsius assigned to the accession of Menes the date 3893 B.C., which merely agrees with that given by Kenrick and Humboldt; Bunsen fixed it at 3643 B.C.; Pickering, Lenormant, Champollion-Figeac, and Böckh, referred it to dates varying between 4400 and 5867 B.C. It is unnecessary to insist on the correctness of any of these computations: sufficient for our purpose are the computations of such men as Wilkinson and Poole. Wilkinson had in 1835 assigned a comparatively recent date to Menes, saying, "I have not placed him earlier, for fear of interfering with the Deluge, the date of which is 2848 B.C." He remodelled his chronology at a later time, and assigned to the accession of this king the date 2320 B.C., being twenty-eight years *after* the flood, and ninety-six *before* the dispersion of mankind.† Mr. Poole's view is thus represented by the Duke of Argyll:—"The most moderate computation carries the foundation of that [the Egyptian] Monarchy as far back as 700 years before the visit of the Hebrew Patriarch. Some of the best German scholars hold that there is evidence of a much longer chronology. But seven centuries before Abraham is the estimate of Mr. R. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, who is one of the very highest authorities, and certainly the most cautious, upon questions of Egyptian chronology. This places the beginning

of the Pharaohs in the twenty-eighth century B.C. But according to Usher's interpretation of the Hebrew Pentateuch, the twenty-eighth century B.C. would be some 400 years before the Flood. On the other hand, a difference of 800 years is allowed by the chronology which is founded on the Septuagint Version of the Scriptures. But the fact of this difference tells in two ways. A margin of variation amounting to eight centuries between two versions of the same document, is a variation so enormous, that it seems to cast complete doubt on the whole system of interpretation on which such computations of time are based. And yet it is more than questionable whether it is possible to reconcile the known order of events with even this larger estimate of the number of years. It is true that, according to this larger estimate, the Flood would be carried back about four and a half centuries beyond the beginning of the Pharaohs. But is this enough? The founding of a Monarchy is not the beginning of a race. The people among whom such Monarchies arose must have grown and gathered during many generations. Nor is it in regard to the peopling of Egypt alone that this difficulty meets us in the face. The existence in the days of Abraham of such an organized government as that of Chedorlaomer, shows that 2000 years B.C. there flourished in Elam, beyond Mesopotamia, a nation which even now would be ranked among 'the Great Powers.' And if nations so great had thus arisen, altogether unnoticed in the Hebrew narrative—if we are left to gather as best we may from other sources, all our knowledge of their origin and growth, how much more is this true of far distant lands over which the advancing tide of human population had rolled, or was then rolling, its mysterious wave?"\* Nothing need be added to the case as here so well put.

As to the state of civilization in Egypt at the commencement of its history, we have the fact that the hieroglyphic system appears on the earliest extant monuments belonging to the fourth dynasty, and must therefore have been in use for centuries before. The monuments themselves are proof of some knowledge of the sciences of geodesy and astronomy, and of great skill in the mechanical arts; and, indeed, had the people not been excellent hydraulic engineers they could not have established themselves in towns in the Lower Valley of the Nile. "The pyramids and the sepulchres near them," says Kenrick, "remain to assure us

\* Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History* (Lond. 1848), Pref. p. 1.

† See, for a discussion of these dates and computations, *Types of Mankind*, by J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon (Philadelphia, 1854), p. 671 *et seq.*

\* *Primeval Man*, by the Duke of Argyll (1869), pp. 85-88.

that the Egyptians were then a powerful and populous nation, far advanced in the arts of life; and as a people can only progressively attain such a station, the light of history is reflected back from this era upon the ages which preceded it." \* . Reed-pens, inks (red and black), papyrus-paper, chemically prepared colours, beautifully executed bas-reliefs, a magnificent architecture, pyramidal and hydraulic engineering, are items in the proof that they were highly civilized. It is important to observe that the records show them to have been but one of several contemporary nations; that they believed themselves to be autochthones; and that many of their institutions were unquestionably indigenous. The hieroglyphics were their own; much was peculiar to them in manners, customs, and arts; their religion—there was a national priesthood—was in some particulars local; and every animal and plant delineated in their sculptures belonged to the land they inhabited. It is implied in what has been said, and is the fact, that the ancient Egyptians were agriculturists, and had a variety of domesticated animals.

(2.) *China*.—In China we see a mighty State, comprising about one-third of mankind, living under the same government and code of laws, speaking the same language, and enjoying the same culture. That State appears in a remote antiquity, with peculiarities that still adhere to it; its language, science, philosophy, industries, and marvellous administrative machinery, having features peculiarly its own. Of its origin, of the consolidation of so many races of men under a common government, we know nothing; but as well might we believe coal-beds and chalk-cliffs to be primordial features of the earth's crust, as the empire of China to have been the growth of a few hundreds, or even thousands, of years. When its authentic history commences is another matter. The beginning of its historical period is perhaps as well fixed as any such fact can be at 2637 B.C. The Hia dynasty, at least, beginning with Yu the Great, is well fixed at 2200 B.C., little more than 100 years after the flood, according to Usher, and but twenty-four years after the "dispersion of mankind." Of the ancient civilization of the Chinese we shall give no details. The reader will consider how much progress is implied in the consolidation of a monarchy.

(3.) *The Indo-Europeans*.—The earliest

date claiming to be historically established for any race of the Indo-European group is about 2400 B.C., which Mr. James Ferguson assigns to the entrance of the Solar Aryans into India.\* We are enabled, however, to contemplate the Indo-Europeans at a time long before that invasion. The chief triumph of philology is the generalization which has brought to our knowledge the mother-tribe of the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks and Latins, Germans, Slaves, and Celts. In that tribe, before its disruption, the grammatical structure still seen in the languages of its derivatives had been developed, and many objects, acts, and processes had been named. The names given to these, being a portion of the vocabulary of the mother-tribe, have been ascertained by a process as simple as it is ingenious—the examination of the derived languages, and the reasonable inference that any word found in all, or nearly all, of them, is a part of the common inheritance from the mother-tribe. More need not be said of a generalization with which by this time most readers are familiar. Now, while philology, thus investigating the early history of the Indo-Europeans, can tell us nothing of the locality of the parent tribe, nor of the date of the dispersion, it assumes to fix with confidence a date before which the dispersion must have happened. Mr. Whitney in his excellent book on Language says, "To set a date lower than 3000 years before Christ for the dispersion of the Indo-European family would doubtless be altogether inadmissible; and the event is most likely to have taken place far earlier."† In this conclusion we imagine every philologist will agree. The mother-tribe of the group is exhibited as a language-using tribe distinct from the Mongols and Semites, and most probably territorially disconnected from them at a time long anterior to that of the alleged dispersion of mankind.

Let us now see what was the state of civilisation in the mother-tribe of the Indo-Europeans. Mr. Max Müller has done more than any other writer to familiarize English readers with the facts about which among philologists there is no dispute; but the most condensed statement of them we know is given by the American author whom we have just cited. Mr. Whitney says: "It is found that the primitive tribe which spoke the mother-tongue of the Indo-European

\* *Tree and Serpent-Worship* (1868), pp. 59, 62 of the Introduction.

† *Language and the Study of Language*, by W. D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit in Yale College (Trübner & Co., London, 1867), p. 206.

\* *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs* (London, 1850), p. 181.

family was not nomadic alone, but had settled habitations, even towns and fortified places, and addicted itself in part to the rearing of cattle, in part to the cultivation of the earth. It possessed our chief domestic animals—the horse, the ox, the sheep, the goat, and the swine, besides the dog: the bear and the wolf were foes that ravaged its flocks; the mouse and fly were already its domestic pests. The region it inhabited was a varied one, not bordering upon the ocean. The season whose name has been most persistent is the winter. Barley, and perhaps also wheat, was raised for food, and converted into meal. Mead was prepared from honey, as a cheering and inebriating drink. The use of certain metals was known; whether iron was one of them admits of question. The art of weaving was practised; wool and hemp, and possibly flax, being the materials employed. Of other branches of domestic industry, little that is definite can be said; but those already mentioned imply a variety of others as co-ordinate or auxiliary to them. The weapons of offence and defence were those which are usual among primitive peoples,—the sword, spear, bow, and shield. Boats were manufactured, and moved by oars. Of extended and elaborate political organization no traces are discoverable: the people was doubtless a congeries of petty tribes, under chiefs and leaders, rather than kings, and with institutions of a patriarchal cast, among which the reduction to servitude of prisoners taken in war appears not to have been wanting. The structure and relations of the family are more clearly seen; names of its members, even to the second and third degrees of consanguinity and affinity, were already fixed, and were significant of affectionate regard and trustful interdependence. That woman was looked down upon, as a being in capacity and dignity inferior to man, we find no indication whatever. The art of numeration was learned, at least up to a hundred; there is no general Indo-European word for ‘thousand.’ Some of the stars were noticed and named: the moon was the chief measurer of time. The religion was polytheistic, a worship of the personified powers of nature. Its rites whatever they were, were practised without the aid of a priesthood.”\*

Three civilizations, occurring in the three families into which mankind is usually divided, have now been exhibited, two of them with some detail, at dates anterior to that which the popular chronology has fixed for

the commencement of the peopling of the world. These civilizations were high compared with the state of human tribes yet on the earth. The people were agriculturists, and well practised in the common arts of life. They had a variety of domesticated animals; indeed, but few animals have within the historical period been added to the list. They clothed themselves with a variety of fabrics, dwelt in houses and in towns, protecting the latter by fortifications; they had speculated on the order of the spiritual world, and evolved religions; on the order of the material world, and evolved bodies of doctrine, which we should call sciences. They differed from one another in language, religion, physical characters, and social arrangements; but in this they agreed, that they had left a state of barbarism far in the rear.

If now we take up our position in time at a date preceding the alleged dispersion of mankind, say somewhere about 2700 years B. C., and contemplate the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the early Aryans,— *races so different in type, geographically disconnected, and so far advanced in civilization,—and ask when were these nations represented by their progenitors in the primitive family-group from which some think mankind has been derived, is it not plain that we shall be forced to say, “If they ever were so represented, it must have been many thousands of years ago. In 4000 years the types of men have not changed.\* They were either primordial, or their production must have occupied ages.”*

Here we may say that our proposition has been proved, and that the popular chronology, whose influence on historical inquiry has been so pernicious, must be discarded. It may be believed that, once it is fairly given up, we shall be unable to think of the ancient nations as being at all *much* nearer the beginnings of human progress than we are ourselves; we shall be unable to think that four or five thousand years are more than a fraction of the time which that progress has occupied. When that point of view becomes common, no one will any longer wonder at the Greeks appearing with the wonderful Homeric poems as their earliest record, or at the Aryans possessing the Veda from the dawn of history. Indeed, a knowledge of the Vedic literature, which, through the labours of Müller, Muir, and others, is being brought within our reach, will do much to establish the position we

\* *Language and the Study of Language*, 1. c. p. 207.

\* This is established by the monuments of ancient Egypt.

have been maintaining. That most ancient literature is in many respects wonderfully modern,\* and no one can study it without feeling that the years that separate us from the poets are few compared with those that separated the poets from barbarism.

(4.) *Archæology*.—The body of facts accumulated in the pages of Lubbock and Lyell bearing on the antiquity and ancient condition of man forms a hitherto innominate science (which we must glance at), comprising the history, so far as we know it, of what are called "prehistoric" times. We have evidence of man as a tool-using animal, and, what is more remarkable, as an artist, inhabiting the earth, along with genera of animals now extinct, most probably more than 20,000 years ago.† He then possessed the same characteristics that he now exhibits; was distinctively *man*, with remarkable powers of contrivance, and æsthetic tastes, though with less knowledge, and consequently with ruder habits. It would be out of place to enter into the details of this evidence. The fact that Sir Charles Lyell has yielded to the pressure of it, after a long resistance, is the best proof of its force.

\* As an illustration take Rig-Veda ix. 112, which has been closely translated as follows:—

"How multifarious are the views which different men inspire!  
How various are the ends which men of various crafts desire!  
The leech a patient seeks; the smith looks out for something cracked;  
The priest seeks devotees from whom he may his fee extract.  
With feathers, metals, and the like, and sticks decayed and old,  
The workman manufactures wares to win the rich man's gold.  
A poet I, my sire a leech, and corn my mother grinds:  
On gain intent, we each pursue our trades of different kinds.  
The draught-horse seeks an easy car; of gallants girls are fond;  
The merry dearly love a joke; and frogs desire a pond."

There is a prose rendering of this lyric in Mr. John Muir's *Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas*, in the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Muir says of it, "It is distinguished by a vein of naïve observation not unmingled with satire." It might have been written yesterday in London by a quiet cynic of the Thackeray type, who, looking to the balance and movement of the piece, would scarcely have said more in it of the aims and pursuits of the men of to-day than is here recorded of those which engaged men of our race 4000 years ago. It is instructive to reflect that this is a part of that Vedic literature which the orthodox Hindoo believes existed in the mind of God from all eternity!

† It illustrates the nature of the struggle between the old and new views of the age of man that there are some who regard the stone implements, which often are the only witnesses of man's existence long ago, as being "inventions of the devil" intended to mislead the human intellect. *Fossils* were thus long regarded!

We may glance, however, at the facts in one district disclosed by cave-excavation. Human remains have been found along with those of the elephant and rhinoceros in the south of France; and there is proof that the concurrence in the same district of such remains with those of the reindeer at least is not accidental,—that the two were inhabitants of the country contemporaneously. The bones of the reindeer were broken open for the marrow, and many of them bear the marks of knives. At Les Eyzies a vertebra of this animal was found that had been pierced by a stone weapon when it was fresh. The stone instruments found are suited for a variety of uses; for aid in eating, in killing, and in manufactures; the "finds" comprising scrapers, cores, awls, lance-heads, cutters, hammers, and mortar-stones. "In the archaic bone-caves," says Sir John Lubbock, "many very fair pictures have been found, scratched on bone or stone with a sharp point, probably of a flint implement. In some cases there is even an attempt at shading. . . . In the lower station at Laugerie several of these drawings have been found; one represents a large herbivorous animal, but unfortunately without the head or forelegs; a second also is apparently intended for some species of ox; a third represents a smaller animal, with vertical horns; another is evidently intended for a horse; and a fifth is very interesting, because, from the shape of the antlers and head, it was evidently intended for a reindeer. Several similar drawings have been obtained by M. de Lastic in a cave at Bruniquel. But perhaps the most remarkable example of the cave-man's art is a poniard, cut out of a reindeer's horn. The artist has ingeniously adapted the position of the animal to the necessities of the case. The horns are thrown back on the neck, the forelegs are doubled up under the belly, and the hind-legs are stretched out along the blade. Unfortunately the poniard seems to have been thrown away before the carving was quite finished, but several of the details indicate that the animal intended to be represented was a reindeer."\* The cave-men, though they were such good artists, were ignorant of metals, of the art of *polishing* their stone implements, of pottery and agriculture. They had no domestic animals—not even the dog. Similar evidence demonstrates a like antiquity and condition of men in different parts of the world.

We have now transcended the period of

\* *Prehistoric Times*, by Sir John Lubbock, Bart. (1865), pp. 254-5.

historical records. In reaching a time indefinitely more remote, we have come on a condition of man indefinitely lower. Yet we find ourselves still far from the fountain-head—assuming for the moment that there has been from the first a progress; we find man still distinctively human, a tool-user, an artist, a thinker, an ingenious craftsman. Rude as the instruments were with which the cave-man worked, they yet required much thought to devise them, and great dexterity of hand to frame and to employ them. What man then wanted most was a knowledge of workable materials, and of methods of working—a knowledge which no one, we imagine, will maintain came to him otherwise than gradually, through the exercise from time to time of his wits, in new circumstances and on novel occasions; through happy accidents, or as the result of some of the infinitely varied suggestions springing up in the mind, often, as we call it, casually. The cave-dweller was a hunter, and probably ate his prey raw. He broke the bones of animals to get at the marrow. But he was a social creature, and had time for, and cultivated, the arts of amusement. What more he may have been we shall never ascertain from the record that discloses these facts. What were his relations to his females, to his children, to his fellows; under what rules the groups in a district associated in the chase and divided its produce; whether there was any division of labour, any political system, this record, from the nature of it, can never inform us.

It here occurs, that in referring to an epoch so remote as 20,000 years ago, we may appear to be assuming, without evidence, that the earth itself then existed. The popular chronology declares it did not then exist as emphatically as it declares that distinct nations could not appear in different parts of the world earlier than 2224 B.C., the date assigned to the dispersion of mankind. Perhaps any remarks on this point are by this time superfluous; one or two may, however, be submitted with confidence for consideration. It is familiar that the defenders of this chronology—which is as purely a *human* invention as is the bicycle velocipede—have been obliged to stretch the days of creation, as given in Genesis, into periods of time of indefinite duration—millions of years, if necessary. It is also familiar that they are being obliged to regard the Mosaic account as comprising a history of the white races of men only—the others having nothing, on that view, to do with Adam.\* Our first re-

mark is that these concessions prove that the evidence of the antiquity of man has been felt to be irresistible, considering the weight of the prepossessions it has been able to overcome. Our next remark is that astronomy sets the existence of *the world* more than 20,000 years ago beyond doubt, by showing that there are stars now visible to us whose light takes at least 50,000 years to cross the space that separates us from them. Lastly, we observe that in the latest assault made on geological time by Sir William Thomson, the conclusion arrived at, on physical considerations, is, that geologists must contrive to confine “all geological history showing continuity of life,” within “*some such period of past time as ONE HUNDRED MILLION YEARS!*” \* The student of human history, regarding man as the latest and highest of organized beings, is disposed to be content with such a slice off the 100,000,000 years as may reasonably be thought to belong to him, and feels that he is nowise greedy when he claims a little more than 20,000 years out of the 100,000,000 as necessary for an explanation of the progress of mankind.

II. THE PRIMITIVE STATE.—Within the historical period the progress of man has been effected from point to point by his powers exerted to meet his occasions. All we know of man in prehistoric times shows that he was then less advanced than at the dawn of history. Was the gulf between the cave-dwellers and the ancient nations crossed through such exertions as have improved the condition of men within the historical period; and was the stage of advancement the cave-dwellers were in reached by similar exertions put forth by men advancing from a still lower condition? The forces that have effected such a mighty progress in the sciences and arts, and in the domestic and political grouping of men, within the period of history, will, if we assume them to have been at work from the first, afford an ample explanation of a progress from the rudest beginnings. They will do so even on the assumption that they were at first *less*, and their action less intense. On the other hand, the question above put cannot be answered in the negative unless we assume a commencement of the action of these forces, and that the progress we see could never have been carried on by them had it not been set agoing by supernatural means on a basis of communicated ideas. Such an assumption would be unscientific, and the inquiry is

\* *Primeval Man*, l. c. p. 104.

\* *On Geological Time*, by Sir William Thomson, LL.D., Trans. Geol. Soc. of Glasgow, vol. iii. Part I p. 1.

scientific. That the ancient nations had a long history that is unrecorded is certain. The stage of advancement at which records can begin is necessarily high, and on the theory of development the greater part of a nation's life is probably passed before reaching it. That the unrecorded part was, like the recorded, a progress, can generally be shown; that it was effected by other forces than those we still see at work there is no evidence.

The question we have above put, and, after a fashion, answered, it is usual to put somewhat differently, as when it is asked whether men were originally savage or civilized. If men were civilized to begin, existing savage races have fallen from the primitive state; if men were savage to begin, the ancient nations advanced in prehistoric times to the civilized state in which they appear. Our proposition is that men were originally savage and not civilized.

Let us here define what we mean by civilization. We have hitherto used the word indefinitely, as it is employed in common parlance, but a precise definition of it is necessary to prevent confusion in the discussions we are entering upon. The word *civilization*, as its etymology indicates, denotes the condition *civies*, of men, that is, united in societies which are also *civitates*—States. Of the many ideas the word now brings together, this is clearly the primary one, so that strictly we should not be justified in at all speaking of the stage of civilization of any people ignorant of the relations implied in citizenship. The combination of men in civil societies is possible only on certain conditions, namely, those which must be complied with before large numbers of men can live permanently together; and the first of these is ORDER, and the second is what we may call a COMMISSARIAT. The order of society turns wholly on the *grouping* of its members, domestic and political while the efficiency of the commissariat depends of course on the stage at which the arts of subsistence have arrived, and the established facilities for the distribution and interchange of productions. Necessary for both of these main conditions being fulfilled are certain faculties,—the means of interchanging ideas and a capacity for common action, which implies a community of ideas and sympathies, as well as interests. Civilization begins with the State, and no earlier; and those who would discriminate between stages ruder than that, must be understood as speaking of preparatory stages leading up to the State from various distances and at varying rates. The idea of the State is elementary, like that of the family. The family rests on the closest blood-relationship; the

gens on consanguinity, real or assumed, between the families composing it; the tribe, according to the common theory, is composed of cognate gentes. The State begins where blood-ties terminate. In the largest tribe a man is simply a tribesman: he is a citizen in the smallest group of tribes politically united under a common government.

This definition fixes attention on three distinct sets of phenomena—(1.) The grouping, domestic and political, of men in societies; (2.) The arts and sciences; and (3.) The means of intercommunication and common action. The means of communication is of course language. Religion is a most powerful social bond, facilitating common action by establishing a community of sentiments and aspirations. We propose rapidly to glance at the facts which show that in each and all of these, there has been development.

(1.) *Grouping*.—Before we can say whether there has been any progress in grouping, it is necessary to see whether we can find a test by which one mode of grouping can be known to be higher and better than another. Such a test we think exists.

No one will question but that a tribe of men, ignorant of marriage and blood-relationship, and without permanent attachments of males to females, and of parents to offspring, is as low a group as is conceivable, a simple *herd*, as we should call it, when presented as an aggregate of creatures other than human. The rudest permanent arrangement of the sexes, and the most imperfect system of kinship—say, for instance, a system of kinship through mothers only,—appearing in a group, would compel us to recognise it as *more* advanced than that first considered. Permanent arrangements of a sort to permit kinship through fathers as well as mothers we should recognise as entitling a group to rank higher than the second considered. Looking at it another way: any regulated relation of the sexes is an advance on promiscuity; the Tibetan polyandry, in which the co-husbands are brothers, is an advance on the Nair, in which the co-husbands are strangers in blood; the Levirate is an improvement on—it is at any rate an advance from—Tibetan polyandry; monandry, with the agnatic family, repudiating such an obligation as the Levirate implies, is an improvement on the Levirate, and, lastly, we may see that modern marriage-laws, gradually conceding equality of rights to women, are improving a system which still preserves too many features of the husband's absolute supremacy as head of the agnatic family. A similar series of stages from lower to higher might be pointed out in the evolution

of rights of property and laws of succession—rights and laws intimately connected with domestic grouping. As regards political grouping, it is not so easy to effect a classification. This is not to be wondered at, considering that no respectable arrangements have as yet anywhere been established for the reasonable government of large communities. Progress in political organization is in its infancy. Yet there are stages in the past history of even political grouping which, as manifestly connected with and determined by the domestic grouping, might pretty safely be classified. We shall not here, however, affect to offer a classification, as there does not exist such a body of settled opinion as could confidently be appealed to in justification of a scheme. Enough has been said to show how a classification of stages of progress in grouping generally may be effected, and that suffices for our purpose at this point.

Now, we have numerous examples of all the stages of domestic grouping we have enumerated occurring among the most diverse races of men. We have numerous instances of the family as a group, with the mother at its head—the marriage system polyandrous, and the husbands living not with the wife but in their mothers' houses. We have numerous instances, again, of a polyandrous arrangement, by which a woman becomes the wife of all the brothers of a family, passing into permanent residence with them in *their* house. We have cases transitional between these two, and also between the last mentioned and the agnatic family, and can show how the one grew into the other. Sometimes we can exhibit the transition in progress in adjoining districts of the same country. In some cases, again, it can be shown that they actually succeeded one another as stages of evolution in the progress of particular nations. Take the case of kinship, for example (which depends on the form of the family), and the history of the Greeks as illustrating the growth of systems of kinships. The Homeric poems exhibit the ties of kinship through both father and mother as being recognised, and furnish hints that at an earlier time only the ties through the mother were acknowledged. These hints, when combined with the ancient traditions of the people, read in the light of facts elsewhere disclosed, *prove* that at an earlier time there was kinship through mothers only. In the post-Homeric times we reach a stage at which there was kinship through fathers only, that is, when agnation was established. Orestes was esteemed no relation of his mother Clytemnestra. Later still, agnation broke down, and there was again kinship acknowledged through mothers as well as

fathers. These stages of evolution are not only well vouched, but the causes can be assigned which determined them—causes connected mainly with changes in the marriage-laws and the laws of inheritance, of which changes, again, the causes can generally be assigned. Such an evolution as is in this case presented can be shown to have taken place in numerous unconnected cases: we find tribes of men now existing occupying one or other of the stages precedent or transitional to that in which the Homeric Greeks appear; again, we find nations more ancient than the Greeks, either exhibiting traces of having, in the prehistoric times, come through such precedent stages, or occupying one or other of them, or one or other of the stages later than, and advancing from, that the Homeric Greeks occupied; lastly, *we cannot find a nation that offers no traces of such stages*. These facts being sufficiently attested, we are obliged to conclude that there was a law of progress in the evolution of forms of domestic grouping, which may be enunciated as a law of human progress; and the only explanation that can be offered of such a progress is, that men have advanced from the savage state.

Not only can every conceivable stage of domestic grouping be discovered in the history of the ancient nations, but the moral sentiments of men can be seen improving with the domestic institutions. It is a favourite idea with some that man's progress has been material merely; that as a moral being he has not made progress. It may be a question whether he is readier now than formerly to observe the standards of propriety established in the society of which he is a member. We incline to think he has improved even in this respect. Public opinion, which applies the severest sanctions of right conduct, is more searching and powerful now, and, other things being the same, the disposition to obey the dictates of conscience may be assumed stronger the sharper the penalties of disobedience are. Of the improvement of the standards of propriety there is no doubt.

Look to the rules related to domestic grouping which constitute the standard of purity—the laws regulating the relations of the sexes generally. Sister marriages were common in ancient Egypt, where acts of prostitution in the temples were prescribed to the women. In ancient Persia there seems to have been no law of incest at all. Brothers and sisters married, and even mothers and sons. Unions of mothers and sons were *required* for the production of persons eligible to certain religious offices. Marriages were allowed both in Athens and

Sparta between brothers and sisters of the half-blood. They were permissible also among the Jews. Amnon and Tamar were marriageable—"speak to the king, and he will not withhold me from thee."\* Abraham married his sister, his father's daughter; Nahor married his niece, his brother's daughter. Amram, the father of Moses, married his father's sister. Such marriages we declare incestuous, and to be capital crimes. Anciently they were all right—agreeable to the moral standard; it is the standard of propriety that has changed with the nature of domestic grouping.

Where, again, is the ancient nation that was monogamous? The Jews certainly were not. They recognised concubinage as well as polygyny. Jacob had two sisters to wife at one time—a thing subsequently forbidden, polygyny being recognised in the prohibition. A Jew might marry his brother's widow, although he had wives of his own; indeed, at one time she became his wife without any form of marriage;† afterwards he was enabled to get quit of her;‡ arrangements that go to show that *polyandry* had anciently been a Jewish institution. Well, if not among the Jews, where else shall we look for monogamy? No Semitic people had it. Shall we find it among the Vedic races? The Rig-Veda contains traces of both polygyny and concubinage. The term *sapatrī* occurs, for example, which means having the same husband. The Hymns, x. 145, 159, contain charms by which a wife tries to get rid of her rivals. For the kings, concubinage became an institution.§ In the *Sātāpāthā Brāhmāṇa*, ix. 4. 1. 6, we have the order of sacrifice regulated on the principle of men being entitled to have many wives:—"He gives pre-eminence to the man in consequence of his vigour. He sacrifices to the man as if to one, and to the woman as if to many. Wherefore also one man has many wives." And so on. Here, again, as in the Jewish case, we can see that polyandry preceded polygyny as the marriage system. We find in the Rig-Veda that the Asvin brothers had one wife between them—*Sūryā*. It is familiar that in the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, the heroes—the five Pandava Princes—had one wife between them, *Draupadī*. The authorities hold that there is proof that the Brahmans who compiled the epic from old materials, found this tradition too strong for them, otherwise they would

have suppressed it; and that, since the marriage was repugnant on the whole to Vedic, and altogether to post-Vedic ideas, the story belongs to the pre-Vedic history of the people.

The father of *Draupadī* is represented by the compilers as shocked at the proposal of the Princes to marry his daughter. "You who know the law," he is made to say, "must not commit an unlawful act which is contrary to usage and the Vedas." The reply is, "The law, O king, is subtle; we do not know its way. *We follow the path which has been trodden by our ancestors in succession.*" One of the Princes then pleads precedent: "In an old tradition it is recorded that *Jātīla*, of the family of *Gotama*, that most excellent of moral women, dwelt with seven saints; and that *Vārkshtī*, the daughter of a Muni, cohabited with ten brothers, all of them called *Prachetas*, whose souls had been purified by penance."\* The tradition being too stubborn for the Brahmans they thus tried as much as they could to palliate it. It is a tradition of that stage of the family group which prevails now in Thibet, and no one could study *Manu* and doubt that such a stage had anciently existed among the Hindoos. That it was pre-Vedic may be considered certain. At any rate, monogamy was not the Vedic idea of marriage, and we cannot doubt but there had been a progress in the pre-Vedic as well as in the post-Vedic times. In the latter, caste has arisen,—the laws of inheritance and marriage shifting from ruder to more civilized types. In the discussion between the Pandavas and their father-in-law we have simply a case of collision between moral standards belonging to two stages of the progress.

The Homeric Greeks were after a fashion monogamous; but they also had only just left polyandry in the rear. Their marriage system was clearly only a few generations old at the *Troica*, for none of them had a pedigree with more than one or two known fathers. It consisted moreover with their having any number of captive wives. Let us observe also of the Greeks, that while they were developing a proper law of incest and marriage they were gathering a literature round the practice of *naidegasmia*. The relation between a man and his *aitas* they constituted by one of the ancient forms of marriage.† It is disagreeable to recall such facts; but they are necessary for our argument. To clearly understand what moral standards have been derelinquished by men within the historical period, a wide survey

\* 2 Samuel xiii. 13, and see verse 16.

† Lewis's *Hebrew Republic* (1726), vol. iii. p. 268.

‡ Ruth iv. 6; Deut. xxv. 5-10.

§ Rig-Veda, xx. 1. 12, and 1. 72; and see, for traces of polygyny, i. 112. 19, v. 42. 12.

\* On the *Mahābhārata*. Reprinted from the *Westminster Review* for April 1868.

† Grote's *Greece*, vol. ii. p. 500.



would have to be taken of ancient facts, of a nature still more disagreeable.\*

It matters not what moral standard we take, when we study the history of the rules now constituting it we shall have a similar account to give of them. They are the lower the farther back we go, and are everywhere in harmony with the general character of the grouping at each stage of the evolution. But of the evolution of grouping and of moral sentiments from such low stages as we have exhibited, what explanation, we repeat, can be given, except that men have advanced from the savage state?

Other explanations have no doubt been offered; but it is impossible to regard them as being other than the products of an uninformed fancy. Take, for example, the hypothesis of Sir George Grey in explanation of the peculiar grouping, the complex laws of marriage, intermarriage, kinship, and succession, which he found among the natives of Australia. These laws are familiar to us as transitional in the case of numerous primitive races in many quarters of the world. And we have evidence of such laws among the most ancient nations. To Sir George they appeared, not as evolved from the past experiences of the people, and in the course of growth and modification, but as being of divine appointment, and immutable. "The laws of this people," he says, "are unfitted for the government of a single isolated family, some of them being only adapted for the regulation of an assemblage of families; they could, therefore, not have been a series of rules given by the first father to his children: again, they could not have been rules given by an assembly of the first fathers to their children, for there are these remarkable features about them, that some are of such a nature as to compel those subject to them to remain in a state of barbarism, whilst others are adapted to the wants and necessities of savage races, as well as to prevent too close intermarriages of a people, who preserve no written or symbolical records of any kind; and in all these instances the desired ends are obtained by the simplest means, so that we are necessitated to admit that when these rules were planned, it was foreseen that the race submitted to them would be savages, and under this foresight the necessary provision was made for the event."† Elsewhere he says it is impossi-

ble to believe the Australians to have been originally civilized, and equally impossible to believe that their laws had been developed.\* His conclusion is, the laws were designed by God for them as savages, and with a view to prevent them ever improving! It is only what we should expect after this, when the same writer says that "The first natives who were placed on the (Australian) continent must have been instructed how to provide for their wants, how to form weapons suited to their circumstances, how to select roots and to capture animals fit for food."† A revealed stone arrow-head or boomerang should no more surprise us than an inspired "inch." If an inch is to be so taken, then an ell. We have been offered a revelation of the entire metric system!

The progress we contend for is wholly divine as much as it is wholly human. What is at issue is the mode of the divine operation. Why should a revelation to the Negritans and peoples in their situation be of *stone* arrows, suggesting a low state of development? Why not at once the Henry rifle and Boxer-Henry cartridge? Is there a special fitness of the boomerang for killing beasts or men in Australia, and nowhere else, since no other country has it? More reasonable surely it is to regard the weapon as a local *invention*. We cannot look at the facts from the two points of view simultaneously; and if we are to take any of them either way, we should take them all. It is possible to regard the discoveries of Galileo, Newton, Adams, and Leverrier as revelations; but if we do, along with them we should take Mr. Disraeli's Reform Act of 1868, and the latest addition to the law of sale or bankruptcy in England. Not the less for so, in some moods, regarding these, shall we be constrained by the whole cast of our minds, as Heaven determined, to take an interest in and trace the stages of each discovery and enactment—and, divine as they may be, to get beyond them—with fresh discoveries that shall leave them behind as contributions merely to the growing mass of our knowledge, and with fresh enactments giving effect to new social conceptions evolved from experience.

It is obvious that the class of facts related to grouping which we have just surveyed belong to quite a different category from those related to the mechanical arts which the Duke of Argyll has so lightly put aside in his case against Sir John Lubbock. It is obvious also that before the Duke can plead one word in favour of the degradation hypo-

\* See Leviticus, chap. xviii. in the light of verse 27; and see book xiii. 9 of *Mishcat-ul-Masabih* on the points relating to marriage on which Mahomet was consulted by his disciples, vol. ii. p. 76 (Calcutta 1810.)

† *Travels in North-West and Western Australia* (London, 1841), vol. ii. p. 222.

\* *Idem*, p. 223.

† *Idem*, p. 220.

thesis as explanatory of the facts of history, he must produce for us an ancient people whose moral standards we should call high, and whose grouping was in accordance with such standards. Till that is done the degradation hypothesis cannot be seriously considered. It will never do to tolerate an hypothesis which requires for its foundation another hypothesis which there are no facts to support.

(2). *The Arts of Subsistence, etc.*—When we turn to the commissariat of society, the progress becomes, if possible, even more palpable. As regards the tools, weapons, and ornaments used by successive generations of men, there is evidence everywhere presented of the gradual relinquishment of inferior materials and forms on the gradual discovery of better. The succession of the ages of stone, bronze, and iron is an established fact, which, though only recently demonstrated, was long ago perceived as probable on an incomplete survey of the facts. Lucretius anticipated our archæologists: \*—

"Arma antiqua, manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt

Et lapides, et item sylvarum fragmina rami;  
Posterior ferri vis est ærisque reperta;  
Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."

"Man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth, and nails,

And stones and fragments from the branching woods,

Then copper next; and last, at latest traced,  
The tyrant iron."

The kinds of food on which men subsisted, and their modes of procuring food, equally with their arrangements for shelter and security, can easily be classified as more or less primitive; and most of the modes and arrangements now in use among the less-favoured races of men archæology shows were employed by the inhabitants of the world in remote prehistoric times. A nomad tribe, subsisting on fruits, berries, roots, and shell-fish, leads a more simple and precarious life than a tribe of hunters; and hunting as a means of living is more obvious and presumably earlier than fishing.† A tribe that accumulates stores of food, by whatever causes led to do so, is obviously a step in advance of one that does not. The herds-

man and shepherd keeping stocks of the animals most wanted is in advance of the hunter; while the agriculturist, whether nomadic or settled, is in advance of the herdsman and shepherd.

We find now on the face of the earth, or we have accounts of tribes existing in each of the stages enumerated of progressive modes of procuring subsistence, and in every conceivable phase of transition from the lower to the higher of them; and it is impossible not to believe that as those in the lower are seen advancing, those in the higher have similarly and step by step advanced in these arts of life. Tree-dwellers and cave-dwellers, using nature-supplied shelters, are nowise distinguishable from other animals that do the same thing. The tribes that first felled trees, and erected rude platforms on their stumps, at a height from the ground, for security, were architects, as were the excavators of artificial caves or underground houses. The steps from either mode of "building" to modern architecture are numerous, and all the evidence shows that they were taken one by one. Many of them can be enumerated. Moreover, as regards the arts of subsistence, shelter, and security, the progress we are endeavouring to demonstrate is still a fact. New means of meeting the necessities and conveniences of men are year by year, and even day by day, being invented. And the same never-ending process of invention and discovery that we now see has been going on everywhere, *within the whole of recorded time*. Since this process, if assumed to have gone on from the first, offers a sufficient explanation of the facts—and since *in this field* there is a total absence of reasons against making the assumption,—we are free as we are constrained to make it, and to believe the whole phenomena of the arts and sciences to have been progressively evolved by human ingenuity exerted to meet human exigencies or to satisfy human curiosity. Of course, when we go back to the commencement of the evolution we have there Man—the creature capable of achieving the progress.

(3). *Language.*—Language forms no exception to the law of evolution of all human powers. The means of communication between man and man by articulate speech and writing, as a pure product of human effort, are effective only so far as a common understanding is artificially established as to the meaning to be attached to the sounds or the symbols. About writing there is no dispute. The written or rudimentary written systems, which are various, and independent of each other, can be exhibited in

\* *De Rerum Natura*, v. 1282.

† Among Sir George Grey's divinely-taught Australian aborigines the hunter is seen stalking his prey *with the bearing of a beast of prey*, only with the aid of contrivances. But for these he would be undistinguishable from any other animal engaged in the search for food.

many of the stages of growth from pictorial signs, and abridgments of such, to the systematic employment of conventional symbols that are not pictorial.

It can scarcely be said that there is now a dispute as to the origin of speech. It is admitted that all the languages of men have grown; the processes and laws of the growth are well ascertained and agreed upon. All speech has been run back to a few monosyllabic sounds, as the elemental matter out of which the wonderful variety of tongues has been elaborated. There is some controversy as to the roots, but it chiefly concerns the question whether they were *instinctive* utterances, whatever that, as distinguished from *developed* utterances, may mean—it is not asserted that instincts may not be developed—or sounds uttered in successful imitation of sounds occurring in nature, and as interjections in the natural expressions of emotion.\*

Professor Max Müller, who supports the instinctive theory, puts his results thus:—"We require no supernatural interference, nor any conclave of ancient sages to explain the realities of human speech. All that is formal in language is the result of rational combination; all that is material the result of a mental instinct. The first natural and instinctive utterances, if sifted differently by different clans, would fully account both for the first origin and for the first divergence of human speech. We can understand not only the origin of language, but likewise the necessary breaking-up of one language into many."† Elsewhere rejecting the origin of roots in interjections, and the imitation of sounds occurring in nature, he adopts the views of a German authority (Professor Heyse, of Berlin), which are as follows: "There is a law which runs through nearly the whole of nature, that everything which is struck rings. Each substance has its peculiar ring. . . . It was the same with man, the most highly organized of nature's works"—and so on. Man possessed an instinctive "faculty for giving articulate expression to

the rational conceptions of his mind." But "this creative faculty, which gave to each conception, as it thrilled for the first time through the brain, a phonetic expression, became *extinct* when its object was fulfilled!" etc. This—which would have been worthy of Sir George Grey, and in him not to be wondered at—is marvellous as propounded by Müller. It has been appositely termed "the *ding-dong* theory" of the origin of language, as opposed to the *bow-wow*, or imitative, and *pooh-pooh*, or interjectional, theories. It cannot be said that the "*ding-dong*" has met with any acceptance. Mr. Whitney says of it, "It may be very summarily dismissed, as wholly unfounded and worthless. It is, indeed, not a little surprising to see a man of the acknowledged ability and great learning of Professor Müller, after depreciating and casting ridicule upon the views of others respecting so important a point, put forward one of his own as a mere authoritative *dictum*, resting it upon nothing better than a fanciful comparison which lacks every element of a true analogy, instance, or illustration, drawn from either the nature or the history of language."\*

Take it either way, as ideas came gradually, and therefore words, which, even on the *ding-dong* hypothesis, came after the ideas, we are led back to a time when man, as regards his power of communicating with his fellows, was undistinguishable from any other animal, for the brutes also have their modes of communication, including "their natural and instinctive utterances."

(4.) *Religion*.—Of the growth of religious ideas we shall here say little, because the subject would require more space than we have for the whole purposes of this paper at our disposal for its discussion, and to make the development clearly apparent. Thus much, however, it is necessary to say, that when we examine the religions of the ancient nations, as we know them, at the earliest time—and they were almost as various as their languages, while, like them, perhaps, compounded from a few simple elements,—the conclusion is irresistibly forced on the mind, that each of them had passed through a long previous history. They were composite, as were the populations that possessed them; animal and vegetable gods, the elements, and especially fire, the sun, moon, and planets, light and personifications of light, of the sun, and of the procreative and life-sustaining powers of nature, being all commingled in theogonies to which there

\* Mr. E. B. Tylor has done good service in showing how important *gesture* originally was as a means of communication. He has shown that there must have been a time when the numerals were unspoken, and their purposes served by visible signs,—a hand meaning 5, and two hands 10; 20, of course, was a man. The argument rested by Sir John Lubbock on the evidence Mr. Tylor has adduced is conclusive as to the independent development, among different races, of systems of numeration founded on counting the fingers and toes, and worked at first by appeals to the eye. It is understood that Mr. Darwin is now working on this subject.

† *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 4th edition (1864), p. 409.

\* Whitney, l. c. p. 427.

must have been numerous contributories, and on the elaboration of which an infinity of thinking, fancy, faith, metaphysics, and imposture had been expended, and round which in some cases literatures had grown. The ivy never covers the tower of yesterday. This also has been said, that not one of them exhibits the idea of God as we have it, as an idea in the mind of the worshippers; and that not one of them exhibits the idea of creation *ex nihilo*, as we have it; that these are modern conceptions. Max Müller, following the Rev. R. G. S. Browne, in his essay on the progress of Zend scholarship, points out that the idea of creation *ex nihilo* came late even to the Jews, who latterly received it as the orthodox view.\* It occurs neither in the Veda nor Zendavesta. There is no hint of it in Homer. There has been a progress, therefore, in the central conceptions; how much more probable it is there was progress in the detail.

Every one admits there is but one true faith, and since of faiths there is an immense variety, that all save one have grown or been invented. That is, we all admit that religions *can* grow and develop, are human institutions, that reflect in their structure, as modified from time to time, the shifting phases of belief in their adherents. It has been asked whether *any* faith has had no history, has not grown and developed within the period of our knowledge? The mysteries of religion occupy so many minds, and so exercise ingenuity, that its doctrines constantly tend to vary, and would do so very rapidly, but for—(1.) the hold the central authority in each religious organization has on its ministers as bound by the standards; and (2.) the hold the ministers have on their flocks through the solemnities and ordinances. Despite these checks the varieties are surprisingly numerous. New sects are constantly forming, and about as frequently new religions. Of the projects, only those thrive that fall in with the sentiments and dispositions of large classes,—the conditions of success so far resembling those of ordinary commercial undertakings. By a process like that of natural selection in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, those that best accommodate themselves to the conditions of existence live, while the others perish. Many religions, either wholly new or radical modifications of old faiths, have sprung up and died within a century. One or two more vigorous still flourish, and may live long and be influential. We see Mohammedanism spreading into regions to which Christianity

is refused access—the superior faith beaten in some districts by the inferior, as being more attractive to the inferior people. Every faith, again, on a conquest, loses in purity as it gains in range, through unavoidable intermixture of its rites and doctrines with those of the religion it displaces. Christianity itself, as seen in the Romish Church, has taken over much of the ceremonial, many of the festivals, and not a few of the doctrines, of ancient Paganism. Change is thus a consequence of diffusion. And as every religion spreads necessarily from some centre of origin, continuous modification is a necessary feature of the progress of every religion from its beginning.

If we would see from how low a state men may have advanced as regards speculation on the mysterious order of the world, we shall find races of men whose minds a thought of the existence of the divine power has never entered. Above that stage of blank ignorance we shall find every conceivable phase of speculation and belief; every imaginable form of superstition and idolatry; and a great variety of contending, highly organized, and in some respects “reasoned” systems of religious doctrine. The belief in God, and the idea of his hating sin and loving righteousness, are grand conceptions. Were there always *some* human breasts in which from the first they were cherished? To the question no one dare say No, however he may be moved by the probabilities of the case, looking to the answer which history would prompt him to give. “We can hardly speak with sufficient reverence of the discovery of these truths,” says Max Müller, “however trite they may appear to ourselves; and, if the name of revelation seems too sacred a name to be applied to them, that of discovery is too profane, for it would throw the vital truths of all religion, both ancient and modern, into the same category as the discoveries of a Galileo or a Newton. Theologians may agree in denying that any man in possession of his reason can, without a crime, remain ignorant of God for any length of time. Missionaries, however, who held and defended this opinion, have been led to very different convictions after some intercourse with savage tribes. Dobrizhoffer, who was for eighteen years a missionary in Paraguay, states that the language of the Abipones does not contain a single word which expresses God or a divinity. Penafiel, a Jesuit theologian, declared that there were many Indians who, on being asked whether, during the whole course of their lives, they ever thought of God, replied, *No, never*. Dobrizhoffer says, ‘Travelling with fourteen Abipones, I sat down by the fire in the open

\* *Chips from a German Workshop* (ed. 1867), vol. i. p. 135.

air, as usual, on the high shore of the river Plata. The sky, which was perfectly serene, delighted our eyes with its twinkling stars. I began a conversation with the Cacique Ychoalay, the most intelligent of all the Abipones I have been acquainted with, as well as the most famous in war. "Do you behold," said I, "the splendour of heaven, with its magnificent arrangement of stars? Who can suppose that all this is produced by chance? Whom do you suppose to be their creator and governor? What were the opinions of your ancestors on the subject?" "My father," replied Ychoalay, readily and frankly, "our grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about what went on in the heavens, and who was the creator and governor of the stars."\*

We have now glanced at the facts which support the conclusion that men were originally ignorant of language and laws, arts, sciences, and religion,—a conclusion to which we are driven from whatever view of man's origin we set out. The story of the fall of man, unaccompanied as it is by a statement that the arts of life were divinely communicated, represents the species as left from the first to struggle for existence on the earth, cursed because of the disobedience of the first father. The narrative bears that men grew up in wickedness till the Flood came, which left as their only records but a few names and the generally bad reputation. At a later time the sins of Noah's descendants led to their dispersion, and to the confusion of tongues. Wandering in different directions, unable to communicate with each other, none of them perhaps retaining the original language or the ideas embedded in it, they must have sunk into utter barbarism. What does it matter whether the savagery from which men have advanced was primitive or induced, if it be the fact that it was universal? The learned President de Goguet, in his excellent work on the Origin and Progress of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, thus depicts the condition of men, before the commencement of the progress it was his object to investigate:—"All society being dissolved by the confusion of tongues [at Babel], and families living detached from each other, they sunk in a little time into the profoundest ignorance. Add to this, the consideration of the tumult and disorder inseparable from

new establishments, and we shall easily conceive how there was a time, in which almost all this world was plunged into the most deplorable barbarity. Men wandered in the woods and fields, without laws, without leaders, or any form of government. Their ferocity became so great, that many of them devoured each other. All kinds of knowledge, even the most common and necessary, were so much neglected that not a few had forgot even the use of fire. It is to these unhappy times we must refer what profane historians relate of the miseries which afflicted the first ages of the world. All ancient traditions declare that the first men led a life very little different from that of beasts. We shall find no difficulty in believing these relations if we cast our eyes on what ancient authors tell us of the state of several countries even in their own times, a state the reality of which is confirmed by modern relations. Travellers inform us, that even at this day, in some parts of the world, they meet with men who are strangers to all social intercourse, of a character so cruel and ferocious that they live in perpetual war, destroying and even devouring each other. These wretched people, void of all the principles of humanity, without laws, polity, or government, live in dens and caverns, and differ but very little from the brute creation. Their food consists of some fruits and roots, with which the woods supply them; for want of skill and industry they can seldom procure more solid nourishment. In a word, not having even the most common and obvious notions, they have nothing of humanity but the external figure. These savage people exactly answer the description given us by historians of the ancient state of mankind. We see even from Scripture that soon after the dispersion the precepts and example of Noah were so generally forgotten that even the ancestors of Abraham were plunged in idolatry."\*

We have here the conclusion to which the facts led a man as ingenious and learned as he was orthodox—"that the first men led a life very little different from that of beasts." The fact may be humiliating; but surely it is encouraging. If we of the higher races of men are yet of those who once were in such a case, and have come to be what we are, while with humble hearts we regard our origin and first estate, we may hopefully look to the future as holding in store for our species forms of life purer and higher than the present by as much as the present are purer and higher than the past.

\* *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1859), p. 538.

\* *The Origin of Laws, etc.*, Trans. (Edinburgh, 1761), Introduction, vol. i, p. 3.

III. THE METHOD OF STUDYING EARLY HISTORY.—In considering how the general course of human progress from its beginning can be ascertained, we shall reach a point from which the argument demonstrating the progress to have taken place will be seen to acquire a great accession of force.

It has been said that in the course of the life of the individual phases occur analogous to those of the development of the species. This is partially true as regards the unfolding of intelligence and morality. There is the childish stage of thoughtlessness and love of amusement; the boyish, in which speculation begins; youth, with its love-blossoms, quickened poetic and scientific imagination, faith, chivalry, self-devotion; manhood last, appreciating the situation, with experience, self-control, moderation, disappointment, and submissiveness. A fanciful person might, with a little trouble, make much out of the slight general resemblances here suggested. It would be to no purpose, however, saving the exercise and the pleasures of ingenuity. The infant has his mother's arms; the child his father's hearth; the boy, older and wiser comrades; the youth, a refuge, when discomfited, beneath the parental roof; so that, as the race had no corresponding solaces and supports, there is a radical difference between its case and that of the individual at each stage of progress. The species, whatever view is to be taken of its origin, has beyond doubt been from the beginning engaged in the struggle for existence. It may be impossible to infer from the incidents of that struggle, as we now see it, what its character was when waged with the forces of nature, hand to hand, without science and without art; but we must believe it was in early times very sharp and terrible, seeing how hard it still is for the majority. How the fierce pull for life must have qualified, stunted, or prevented the growth of the intellect and conscience, we may learn from a study of the effects of exceptional circumstances on the nature and conduct of individuals. But beyond this, the study of the individual, always excepting the knowledge it affords of human nature, will not much avail in the elucidation of human history in general. The analogies between the evolution of the life of the specimen and the species are suggestive rather than instructive, and need not seriously occupy the student of history.

The history of a nation, on the other hand, might be expected to disclose, not analogies merely to the phases of development of the species, but many of the phases themselves. Here, however, a difficulty occurs similar to that encountered in the general inquiry: the

history of most nations was to an unknown extent transacted before the age of records. The question is, How can we learn what the unrecorded part of the national progress was? Our answer is, that we can do this to a considerable extent by studying the various sections of the nation. In a progressive community all the sections do not advance *pari passu*, so that we may see in the lower some of the phases through which the more advanced have passed. Of course the completeness of the disclosure must depend on the number and nature of the inequalities presented.

The inequality of development is determined by the nature of things. It results necessarily from the conditions under which many of the causes of progress operate, and is, in the nature of the case also, more remarkable the larger the progressive community is. While the progress of communities is determined to a great extent by causes that affect all their sections equally, it must always be in many respects promoted by a few leading spirits, acting chiefly on certain of the sections only in the first instance. The men of genius who by their inventions have from time to time added to human knowledge and power, and, by their speculations and aspirations, dignified our life; the philosophers and critics who are foremost to purify, amplify, and change ideas; and the favourites of fortune who are so circumstanced as to be immediately benefited by discoveries, and influenced by improved standards of propriety, form a class by themselves in every community. What is gained by the leaders is first appreciated, taken over, and secured by those next to them in the ranks of progress—ranks that widen backwards from the front. Its transmission to the rear, and adoption and preservation there, are manifestly dependent on the arrangements for that end existing,—the educational apparatus,—which are everywhere imperfect, and for each rank the more imperfect the wider it is, the more numerous its members. And since the force of custom is more decided in the greater masses than the less, while the means of diffusing new ideas are more imperfect for the greater than the less, the latter *must* tend to advance more rapidly than the former. In other words, owing to the inequality of gifts and opportunities, and the conditions hampering the dissemination of new ideas and methods, inequalities of development *must* be presented by the sections of every progressive society, and must be more numerous and remarkable the larger the society is. We should not look for very different modes of life in a small group, and we should be surprised not

to find them in a large group, for there, on the view we have been taking, they are normal and necessary.

Let us take the case of London to illustrate our meaning. In that centre of arts, sciences, industries, and intelligence, are predatory bands, leading the life of the lowest nomads. The night street-prowlers are nearly as low in their habits as the jackals of Calcutta. The city might be made to furnish illustrations of the progress of the family in every phase, from the lowest incestuous combinations of kindred to the highest group based on solemn monogamous marriage. It contains classes that know not marriage, classes approximating to marriage through habits of settled concubinage, and classes for whom promiscuity is an open, unabashed organization. The honour of some of the people are the humane institutions; the disgrace of others are the baby-farming and infanticide,—systems as heartless as ever China or Orissa knew. Manners, customs, even language and religion, vary, as we pass from class to class. Groups as destitute as Ojibbeways of religious knowledge and emotion are within the shadow of its cathedrals: the same district containing some whose minds the idea of God never entered, and others who, in the pride of philosophy, have rejected it. Between the extremes is every conceivable form of intelligent and unintelligent faith.

Many of these facts, we are aware, may be explained on the degradation hypothesis, as well as by the hypothesis of unequal development. That the lowest strata are constantly receiving accessions through degradation there is no doubt; but these strata have always existed, and were presumably lower formerly than they now are. Can we doubt that they consist to a large extent of the direct representatives of those who formed the lowest strata in the earliest times?

What is true of the large towns generally is still truer of the nation at large. Cities are the centres of all that is denominated by civilisation, as the name indicates; they are *ex facie* the birthplaces of civility, urbanity, politeness. In country districts opportunities of interchanging ideas are rarer, while the clashing of interests evolving new rules of conduct is less frequent and intense; progress in the country therefore is naturally slow, and mainly determined by influences flowing over from the towns. We should expect accordingly to find life most primitive in the districts least exposed to city influences. And this is what we find. In Devonshire and Cornwall, at one extreme, and in the Highlands and the Hebrides, at the other, we discover remains of pre-Chris-

tian customs and superstitions, as well as modes of life of striking rudeness. Customs survived in Wales till lately that grew out of the rudest stages of society, as, for example, the mimicked cavalry engagement as a ceremony of marriage. Ideas derived from other ancient customs may still be found lingering in various districts in the north of England. The nation that one may divorce a wife by selling her is one of these. Indeed, when we go back little more than a hundred years, we find the most palpably diverse states of life within the country. Tribal and clan ties were till very lately in full force in the Highlands of Scotland, where the archaic system of relationship by milk-ties still survives—as system of which almost everywhere else the traces have long been obliterated.

Of course, for many of the inequalities special reasons may be assigned. The population is here mixed, there pure—one stock being purer here, and another there, and each having peculiarities affecting the social phases. The same thing may be said of the town populations. What we maintain is, that had the population been originally homogeneous, and its progress achieved by its internal forces uninfluenced from without, there must have been inequalities of development—the sections less affected by the causes of progress exhibiting phases of life and feeling through which those better situated had passed. A variety of stocks in a nation is merely another and independent guarantee for inequalities of development, as establishing inequalities of gifts, and probably of opportunities, in the sections of the population.

Let us see now to what account such inequalities might be put in illustrating the history of the population of the United Kingdom. We might disinter in Cornwall a great part of the Paganism of the ancient Britons; from a study of the still lingering customs associated with the Beltane festival and Easter and May-day, we might pretty confidently conclude that the Celts and the Anglo-Saxons had equally at one time been fire-worshippers, had we no other evidence of the fact. We might conclude that the Welsh tribes had at one time been exogamous tribes, that obtained their wives usually by actually capturing them from their enemies; and that the mixed population in the north of England comprised tribes that used to get their wives by the less primitive method of sale and purchase. The milk-ties of the Hebrides, as they may to this day be studied, would throw a light on the difficulty Giraldus Cambrensis states to have been long ago felt in Ireland, among congeners of the

Hebrideans, in the taking of hostages,—a light which might explain the difficulty, even if the system of Alterage and Fosterage had not been the subject of an exposition from the pen of Sir John Davis. Further than this we need not press our illustrations. All we have desired to show at this point is that the method may undoubtedly be an aid in the investigation of the unrecorded history of a people.

The advantages of the method, we said, must be more apparent in studying the larger communities than the smaller. They may be expected therefore to appear at the fullest in the study of mankind at large. Races, nations, tribes, are the units in the composition of human society. The races differ from one another in capacities and dispositions. Some of them within the whole of historic time have been less favourably situated than others; and in the history of each, as we know it, a variety of circumstances, some of them what we call accidental, have powerfully affected their careers, sometimes rapidly accelerating their progress, sometimes retarding it, or converting it into retrogression, sometimes simply modifying its direction and rate. How the races came to be located where we find them we cannot as a rule tell, any more than we can say whether the physical and mental characters that distinguish them were primitive or induced. Most of them have been situated where they now are since the dawn of history, and all the types appear as existing from the first. Of these facts a variety of explanations have been offered. One is that the types represent so many independent creations in distinct zoological zones. It is enough for our purpose that, numerous and striking as the differences are by which the types are distinguished, and on which such speculations are founded, the various races have so much in common that their differences may be disregarded. The human characters outweigh and make insignificant the distinctions of races and types.

It is *a fortiori* of inequalities of development appearing in each community that they should appear among mankind. The *rational* of their production being the same in the one case as in the other, it will be seen that the inequalities of gifts and opportunities must have been indefinitely more numerous and striking for the totality of the races of men than for any one of them.

Our proposition, of course, is that the preface to general human history, as recorded, may be compiled from the materials presented by barbarism. Whether it can be accurately compiled must depend—assuming the method to be correct—on the suffi-

ciency of the materials. If every conceivable phase of progress can be studied as somewhere observed and recorded, and if the phases can be shown to be interconnected, to shade into one another by gentle gradations, then a clear and decided outline of the progress may be made from the rudest phase to the highest. The method may be sound and the picture incomplete; no one could doubt the method or the real character of the history of man if, from the materials at our disposal, a perfect picture could be drawn. Equal certainty as to the correctness of the method and the character of the history may be reached, however, otherwise than by attempting the picture, which could in no case here be exhibited.

The best proof of the soundness of the method, as well as of the continuity and uniform character of human progress, is that we can trace everywhere, and sometimes under striking symbolical disguises, in the higher layers of civilization, the rude modes of life, and forms of law related to grouping, with which the examination of the lower layers makes us familiar. *Of these traces and symbols no explanation can be given except on the theory of development.* As to the symbolical forms, we must infer that in the past life of the people employing them there were corresponding realities; and if among primitive races we find such realities as might naturally pass into the forms on an advance taking place in civilisation, then we may infer that what these now are those employing the symbols once were. That such enigmas as the symbols sometimes are should be explainable in this way, and in no other, is a confirmation of the development hypothesis.

Let us illustrate this by a single instance. There is almost no existing race of men among whom what has been called the Form of Capture in marriage ceremonies has not been found, except those who get wives by actual capture, or in one or other of the ways transitional between the practice of actual capture and the symbolizing of it. Now, of the meaning of this particular symbol there can be no doubt, because the practice of actual capture has been exhibited in numerous stages of decadence into the symbol, and in the varieties of the symbol itself we often have records which, *alimds*, we know to be correct of the ancient modes of warfare among the people observing the symbol. But the Form of Capture has been found in use among all the nations of antiquity, so that whatever the symbol may imply must be held to be true of the early history of those nations. We must believe, therefore, that the ancient nations were composed of tribes that used at one time to capture their wives



from foreign tribes, and that had been exogamous, *i. e.*, disallowed marriage within the tribe. Exogamy is a sufficient explanation of a system of capturing women for wives, and wherever such a practice, or the symbol of it, is found, it can as a rule be shown that exogamy is or was the law. Of exogamy, again, no explanation can be feigned short of hypothecating the savage state, and a system of female infanticide, which kept low the number of women in tribes. At any rate, the symbol proving that the system of actual capture had prevailed, and this system being inconsistent with certainty of male parentage in the run of cases, we have a demonstration that in the ancient nations a system of kinship through mothers only must have existed in the pre-historic times. So that by means of this symbol alone the ancient nations are decomposed *into tribes* on a level, as regards grouping, with the native tribes of Australia. And can any one doubt that the Australians have been lower than they are,—that they are an advancing people? Even among them we find inequalities of development!

That the Chinese were anciently exogamous we may infer from evidence appearing in their law as still in force.\* Staunton informs us that "the most usual name in the Chinese language for describing the people or nation is Pe-Sing, or the hundred names." The names are now more numerous, but they are still remarkably few. M. Abel Rémusat says there are only 400 family names for a population of 200,000,000 individuals, and the law, as laid down in the penal code, is that marriage cannot be contracted between two persons of the same family name.† On the average, there are 500,000 persons of the same name between whom marriage is prohibited. There can be little doubt that these names were anciently tribal, and that the tribes they belonged to were exogamous. We have similar independent evidence of exogamy in India. The gotra of the Hindoos resembles in every respect the family of the Chinese and the *totem* of the Australians and Red Indians. And the foundation of the prohibition among the Hindoos, we learn from Manu, is that the family name indicates that the parties are of the same primitive stock. Exogamy is no more or less than the interdiction of the marriage of persons of the same stock, all of the stock being primitively comprised in the same

group. In neither of these cases have we direct evidence of the system of female kinship, which is usually found accompanying exogamy, but in the case of the Hindoos we must infer it from evidence of their having anciently been polyandrous, appearing both in the laws, and in their most ancient literature. All the traditions of the Chinese, again, declare that there was a time when marriage was unknown to the people. At such a time, if kinship was thought of at all, the only system possible would be a system of kinship through mothers.

We have proof that the Greeks had the system of female kinship, and many indications, apart from traditions, that they were anciently exogamous. The Egyptians also, we gather from Herodotus, came through the stage of female kinship. He says of them, "No necessity binds sons to keep their parents when they do not choose; whereas daughters are obliged to do so, even if against their choice." This custom Rawlinson declares to be incredible, and we might think it incredible did we not know, on excellent authority, of such a rule among various other peoples. It was a rule proper to the stage in which, Nicolaus Damascenus informs us, the Lycians were in his time. "The Lycians," he says, "honour their women rather than their men, and are called after the mother. They leave their inheritances to their daughters, and not to their sons." The rule is now in force among the Kocch, with whom the women are the heads of families, and the daughters the heirs. Where daughters are the heirs of families is it incredible they should be saddled with the obligations of heirship as well as entitled to its benefits? What explanation can, on any other view, be given of such a rule?

If the Greeks, Hindoos, Chinese, Egyptians, were all anciently exogamous, or had the system of kinship through females only, they were originally savages, and we shall be justified in studying the condition of savages, in order to ascertain what was the general course of history in prehistoric times.\*

\* See Davis, i. 264; Purchas, iii. 367-394; Du Halde, i. 145.

† Note to chap. x., *In-Kiao-li*; or, *The Two Cousins*.

\* Mr. E. B. Tylor has made a valuable contribution to the evidence which justifies the course we propose, in a paper recently read before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, "On the Survival of Savage Thought in Modern Civilization." That the ancient nations should be so much further advanced in the arts of subsistence, convenience, and amusement than in grouping should surprise no one. The arts necessary for existence must have been cultivated before those related to convenience merely. The chief determinant of progress in grouping has been *property*, and therefore a settled social order of some sort must have been reached before the progress could become rapid, more especially as a revolution in the popular sentiments

The argument in favour of the method of inquiry proposed, founded on symbolical usages, is of so simple a kind that only a strong prejudice can resist it. In many cases, where the fact to be proved matters little, no one thinks of resisting it. No one will question, for instance, that the Roman marriage *per coemptionem* symbolized the ancient marriage by sale and purchase, and proves that a section of the people, at least, had had experience of that archaic manner of procuring wives. No one can doubt but that the Libripens officiating with his scales at a will or act of adoption, illustrates the source whence all ideas of formal dispositions were derived—the sale of “fungibles;” or that the formalities in the *Legis Actio Sacramenti* indicate that the Romans were anciently ignorant of legal proceedings, and dependent for a settlement of their disputes on the force of arms, or the good offices of neutral parties interfering as arbiters. To take a different case: no one will question the good sense of Captain Cook in his interpretation of a symbol he became acquainted with in Otaheite. After giving an account of the human sacrifices in use there, he observes:—“It were much to be wished that this deluded people may learn to entertain the same horror of murdering their fellow-creatures, in order to furnish an invisible banquet to their God [the sacrificed are buried by the altar, and it is supposed the god feeds on their souls], as they now have of feeding corporeally on human flesh themselves. And yet we have good reason to believe there was a time when they were cannibals. We were told (and indeed partly saw it) that it is a necessary ceremony, when a poor wretch is sacrificed, for the priest to take out the left eye. This he presents to the king, holding it to his mouth, which he desires him to open; but instead of putting it in, he immediately withdraws it. This they call ‘eating the man,’ or ‘food for the chief,’ and perhaps we may observe here some traces of former times, when the dead body was really feasted on.”\* Knowing that cannibalism was a practice of some of the congeners of the Otaheiteans, we cannot doubt

was a condition of each step of the progress. Some of the steps could not be taken at all till men got into comparatively easy circumstances. As to the arts—music, poetry, designing,—there being a talent in man for these, there is no reason why they should not have been developed quite as early as the arts of subsistence. There must have been plenty of spare time, among the races situated in tropical countries especially, for their cultivation, and there is no reason why men should not take to them as naturally as birds do to singing.

\* *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), vol. ii. p. 44.

the correctness of the inference that the practice of cannibalism was here symbolized. The selection of the left eye may seem singular; but so is the whole thing.

We have now given reasons for believing that the history of man upon the earth goes back to times very remote; and that it is a history of a progress from the first. We have presented a view of the method by which the outline of that progress in pre-historic times can be drawn. We have seen that owing to the inequalities of development occurring among the races of men, facts of to-day are in a sense the most ancient history,—many existing forms of life being structurally more archaic than any recorded, lying nearer, that is, to the beginning of human progress, considered as a development. We have shown how we may classify such forms as more or less archaic, and learn from the study of their interconnexion what were the successive steps in their evolution. Almost every conceivable phase of progress being somewhere presented as existing or recorded, the materials for the sketch are abundant, and the securities against error great. We have pointed out the instructive value of the symbolism of law and ceremony. Were it not for the key a knowledge of the inequalities of development furnishes to the meaning of that symbolism, in what mystery would the history and practices of our species be enveloped! What has been called “the poetry of law” would have to be received as made up of grotesqueries and graces of procedure introduced at random to satisfy the popular fancy. As it is, in the knowledge of the inequalities, and of the ruder forms of life, the mystery is unriddled, and the symbolism is made to tell us as certainly of the early usages of a people as the rings in the transverse section of a tree tell of its age.

---

ART. VIII.—*Walter Savage Landor. A Biography.* By JOHN FORSTER. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall.

HIS friends, and those of the literary world who knew that this task had been allotted to him, have been long looking for Mr. Forster's *Life of Walter Savage Landor*. Every one knew that he was Landor's trusted friend, and was to be his literary executor; to whom he had already during his lifetime assigned the copyright of his works;\* and

\* *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, in two

as most of the essential materials were in his hands some years before the old man's death, it seemed as if there could be little more to add save the minor interjections which might have to be made from yet retained letters, and the final scene of all. And to judge by various mistakes of dates, etc., made in the first volume and corrected in the second, it would appear that some part of the biography has in fact been written meanwhile. Five years however, have elapsed since Landor's death and Mr. Forster's biography; and it now remains with us to see how the literary executor has fulfilled his task, and how the dead friend has fared in the hands of his trustee.

Though he went through the appointed conditions of modern men, loved, quarrelled, wrote, travelled, sinned and repented, yet the outward circumstances of Landor's life were not very varied. Indeed, for a man of his temperament, and whose youth was passed in an exciting time, whose opportunities of experience were many, and whose days were so prolonged, there are singularly few salient points to record; but in what there are will be seen the two radical characteristics of his nature, namely, his intense power of affection and his want of self-control. This want of self-control indeed, amounted to something so like insanity that there were occasions on which Landor was, for the time, absolutely mad. Yet, while lamenting this as a misfortune, and acknowledging it as an evil, we would not judge the intrinsic worth of his character by that one inferior part, nor assay the sterling gold by the standard of the alloy. Between the two extremes of exaggerated advocacy and malicious colouring—*suppressio veri* and unfriendly candour—lies the third way of absolute truth with a generous reading. Robert Landor, in one of his letters to the biographer, speaking of De Quincey's paper on Parr, says a good thing on this very subject:—

"If Mr. De Quincey had been desirous to show us how far it might be possible to con-

volumes, published by Moxon in 1846, containing all his best and noblest work. The three volumes published since were not so assigned. Landor never cared to make money for himself by literature. If he received anything from the publishers, which was not often and never much, he invariably devoted it to some charitable purpose. The *Works* are dedicated to Julius Hare and John Forster conjointly, and they end with a sonnet to the latter, beginning—

"Forster! whose zeal hath seized each written page  
That fell from me:—"

Landor believed in Forster—"good Forster," as he used to call him.

vey the most false and injurious notions of a man in language which no one could contradict, which said nothing but the truth, he could hardly have succeeded better. What he has written is very true and very false; but there are some old people, like myself, who may wish that the mixture had been less skilfully malicious and a great deal more honest."\*

Though the eldest son of one of the old country families of Warwickshire, Landor's father was a physician. Mr. Robert Landor, in a letter to the biographer, says, speaking of ninety or a hundred years ago—

"It was, I believe, not unusual for even the eldest sons of private gentlemen to engage in some profession during their father's lifetime, if their fathers were not old. The regular army could afford but little room for them. Perhaps the greatest number were educated in your profession, as best qualifying them to manage the business of after life. But some preferred medicine. Our father took his degree at Worcester College, Oxford, and, succeeded Sir Charles Shuckborough, an old Warwickshire baronet. A still older baronet, many years after, who lived in the adjoining parish to Ipsley-court, was first Doctor and then Sir Charles Throckmorton. The different branches of the medical profession were kept much more distinct a hundred years ago than at present. After the death of his father, and his own succession to the two Warwickshire estates, our father resigned his practice, and lived part of the year at Ipsley-court, and part at Warwick."

And at Warwick was born, on the 30th of January 1775, Walter Savage Landor, the eldest child of Dr. Landor's second marriage. His first marriage with the daughter and heiress of Mr. Wright of Warwick had been singularly unfortunate in its issue; of the six children born to them only one surviving,—a daughter, on whom had been settled the bulk of her mother's fortune, and who married a Staffordshire cousin, Humphrey Arden † of Longroft. For his second wife Dr. Lan-

\* Though on the surface of things not much to the purpose, we would quote one of the most trenchant observations of Landor on friendship, in his *Imaginary Conversation between Andrew Marvel and Bishop Parker*;—

"Were I to trust my observation rather than my feelings, I should believe that friendship is only a state of transition to enmity. The wise, the excellent in honour and integrity, whom it was once our ambition to converse with, soon appear in our sight no higher than the ordinary class of our acquaintance; then become fit objects to set our own slender wits against, to contend with, to interrogate, to subject to the arbitration not of their equals but of ours; and lastly, what indeed is less injustice and less indignity, to abandon, and disown."

† It was pleasant to hear Landor speak of a pretty lisping cousin of his, an Arden, to whom he addressed some graceful verses; how she used to

dor chose Elizabeth Savage, eldest daughter, and co-heiress with her three sisters, of Charles Savage, the head of an old Warwickshire family; to whom came in due time, bequeathed by the representatives of the younger branch of the family, the two Warwickshire estates of which all who knew Walter Savage Landor heard so much, namely, Ipsley-court and Tachbrook, both strictly entailed on the eldest son. So that Landor had a good descent on both sides, and was justified in his boast that his estates were sufficient for the legal qualification of three Roman knights, and that "he started with a larger hereditary estate than those of Pitt, Fox, Canning, and twenty more such amounted to." He used to make more account of his birth than need have been, perhaps; but was it necessary for Mr. Forster to call attention to such an insignificant weakness? We who knew Landor well, better perhaps than did the biographer himself, and who certainly saw him more frequently, and for longer spells at a time, never heard him make so great a point of his birth and descent as Mr. Forster has represented; and we take this to be one of the bits of ill-natured "honesty" with which the biography abounds. Yet he had cause to be proud. His family dated as Warwickshire landholders so far back as 1191; and such a date is by no means contemptible or common. Landor was intensely, we will even say inordinately, proud in every way. As his brother says of him, "Never could there be a vainer man than the one (Parr) nor a prouder man than the other" (Walter). His writings abound with contemptuous touches, with haughty self-assertion; yet he was a red-hot Republican from his earliest youth, and his political instincts were liberal and generous. But we have other instances now living which show how as generous and liberal instincts can exist with as great personal pride; for though wide scientific knowledge teaches humility, the gift of genius seldom does. But proud as he was, he was always ready for fun, and always quick to seize humour; and of the two fun would get the better of pride. Mr. Robert Landor found in a translation of Rabelais the word "*Landor*" applied to such fools as were supreme among all other fools, and a long note was required to enumerate their varieties." "Till then," he goes on to say,

tease him when they were boy and girl together, and how she threatened him with punishment when he was rude and naughty. His imitation of her shrill piping voice was very good, and full of boyish fun, at the remembrance of it, past eighty as he was.

"I did not believe that any language could contain so many opprobrious terms, so whimsical and contemptuous. The last time that my brother (Walter Savage) was at Birlingham, I tried to read the long list of them, but was interrupted by such loud screams as must sometimes have shaken both your library and mine.\* There was not only astonishment but delight in his laughter. When I suggested that probably our ancestor was the greatest fool among all those who accompanied the Conqueror, and thus acquired the highest place and name, he accepted the priority. But then he might have reserved for himself the power to escape. For it appears that our name was originally *Del-a-La'nd* (*De La Landes*); and my brother Henry has in his keeping some old writings conveying an estate, signed and sealed in that name. When it was that so many Norman names gained English terminations, the heralds know best."

The troubles arising from the want of self-control, that beset the whole of Landor's career, began early in life. Always a difficult and headstrong boy, with those violent republican notions of his, and as violent and uncompromising a way of enunciating them, his father never seems to have been able to manage him; and they got on but lamely together both in boyhood and manhood. Nor was his mother much more successful. We have a little picture of the old lady in her high-heeled shoes, as she suddenly rises from her seat and clatters across the room to box young Walter's ears, when he tells his godfather, General Powell, that he wishes the "French would invade England, and assist us in hanging George the Third between two such thieves as the Archbishops of Canterbury and York." "I'd advise you, mother, not to try that sort of thing again!" shouted young Walter, as she disappeared quickly from the room, probably half-frightened at what she had done. As he grew up he and his mother came into frequent collision, though they were never at such open war as were he and his father. But, rightly or wrongly, Landor always accused her of intercepting the letters of a certain French girl for whom he had formed an attachment when in Paris, and so of com-

---

\* His laugh was one of Landor's essential personal characteristics. Never was heard such a tumultuous outburst, such a leonine roar. It used to break out like a burst of thunder, and go on in a kind of cumulative way, like the reverberation of that thunder among the mountains—"Pomero" mingling in the tumult with his sharp, shrill, rapid bark, till the noise would gradually cease by Mr. Landor's turning to play with and talk caressing nonsense to his little dog; or if he wanted to do something else, he would suddenly break short in his roar, and silence Pomero with a few expletives; and so quiet would be restored. But that laugh was something to remember.

ing between him and a love which might have been the happiness and salvation of his life. It might be so, or it might not. He was given to these wild assertions when he got excited, and specially if the subject was his own sufferings or wrongs.

But according to his own account, given in the true Landorian explosive manner, not all the miseries and misfortunes of graver aspect come near the misery of learning to dance, or the misfortune of not dancing well. He might perhaps have excepted grammar and arithmetic, which last he could never master, and which he always said went beyond his other trials. When about ten years of age he was sent to Rugby, where the turbulent temper with which he was born continually broke out in defiance of all authority within bounds, and in perpetual escapades without. The best anecdote is that which tells how he acted as the *retiarus* in a quarrel between himself and a farmer owning the fishing right of a river, where he was fishing after having been refused permission. The Rugby boy and the farmer came to high words; when suddenly Landor, by way of delivering up his apparatus as he was bidden, flung his net over the farmer's head so neatly as to effectually entangle him and reduce him to submission. And he would tell, with roars of laughter—Landor's laughter—how he would as suddenly entangle the head-master in questions of longs and shorts; and how, when the doctor good-naturedly went to visit the rebel in his private room, he, Landor the rebel, would bolt the door, and, affecting to disbelieve the visit and the voice, would refuse admission, and say devoutly, "Avaunt, Satan!"

It was at Rugby that he first showed that wonderful taste and power for making Latin verses which never left him; and the excellence of which was traditional at the school for half-a-century after he had left—"Play-day for Landor's Latin verses," written on the slate by the hand of Dr. James himself, exciting no little veneration for the Latinist in the minds of the fags and juniors of the time. But Landor's pride took fire, because he thought Dr. James wilfully chose his worst verses to *play for*, as it was called, and he took his revenge in some Latin lines which were both coarse and clever, and which the master sharply resented. The upshot of this, and other quarrels perpetually arising between master and pupil, was the removal of Walter by his father, to save Dr. James the pain, and himself the disgrace, of expulsion. It was nothing worse than this, as Mr. Robert Landor testifies:—

"When between fifteen and sixteen he was not expelled from Rugby, but removed, as the

less discreditable punishment, at the head-master's suggestion. There was nothing unusual or disgraceful in the particular transgression, but a fierce defiance of all authority, and a refusal to ask forgiveness."

It began by Dr. James requiring the correction of a false quantity which did not exist, and Landor's refusal; and it ended by Landor's expulsion under a qualified form. One of the sweetest recollections of Rugby is that given by him in a foot-note to the *Imaginary Conversation between Leofric and Godiva*:—

"The story of Godiva, at one of whose festivals or fairs I was present in my boyhood, has always much interested me; and I wrote a poem on it, sitting, I remember, by the *square pool* at Rugby. When I showed it to the friend in whom I had most confidence he began to scoff at the subject, and on reaching the last line his laughter was loud and immoderate. This conversation has brought both laughter and stanza back to me, and the earnestness with which I entreated and implored my friend *not to tell the lads*; so heart-strickenly and desperately was I ashamed. The verses are these, if any one else should wish another laugh at me—

'In every hour, in every mood,  
O lady, it is sweet and good  
To bathe the soul in prayer,  
And, at the close of such a day,  
When we have ceased to bless and pray,  
To dream on thy long hair.'

"May the peppermint be still growing on the bank in that-place!—W. S. L."

Greek came later than Latin, and was never so entirely his own tongue as was the first learnt and the younger. But if his knowledge of the language was not acquired so early nor so thoroughly as Latin, his spirit was essentially Greek, as were his tastes. Nothing in the English language breathes so entirely the very essence of Greek thought and poetic feeling as Landor's *Hellenics*, some of his *Imaginary Conversations*, and his immortal *Pericles and Aspasia*. The sense of beauty, the tender love, the naturalness of emotion and subtlety of thought combined, render them unique as English compositions; and we can dispense with the last niceties of scholarly learning in Landor's *répertoire* of knowledge, when we get to such noble results.

Mr. Forster tells us too, that besides being an indifferent Hellenist, he was by no means the robust athlete he would have had his friends believe, and as the common tradition of the school claimed for him; that he was never the expert horseman he used to say he was; and that, though he took a fair part in the sports and games of the school, he excelled in none, save perhaps

throwing the cast-net in fishing. His own account of himself was different; and certainly, though not noticeably stalwart, he was a strongly-built man, and must have been both muscular and active; and the probabilities are that a youth of his build, born and bred in the country, and used all his life to dogs and horses and guns and fishing-rods, with brothers to vie with, and an immense desire to excel, would have turned his physical powers to some account, and have done at least some of the things he took credit for.

After Rugby came Oxford, where he was even more unfortunate than he had been at school. His fierce republicanism gained him but a doubtful kind of reputation, at a time when to be liberal was to be suspected capable of all misdemeanours and most crimes. He was even so far lost to propriety as to abjure powder and wear his hair plain, and his queue tied up with black ribbon. "Take care," said his tutor; "they will stone you for a republican." But Landor was no coward, and stuck to his Jacobinism and plain hair. Southey, then a student at Balliol, was also going about with flowing locks, both youths taking courage and example by the French minister, Roland, who had persisted in going to Court in dreadful simplicity; but the future Poet-Laureate declined to know the young Warwickshire revolutionist, because he was a "mad Jacobin." Afterwards they were a literary Orestes and Pylades, the dearest of friends and the most constant of correspondents; but not often meeting. The Pantisocratist laid the *onus* of his refusal on Landor's madness, not his Jacobinism. That indeed he shared; but the turbulent temper, the contempt of all ordinary rules of life, the defiance of all constituted authority whatsoever, repelled Southey, and the two men never met while at the University. A year's residence was all that Landor's evil genius allowed him to have. After that time he was rusticated for firing at the windows of a fellow-student whom he hated for his Toryism and despised for his vulgarity. He was taxed with the offence, and thinking of his father's distress should he be rusticated, as he knew he would be for firing a gun in the quadrangle during prayers, he denied it. Landor was the last man in the world to lie by habit or nature. He was too proud, too brave, too impetuous for deceit. He never even palliated his faults when he saw them at all; and he had no sooner committed this sin against his truer nature, against his own dignity and self-respect, than he acknowledged it—acknowledged it fully, manfully, without subterfuge or excuse, but without

baseness or humiliation. He was however, rusticated for two terms; after which he was invited to return. But he never went back, and the breach between him and his father was wider than ever.

We come now to one of Landor's tenderest and sweetest idyls—the episode of Dorothea Lyttleton, his sister Elizabeth's dearest friend, and the beauty of Studley Castle; an heiress to boot, and the desired of all the marriageable youths in the county. She was very intimate with the Landor family, and as yet had refused every offer of marriage. All the brothers were of course in love with her, "and a tale is told of the youngest (Robert) that when two or three years hence she had relented, and was a bride, and he, a lad of fifteen, had gone into her presence bent upon slaying her bridegroom in single combat with spears or bows or arrows, she suddenly, to his extreme mortification, displaced those desperate thoughts by taking him in her arms and kissing him." This sweet and lovely girl was Walter's constant correspondent, and his intercessor with his father, through her uncles with whom she lived. He was warmly and tenderly attached to her, and she to him; and Mr. Forster "found among his papers a packet of her letters carefully kept and endorsed by him, addressed to him at his London lodgings in Beaumont Street, in those early months of 1795," as also one from his old nurse, and another from a second old servant. This was thoroughly like Landor. With all his passion, ferocity, and coarseness when roused, there was an amount of purity of feeling in him unequalled, and a capacity for the most refined and idyllic tenderness as great as was his capacity for anger, pride, and hatred. Mr. Forster makes but little account of this. While all the small and evil parts of Landor's character are dragged into the light, the sweet and lovely qualities are not so much as hinted at. Yet there never lived a man who had more of an almost maidenly modesty and grateful tenderness towards certain of his friends and lovers than had Landor. His love for Dorothea was of this kind; though no one now can judge of its direction, whether it was merely fraternal, or whether it would have been more than fraternal had he had the power to make it so.

He himself used to say that he would and could have married her had he been independent. This Mr. Forster questions; but her letters certainly evince a warmer interest than that of the mere "friendly familiarity of a good-humoured girl for the brother of her friend, a year or two younger than herself, whose cleverness she admired, and

whose attentions pleased her." Young girls of Dorothea's age and upbringing were not accustomed in those days to write to young men as she wrote to Walter; and there are many little touches which show more than the biographer admits. Landor used to say that he had had but "four great loves in his life;" but these were loves for which while they lasted—and some of them, more especially the fiercer kind, lasted over many years—he lost his senses and himself: and of these Dorothea Lytton, fortunately for her, was not one, but something better, truer, and more pure.

At this time too Landor began to write. He published first a volume of poems; then "A Moral Epistle to Earl Stanhope," in the style of Pope; and then he looked about, or was urged to look about, for a profession. His father, still estranged from him, offered him four hundred a year if he would study law, and one hundred and fifty if he did not. He declined the offer, and took the lesser sum. He was recommended for a commission, and his chance of getting it was talked about at mess; whereupon one of the officers said he would resign his if Walter Landor obtained one. When the subject was mentioned to him, and it was proposed to him that a commission should be obtained for him if possible, on condition that he would keep his opinions to himself, he proudly refused; he would keep silence for no man, he said, and would never betray his principles even by silence. He then went to Tenby, there to wait the results of Dorothea Lytton's intercession with his father, and the efforts of his friends; and in Wales took place one of the four "affairs" he used afterwards to speak of—a very stormy and intense affair, and one that left its mark for years upon him. After this, or rather during this time, he wrote the first of his famous works, *Gebir*,\* for which he always

had great regard. His favourite works were, to the end of his life, *Gebir*, the Imaginary Conversation between *Epicurus*, *Leontion*, and *Ternissa*, and the *Hamadryad*, one of the *Hellenics*.

His two great friends at this time were Walter Birch and Doctor Parr, the latter then living as perpetual curate at Hatton, a small, dull village, two or three miles from Warwick, on the Birmingham road. Parr was a poor man when he went there, and when he was more prosperous he was too fond of the place to leave it. He was, as every one knows, foremost among the classical scholars of his day. While Porson lived he used to say, "The first Greek scholar is Porson, and the third Elmsley; I won't say who the second is." When Porson died he took the foremost place; and Sydney Smith, calling attention to the fact that he was languishing on a paltry little curacy in Warwickshire, speaks of him as by far the most learned man of the day. He and Landor made great friends together—Parr's other intimate at the time being James Mackintosh, to whom he would say, after a long argument, "Jemmy, I cannot talk you down, but I can think you down, Jemmy." Of Mackintosh Landor says in one of his letters to Southey:—

"I never knew that he was so stored and laden as you give me to believe. He was certainly very inaccurate, not only in Greek but in Latin. Once at breakfast with Parr in Cary Street, where I was, and Hargrave and Jekyl, he used the word *anabasis*. Parr said, 'Very right Jemmy! very right; it is *anabasis* with you, but *anabasis* with me and Walter Landor.' I was very much shocked and grieved; indeed, to such a degree that I felt indisposed to take any part in the conversation; only saying (which was not quite true), that I did not know it until then; which obtained me a punch of the elbow under the rib, and the interjection of '*lying dog!*'"

At this time Landor was writing fierce political articles against Pitt and for Fox; kept to the point as much as might be by the good offices of Robert Adair, with whom he had been brought in contact by Parr, and who, seeing at once Landor's possible use in the cause, overlooked all his heresies and dangerous independencies of thought and conduct, and did his best to "put so clever a fellow in the proper way." This

\* *Gebir* was a great favourite with Shelley. "When he was at Oxford in 1811, we are told by the friend and fellow-collegian who was most intimate with him there, he would at times read nothing else; and Mr. Hogg relates that on the frequent occasions when he found him so occupied, it was hopeless to draw his attention away. There was something in the poem which in a peculiar manner caught his fancy. He would read it aloud to others, or to himself, with a tiresome pertinacity. One morning his friend went into his room to tell him something of importance; but he would attend to nothing but *Gebir*; whereupon Hogg describes himself with a young impatience snatching the book out of the obstinate fellow's hand, and throwing it through the open window into the quadrangle; but unavailing—for as it fell upon the grass-plot, and was brought presently back by the servant, again Shelley became absorbed in it, and the something of importance had to wait another

time. I related this incident at Florence," adds Mr. Hogg, "some years afterwards, and after the death of my poor friend, to the highly-gifted author. He heard it with his hearty, cordial, genial laugh, 'Well, you must allow it is something to have produced what could please one fellow-creature, and offend another so much.'"

political fever was diversified by the attack on *Gebir* in the *Monthly Review*, and Landor's reply in a prose postscript to *Gebir*; which, however, was suppressed at the instance of his friends, and specially at that of Isaac Mocatta. This was thoroughly Landorian. Deaf to reason, incapable of fear, wild and revengeful, he yet could be turned aside by affection, and he would forego his most cherished passion at the prayer of a friend and to gratify one who loved him.\* After this he went to Paris, where he saw Bonaparte's first public reception after he was made Consul, and where he formed one of the most romantic of all his attachments, which he was obliged to leave when at its height. He used to tell how he besieged the post-office for months after he returned home, for the letters that never came, and how he pined and fretted for news of his left love; but he never heard of her again; and he threw the blame on his mother who probably did not deserve it.

At the death of his father, which took place in 1805, Landor went to Bath and Clifton, where he lived what we should now call a fast life, with the reputation and appearance of great wealth; but it was not a coarse nor a profligate life, as Forster insinuates. It was extravagant; and it was so far reprehensible in that it contained a passionate attachment for one he ought not to have loved; his "Ianthe;" an attachment that lasted for years, and that continued as a sentiment into quite old age. But it was no more than this. His life was never vicious, never coarse; it was lawless, which is another matter. So far as regards Ianthe, we may as well say here as further on, how touching it was to see these two old people together in the last days of both. Marriage, years, separation, had not destroyed the affection between them; and to the last the one was a paragon and a "prince," the other a beauty and an angel. Ianthe was a gentle, sweet-natured, but by no means wise old woman in these days; but though she used to say the most inconceivably silly things, Landor never lost his temper with her, and always listened to her with grave attention and courteous respect. Her grandchildren were his great delight, and he used to play with them by the hour together; but his favourite was her eldest granddaughter, then a sweet and fragile girl of seventeen, whose

music, of a very first-rate order, charmed him as David's charmed Saul, and held him entranced for all the time it lasted. His face used to assume quite a different expression when Luisinha played and sang; and one saw then what Landor's soul was—what the real man was like when the disturbing passions were at rest.

Undoubtedly the two greatest misfortunes of Landor's life were his purchase of Llanthony and his marriage. His other escapades were hurtful enough, but not so permanent in their ill effects as these. For instance, there was that generous if rash raid of his into Spain (1808), where he presented the Governor of Corunna with 10,000 reals for the benefit of "the unfortunate town of Venturada, destroyed on account of its loyalty to its king by most cruel and ferocious enemies;" where he remained in or near Aguilar, with a troop of volunteers, for nearly three months, seeing no active service, but "fretting at the inaction of the northern division and its general;" where he quarrelled with Charles Stuart, the envoy at Corunna, because of a chance word which he misunderstood and misapplied; and whence he came home again, heartily disgusted with the whole affair, having wasted time and money to no good whatsoever. In a characteristic letter to Southey, he says that he wished very much to have seen Madrid, but that he was afraid a battle would have been fought in his absence, which would have killed him; and that he had the satisfaction of serving three launches with powder and muskets, and of carrying on his shoulders, six or seven miles, a child too heavy for its exhausted mother. In return for his aid and gifts of "twice 10,000 reals," the Spaniards gave him the honorary rank of colonel in the service of King Ferdinand, conveyed in a handsome letter of thanks written by the Spanish Minister, Cevallos; but when "the restored Ferdinand had restored the Jesuits, Landor sent back his commission in a letter to that same Don Pedro Cevallos, telling him that he had done his best for Spanish liberty against Napoleon, and would not continue, even nominally, in the service of a worse perjurer and traitor."

But though he lost money, and by his quarrel with Charles Stuart repute as well, and gained but little experience by this Spanish episode, the purchase of Llanthony was a yet more disastrous affair. It would have been better for him if he could have contented himself with Tachbrook, or if he could have bought that Cumberland estate\*

\* It was always thus with him: he would break the hardest iron rod that might be laid upon him, but he could be guided by a silken thread. Love and tenderness, but not servility and flattery—as Mr. Forster would have us to believe—were the only powers which Landor could be brought to obey; and he did obey these implicitly.

\* Mr. Forster says it was an estate on Loweswater. We always understood from Mr. Landor himself



on which he had set his affections; where, among the finest scenery in England, with a peasantry, keen, blunt, honest, and as independent as himself, and with a small but singularly choice society scattered about the various vales, he might have found much to interest and something to control him. He and Wilson would have fought whenever they had met, but Southey's amiableness and Wordsworth's quiet philosophy would have calmed the tempests in which these two fiery spirits habitually dwelt. But he did not get his lake-land estate, and he bought Llanthony instead, for which his mother sold Tachbrook, reserving to herself an annuity of £450 as indemnification. It proved to be a mistake; found out when too late; and he soon took an immense dislike to both the place and the people.

"Llanthony is a noble estate," he says in a letter to his biographer; "it produces everything but herbage, corn, and money. My son, however, may perhaps make something of it; for it is about eight miles long, and I planted a million of trees on it more than thirty years ago. I lived there little more than eight months altogether, and built a house to pull it down again. Invent a hero if you can, who has performed such exploits."

Nothing prospered at Llanthony. He planted and he builded, and what he planted perished, and what he builded he pulled down again, as he says; his tenant annoyed him; the bishop slighted his offer to repair the old church; the lord-lieutenant declined to appoint him a magistrate; he tried to do his people good and they would have none of his improvements; he took up a public scandal and failed to substantiate his charge; and, on the whole, Llanthony was a scourge and no blessing, and he sighed passionately for Bath again. But even Mr. Forster does him justice as to the motives which actuated him:—

"Nor were the objects proposed by him in taking possession of his new estate other than the worthiest; and such as he might fairly have hoped to accomplish. He was bent upon restoring and civilizing on every side of him; the mountain wastes, the church and abbey ruins, the shockingly impassable roads, the ignorant barbarous people. Unhappily he found the stubborn and evil qualities of the Welsh in his neighbourhood to be greatly in excess of his expectations."

And then Mr. Forster finds him blame-

worthy that he did not continue there, and force his good deeds upon them, seeing that the worse they were the more need they had of reformation. Very true; but it is not given to every man to be a practical reformer; and Landor, whose chief characteristic was want of patience, was eminently unfitted for the task, but not blameworthy because he could not do what his nature incapacitated him from doing.

While Llanthony was in course of progress, and before the "cottage" to which he afterwards invited Southey, promising to send down a "tea-caddy full of books" as part of the furniture, was yet unbuilt, Landor wrote his tragedy of *Count Julian*, which he finished in April 1811; and on the very evening of its transcription he fell in love with Julia Thuillier, "a girl without a sixpence, and with very few accomplishments," he says. "She is pretty, graceful, and good-tempered—three things indispensable to my happiness." She had beautiful golden hair; he and Ianthe had quarrelled, and he married her. He had better have died, for, of all the misfortunes of his life, and of hers too, this marriage may rank as the greatest. There was no real love on his side, and there was no sense on hers. She irritated him, and she did not care to study his temper; so that things turned badly as time went on, which any one might have foreseen. Perhaps his home discomforts were helped on by the vexations he had found in his estate; which at last became so great that, wearied and disgusted, he quitted Llanthony for ever; and in May 1814 took the resolution to leave England as well as Wales, never to return. His first intention was to live in France, but after a brief sojourn in Jersey—where he had a serious quarrel with his wife whom he quitted, to return to her however, after some months' absence—he finally established himself at Florence, where he lived for many years; where he wrote his *Imaginary Conversations*, and *Pericles* and *Aspasia*; where his children were born to him—those children for whom he had such a passionate love; where he made the friendship of the Hares, Lady Blessington, and others who stood faithful to him through life; and where he was happy and industrious. Where he was peaceful too—more than was usual with him; but still effervescing on slight occasions, and at all times ready to accept a quarrel if the chance of one was offered to him.

That Florentine time was Landor's golden time, when he was at his best and grandest; where he did his noblest work; where his affections were healthiest, deepest and purest. But it was destined not to last. A furious

that it was on Leatheswater, generally called Thirlmere, at the foot of Helvellyn. Loweswater is by no means one of the finest of the Lakes; but though Leatheswater is small, its situation and surroundings are magnificent.

quarrel with his wife in 1835 drove him from his Italian home for ever—for one can hardly call his last exile there a home; and giving up his property to his family, retaining only a very small income for himself, he left them in undisputed possession of all he felt he could no longer enjoy with self-respect, and came back to Bath, where he lived alone in shabby lodgings till that disastrous year of 1857. Here he published those lovely *Hellenics*, of which Forster says finely:—

“Certainly this little book, which appeared at the close of 1847, gave convincing proof that up to this date Landor’s powers, even of fancy, had not ebb’d a hand’s-breadth on the sands of time, seventy-three years wide.”

Here too he made the acquaintance of John Forster, his present biographer, and of Charles Dickens\*—at the easel of whose fancy he stood for the portrait of Laurence Boythorn—“Pomero” his little Pomeranian dog, being represented as the canary. Here too began his friendship with Eliza Lynn (Mrs. Lynn Linton), to whom he wrote an exquisite sonnet on her “Amynone,” and to whom he dedicated his *Five Scenes*. She was his adopted daughter in the literary sense, and visited him regularly for weeks together, for the ten or eleven years their friendship lasted; and it lasted till his death. Which at least proves this, that Landor was not always ferocious, and that he could live in peace and content with any one who cared to study him. Miss Lynn treated him with the respect and tenderness of a daughter, and he in return treated her with unvarying kindness and gentleness. Her testimony goes dead against Mr. Forster’s assertion that Landor could not live with any one save as a rebel or a tyrant. What he required in his companion was some amount of tact, self-control enough for both, affectionate behaviour, and that he himself should be made to respect. Lower men than he require more.

Always busy, but not producing anything now demanding sustained effort, his days

glided peacefully away; with his dog, his friends and his thoughts as his companions; until, his best friend being then impossible, he fell into bad hands, got mixed up in a disgraceful scandal, published a libel for which he was cast in damages, and, to avoid payment of the fine, left England for Florence in 1857; where he died miserably, September 17, 1864, æt. 89.

Of Landor’s person Forster gives a good description, omitting however, the peculiarity of the shabby brown suit, rusty hat, apple pie boots, and frayed silk tie he always wore; and which were all characteristic of the man—in person delicately clean, in dress notoriously shabby, just as his soul was pure and noble, while his outer garb of temper was disordered and unlovely.

“Landor was then upwards of sixty, and looked that age to the full. He was not above the middle stature, but had a stout stalwart presence, walked without a stoop, and in his general aspect, particularly the set and carriage of his head, was decidedly of what is called a distinguished bearing. His hair was already silvered gray, and had retired far upward from his forehead, which, wide and full, but retreating, could never in the earlier time have been seen to such advantage. What at first was noticeable, however, in the broad, white, massive head, were the full yet strangely-lifted eyebrows; and they were not immediately attractive. They might have meant only pride or self-will in its most arrogant form, but for what was visible in the rest of the face. In the large grey eyes there was a depth of composed expression that even startled by its contrast to the eager restlessness looking out from the surface of them; and in the same variety and quickness of transition the mouth was extremely striking. The lips that seemed compressed with unalterable will would in a moment relax to a softness more than feminine; and a sweeter smile it was impossible to conceive.”

The best portrait of him, as an old man, is a photograph by Herbert Watkins. This is to be preferred far before the engraving from Boxall’s picture, or even Gibson’s bust. It is Walter Savage Landor as he was at the close of his life, and it neither flatters nor exaggerates. To this personal description must also be added a notice of the little Pomeranian dog he was so fond of; the “cane lupo,” the “caro cane,” “dear heart,” he used to play with and delight in. It was something if once seen never to be forgotten; and Pomero was quite as well known in Bath as was “the old man eloquent” himself. He used to talk to him chiefly in Italian, that being the language he said, “his mother taught him!” and he would make out long and fanciful pedigrees to prove how he came by his fox’s tail and ears,

\* Mr. Forster and Mr. Dickens used to visit him on his birthday, the former especially, with great regularity. On one occasion (1849), when they had both come from London for that purpose only, Landor brought down the next morning the following lines, afterwards printed in the fly-leaf of *The Last Fruit off an Old Tree*:—

“I strove with none, for none was worth my strife;  
Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, art;  
I warm’d both hands before the fire of life;  
It sinks, and I am ready to depart.”

To this hour we remember the quiver on the delicate mouth and the moisture in the quick grey eyes which accompanied the reading of this little poem. He had been so happy over-night in the presence of his two trusted friends; and he was a man whose gratitude for love and attention was as large as his pride and as warm as his anger.

and how he was indeed the grandson of a fox to whose wicked flatteries his mother had given ear. It was nonsense if one will, but it was Landor. Also must not be forgotten his intense love of children and of flowers. Children were his masters, and he was their patient and obedient slave. They might do what they would with him, he never resented anything from them—not even their shyness. His letters show how deep was his affection for his own children, of whom he always spoke as if they were still little ones, when they were men and women grown. "Good Arnold," "wise old Walter," "beautiful Carlino,"—their names were for ever on his lips. And next to children came flowers. He had a special and peculiar love for the "little butting cyclamen" with its goat-like horns; for the lilac which he pronounced "laylock;" for the violet, the rose, and the daphne mezereon. All flowers he loved, but those in chief.

"Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, art," he says of himself. But his art was very doubtful. He filled his house with pictures, to all of which he gave grand names, but the most of which were mere broker's rubbish. It was his hobby, and he might have had one less innocent and more expensive. He would buy a daub that he christened a Rembrandt or a Morland, for half-a-crown or five shillings; and Gainsboroughs and Correggios came into his hand for the price of an old song. He had however, one or two very pretty things; and one, "Europa and the Bull," which he said was a Correggio, gave him the picture of the "Ancient Idyl" in *Dry Sticks*:—

"Against his nostril fondly hangs her hand,  
While his eye glistens over it, fondly too,  
It will be night, dark night, ere she returns,  
And that new scarf! the spray will ruin it!"

He was wonderfully generous, and gave away anything that a friend admired. He was charitable too, and sent meat and wine to those of the poor whose wants were made known to him; and he sent it in a royal manner, largely and grandly. He has been known frequently to stint himself at dinner that a poor old woman should have more. Keen in intellect, excessive in passion, he was also great in virtue; whatever he did was done with a certain margin of exaggeration truly, but we do not quarrel with the exaggeration of nobleness.

We have left ourselves no space for more than the most cursory remarks on Landor's genius; and yet his genius was the man. What he wrote when at his best, what he thought and felt when most inspired, was more himself than were his mere tempers;

his *Imaginary Conversations* were the real and permanent Landor, his passionate outbursts of violence and coarseness were only the outward and temporary man. The one will live for ever, the other will die out of the world's memory in another fifty years or so; and even Mr. Forster's biography will not serve to keep the ugly shadow alive. No man since Shakespeare's time has written so much wisdom or so much beauty; in no other man's works is there such exquisite tenderness, so much subtlety of thought, such wealth of imagery yet all chaste and nothing glaring, so much suggestiveness and yet such ample fulness. Not a page but contains the most deathless beauty; though also, we confess it sadly, his later volumes are disfigured by coarseness which we wish Landor had died before he had written. But these were his madresses; we look upon them as the sorrowful ravings of insanity, and so pass them by with solemn pity, lamenting rather than condemning. It is not just to bring them too prominently forward; for he was better than these worst parts of him, and he must not be judged by them. Do we judge of life only by its pain? of humanity only by its sin? And this is the basis of our quarrel with this biography. No book that we know of, save Hogg's reminiscences of Shelley, can compare with it for the skill with which it has degraded and dwarfed its subject. We do not say that it is not truthful in fact, but it is not just in spirit. It has not created the small or ugly parts of Landor's character, but it has given them undue prominence; it has dwelt on them too heavily—brought them out into the full glare of light, or more damagingly hinted at them only, as at things too bad to be reproduced; while even in retailing the better facts it could not deny, it has not spared covert sarcasm and open contempt, where both were ungenerous and unnecessary. It has judged Landor by the worst of him and not by the best; and so far it is untrue. Let us confess it frankly: Landor had a bad temper—a ferocious, ungovernable, insane temper—"the worst that ever man was cursed with," he says of himself; but is a bad temper so rare that all his transcendent powers and noble qualities, all his affectionateness, his genius, his generosity, are to be assayed by the standard of this fault, great as it was? He was explosive, proud, exaggerative, passionate, and unreasonable;—granted; but he held liberal principles at a time when liberal principles were accounted for sins, and when the holders of them were conventional pariahs by whose curse we are now blessed; his thoughts were heroically great; his genius was majestic; his judg-

ments, apart from his passions, were always instinctively true and generous; and these were qualities for which he is to be judged rather than for a physical infirmity of temper which made him difficult and dangerous to deal with. Mr. Forster's portraiture is conceived on exactly contrary principles to this, and the consequence is a book eminently wanting in magnanimity. We will not say that it is intentionally false or unfair; but it is both in result; because the drawing is out of proportion, and because the lights are all thrown on the faults not on the virtues, and prominence is given to the evil and not to the good. More than this too, we will say, that so pitiless a dissection and so cold and "candid" an analysis have come with a singularly bad grace under all the circumstances of their friendship from the hand of the present biographer; who would have done better to have rebuked Landor in his lifetime for the faults and weaknesses of which he has told the world so much after his death.

---

#### ART. IX.—THE IRISH CHURCH MEASURE.

FOR the fourth time within forty years the nation finds itself in presence of an antagonism between two of the three elements of its constitutional government. Such a situation is natural, and indeed inevitable, when one of those three elements is an elective assembly, continually renewed, and each time renewed so as to represent the opinions of the whole nation, while another of them is an hereditary House, representing nothing but its own order, and that order consisting mainly of one class of persons, the wealthier landlords, who cannot be expected to feel complete sympathy or move in conformity with the whole complex population of the three kingdoms. The only principle yet found able to put an end to this dead lock is, that the nation is supreme, that it is only as representing the nation that the House of Commons or the House of Lords has its legislative rights, and that when the nation has once declared for a line of policy, it becomes the duty of the two Houses to carry out the intentions of the nation in their practical details. Hence it follows that in cases of dissension between the two Houses, the only ground of controversy ought to be whether the will of the nation has been declared, and how far and how minutely that will has been expressed. Of course a controversy of this kind may branch out into innumerable details. It might be

conceded that the result of a general election is the only constitutional method of determining the tendency of the national will. Yet it might be contended that the verdict was a surprise, that the arguments on both sides had not been heard, that the conclusion was only an accidental reading of the ever varying barometer of popular feeling, which the next hour's reading might contradict, that in matter of fact the will of the nation had changed or was changing, and so on, through an indefinite variety of exceptions, the real meaning of which amounts to this, that the nation has no determinate method of saying what it deliberately intends, which cannot be picked to pieces and set aside by pleas which Mr. Disraeli would characterize as "*nisi prius*," if they did not happen to be those of his friends. In the great crises of the history of the last half-century the Lords have invariably shown a disposition to set the wheels of the State out of gear by too readily adopting pleas of this kind when the expressed will of the nation was recorded in favour of principles or measures which militated against their prejudices, or against the supposed interests of their order. And they have generally succeeded for a season in inflicting upon the nation one of those reverses which are invariably followed by a triumph, and in gaining for their own principles one of those barren victories which are invariably succeeded by a disaster. It was so in 1832, in the days of the first Reform Bill; it was so in 1846, when the Corn-Laws were repealed; it was so in 1866, when their principles triumphed over the moderate Reform Bill of the Liberal Ministry, only as a prelude to the household suffrage of the succeeding year. And in spite of the majority of thirty-three on the 18th of June, there is considerable danger lest it may be so again in 1869.

The theory of the philosophical Tories concerning the functions of the House of Lords was clearly and concisely expressed by Lord Salisbury in the debate on the 17th of June. According to him, both the Upper and Lower Houses equally represent the nation, and equally and co-ordinately share the supreme authority, except in those unusual and critical periods when the nation thinks for itself, adopts its own policy, and dictates it to its representatives. Then both Houses, he thinks, are equally bound to submit to the national will, as manifested in the general election of the House of Commons. In ordinary periods, he thinks, the nation leaves politics to the politicians, does not much concern itself with legislation, and trusts its representatives to provide all the legal and administrative supply which it re-

quires. In extraordinary times, then, the Lords follow the Commons, not morally, as subject to them, but chronologically, because the Commons are the first exponents of the national will; they do not submit to the Commons, but both Houses submit equally to the nation. In ordinary times both Houses are perfectly equal, the national will finding its expression sometimes in one House, sometimes in another. Such is Lord Salisbury's theory. It seems to come to this, that the nation, instructed perhaps by the debates in Parliament, chooses and dictates the principles of its policy, leaving to the Parliament the technical embodiment of those details in legislative acts. This is, however, a very inadequate view of the facts. The nation, in the aggregate, consists of a majority, generally more or less quiescent, inclining to progress, and a minority, generally the more active, devoted to the maintenance of things as they are. In the long run, the House of Lords represents the opinions of the minority, the House of Commons those of the majority. At times, when the majority has been mesmerized by a politician like Lord Palmerston, it rests for a season, and allows an apparent reaction to set in; on such occasions the opinions of the minority of the nation are represented in both Houses. But in healthy times, when the nation is vigorous, its intelligence active, and its will excited, the supremacy of the principle of progress is vindicated in a general election, and the House of Lords finds itself face to face with a national verdict which is opposed to its predilections. If Lord Salisbury's theory is correct, it is the duty of the House of Lords at such times to accept the national verdict, and to labour, conjointly with the House of Commons, in contriving the best possible practical embodiment of the national will. But what has been the practice of the House of Lords, and of the party which it represents? What is the advice of Lord Salisbury with regard to its present action? The practice of the House of Lords has always been to minimize the progress, to introduce as many reservations, contradictions, and compromises as possible, to see that no principle is ever perfectly carried out, no act of justice completed, no measure of progress passed without being discoloured by antiquated prejudices. In 1829, the splendid opportunity of Catholic Emancipation was spoiled by the anile prejudices of those who insisted on keeping up a few superannuated disabilities, and on balancing concessions by disfranchisements. In 1832, the Reform Bill was marred by foolish amendments, which made wiser amendments impossible. In 1867, the prejudices of the

retrograde party had to be assuaged by the empty froth of personal payment of rates, by the ill-advised destruction of a most useful economic principle, the composition for rates, and by a mischievous representation of minorities; and now, in 1869, Lord Salisbury advises the Lords narrowly to scrutinize the national verdict of last autumn, to reduce it to its smallest possible dimensions, and to balance the thoroughness of the decree of disestablishment, which he owns to have been irrevocably made, by the smallest possible application of the decree of disendowment, which indeed, in spite of the whole tenor of Mr. Gladstone's Lancashire speeches, he denies to have formed part of the question put to the people at the hustings. Now, this advice of Lord Salisbury seems to us to be directly contrary to his theory. If it is the duty of Parliament to embody the principles willed by the nation in the most perfect technical legislation, it cannot be at the same time its duty to minimize and carp at those principles, to introduce so many compromises and exceptions as to bury them, to transform disestablishment into a mere emancipation from State control, and to transfigure disendowment either into an accumulation of additional wealth, or into a maintenance of a very real and visible superiority in possessions. The party of resistance in England often complains that, whatever is granted, those to whom it is given are never satisfied. They moralize upon this theme, and mourn over the depths of human discontent and the insatiability of ingratitude. If they would but turn their lantern on themselves they might see that to clog concessions with insulting conditions is not the way to secure gratitude, to pay half a debt not the best means of satisfying a creditor, nor to bury a rule under exceptions the best way to exemplify a principle. Lord Salisbury in effect has said to the Peers, "We, in conjunction with the House of Commons, are placed here to give effect to the voice of the nation, to formulate its views, to embody its principles. Let us not therefore refuse to consider those principles, but let us consider them with a view to ascertaining how little of them we may admit, how much reject, and how far mar the remainder, with reservations and exceptions, without stirring up the nation to a war of extermination against our House. 'Half a loaf is better than no bread' is a saying which represents more or less truly the feeling of the Liberal party. A great deal will be endured from us before our existence is endangered. If we rejected everything Mr. Gladstone might successfully appeal to the nation to pass the Bill over our heads. If

we alter only details, as for instance the date from which private endowments are to be privileged, it would be so ridiculously small a matter to set in the balance against the maintenance of the Constitution that the sensible Liberals and good-natured Radicals would acquiesce in it, even though some of them would say that it left the disestablished Church the wealthiest ecclesiastical body in Christendom, spoilt the grace of England's act of justice to Ireland, and left behind a sufficient residuum of inequality and ascendancy to be an eye-sore to the present generation, and a nucleus round which will gather the elements of agitation and discontent in the future."

If the House of Lords were a mere senate, and not also an order consisting of the most characteristic members of a class which is characteristically the most rigid and unprogressive of all classes of society, it would naturally be liable to treat demands for progress with an unsympathizing criticism. With advancing years almost every reformer crystallizes into a Conservative. When the dreams of his youth have become realities, he is no longer young enough to imagine new dreams of his own, or to kindle at the imaginations of others. Men who have passed through great offices, or have spent a quarter of a century in the routine of law, have become habituated to a set of principles and practices which have become too usual to be lightly changed, too natural to be criticised. A mere senate, consisting of such men, old members of the House of Commons, old ministers, old administrators, men who had gained the prizes of the legal or clerical profession, though they would be capable of giving the most valuable aid in the elaboration of laws, and in embodying the decrees of the nation, would naturally join to their technical superiority a coldness in criticising the effervescence of national enthusiasm, which would make them an effectual and useful check upon the speed of legislation. But our House of Lords is more than this. It is not a senate, but an order, in which, by the mere accidents of succession, many of its members are senators. The law peers and Bishops are the only senators as such. Other peers may be senators, because, while they enter into the profession of politics in early life, they only succeed in middle age to their peerages. But this element of statesmanship in the House of Lords is not much stronger than the learned and scientific element in the Convocations of the English universities, where the real power, when they are stirred to exert themselves, lies in the hands of the country clergymen. So it is with the peers.

The weight and resistance of the order lies not in the politicians, but in the country magnates who know no more of the philosophy of legislation than the country clergyman knows of Greek scholarship. And in critical times like the present these hereditary and intermittent legislators congregate at Westminster, not to give technical expression to the national will, but to thwart it as far as they can, and to protect the stationary interests of their order against the innovations of progress. Lord Salisbury's senatorial theory of the House of Lords would be excellent if it answered to facts, or rather is excellent so far as it does answer to facts. But the senate in the House is always liable to be swamped by the order, and then the decisions of the peers represent neither the principles of the national will nor the arts of technical and administrative legislation. Was it with the view of changing the order into a senate that Lord Salisbury, in the debate on life peerages, lamented the want of a censorship in the House of Lords?

That the leisure, experience, and technical knowledge of the senators among the peers can be used to excellent effect in improving the measures which pass through the cross-fire of amendments among the rawer legislators of the House of Commons, is a truism. But this function is called into action chiefly when a Bill has been disfigured by the inconsistent amendments of various thinkers in a House which the Ministry is not strong enough to control. When a Bill has been thoroughly considered, well drawn, and passed through the House of Commons without material alteration, it is a euphemism to speak of the modifications of principle introduced into it by the peers as technical improvements. If the principle which they modify is one that ought to be enforced, their modifications of it are so many failures of justice; they are legislative amendments, which only "improve" justice off the face of the law. If the Lords would faithfully do what they own is their duty, and study without prejudice to carry out the technical and scientific consistency of legislation, they would have a great future before them. The equality of justice at which the Irish Church Bill aims is almost a commonplace of consistent and scientific legislation. That which often makes despotisms bearable is the precision of the law—for this very precision is in its measure a safeguard of equality and justice. Grievances, disabilities, inequalities, injustices, are often only clumsy expedients of well-meaning and ignorant law-makers. And the clumsiness of the English law is its great fault. Future

reformers will have to address themselves to the task of finding better means of attaining certain ends that all parties agree in desiring—the extinction of pauperism, the education of the people, the repression of crime, the reformation of criminals. There is even a common term in which the policy of both parties with regard to the Irish Church coalesces. One would level up, the other level down, but both would level. Equality of some sort between the confessions is universally owned to be the proper aim of politicians. The question how to attain this equality is, if properly understood, exactly the question for the scientific statesman, who looks at the present, calculating the forces at his disposal, and looks at the future with the intention of making his measure complete, so as not to carry in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction. There can be no doubt that the equalizing and scientific system of policy has been gaining ground since the beginning of the century. Burke mourned the fall of chivalry, and the rise of economists and calculators. Chivalry is the statesmanship of impulse, of privilege, of divine rights inherent in persons and classes. It is the policy of conquerors who impose an extrinsic civilisation on subject races. But the internal development of civilisation by a national progress goes on other rules. The mathematical and mechanical legislation of the school of Bentham is a better expression for it than the spasmodic legislation of ascendant classes. The true age of economy and calculation began after the Reform Bill of 1832. Since that time mercantile policy has given the tone to our legislation, and has taught us that distributive justice deals out rights and imposes sacrifices on less invidious ground than the supposed moral and political superiority or deficiency of citizens, and that the fairest rule for nations as well as for persons is to deal to others as we would have them deal to us.

It is this happy relationship between the methods of a utilitarian legislation, and those of a legislation which aims simply at equality of justice, which causes that the men under whose guidance our economical legislation has culminated take their places as the leaders of the new movement. Mr. Gladstone became the principal figure in the day of financial economy, chiefly because he was never a mere financier or a mere economist. With all his mastery of the methods, and versatility in the resources of scientific finance, his measures were never merely financial, but always contained glimpses into outlying regions which gave a philosophic, even a metaphysical, tone to his financial

statements, and made them in this respect a laughing-stock to the mere calculator, who however accepted all their practical proposals with entire thankfulness. Mr. Gladstone was never a mere raiser of money for the Government to spend. His task was to see where the burden pressed overmuch, and where it failed to touch the bearer's back; to readjust the weights and distribute them evenly, so as to hamper the motive powers of the bearers as little as could be. The scientific treatment of finance for the purpose of securing a strict distributive justice in the partition of burdens, and the greatest possible freedom of movement in spite of the burdens, was his education to train him for a more general application of the same law of justice,—the readjustment of our political institutions on principles of equity, for the relief of those whose principles and consciences are justly offended at the existing inequalities. In Mr. Bright we also have one in whom early grasp of a great financial idea has supplied a certain sterility in devising the details of measures which in their general outlines and principles he foresaw sooner than any other statesman. If he is gifted with the far-reaching vision of a prophet, his detailed views seem to suffer under the conditions which necessarily attach to distance. But the firmness of his grasp of principles, and his passionate attachment to justice, make him, with Mr. Gladstone, a natural pioneer in the conciliatory and equitable policy on which the nation is entering.

The Irish Church Bill is a typical instance of this policy. If we consider the directness and precision with which its main principles of complete disendowment and disestablishment are carried out, and on the other hand the almost sublime contempt of logic with which it adopts compromise after compromise, till hardly one of its clauses, as Mr. Gladstone confessed to Mr. Fawcett, would bear to be scrutinized too closely, it is a model of scientific legislation, which loses sight neither of the oppressive multiplicity of contradictory details, nor of the unity which is ultimately to grow out of the heterogeneous mass. Or, if we consider the object of the Bill, which is to give to every religious confession in Ireland justice, and neither more nor less than justice,—to secure to each body its own rights, and to prevent it from so exercising or abusing its rights as to interfere with the rights of others,—it is evident that it deals with considerations more serious than finance, deeper down in the hearts of men than the incidence of taxation or military service; and these considerations are new, if not in themselves, at least in their relation with legislation.

For a long time questions of an abstract justice, or of the fundamental principles of politics, have had no practical effect in Parliamentary debates. Such speculations have dwelt in the dim distance,—if understood, at least not expressed. The questions of the day lay too near the surface of things to admit of being affected by texts of Scripture or transcendental analysis, and the reports of our Parliamentary proceedings offer none of the abstract and generalizing character so familiar to the French and Belgian Chambers. But with the change in the character of the questions debated has come a change in the character of the debates themselves. Questions have been brought down from the regions of abstraction to those of practical and party politics, and the House of Commons has been somewhat assimilated with Convocation. It has heard many a warning voice suggestive of the pulpit, and many a disquisition and distinction suggesting a scholastic theologian with a predetermined theme to defend. But if it has thus opened a field to official philosophers and pulpit statesmen, it has given the opportunity to the leaders of political thought to exemplify how eminently worthy of the highest statesmanship these somewhat abstract questions may be made; and neither the lucid and methodical thoughtfulness of Mr. Gladstone, nor the earnest conscientiousness of Mr. Bright, was ever so effectively displayed as in the late debates. In the House of Commons these debates have brought out two points in the clearest light: the scientific character of the Bill, which has made it practically inassailable, and has held it together by a sort of internal vitality; and the abstract nature of the problems which it raises, which seem to lie much deeper in the soil of political philosophy than ordinary questions go.

Mr. Gladstone, in moving for leave to bring in the Bill on the 1st of March, gave an explanation of the measure to be introduced, which is as true for the Bill now as it was for the first draught. Three specific dates at which certain operations would take place were the hinges on which his statement turned; but the course of the subsequent debates makes it more convenient to consider the operations themselves. These are mainly four: the disestablishment, the disendowment, and the modified reconstruction of the Anglican Church in Ireland, and the distribution of the funds accruing to the nation. The disestablishment is to be complete, and to take effect on the 1st of January 1871; on that day ecclesiastical courts and laws will cease to have authority in Ireland, ecclesiastical corporations will

be dissolved, and Irish Bishops will cease to have seats in the House of Lords. The disendowment of the Church as a Church will be complete on the day after the Act becomes law, when the whole property of the Church will be vested in the three Commissioners appointed by the Bill; but in consequence of the full recognition of all vested interests, the disendowment of each parish will be only a gradual operation. The life-interests of the clergy form the pivot on which the reconstruction, or rather the continuity, of the disestablished Church mainly turns. A machinery is provided, by which vacancies which occur between the passing of the Bill and the 1st of January 1871 will be filled up without creating any new vested interests. The clergy and laity of the Church are authorized, in the interval before complete disestablishment, to constitute a representative body, which the Government would recognise as the official organ of the Church. Through this body the Commissioners will make all the payments due to the annuitants on account of vested interests. It will also be enabled to accept from them a fixed sum in place of each annuity, and thus, by means analogous to those used by insurance companies, to accumulate a fund out of the difference between the capital with its total interest, and the sum of annual payments on each life. Again, the Bill recognises a distinction between public and private endowments. The latter are defined to be all moneys contributed from private sources since 1660. These are all to be handed over to the Church body; their value is estimated at £500,000. Again, the churches and glebe-houses will be handed over to the representative body, the former without any payment at all, the latter, with ten acres of glebe, for a payment of ten years' purchase of the land, without any consideration for the house, except so far as a debt is due upon it to the present Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

All the remaining property of the Establishment, consisting of its public endowments, will be vested in the new Commission. Upon this property the first charge will be compensation to vested interests; that is to say,—first, a continuation of present emoluments to every incumbent till his death, except in case of his accepting commutation, or refusing to continue his ministrations, in which case his annuity will be no longer payable to him; and secondly, two lump sums to compensate various interests affected by the withdrawal of the Maynooth Grant and of the *Regium Donum*. The permanent curates will be compensated out of the annuity of the incumbent who has



hitherto paid him, and the temporary curates will receive gratuities proportionate to their length of service, with a minimum of £200, and a maximum of £600. Parish-clerks and sextons will have full compensation for their vested interests, and other officers will receive gratuities to be determined by the Commissioners. The total value of the public endowments of the Establishment is estimated at £15,500,000; and the charges here enumerated will absorb about £8,000,000; £7,500,000 will therefore remain in the hands of the Commissioners. The fund which they will have to administer will come into their hands partly in the shape of a tithe-rent charge, partly in the shape of glebe-lands and other real property. It will be their duty to change these denominations into funded capital. For this end the Commissioners will sell to the landlords the tithe-rent charge at 22½ years' purchase, to be paid either in a lump sum, or by instalments to extend at the utmost over 52 years, at the rate of £4, 9s. per cent. of the capital for that time, less the amount usually deducted for poor-rates. After that period all tithe-rent charge not in the hands of lay impropriators will be extinguished in Ireland. The glebe-lands will be sold, partly to the Church body, partly, it is to be presumed, by virtue of a promised enactment, to other religious bodies, for like purposes, and partly to the occupying tenants. The churches, and burial-grounds which are annexed to them, will be handed over to the Church body, other burial-grounds to the Boards of Guardians, and ecclesiastical ruins to the Board of Works.

The sum remaining in the hands of the Commission after these operations is to be applied "mainly to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering;" in institutions which at present, where they exist, are maintained chiefly out of the county cess. The persons relieved will be lunatics, idiots, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind. The cost will be £235,000 a year out of the £311,000 which will be the income in the Commissioners' hands. The rest will be spent in aid to county infirmaries, reformatories, and in providing skilled nurses for the poor.

This being the character of the Bill as introduced into and passed by the House of Commons, the discussion of its principles, which necessarily preceded the second reading, was more or less a debate upon the abstract importance and meaning of religious establishments and religious endowments. Mr. Disraeli began the opposition in a speech wherein he made the establishment of a Church to consist in a union between it and the State, such as to render the State reli-

gious, and to invest authority with the highest sanctions that can influence the sentiments, the convictions, and consequently the conduct, of the subject; and, on the other hand, to render the Church political, by blending civil authority with ecclesiastical influence, by defining and defending the rights of the laity, and preventing the Church from subsiding into a sacerdotal corporation. Reading by his own private lights the signs of the times, he went on to say that the danger of the coming age will be an unchecked religious enthusiasm, issuing in sacerdotalism; against this fervid and zealous, but narrow and contracted agency, he found the true check and defence in a union with the agency of the State, which union alone could insure toleration. The Roman Catholic, he said, excommunicated by his Church, or the sectarian denounced and expelled by his congregation, ceases, in the presence of an Establishment, to be a forlorn being. There is the Church, of which the Sovereign is the head, which does not refuse to that individual those religious rites which are his consolation and comfort. Establishment, therefore, he said, means a union which secures to us "regulated freedom and temperate religion." In this speech Mr. Disraeli only hinted at his theory of the identity between Establishment and the supremacy of the Crown over the Church. In the debate in Committee on the 16th of April, when he moved the rejection of Clause 2, which dissolves the Legislative union between the Churches of England and Ireland, he enlarged upon the theory. "It is," he said, "union with the State under the supremacy of the Crown, which, quite independently of any endowment, secures to a Church purity and uniformity of doctrine, decorum of worship, a salutary discipline, and a wise and temperate Government." This proposition he made universal, and applied it to the Roman Catholic Church wherever it exists. He declared that so long as the Pope remains at Rome as sovereign, so long all Churches acknowledging his supremacy are established; that is, they are free from the uncertainties and mutabilities of voluntary associations, and enjoy, under the security of their supreme head, purity of doctrine, decorum of worship, salutary discipline, and wise government. But these advantages, he thought, are not conferred by anything short of a personal supremacy. Neither a confederation of Churches, nor a subordination of a Church to the civil law, would procure for it these benefits. Hence it followed that the Royal Supremacy which he wishes to maintain is not that which the Crown possesses in its Courts—for that is common to every Sovereign in the world,—

but it is an ecclesiastical power, which exists, not in the Law Courts, but "in the person of the Sovereign."

It is not probable that Mr. Disraeli had any very definite idea of his own meaning in this theory of Establishment, and criticism of so loose an aggregate of propositions is hardly possible. He foresees an age of religious zeal and sectarian heat, when these forces will be too strong for the control of the State by itself. But the State in union with the Church may rule them by cooling them. A Church thus allied with the State is described as a common pound for all stray cattle, an asylum for all castaway or unattached Christians, an unweeded garden where all pruners and cultivators of other fields are authorized to shoot their rubbish and throw their weeds. What influence such a hospital could have over the frenzy of enthusiasm is difficult to see; no person in the least actuated by the popular zeal of the coming religious epoch could tolerate it. And what consolation it could be to the excommunicated Catholic and expelled Dissenter to be invited to coalesce in common rites which they neither of them wished for or believed in is left unexplained.

If Mr. Disraeli intended to say merely that Established Churches, with various interests and various populations to conciliate, are conciliatory, whereas local sects are sectarian and exclusive, or if he had intended to refer to the comprehensive character of the English Establishment, which in its earlier years included schismatic Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and the family of love, it would have been possible to say so in obvious and intelligible language. But Mr. Disraeli seems to have entertained some further idea that toleration is the child of religious establishment, and that it is identical with the indifference or temperance which he describes. Yet the most intolerant days of the Establishment were when it aimed at being most comprehensive—when it stretched out its arms to the whole nation, inviting them to come in, and imprisoning, fining, or hanging those who would not. Indifference to all doctrines but one, to wit, the Queen's supremacy, never was a step gained towards toleration of the denial of this one, but rather concentrated the spirit of persecution upon its impugnors. The same phenomenon has been seen in Catholic countries, where a good-natured indifference to the doings and opinions of all who professed to believe whatever the Church believed, has been found quite consistent with inquisitorial severity towards heretics who lacked this one thing needful. It would be curious to speculate on the ultimate outcome of Mr. Disraeli's theory. Probably he

would hold with Horne, Elizabeth's Bishop of Winchester, and a few others of that day, who professed, in spite of the express contradiction of their doctrine put forth in the Queen's injunctions, that they believed the Crown to have inherited all the prerogatives of the Tiara, and that the Queen could do in the Establishment all that the Pope could do in the Catholic Church. A profession of civil and religious subjection to Her Majesty was, in the eyes of these Anglicans, the sum of all religion, just as submission to an infallible Pope may be in the eyes of some Romanists. But it is clear that the two systems are different. The Pope may be a symbol of dogma of some kind, the Queen cannot be. It may be thought a possible formula of faith to say, "I believe whatever the Pope believes or teaches;" but to say, "I believe whatever the Queen believes or teaches," is simply unmeaning, because the Queen, as such, is neither believer nor teacher. Instead of any such formula, the Anglican school of which we speak has to take refuge in a loyalty to the person of the Sovereign, a belief in his divine right, in the sacredness of his majesty, in the divinity which hedges his crown and guides his actions. This seems ultimately the only possible fixed tenet of Mr. Disraeli's political Church, consisting, as it does, of outcasts from all religious bodies united on the sole ground of the personal religious supremacy of the Sovereign. Probably the theory took flesh and was incarnate in the cavaliers of the Civil War, and is not, therefore, in an antiquarian and romantic sense, quite so absurd as it is in reference to the convictions and the tendencies of the present time. It is this personal supremacy, independent of all courts and all law—for Mr. Disraeli does not attempt to preserve the Ecclesiastical Courts or Canon Law,—which he besought the Government to leave to the Anglican Church in Ireland.

It is evident that no statesman could accede to so romantic a proposal. Mr. Disraeli had given new meanings to the words Establishment and Royal Supremacy unknown to our present Constitution or to our past history. Establishment never was the union between Church and State. But it was the confirmation by the State of the ecclesiastical laws, and the guarantee that the decisions of ecclesiastical tribunals should have civil effect, together with the recognition of the Church as a corporate person or number of persons, constituting a separate and independent estate in the realm. The notion of Royal Supremacy was originally that in all civil causes, whether tried by civil or ecclesiastical laws and judges, the ultimate appeal should be to the Crown, not

to the Pope. Afterwards, when heresy and other ecclesiastical offences were punished with the severest civil penalties, all these causes, however spiritual in essence, became civil in effect, and the Crown claimed a direct decision in them all. This it secured at the Reformation, and exercised its powers with the old machinery in separate ecclesiastical and civil courts. The division of courts is not in the least necessary for the supremacy of the Crown; but it is necessary that it should be exercised through some court or other, otherwise it has no organ through which to act. Mr. Disraeli's imagination of a supremacy independent of courts can only be a sentimental supremacy,—an appeal to feeling and faith without compulsory power,—a supremacy which belongs to a saint, or a prophet, or an impostor, but which is a preposterous addition to a hereditary and constitutional Crown.

In the political philosophy of Mr. Disraeli's speeches Endowment shares with Establishment the dignity of being raised into an abstraction, and, indeed, both are intimately mixed up with the question of the supremacy of the Crown. As the civil validity given to the laws of an Establishment gives it a certain power over the personal liberties of the subject, so does its endowment give it a certain power over the possessions of the subject; hence by virtue both of Establishment and of Endowment, causes purely ecclesiastical, and in their essence touching only faith or morals, become civil causes, and as such subject to the civil authority. With the best will in the world to avoid all appearance of deciding in religious cases, the temporal Courts must from time to time be called upon, in deciding who is entitled to an endowment, to decide also what present opinions are the legitimate equivalents of those for which the endowment was originally made. With the convenient fiction that the Courts are merely interpretative, that the Prayer-book and Articles are the full code of the Establishment, the ecclesiastical tribunals have hitherto been able to avoid the appearance of deciding on the legality or otherwise of new points of doctrine. But it is certain that religious thought has changed since the Reformation; neither the Ritualist body nor the Church Association really represents the mind of the framers of the Anglican Church law. There is a development of opinion, and the Courts are called upon to decide, not whether this development is true or false in itself, but whether it is a legitimate development of the opinions legalized in the sixteenth century. All bodies, whether established or

not, enjoying endowments, are liable to this inquisition of the temporal Courts. The Courts may at any time be called upon to judge, not whether an inculcated doctrine is true *in rerum natura*, but whether it forms a legitimate development of that creed to which endowment was originally given. And this in matter of fact is ultimately to give the Civil Courts power to decide on the orthodoxy or otherwise of religious ministers, not in their aspect of ministers of common Christianity, but in that of holders of endowments for specific religious teaching. The machinery of the Irish Church Bill, as originally put together, was calculated to put off as long as possible any such ultimately inevitable interference of the State, and to constitute the new Church as far as possible a free Church in a free State. The Bill as originally drawn went so far in this direction as not even to protect the vested interests of a clergyman who should decline to follow the new Church body in the changes they may please to make in doctrine or ritual, and should accordingly cease performing his functions. As the Bill now stands such a clergyman would forfeit his annuity. Sir Roundell Palmer discovered this blot, and both in Committee and on the Report proposed an amendment to obviate it. The amendment is accepted to a certain extent, and has been left for discussion in the House of Lords. But the extreme caution of the Government in this matter is a sure index of their fixed determination to remove the controversies of the Church as far as possible from the interference of the State, and to leave all ecclesiastical bodies as free as they can be to settle all their disputes among themselves. It is this aspect of the Bill which seems to make it attractive to Lord Carnarvon. Yet while endowments last, the question must at last, and in some form, arise, whether such a minister, holding such opinions, ought or ought not to continue in the enjoyment of his endowment. Endowments left to special bodies, defined by certain opinions, and described in deeds, must sooner or later give birth to lawsuits concerning the compatibility of certain new opinions with the old. The method by which Continental States have freed themselves from the responsibility of making this distinction, is, while keeping their legitimate supremacy, to suppress endowments and to substitute salaries. If religious ministers are paid not according to their opinions, but according to the numbers to whom they minister, or, it may be partly by such a scale as this, partly in proportion to the salary provided for them from private sources, according to the old plan

for giving State support to primary schools, the question who has the right to the salary would be one for the statistician, not for the theological lawyer; it would be a problem of arithmetic, not of orthodoxy. Since the French Revolution the clergy all over Europe have been gradually becoming a salaried instead of an endowed class; they have been cut loose from their territorial and feudal associations, and have become linked with the class which lives upon wages. The experiment has not been specially successful: the Catholic clergy at least have shown a much smaller nationalism, and a much greater disposition to centralize all their power in the Pope. But, on the other hand, it has been found possible, under these conditions, for the State, in conjunction with the ecclesiastical authorities, to arrange tables of maximum charges for personal ministrations and functions, such as marriages and funerals, and thereby to obviate all those scandals of spiritual extortion which have been referred to by many speakers in the late debates; and if the experiments, as they have been made, are not found otherwise satisfactory, they cannot be said to be conclusive, since the lay element has been hitherto quite excluded from all action, and the transaction has been a bargain between two despotic powers—an autocratic State hiring its spiritual labourers from an autocratic Pontiff, as the German Princes used to let out their armies. This is different from a State voting so much money for the spiritual care of the people, and distributing it scrupulously in proportion to the numbers of persons instructed, and the amount of instruction offered to them, and accepted by them. If the lay element is to be admitted to have such weight as is now claimed for it, some great change must probably take place in richly endowed religious societies. Independent associations, authorized to revise their own formularies, and in which the decision of the majority binds the whole body, may from time to time cast adrift a minority, till at last, by continual cutting off of fractions, the residue itself, though a majority as compared with the last secessionist body, may be only a small minority in comparison to the aggregate representatives, orthodox and heterodox, of the body to which the endowment was first left. In such case questions would soon arise about the right of the minority to the whole endowment. It would seem then that the development of the lay influence in religious corporations is likely gradually to militate against endowment, and in favour of the principle of congregational salaries, sup-

plement by State grants. And so, perhaps, the whirligig of time will bring it about that the revolutionary doctrines of Wiclif, who was accused of teaching that it is against Scripture to endow the clergy, that emperors and princes were seduced by the devil into giving temporal possessions to the Church, and the like, will come to be cardinal opinions with those who most desire to see religion, the highest exercise of man's individual free-will, emancipated from State control, and freedom secured to Church and State alike.

It must be owned that Mr. Disraeli and his party have reason for wishing the principle of Endowment to be kept as sacred as that of Establishment, for it is the very pivot of the system by which the Church becomes a department of the State, and is made political. Hence arises their wish for concurrent endowments by means of levelling up, or in any other way by which religion can be permanently paid by the State. They have the same objection to the separation of Church and State which the Italian bishops have expressed. But these last would keep up the union, it order that the Prince might govern at the good pleasure and patience of the priest; the other party that the priest might minister at the pleasure and patience of the Prince. But, besides these political reasons for endowments, there is a wide-spread sentiment that whatever is once given for religious purposes is sacred for ever, and cannot be alienated to secular uses without sacrilege. This feeling rests sometimes upon the teaching of Canon Law, and sometimes upon a long tradition, upon texts of Scripture, and upon legends of the evil fortune of Church-robbers. To this feeling Mr. Disraeli appealed in his speech against the second reading of the Bill. But the distribution of the surplus, as provided for by the Bill, had taken all its sting out of this great sentimental topic; it was impossible to deny, as Mr. Bright pointed out in his most eloquent and telling speech, that the purposes to which the surplus was applied were as spiritual, as charitable, and as divine as the endowment of a clergy, especially when the very life of that clergy consisted not so much in teaching religion, as in keeping alive religious controversy. To argue, as the Bishop of Peterborough argued, that since blind and mutes would be educated religiously, part of the surplus would be devoted to religious teaching, and to assert that such an appropriation was contrary to all the premises of the majority of the House of Commons to the nation on the hustings, will not command much assent. The religious endowment abjured was a de-

finite payment made to a definite body of religious teachers, in order to enable them to exist, and to set them up as teachers in the nation. The religious payments which will follow in the wake of the appropriation clauses of the Bill will be made to existing teachers for work which they may be called on to perform. To urge that because the surplus is not to be devoted to religious purposes, therefore no clergyman of any denomination is to be employed in the services set on foot by the application of that surplus, is to carry rigid literalism beyond all reasonable bounds.

The new ecclesiastical body set up by the Bill in Ireland, is totally distinct from an established and endowed Church, though it is set up by the State and receives a great deal of property through the State. For although the Bill confers upon it a legislative power, and provides that only those shall receive its pay who perform the functions which it prescribes, and submit to its legislation, yet as the body is left entirely free from State control in fixing the terms of its communion, and as with respect to its payments to ministers it will be only under the same control as other unestablished bodies, its incorporation and the gifts made to it, if they are made in the manner prescribed by the Bill as it passed the House of Commons, are totally different from establishment and endowment by the State. The Church body has no power except such power as is voluntarily conceded to it by those who choose to obey it. It cannot be considered a creation of the State, for it exists already in germ; and the clauses which seem to create it are really only clauses which recognise this embryo life, and provide that the execution of the Bill should not go further than was intended, and that the process of disestablishment and disendowment should not be also the death of the inner living Church. They are saving clauses, not creative. There can be no doubt, whatever has been said by Bishops in the House of Lords, that the ecclesiastical body and the communion it represents is treated with great, perhaps over great, tenderness, in respect of the churches and burial-grounds. That it should keep the greatest part of the churches is reasonable enough. But there are some, like the Cathedrals of Dublin and Limerick, and the Abbey Church at Galway, which the next generation will see with discontent in the hands of a minority which is not of the religion of the founders of those churches. The sacrifice may probably not be a great one for the present generation of Catholics; but the lasting dedication of

those churches to an alien worship, on the convenient fiction that they are valueless, will be, it is to be feared, like leaving the flags of ascendancy still flying on the high places of the land. The same considerations apply to the burial-grounds; after the first gush of satisfaction at the measure is over, will the majority be satisfied that their cemeteries still in great part are left in the custody of the minority? But this is an inequality which can easily be remedied by legislation. The present importance of these matters is slight. If they prove to be wounds only skinned over, not healed, they may be treated hereafter at no great cost. The facilities for purchasing glebes which are given to the ecclesiastical body would be invidious, were it not that they are only the pledges of equal facilities to be given to other creeds for the acquisition of ministers' residences, and in some more remote degree the promises and precursors of a general system which will encourage a greater division of landed estates among the inhabitants of Ireland. But this generosity of the Bill towards the Church body has not been appreciated by the recipients. The amendments which Mr. Disraeli proposed, would, after disendowing the richest Church in Christendom, have piled it up with gifts that would have left it richer by some thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Sir Roundell Palmer pleaded for the property of the Church; it had already, he said, lost four-fifths of its wealth, and what remained to it was not more than enough for the needs of a body of Christian clergymen ministering to a flock as numerous as the Irish Protestants. Lord Granville has replied that French Protestants, twice as numerous, subsist on 1-17th part of the sum. It might also have been said that a body which had so precarious a tenure of its property, or which had proved so careless a trustee of the national endowments for religious purposes, could offer neither security nor reason for being trusted with the custody of what was left. If a life-tenant with sole custody of, but only joint interest in, a property, has been weak or dishonest enough to let it dwindle till it is barely sufficient for himself, that fact would be but a poor plea for his keeping all that remained of it, and leaving the residue for his babes. Dr. Ball also pleaded for an institution that had had its roots in the country for 300 years. It was precisely because these roots had been roots of bitterness; because the tree had not grown, but dwindled gradually away; because neither its fruit nor its leaves had been for the healing of the nation, that it was at last acknowledged to be not

only just but politic to lop it and prune it—not to cut it down, but to remove from it the soil in which it could not prosper, and to admit to it the healthy action of free air and voluntary association.

In the arrangements for the employment of the surplus, the ultimate application of the fund is unquestionably one founded on the Divine law of charity. But the payment of Maynooth and of the *Regium Donum* out of the fund, the extinction of the tithes after fifty-two years in favour of the landlords, and even the relief of the county cess by the payment to hospitals and asylums now mainly supported by that rate, have all been subjects for animadversion. Sir Roundell Palmer, followed by a full chorus in the Upper House, thought that the cutting the curates out of the incumbents, as Sydney Smith would have called it, was an injustice. Travelling, as such arguers do, between the vested rights of individuals, which the Bill professes to protect, and those of congregations, which the Bill professes to abolish, they consider that the curate had an individual right to compensation, and the congregation a right to his services, but that the incumbent also had a right to his full stipend, and that it should be paid to him without any deduction, while the salary of the curate should be otherwise provided for. As Mr. Disraeli wished disendowment to result in enriching the Church, so Sir Roundell Palmer would have made its first result the enriching of the incumbent. The idea that Maynooth should be compensated from Imperial and not from Irish funds was grounded on an argument which lost sight of the fact that both it and the *Regium Donum* were buttresses of the Establishment, which the Parliament would never have erected except to redress some of the religious inequalities of Ireland, and that they were in this sense part of the Establishment, as the outworks are a portion of the fort. With regard to the relief of the landlords by the extinction of the tithe-rent charge after fifty-two years, two opposite objections have been raised: first, that tithe is a sacred obligation, the tenth part of the produce being due to religious uses; secondly, that the measure is a direct bribe to the landlords, and a simple sacrifice in their favour of so much money due by them to the State. As to the first argument, it has been practically swept aside years ago. No one in these kingdoms has paid tithe for many years; it has been commuted into a fixed charge, which only conventionally represents the tithe. Tithe meant a tenth of the produce of the land. If a man had no produce, he paid no tithe. It was a tax, not upon the land, but

upon the labour expended in making the land productive. It fell upon personal, not upon real property. Whatever sacred character belonged to the tithe must surely have taken its departure when so substantial a change was effected as to make it, not the first-fruits of increase, but a vulgar property-tax. With regard to the alleged gift of the rent-charge to the landlords, there is, in the first place, no gift, but merely a redemption of the charge on easy terms; next, when all the tithe is redeemed, and there is nothing more to be paid, a capital will remain, the interest of which will go far to supply the deficiency caused by the cessation of the payments; and lastly, when the rent-charge applicable to special purposes has ceased, the land will remain the first and most conspicuous object to be taxed for all the needs of the kingdom. Whatever becomes of personal property, the land cannot be dissipated; on it ultimately must fall the chief charges of keeping up religion, feeding the poor, maintaining hospitals, and doing the rest of the things which are now done, or will be done, by means of the tithe-rent charge while it lasts. Whether it is financially good, amidst the shifting taxation of years of prosperity and years of deficiency, to keep up a fixed charge on certain classes of property, seems to be decided in the negative by our greatest financial statesman. It was for this cause, Mr. Gladstone seems to assert, that Pitt encouraged the redemption of the land-tax for a capital in the funds paying equal interest. The land is so natural and obvious a taxable quantity, and is in fact so variously taxed, that to charge it with a small fixed rent over and above the varying rates and taxes to which it is liable, is a matter of but small consequence to the Exchequer, as is shown by the small and decreasing amount of the product of the tax. The income derived from land is so unprotected, so open to the attacks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it is certain never to pay less than its fair share of the public expenditure, especially now that the country is no longer governed by the landlords. And the progress of democratic ideas will probably make it much more difficult for the land to escape taxation fifty years hence than it is now, when its owners are already complaining, however unreasonably, of being made to contribute more than their fair share to the general and local taxation of the country, unless, indeed, a new tendency towards a division of the soil should once more make the landowners the most powerful class in the country.

With respect to the general justice of this measure, which in its parts is so well orga-

nized and put together, no one pretends to doubt, who does not close his eyes upon Ireland as a whole, and look simply on the 700,000 members of the Establishment. It is hard for men to lose a privilege, to be cast down from a position of ascendancy, and to have henceforth to pay for that which hitherto they have received gratuitously; it is hard for a regiment to be disbanded, or for a firm to have its contract cancelled. But when we consider that these 700,000 are but the eighth part of the population of Ireland, and that they alone, to the prejudice of the rest, enjoy the monopoly of privilege, sit on the steeple of ascendancy, and are gratuitously provided with the ministrations and trappings of religion; that if they are a regiment, there is now no war except that which they provoke, and that the country wishes to be at peace; that if the Government has contracted with their Church to furnish Ireland with clerical ministrations, it has clearly contracted with the wrong firm,—then it is plain that we are compelled by the commonest principles of equal justice to be negatively hard on this minority, in order to cease being positively unjust to the majority. But there are politicians who recognise this claim of justice, but seek to stop it, or modify it by a counter plea of policy. To disestablish and disendow the Irish Church is, they say, an example of ill omen to the English Church; it destroys the loyalty of the Irish Protestants, who have hitherto been the garrison which has preserved that island to England; and it fails to conciliate the Irish Catholics. It is just, they say, but inexpedient to pass the Bill.

There are others, of whom Lord Grey may be taken as the representative, who at once own to the justice and expediency of disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church, yet declare that in all its circumstances and details this measure has been and will be simply mischievous. They trace its origin, not to principles of policy, but to party motives. Forgetting the declarations of all parties last year, that Ireland was the question of the hour, they declare that before the matter was mooted in the last Parliament religious animosity was quiescent in Ireland, moderate counsels gaining ground, and minds becoming disposed to listen to proposals for an arrangement—on one side men becoming convinced of the impossibility of keeping things as they were, on the other no expectations or desires of extreme or violent changes being entertained. Now, they tell us, things are different. Agrarian outrages have burst out with new vigour and frequency, insubordination and religious exasperation are, they say, rampant. These

imaginary calamities are traced to the language and conduct of those who conducted the movement against the Irish Church in the last Parliament. But these considerations have very little point. The most unfavourable view of the present state of Ireland would not disprove the expediency of passing the Bill. It is not only Ireland that is concerned; it is England and Scotland too. The conscience of the majority of the people has at last come to see that the principles on which Ireland has been governed are unjust. Our duty is then to change those principles. The great obstacle to this change is the existence of the Establishment, and the political ascendancy connected with it. We owe it to ourselves as much as to the Irish nation to remove this obstacle. The injustice, having been borne so long, might be borne a little longer; but it would be abominable to morality to translate this passive proposition into an active one—we have been unjust so long that we may as well go on being unjust. To do injustice is a greater evil than to suffer it. It is more an obligation to cease doing evil than to cease enduring evil. We might then receive as true all the false pictures which have been painted of the increase of Irish discontent under the influence of this new hope, without altering our convictions of duty; and when we consider the mere expediency of the Bill, it does not seem very rational to condemn it because it does not conciliate the agitators whose occupation it takes away, the assassins, who can hardly be thought very accessible to moral influences, or the Orangemen whose ascendancy it destroys. The authors of the Bill never thought it would conciliate those classes, or intended it to do so. Every removal of an abuse tends to destroy the occupation of the agitator and grievance-monger. Every removal of a privilege tends to destroy the interested loyalty of the favoured classes. But the mass of the population in Ireland lies between these two extremes. It is to this mass that the policy addresses itself; and it ought to be most interesting to inquire how the national mind has been affected by the change of policy which has already been made; for the Bill is no isolated measure,—its value is greater as a symbol and promise than as a piece of legislation. It is part of a great organic whole which is nothing less than a new policy, a new spirit of administration, a new method of government for the Irish nation. And it has generally been so accepted in Ireland.

The first division on the project of disestablishment, and the spectacle of so considerable a majority in its favour, made the

great body of the Irish nation feel as if a load beneath which its back was bent had been lifted off. Irish Catholics, unused to such a moral attitude, could stand upright and look their neighbours in the face with a new sense of freedom. Without this feeling it is vain to hope for prosperity in Ireland. Between men who suffer wrong, and men who flourish on their depression, or gain from their loss, there can be no cordiality. Human nature gives scanty examples of a magnanimity which forgives the wrong and the wronger whilst the injury lasts, and the injurer daily parades his triumph and boasts of his act.

The generation which rejoiced over the Relief Act which O'Connell gained has passed away, and another now occupies the stage. The present generation has grown up without gratitude for the concession of rights which could not be withheld without crime, and which it has enjoyed as its birth-right, but it feels acute resentment for the disabilities which remain. The spread of education, and the increased intercourse with the outside world, especially with America, have taught the Irish people that men have a right to equality before the law, and that disabilities are an injustice; and they feel them all the more irksome from being gratuitous and unprovoked.

If the House of Commons by its majorities has relieved this Irish feeling, there is one special Irish appointment which has greatly furthered the good impression. Among the disabilities which grieved the Catholics of Ireland there were some which were not the less irksome, because they were seemingly theoretical. Thus, though it was perfectly possible for a Lord Chancellor to be both Protestant and just, yet so long as it was necessary he should be of a creed alien to the majority of the population, so long were they made to feel the ascendancy of aliens. If a Protestant Lord Chancellor rendered justice equally between Protestants and Catholics, it seemed a thing rather contrary to the intentions of the law, which compelled him, in the interests of Protestantism, to be a Protestant,—something to be surprised at, and to be welcomed as a grace, but not to be expected. The continuance of the phenomenon could not be relied on as a certainty, nor perhaps as a very great probability, at least in cases where the Chancellor's judgments were not between man and man, but between opposite classes of Irishmen, in questions arising out of Orange disturbances, or the abuse of power by Orange magistrates. Much of this feeling might have been relieved by the appointment of any Catholic as Chancellor. Such

a fact, by its very nature, would soon become known in every cottage, for it would be discussed by the groups round every chapel-door on Sundays; and the thought would tend to elevate them, to reconcile them with the law, and to blot out the bitter feeling that the law was neither made nor administered in their behalf, but only for the protection of the ascendant minority. Still the effect of the appointment would have been very limited if the Chancellor had been chosen from the class known as Castle Catholics. Such a choice would not have been regarded as a symptom that the reign of equality was about to be set up, but rather that the people had sold themselves for the elevation of a place-hunter nominally of their creed. Among the class referred to there were not wanting ostentatious proceedings which were well understood both by Government and people; if these proceedings had succeeded, the success might have done immense harm; the people would have argued, if the first-fruits of the promised equality were thus worthless, what would the crop be? This danger was happily avoided by the appointment of Judge O'Hagan, a man who had the sympathies of the people, both as an Irishman and as a Catholic. Or, again, a Catholic might have been found in whom religion had superseded patriotism, who was only a Catholic, and not a citizen at heart, who looked for his inspiration from ecclesiastical centres, and devoted himself to ecclesiastical aims. Such an appointment might have been popular with the priests, but scarcely so with the people. The Lord Chancellor has already given one striking example of his firmness by the proclamation of Londonderry, where a very serious riot occurred on the occasion of Prince Arthur's visit. There is an association there, exclusively Protestant, and of late years intensified to Orange, which is known as the Prentice Boys, and celebrates every year certain local festivals. When the Prince visited the town, the band of the Prentice Boys entertained him with some tunes, and with shouts of "No Surrender!" which indicated their objection to the Irish Church Bill. After them the Catholic "Hibernian band" serenaded him. Their audacity, as it was considered, induced a party of opponents to attack this band, whom they drove, with stones and shots, into the square, which is in the centre of the city. But in the square the police had been drawn up to protect the unarmed Catholics, and they replied to the rioters with a few scattered shots. Such a proceeding was unprecedented. Catholics had before that time been shot down, especially when the local police hap-



pened to be Orangemen; but for the police to return the shots of the "Prentice Boys" was an outrage. An investigation into the conduct of the police was set on foot and dropped. On the other hand, the Lord Chancellor and the Viceroy "proclaimed" Londonderry; every one in the place had to give up his arms. This was a shock to the "Prentice Boys," who ever since the success of the Liberal candidate at the election had been swaggering about with their revolvers. But besides these weapons they had their notorious "armoury" of historical cannons. The proclamation made it necessary for them to convey these pieces away, or to deliver them up. The former alternative was preferred. It will be easily understood how great is the moral effect of this act of the Government—an effect not limited to the city, or even its immediate neighbourhood. Of course it is not to be supposed that this equitable and bold line of action is due to the Chancellor alone, who, however, gets the chief credit for it. To Irishmen it does not seem likely that under the late Government any such step would have been taken. Such facts as this were necessary to enlist the Catholic majority on the side of law and order; to make them feel that they are no longer outlaws, no longer in the position of scarcely tolerated intruders in their native land.

Against the belief that this feeling is gaining the bulk of the population of Ireland, it is usual in England to point to various late events, of which the agrarian murders, threatening notices, and other outrages are the chief. Now of these murders, some of the most startling were not agrarian at all. It is conceivable that when a man is not of a strict moral character, other reasons for shooting him may exist besides the Land question. Two famous trials have lately taken place, one in Canada and one in the United States, in which assassins in like cases have been acquitted in the face of demonstration of their deed, and with a very general moral approbation of the public. The stationmaster who was shot, against whose moral character no imputations are made, was in no way connected with land. Not long since the stationmaster at Dover was murdered by a vindictive boy. We have no right to wonder at a similar deed in Ireland. It has been pointed out by Archbishop Leahy, and it is true, that Mr. William Scully of Ballycohey is to blame for much that has occurred of late. The monstrous lease\* which he forced on his tenants

has been published. There was, of course, after the outrage at Ballycohey, a general disapproval of the lease, and of the attempt to enforce it. But the pivot of the question lies here: how was that disapproval shown by the laws or the executive government of the day? It was shown by sending a detachment of police to aid Mr. Scully to enforce his lease, by issuing placard after placard, offering rewards for the apprehension of those who resisted, and by laying a police-tax upon the district. Such acts as this make the people despair—not the acts of the bad landlord, but the acts of the law-courts and of the executive government in aiding him to carry out his unjust acts. It is not words, but acts, on which they reason. Mr. Bright's promises and Mr. Gladstone's declarations are very shadowy things in the eyes of the Irish farmer; the substantial facts are Mr. Scully's lease, the police, the placards, and the police-tax. From the landlord's side they see no hope; on the other side they have seen successive Governments by their acts supporting the extremest abuses of landlordism. And with all this solid basis of real causation, it is pretended, forsooth, that a misty promise or indefinite declaration is the true cause of acts which it is rather calculated to allay. English statesmen must not forget that the first feeling they have to conquer is the universal deep-rooted and reasonable disbelief in political promises which is permanent in Ireland. How could it be otherwise? Just now there is an honest intention to redeem a promise. But for twenty years, year after year, the peasantry have been promised tenant-rights of some kind, and none have been given them. So far from Mr. Bright's promises having caused the late outrages, it may rather be surmised that if the peasantry knew of them, and believed that he could and would carry them out, discontent would be much allayed, while its revival would be made very difficult if there was a speedy performance of the things promised. Delay exasperates. Irishmen who rely on legislative ameliorations, and would persuade others to do so, are met and silenced by such phrases as the sarcastic proverb, "Live, horse, and you'll get grass." The people are no longer so patient as they were when O'Connell was preaching to them to hope in "moral suasion." The notices posted by the secret societies, and notably one lately posted by order of a "congress" in Meath, giving notice to "landlords and oppressors" that, "since we cannot find protection by constitutional means, we must have recourse to the revolver to protect ourselves," make no allusion to any politicians except to dis-

\* See *Modern Ireland*, by an Ulsterman (Longmans, 1868), Appendix I. p. 406.

claim them all. In the rural parts of Ireland Mr. Bright is little, if at all, heard of or known. The ex-Mayor of Cork and some others may "believe in him," but the bulk of the population, who live by the land, require something more than hearsay to attract their confidence. Hitherto the opposition to landlords has been carried on by isolated acts of revolted serfs, without connexion or system. The despotism of the landlords has been, like the Russian, tempered by assassination. If the Meath threatening notice, which speaks of a congress of eighty-five members, in which each county of Ireland was represented, is not a mere myth, it would almost look as if Fenianism, which in its beginnings was decidedly opposed to landlord-shooting, and intended to divert people from assassination by giving them "hope of deliverance," had changed in this respect, and had removed the check. There are three causes capable of staying assassination in Ireland:—(1.) The cessation of evictions; (2.) Hope of redress through Fenianism; and (3.) Hope of redress through the Government. But this last hope must have acts to rest upon. The most repressive measures, unaccompanied with measures of redress, will not end the evil; rather they intensify it by deepening the despair. On the other hand, there is some hope that evictions will not be persisted in. The landlords appear to have received such a shock that both provocation and revenge are likely to be suspended for a season. If names of English statesmen must be assigned as fomenting causes of Irish discontent, many more likely ones can be assigned than those of Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Bright. The Fenians used two names to conjure with—so hateful had they become,—that of Lord Russell, for his famine management, and that of Lord Carlisle for his provision about cattle. These names, with those of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, would serve Fenianism better, and more potently promote war against landlords than a thousand names like Mr. Bright's. A few years ago the Fenians complained that they could make no progress in the diocese of a "patriotic bishop," whereas they flourished in that of a loyal prelate. The names of men who give any reason to Irishmen to hope for consideration at their hands, do not excite but soothe feelings of disaffection.

It would then be a fallacy to suppose that the tide of Irish feeling is governed by the words of any statesman, however eminent. A few politicians may put faith in phrases, but a population is only moved by palpable and visible facts and deeds. Yet it has been absurdly assumed by journalists and

legislators, first, that there has been of late a great increase of agrarian crime, and next, that this increase is due to the words of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone. The hypothetical influence of certain words over the minds of a few Irish criminals, who are not proved to have known anything whatever of the words incriminated, and whose whole lives and modes of thought are thoroughly unknown to the persons who reason about them, is a congruous theme for rhetoricians who enlarge upon what may be, without caring to know what is. The contrast of the message of peace to Ireland with the outrages of the desperadoes which happened at the same time, was too tempting a theme for such speakers to neglect. They have cited the very words of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright which are supposed to have excited so wild a hope, that it could only have its fulfilment in blood. We have had no account how it is that the hope of a peaceful and equitable reform of a secular grievance can so act upon the nerves of rational beings as to aggravate their impatience, to make them too fervid to bide their time, and to goad them to desperate acts which can only retard the fulfilment of their hopes, alienate their friends, and exasperate their foes. The wild justice of revenge is usually the resource of those from whom the calm flow of legal justice is cut away, or for whom its clear stream is polluted. When a powerful Ministry promises that within a year or two a measure shall be proposed calculated to reform the grievance without injustice to any, and without violating the principles of political economy, it might naturally be supposed that such a promise is the most present means for calming wild desires, soothing exasperation, and allaying the thirst of revenge with the hope of legal justice. But according to Lord Grey and those who think with him, there has lately been a fresh outbreak of agrarian outrages and threats, which shows a renewal of strength in those who hope to get the land into their possession by lawless murder and legal confiscation. They see before them a good time, when assassination and outrage shall goad on the Legislature to legalize robbery and spoliation in their favour. But now, if these hopes exist, who has encouraged them? who has told the quick-witted peasantry that the Government will connive at, nay will encourage, such deeds? Who but those who have been preaching and teaching that the Irish Church Bill, supported as it has been not more by the voices than by the consciences of the whole Liberal party, is nothing but a measure of iniquity, moral turpitude, sacrilege, robbery, confiscation, spoliation?

If you tell the criminal classes that robbery is being legalized, is it not a direct inducement to them to rob? We would put no bridle on freedom of speech, nor under those who think the disendowment of the Irish Establishment to be robbery from saying what they think. But we submit that they should accept, and not throw upon their neighbours, the responsibility of the logical consequence of their speeches. Instead of this, they pore into Mr. Gladstone's and Mr. Bright's speeches for sparks to account for a conflagration, when their own hands wave the blazing torches. The Irish peasant learns from the Tory both these facts,—that the Irish Church measure is robbery, and that the nation has decided in its favour. The preaching of the Tory party is, that robbery is to be. How much robbery there is to be is only a question of degree, which each man's personal interests will prompt his hope to determine for itself. It is not those who promise a Land law, consistent in all points with justice and political economy, who raise wild hopes of confiscations; but it is those who habitually call that injustice which the conscience of the nation declares to be just, who are confounding the ideas of right and wrong, and obliterating the distinctions between justice and injustice, good and evil. It is they who, to prevent or put off the doom of the sentenced Establishment, are generating an atmosphere of unwholesome vapours, in which the unclean spirits of robbery and murder chiefly delight to dwell.

When the Government deliberately abstained from liberating all the Fenian prisoners, it is idle to suppose that they can be disappointed at not having gained all the popularity which might have resulted from so dramatic a stroke. They have, however, gained much by the limited measure adopted. It is not generally true that those who were set free began at once to denounce and threaten. There were only two who did so; and these two were naturalized American citizens. They belonged to the expedition which sailed from America in the "Jackmel," or "Erin's Hope," under the command of a native American, Colonel Nagle, who was the leader, and on whom the chief responsibility of the affair rested. Now, if there is one feature of Fenianism on which the late Government insist, it is its foreign origin. "I had the opportunity," said Mr. Disraeli, on the 31st of May last, "of making myself well informed on the subject. Honourable gentlemen know now a great deal about it; but something never will be known, except by those who at that moment incurred the responsibility of

conducting affairs; and I will express my conviction that the Fenian conspiracy was an entirely foreign conspiracy." With this idea, right or wrong, the late Government must have known what to do with a foreign leader of this foreign conspiracy when they could catch him. And they exhibited their wisdom by releasing Nagle. Subsequently, members of that Ministry, no longer in office, attacked the present Government for releasing Nagle's two subordinates; and when these two subordinates, Warren and Costello, made violent speeches, the indignation of Mr. Disraeli's friends at the Government knew no bounds. We have not been told why, if the late Government was justified in releasing Nagle, the present Government is to blame for releasing his sub-officers. If any harm has been done in Ireland by release of prisoners, such harm must chiefly be put to the account of the late Government in releasing Nagle. The cause was naturally supposed to be Nagle's American nationality. Even the Conservative *Dublin Evening Mail* declared that it seemed to be done for fear of America. Hence arose the popular notion that the Government would yield to fear. The Government organs were then declaring, what Mr. Disraeli has recently repeated, that Fenianism was a foreign importation, and depended for its being on foreign emissaries; that these filibusters were the great culprits, and ought to be taught a severe lesson. The Irish, they said, had some excuse; the foreign agitators none. And then, while all this was being impressed on the public mind, the captured American leader was released, and the men who had served under him were detained in prison. Now, joining the two things, the declaration and the fact, what explanation could be found other than this, that the then Government acted upon some secret and potent reason, the only imaginable one being that the man was released because he was an American citizen, and because the then Government feared to give umbrage to America by keeping him? The Irish, reasoning thus, saw the Government concede to the fear of another nation what it would not concede to conciliate Ireland, liberating the guiltiest of all, and keeping in prison those whom it acknowledged to be comparatively innocent.

The liberation of the prisoners by the present Government did, to some extent, soften asperity of feeling; but certain drawbacks have limited its effect. One is the treatment to which it is believed in Ireland the prisoners had been, and still are, subjected in their prisons. There was lately a debate on this point in the House of Com-

mons, and an opinion was expressed there that not enough distinction was made between seditious convicts and felons. If this is felt in the House of Commons, it is certainly felt more strongly in Ireland. Still, the partial liberation produced an effect, and the people have not failed to make allowance for the difficulties of Government. That which has really produced no effect, though it has been so often referred to as a symptom and cause of danger, is the talk of Warren and Costello. They have given no fresh impulse to rebellion; they have simply disgusted the people. The reason of the banquet given to them at Cork was a protest on the part of some of their friends against the criticism upon their previous speeches in the newspapers of their party. At the banquet they did not fail to justify their censurers, and they have lost credit with the Fenian body both in Ireland and America. For even with them a belief is beginning to be entertained that the present Government has a real honest intention of acting justly to Ireland, and they considered it both unfair to the Government, and inhuman to the remaining prisoners, to do anything calculated to thwart this intention. In the treatment of the remaining prisoners it should be remembered that when a large section of the population sympathizes with the aims and acts of the convicts, their punishment cannot even tend to disgrace them in the popular eye. Rather it elevates them into martyrs. In Ireland especially, legal punishments and disabilities have for centuries been associated with religion and patriotism. There is in that country a great gulf fixed between the idea of law and that of right. The people do not accept the teaching of the Statute-book and the Bench. To be a malefactor before the law is rather a recommendation in the eyes of the people. It is an unfortunate but inveterate evil, which will require years to eradicate, and can at last only be eradicated by a practical demonstration of the identity of the law with natural right and justice. The whole island must now be considered as cast into a chaotic state from which nothing fixed can be expected immediately to arise, without taking time for its organization and consolidation. The law and the people may be reconciled, if justice is seen everywhere to precede or to accompany repression. But if repression precedes justice, the old tradition is strengthened and prolonged. This is an elementary truth, which no man has stated more vividly than Mr. Gladstone.

If we shift our view from the discontented Catholic population of the south of Ireland to the Protestant population of the

north, it cannot be denied that demonstrations against the Church Bill on a great scale have taken place amongst them. But if we analyze the elements of these demonstrations, we shall see that they cannot be so important as they are made to look. In the first place, Ulster is not so Protestant a province as it is generally represented. Out of a population of 1,914,000, nearly 970,000 are Catholics. Of the remaining moiety, there are 55 Presbyterians to 40 Episcopalians. The Presbyterians are certainly not opposed to the Bill; their General Assembly now in session has confirmed its previous decision, and has determined to confine its action to the interests of its own body, and only to protest against the endowment of antichristian error. Not above 20 or 25 members out of 550 in the Assembly are Conservative, and its moderator is Professor Smyth, who proposed Mr. Dowse, the member for Derry. In the beginning, when meetings against the Bill commenced, they were generally "got up;" they arose not from the spontaneous action of the population, but from the special agitation of clergymen and lay zealots. And at first they were comparatively failures. It was not till the aristocratic landlords and clergy could get rid of their prejudices, and invite the democratic Orangemen to join with them, that these demonstrations assumed anything like importance. Now, the Orange democracy of the north, consisting of two Episcopalian to one Presbyterian member, like the Fenian democracy of the south, has no special ecclesiastical question in view; both factions are more or less built upon the desire for land entertained by a peasantry which feels that it has not all the freedom or all the rights to which it is entitled. But the Orange lodges, though originally political, have become also social, like clubs, or the lodges of English Oddfellows or Druids. A holiday and treat given to these lodges, by means of which men with their families could enjoy a gratuitous railway excursion, and a gathering in some pleasant spot, would naturally collect a grand demonstration, and purchase enthusiastic cheers. The Orangemen are willing enough to try what talking will do, and to hear speakers blow off the steam with any amount of fume and fury. At some of these meetings there has been a great cry for repeal. Nothing can be more palpably insincere and hollow than such a cry, resounding at a meeting convened for the purpose of securing the interests and privileges of the Protestant aristocracy of Ireland. It is not their interest to have the Land question solved by a native parliament. But they hoped, and they said, that the

Government would be frightened by the cry, and would relinquish the Bill—just as Chinese troops fancy that their barbarian opponents may be put to flight by painted shields, terrible as Medusa's head, but harmless as any other compound of pasteboard and paint. With a kind of Chinese logic, the leaders of the agitation in Ireland have adopted the Repeal cry, considering it as the most effective form of protest. And probably the Orange Democracy is more to be influenced by such a cry than by the danger of a Church to whose doctrines and discipline they are notoriously indifferent. In crying "Repeal" when they do not mean it, the Protestant aristocracy is playing with edge-tools, or rather playing into the hands of the Orange and Fenian democracy.

It would be but reasonable if the same considerations which induced the Lords to affirm the principles of the Irish Church Bill by a majority of 33, should induce them also not to make or not to insist upon amendments which are subversive of those principles. One of the principles, indeed, that of disestablishment, has the advantage of such simplicity and unity that it can scarcely be modified. Even the Bishops own that the national verdict for disestablishment is positive and irrevocable. With this it is manifest that disendowment follows, so far at least as it is absolutely necessary to disestablishment. Of course it may be argued that disestablishment requires only a partial disendowment. But this difficulty will then arise: disestablishment is in its very nature disendowment; when the nation disestablishes its Church, ecclesiastical funds cease to be vested in the Church, which ceases to exist as a recognised corporation, and come into the hands of Commissioners. Partial disendowment, then, is technically impossible; properly speaking, anything left to the Church will be a re-endowment. Mr. Gladstone in his Bill happily got over this difficulty by a series of clauses which in matter of fact were instructions to the Commissioners to sell at half their real value, to the new Church body, a great quantity of property in houses and land, part of which would remain as parsonages and glebes for the clergy, while part might be sold and the proceeds invested. He also, by several excellent financial contrivances, showed the way in which the Church body might capitalize the annuities for life-interest, and so save out of them a considerable endowment. The consequence of all this would be that the new "free Church in the free State" would hold its endowments, not as gifts, but as purchases from the State. With such property the State could not have any pre-

tence to interfere. But the amendments in the notices of the House of Lords point quite another way. The omission proposed by Lord Grey in the preamble suggests that the surplus is to be used for religious purposes, that is, for the re-endowment of the disestablished Church. Now, either this new endowment must be given to the disestablished Church only, or to all the Irish confessions proportionately. In the first alternative, the old injustice and inequality are offensively preserved; in the second, the verdict of the people at the hustings, and the promise made to the last Parliament, are set at nought, or eluded. And in both alternatives the endowments are made to be direct gifts from the State, with which the State must retain its right to interfere at pleasure, instead of being assimilated to private corporate property by the medium of sale and purchase. Moreover, if glebes and houses are sold to the Church body, that body would have the right to sell again, and would naturally sell the houses and glebes in places where it could not see its way to planting a self-supporting Church. But if these glebes and houses are granted directly by the State, the same option to sell can hardly be expected; and then in the most Catholic parts of Ireland we may see the rudiments and nucleus of proselytizing missions founded by the State. Now, however excellent missions and missionaries may be in themselves, they ought to be backed by their own charity, their own convictions, and the voluntary support of their own fellow-believers, and not by the forces or gold of the Government. Moreover, one of the features of the Irish Establishment most offensive to Irishmen generally has been its position in the Catholic provinces, where if it did anything in the way of religion, it could only be by proselytism. It never could appear just that the Government should stud the land with agents charged to take advantage of poverty, misery, and the pity of parents for their starving children, and commissioned to buy souls for a mess of pottage, in order to recruit the ranks of the Establishment. And yet this evil would be continued if houses and glebes were given by the State in every parish to the disestablished Church, whether or not the gift was balanced by equivalent donations to the Catholics and Presbyterians. Such a measure would result in the State's appearing to set up missionary centres where they are not wanted. The principle of sale and purchase, as embodied in the Bill in its present form, avoids all these evils. It saves the State from all suspicion of interference with religious teaching. It allows the supply to be regulated by the demand, and instead of blindly giving a

house and garden where perhaps no minister is required, it permits those conveniences to be had just where they are wanted. And it saves the property thus given for ecclesiastical purposes from the direct and constant control of the State, thus leaving the Churches free, instead of making them Erastian appendages to the State.

It is to be hoped, then, that the Lords will respect the principle of disendowment as well as that of disestablishment, that they will not let the Erastian ideas which characterize the Tory party generally infect the endowment which they leave to the disestablished Church; and that if they insist upon treating the disestablished Church with more generosity than they say the House of Commons has treated it with, they will remember that there is one principle which comes before generosity, and that is justice. Whatever distribution of gifts they make, they ought to be equal; that is proportionately, not absolutely, equal. And if amendments which do not observe these conditions do not stop the Bill, if the House of Commons accepts as much of the Lords' amendments as it can, they will mar the Bill, make it certain that a fresh agitation will be raised upon the subject, and will necessitate fresh legislation upon it within a very little time. It was only in 1867 that the personal payment of rates was considered by the Tories the one condition which made household suffrage tolerable. Now there is a Bill introduced by the Government into the House of Commons to destroy that fanciful safeguard, because of the enormous grievan-

ces which it has caused. The representation of minorities is in nearly as bad a plight. It is not worth while to tack on the present Bill any similar appendages, only to disappear within a few years, the sole effect of which will be to cause an act of conciliation to be done in the most unconciliatory way. For the peace and good government of the Empire, it is most important that this great question should be settled at once in a permanent and thorough way. For the advantage of the Liberal party it is not so important. It is not against their interests that there should still be grievances to abolish, or that their opponents should make themselves unpopular with the nation. Whatever the House of Lords may do, the nation has testified by its acts its desire to be just to Ireland. The men whom we wish to conciliate are our fellow-citizens; they have taken part with us in the whole political action of the session, and with us they are watching what is now taking place. They see as well as we can see where the good-will lies, and as well as we can they can place their finger upon that which hinders its perfect embodiment. It is patent to Ireland and to the whole Empire that it is not the fault of the people, of the Commons, or of the Liberal party, if a great act of reconciliation between united but antagonistic nations, should be accompanied by hostile feeling against an order which does not scruple to interfere in the work in a spirit inimical to the expressed will of all the three nations concerned.

THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1869, AND JANUARY, 1870.

VOLUME LI.

---

AMERICAN EDITION.

---

NEW YORK:  
PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY.

140 FULTON STREET, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND NASSAU STREET.

---

1870.

---

**S. W. GREEN,**  
**PRINTER, STEENOTTER, AND BINDER,**  
**16 and 18 Jacob St., N. Y.**

---



## INDEX TO VOLUME LI.

- ALBERTI (Dr. E.), Sokrates: ein Versuch über ihn nach den Quellen, 118.**
- American State Rights, The Origin of, 188-200;** the relation of the States to each other, 189; the origin of State rights, *ib.*; the Federal Convention of 1787, *ib.*; the two parties in the Convention, 190; the Virginia and New Jersey theories as to the legislature of the Union, *ib.*; the contest in the Convention regarding them, 191; arguments used on either side, 191-193; the result of the debate, 193-196; action of the several States when the Constitution was submitted to them, 197, 198; narrowness of the issue directly raised, 198; the love of independence as manifested by the voting on the Constitution, 199; mutual deference exercised between the Federals and Nationals, *ib.*; the want of this among the representatives of these political parties precipitated the recent civil war, *ib.*; a representative equality accorded by the Constitution to State sovereignty, 200.
- Angström (A. J.), Recherches sur le Spectre Solaire, 815.**
- Arneth (A. von), Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland—Ihr Briefwechsel, 134.**
- Asselineau (C.), Charles Baudelaire, sa Vie et son Œuvre, 301.**
- Assyrian Libraries; see Libraries.**
- Austria, The Constitutional Development of, 72-92;** the situation at the close of 1866, 72; its political resurrection since that date, *ib.*; Count Beust, the author of recent reforms, 72, 73; obstacles he had to contend with, 73; political history of its various nationalities, 73, 75; Schwarzenberg, 75; administration of Bach, 76; war with Italy, 77; federal theories of Goluchowsky, 77, 78; Schmerling, 78; situation in which Hungary and its annexes, in their relations with Austria, were placed by the diploma of October 1860 and the patent of February 1861, 78-80; difficulty of Austria's relations with Prussia and Germany, 80; Count Bismarck and the Schleswig-Holstein question, *ib.*; difficulties of Austria with Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia, 81; administration of Belcredi, 82; position of Hungary after the war, 83; Baron Beust, *ib. et seq.*; negotiations of the provincial parliaments, 84; and their results, *ib.*; the western portion of the Empire, *ib.*; the Emperor crowned King of Hungary, 85; results of the session of the Reichsrath after the consolidation of the Empire, 85, 86; the Concordat, 86, 87; progress of Constitutionalism, 87; the Czechs, 88, 90; Baron Beust's Red-book, 89; the Reichsrath under the new ministry, 90, 91; present position of the monarchy, 91.
- Autobiographies, 200-217;** motives alleged by men for writing the histories of their own lives, 200; in no case do such go unrewarded, 200, 201; three principal groups of autobiographies, 201; conditions of literary success, 202; Pepys's diaries, *ib.*; Giraldus Cambrensis, 203; points essential to good autobiography, 204; Cellini and Michel Angelo, 204, 205; William Lilly—Jung Stilling, 205; Michel de Marolles, 206; autobiographies in French literature, *ib.*; lives of mediocre interest, *ib.*; incompatibility of humour and autobiography, 207; Montaigne, 207, 208; memoirs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 208; Charles Goldoni, 209, 210; Marmontel, 210, 211; Rousseau, 211; Alfieri, 212; autobiography of Heinrich Jung, *ib.*; religious autobiographies, 212, 213; Byron and Shelley, 213; characteristics of the sentimental pseudo-autobiographies, 214; Goethe, 214, 215; F. W. Newman's Phases of Faith, 216; Dr. Newman's Apologia, *ib.*; works of fiction, 216, 217.
- BABYLONIAN Libraries; see Libraries.**
- Bacon, Francis, Letters and Life of, by J. Spedding, 124.**
- Baratos (M. de), Trois Documents de l'Eglise du xv. Siècle, 283.**
- Bartholomew (St.), the massacre of; see Massacre.**
- Barxmann, Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I. bis Gregor VII., 116.**
- Benfey (Th.), Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem anfang des 19. Jahrhundert, 313.**
- Beust, Baron von, 72, 83, 89.**
- Bibra, (Dr. von), Die Bronzen und Kupferlegirungen der alten und ältesten Völker, mit Rücksichtnahme auf jene der Neuzeit, 158.**
- Bismarck, Count, 80.**
- Blankenburg (H.), Die innern Kämpfe der Nord-amerikanischen Union bis zur Präsidentenwahl von 1868, 144.**
- Bond (E. A.), Chronica Monasterii de Melså, vol. iii., 122.**
- Booth's (A. J.) Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England, 298.**
- Boutetière (Comte de la), Le Chevalier de Sapi-naud et les Chefs Vendéens du Centre, 135.**
- Brace (C. L.), The New West; or, California in 1867-1868, 306.**
- Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Bunsen, 306.**
- Broglie (M. de), Nouvelles Etudes de Littérature et de Morale, 155.**
- Browning's (Mr.) Latest Poetry, 51-67;** the title of his new poem, 51; his previous obscurity and unintelligibility, 52; the criticism of poetry, *ib.*; his characteristics as a poet, 53; incompleteness of his similes, 55; indirectness of his metaphors, 56; the satirical element, 57; his historical characters, 57, 58; the form into which the story of this poem is moulded, 59; its hybrid character, *ib.*; the monologues, 59, 60; lyric love, 60, 61; his representations of popular opinion, 61, 62; his own running commentary, 62; the materials of the poem, 62, 63; the characters introduced, 64-66; his style, 66, 67.
- Büdinger (Max), Wallington: ein Versuch, 140.**

- Burrows (Prof.), *Constitutional Progress: in Seven Lectures*, 307.
- CALIFORNIA in 1867-68, 806.
- Calverley (C. S.), *Theocritus translated into English verse*, 310.
- Campbell (A. G.), *The Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi*, 125.
- Carayon (Père A.), *Le Père Ricci Général des Jésuites à l'Epoque de leur suppression (1773)*, 290.
- Caro (E.), *Nouvelles études morales sur le temps présent*, 312.
- Chemistry, *Outlines of*, by W. Odling, 319.
- Cherrier (C. de), *Histoire de Charles VIII., Roi de France*, 281.
- Clermont-Ganneau (C.), *Histoire de Calife le Pêcheur et de Calife Haroun er Rechid, Conte inédit des Mille et Une Nuits*, 309.
- Cobbe (Thos.), *History of the Norman Kings of England*, 276.
- Cockburn (Sir A.), *Nationality: or the Law relating to Subjects and Aliens, considered with a view to future Legislation*, 305.
- Constitutional Progress, Lectures on*, by Prof. Burrows, 307.
- Cosel (E. von), *Geschichte des Preussischen Staates und Volkes unter den Hohenzollern'schen Fürsten*, i. ii. 135.
- Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 116.
- Crétineau-Joly (J.), *Bonaparte, le Concordat de 1801, et le Cardinal Consalvi*, 139.
- Cucheval-Clarigny (A.), *Histoire de la Constitution de 1852, son développement et sa transformation*, 303.
- DE FOE, Daniel, 131.
- Disraeli, B., *political career of*, 253-267.
- Drake, (W. R.), *Notes on Venetian Ceramics*, 132.
- Droysen (J. G.), *Gustaf Adolf*, 286.
- Droysen (J. G.), *Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preussen*, 290.
- Duruy (M.), *Statistique de l'Enseignement supérieur*, 157.
- Dümichen (Dr. J.), *Resultate der auf Befehl Sr. Majestät des Königs Wilhelm I. von Preussen im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsendeten Archäologisch-photographischen Expedition*, 269.
- EASTLAKE (Sir C. L.), *Materials for a History of Oil-Painting*, 148.
- Edwards (H. S.), *The Life of Rossini*, 142.
- Egyptian Chrestomathy*, 106.
- Elementary Logic (The Different Schools of)*, 38-51; *logic and metaphysics*, 38; the two schools of logicians, *ib.*; Sir William Hamilton, Archbishop Whately, and Mr. Mill, 38, 39; the subject and province of logic, 39; the science and the art, 40; its relation to the several sciences, *ib.*; the practical employment of logic, 41; the distinction and relation between logic and metaphysics, 42, 43; Mill on the difference between the two, 53, 44; the account as given by Kant and his followers, 44; truth and falsehood, *ib.*; the three primary laws of logic, *ib.*; the syllogism, and its different forms, 44, 45; induction, 45; combination of syllogism and induction, *ib.*; "the substitution of similars," and "the association of ideas," 46; improvements in the theory of logic by the rival school, 47; wherein it differs from Mill, *ib.*; its analysis of the reasoning mind, and names of men-  
tal attitudes and operations, 48; illustrations, 48, 49; the "Concepts," 49, 50; Judgments, and Reasonings, 50; Mill's charge against Hamilton, *ib.*; inquiries which lie immediately before the logician, 51.
- Erdmannsdörfer (B.), *Graf Georg Friedrich von Waldeck, ein preussischer Staatsmann im 17ten Jahrhundert*, 288.
- Ewald (H.), *Die zwei Wege in Deutschland*, 145.
- FÉTIS (F. T.), *Histoire générale de la Musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, 312.
- Foster (J. W.), *The Mississippi Valley: its Physical Geography*, 319.
- Foubert (L.), *De l'Impôt sur les Valeurs mobilières*, 157.
- France and Prussia (*Decentralization in*), 217-227; the theory of municipal monads, 217, French legitimists and Prussian conservatives, *ib.*; fictitious communes of the Revolution period in France, 218; changes under the Restoration, 218, 219; administrative organization, 219; broad distinction in Germany between the towns and the rural districts, 220; its historical cause, *ib.*; subsequent amendments of the Städte-ordnung, 220, 221; the idea of the commune in Germany formerly confused with that of the town, 221; law as to rural communes in Prussia analysed, 222; the Prussian Kreis and the French arrondissement, *ib.*; the three kinds of authority in the Kreis, 223; inconveniences arising from centralization of authority, 224; what has been done for self-government in France, 224, 225; municipal administration in France, 225, 226, and in Prussia, 226; administration of police in France, 226, 227, and in Prussia, 227; recent progress in both countries in the extension of self-government, 227.
- Frederick-William I., of Prussia, 290.
- French (G. R.), *Shakespeariana Genealogica*, 285.
- Friedmann (P.), *Les Dépêches de Giovanni Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre, pendant les années de 1554 à 1557*, 123.
- Friedrich (J.), *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands (vol. ii. first half)*, 273.
- Froissart's *Chronicles*, 280.
- GACHARD (M.), *La Bibliothèque des Princes Corsini, à Rome*, 283.
- Gaедertz (Th.), *Adrian van Ostade: sein Leben und seine Kunst*, 130.
- Gaffarel (P.), *Etude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Christophe Colomb*, 122.
- Gardiner (S. R.), *Prince Charles and the Spanish marriage, 1617-1623; a Chapter of English History*, 127.
- Gardiner (S. R.), *Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty*, 286.
- Garnett (R.), *Idylls and Epigrams: chiefly from the Greek Anthology*, 152.
- Gibbon, Edward, 1.
- Gillett (R. H.), *Democracy in the United States*, 144.
- Gladstone, W. E., 1-16, 263.
- Goethe, 214, 215.
- Gratian's *Decretals*, 69.
- Greeley (Hor.), *Recollections of a Busy Life*, 141.
- Guerrier (Prof. W.), *Officium et Miracula Sancti Willigisi (975-1011)*, 117.
- Gustavus Adolphus, 286.

- HADDAN (A. W.); see Councils.  
Hallahan, *Life of Mother Margaret Mary, by her Religious Children*, 301.  
Hamilton, Sir William, 88 et seq.  
Hardy (Sir T. Duffus), *Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. i., 289.  
Hiatus: The void in Modern Education, its Cause and Antidote, by Outis, 146.  
Homeric studies, 1-16.  
Honegger (J. J.), *Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*, vols. i. and ii., 299.  
Hovedene, Roger de, 277.  
Hüffer (K.), *Die Politik der Deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege*, 186.  
Humboldt, Alex. von, 300.  
Hungary, and its political history, 73 et seq.  
Hymans (L.), *Histoire politique et parlementaire de la Belgique de 1814-1880*, vol i., 296.  
ICELANDIC-ENGLISH Dictionary, chiefly founded on the Collections made from Prose Works of 12th-14th Centuries. By the late Richard Cleasby. Enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Part I., 314.  
Immortality, *Lectures on*, by J. J. S. Perowne, 156.  
Ireland, Literature of the Land question in, 92-104; the literature of Ireland, 92; early indications in it of the land-grievance, 92-93; causes alleged for discontent, 93; county of Donegal as divided among the planters on Sir John Davis's scheme after the flight of the Earl of Tyrconnell, ib.; Anglo-Irish and native Irish oppression, 94; coigne and livery, ib.; "Irish exactions," 94, 95; similar exactions, recently or still existing, chargeable against the plantation scheme, 95; entries in Pynnar's survey, ib.; the "rundale" system, 96; Lord George Hill and his efforts to improve the condition of his tenantry, 96, 97; Mr. Coulter and Mr. Holland, two recent writers, quoted on tenants' grievances, 97, 98; objectionable clauses in leases as noticed by John M'Evoy in the Statistical Survey of Tyrone in 1802, 99; landlords and tenants as depicted by Mr. Allingham in his poem, *Lawrence Bloomfield*, 100; poverty and rack-renting, ib.; the Ulster custom of tenant-right, 101; land literature in reference to county Kerry, ib.; tenantry on the Kenmare estate—absolutism of the agent, ib.; serious cases of oppression, 102; arbitrary regulations on the estate of Cahirciveen, 103; "uncertain rents" and fines, ib.; case showing why the granting of leases is not always welcome, ib.; the complaints in every province essentially identical, 104.  
Irish Land Tenures (History of), 227-250; the land question can be understood only by a careful study of Irish history, 228; different grades of people recognized in the ancient laws, 228, 229; O'Curry's lectures, 229; land-nobles and the cultivators of land, 229, 230; the Bothachs, the Sencleithe, and the Fuidire, 230; influence of the colonies that entered Ireland from Britain, ib.; extension of Magna Charta to Ireland, 231; the first case of collision between landlord and tenant, ib.; the first agrarian outrage, 232; the Statute of Kilkenny, ib.; this period an inauspicious one for the cultivators, 233; Jack Cade, ib.; the English Pale, ib., 233, 237; Henry VIII. acknowledged sovereign, 234; the "Composition" of Connaught, 234, 235; the Plantation of Munster, 236; state of the interior of the country described at this time by Robert Paine, 236, 237; essential points of the Plantation scheme, 239; the undertakers, 240; did English settlers contribute anything to the formation of what is now known as the Ulster custom? 241; land-customs carried to Ireland by the English tenantry, ib.; Thomas Blenerhassett cited, 242; the Plantation schemes intended to exclude tenants-at-will, 243; origin of the Ulster custom, 244-248; the Irish rebellion of 1641, 247; the change effected, and the principles established, by the Cromwellian settlement, 247, 248; important Acts in the reign of William III., 249, and their results, 250; the Octennial Bill of 1768, ib.; subsequent legislative enactments, ib.  
JAFFÉ (P.), *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. v., 118.  
Jobez (A.), *La France sous Louis xv.*, tome v., 133.  
Johnson (S. W.), *How Crops Grow*; revised, with numerous Additions, and adapted to English use, by A. H. Church and W. T. T. Dyer, 159.  
Joyce (P. W.), *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, 111.  
Juventus Mundi, 1-16; Edward Gibbon, 1; Gladstone's place in literature, ib.; his picture of Homeric life, 2; episode of the five ages, ib.; his claims on behalf of his author, 2, 3; his speculations on Greek ethnology, 6-8; the title "Lord of men," 8; Minos and Aiolos, 9; Greeks and Orientals, 9, 10; the Homeric Pantheon, 10 et seq.; Aphrodite and Hephaistos, ib.; Apollo and Athene, 11, 12; Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the theomachy, 12, 13; Pelagic and Hellenic deities, 13; theory regarding Poseidon, 13, 14; general account of the Olympian system, 14; the chapters on Homeric ethics and polity, 15; analysis of the characters, ib.; analysis of the contents of the poems in contemplation, 16.  
KEBLE (Rev. J.), *Miscellaneous Poems*, reviewed, 150.  
Keinz (F.), *Indiculus Arnonis, und Breves Notitiae Salzburgerenses*, 274.  
Ketschendorf (M. de), *Recueil complet des discussions législatives et des débats résultant des grands procès politiques jugés en France de 1792 à 1840*, 294.  
Klippel (G. H.), *Das Leben des Generals von Scharnhorst, nach grösstentheils bisher unbenutzten Quellen dargestellt*, vol. i. ii., 295.  
Köpke (Rudolf), *Ottomische Studien zur deutschen Geschichte im zehnten Jahrhundert*, (H. Hrotsuit von Gandersheim), 275.  
Krenkel (Max), *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden*, 270.  
LACROIX (Paul), *Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'Epoque de la Renaissance*, 311.  
Ladenburg (Dr. A.), *Vorträge über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten Hundert Jahren*, 318.  
Lavollée (R.), *Portalis, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, 295.  
Lee (W.), *Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel De Foe*, 131.  
Lefébure (E.), *Traduction comparée des Hymnes au Soleil composant le XV<sup>e</sup> chapitre du Rituel Funéraire Egyptien*, 107.  
Leroy-Beaulieu (Paul), *Recherches économiques, historiques et statistiques sur les guerres contemporaines (1858-1866)*, 304.  
L'Estrange (Rev. A. G.), *The Life of Mary Russell*

- Mitford, related in a Selection from her Letters to her Friends, reviewed, 300.
- Libraries, Babylonian and Assyrian, 161-169 ; two races in Babylonia in the early Semitic period,—the Sumiri or Kassî, and the Akkadi, 161 ; the language of the Akkadi, ib. ; cuneiform inscriptions, ib. ; character of the earliest collections of Babylonia, 162, 163 ; period of mixed texts (Akkad and Semitic), 163 ; literary works belonging to the period following the Semitic conquest, ib. ; colonization of Assyria, 164 ; inscriptions found in the city of Assur, ib., and at Kalakh, 163 ; Chaldean work on astrology, ib. ; the Nineveh literature, ib. ; cylinders containing historical records deposited by the Assyrians and Babylonians at the four corners of new or repaired buildings, and examples of these records, 166 ; tablet in the British Museum from one of the Nineveh libraries, 166, 167 ; tablets from Nineveh called Syllabaries, 167 ; readings from tablets found in the record chambers, ib. ; forms of prayer, 168 ; establishment of observatories,—astronomical reports, ib. ; foreign works known to have been kept at Nineveh, ib. ; the annals of Nebuchadnezzar still unrecovered, 168, 169.
- Lindner (Dr. T.), Anno II. der Heilige, Erzbischof von Köln, 1056-1075, 117.
- Liverpool, Lord (Robert Banks), 139.
- Löher (F. von), Jacobäa von Bayern und ihre Zeit, 281.
- Longman (W.), The History of the Life and Times of Edward III., 120.
- Luard (H. R.), Annales Monastici, vols. iv. and v., 120.
- Lubbock (Sir J.), Pre-Historic Times, as illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages, 320.
- Luce (S.), Chroniques de J. Froissart, vol. i., 280.
- Lucretius, the De Rerum Natura of, 114.
- MACCOLL (N.), The Greek Sceptics from Pyrrho to Sextus, 270.
- Maclaren (Charles), Select Writings, Political, Scientific, Topographical, and Miscellaneous, edited by R. Cox and J. Nicol, 155.
- Madden (Sir F.), Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, vols. i.-iii., 119.
- Marryat (J.), A History of Pottery and Porcelain, Mediæval and Modern, 149.
- Martha (G.), Le Poëme de Lucrèce : Morale, Religion, Science, 114.
- Martin (Th. H.), Les Sciences et la Philosophie. Essais de critique philosophique et religieuse, 313.
- Martineau (J.), Essays, Philosophical and Theological, vol. ii., 153.
- Maspero (G.), Translation of Hymne au Nil, 108.
- Massacre (The) of St. Bartholomew, 16-38 ; state of the evidence as to the origin and motives of the tragedy, 16 ; the despatches of Ferralz and Salviati, ib. ; position of Protestantism in the summer of 1572, ib. ; state of parties immediately preceding the massacre, 17 ; Coligny and the Huguenots, 18 ; number of the victims, ib. ; was the massacre premeditated ? ib. ; evidence that it was so, 18 et seq. ; the conference of Bayonne, 19 ; testimonies of Petrucci, Contarini, Cavalli, and Michiel, 19, 20 ; of Cardinal Salviati, 20 ; the Cardinal of Lorraine, 21 ; and the Cardinal of Alessandria, ib. ; testimony of Aldobrandini (afterwards Clement VIII.), 21, 22 ; sketch of events during twelve months before the massacre, 22 ; explanations of the Government after the event, 23 ; plan of operations in the provinces, 23, 24 ; reception of the news in foreign countries, 24 ; Charles seeks to appease the resentment of the Protestant powers, ib. ; the materials for an official history of the event suppressed by him, ib. ; the motives of the crime, 25 ; congratulations of Philip II., 26 ; the Duke of Alva, ib. ; the seven Catholic cantons of Switzerland, ib., and Italy, 26, 27 ; joy of the French churches, 27 ; encouragement of the assassins by Sorbin, the king's confessor, and Edmond Auger, a Jesuit preacher at Bordeaux, ib. ; the question as to the sanction of the massacre by the Court of Rome, 28 ; the Capilupi family, ib. ; tracts showing what was believed at Rome, 28, 29 ; reception of the news by Gregory XIII., 30 ; his reply to the announcement of the massacre, 31 ; Cardinal Orsini, 32 ; Gregory XIII. and Pius v., 32, 33 ; congratulations from the Sacred College, 33 ; an alleged dissident, Montalto (afterwards Sixtus v.), 34 ; theory framed to justify these practices, ib. ; Charles and his successor urged to follow up what had been begun, 34, 35 ; how the massacre was viewed by the Catholic world, 35 ; opinion of Lutheran divines, 36 ; sentiments of Theodore Beza, ib. ; Catholic apologists, 36, 37 ; modern attempts to conceal the truth, 37, 38.
- Mayor (J. E. B.), Ricardi de Cirencestrîa Speculum Historiale, vol. ii., 278.
- Mendelssohn (Prof.), Der Rastatter Gesandtenmord, 137.
- Mercator, Gérard, 285.
- Merivale (C.), Homer's Iliad in English Rhymed Verse, 153.
- Meynard (C. Barbier de), Maçoudi : Les Prairies d'Or, tom. v., 274.
- Micé (Prof.), Rapport Méthodique sur les Progrès de la Chimie Organique pure en 1868 avec quelques détails sur la marche de la Chimie physiologique, 318.
- Mill, J. S., 38 et seq.
- Mississippi valley, physical geography of, 319.
- Mitford, Mary Russell,—Life of, 300.
- Montégut (E.), Les Pays Bas : Impressions de Voyage et d'Art, 145.
- Müller, Professor Max, 10 et seq.
- Murphy (J. J.), Habit and Intelligence in their Connection with the Laws of Matter and Force, 315.
- NETELER (B.), Die Gliederung des Buches Isaia als Grundlage seiner Erklärung und insbesondere der Auslegung einer für die Zukunft wichtigen Weissagung, 249.
- Newman (Edward), An Illustrated Natural History of British Moths, 322.
- Newman's (Dr.) Apologia, 216.
- Niebuhr, 5.
- Nineveh literature and libraries, 165-168.
- Norris (Edwin), Assyrian Dictionary, Part i., 108.
- ODLING (W.), Outlines of Chemistry, or Brief Notes of Chemical Facts, reviewed, 319.
- Ouseley (Rev. Sir F. A. G.), A Treatise on Counterpoint, Canon, and Fugue, based upon that of Cherubini, 154.
- Owen, Robert, the Founder of Socialism in England,—Life of, by A. J. Booth, 298.
- PASINI (L.), Dispaçi di Giovanni Michiel, 284.
- Pelasgians, the, 6 et seq.
- Perkins (C. C.), Italian Sculptors : being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy, 147.
- Perowne (J. J. S.), Immortality : the Hulsean Lectures for 1868, 156.

- Perrens (F. P.), *Les Mariages Espagnols*, (1602-1615), 125.
- Pertz (G. H.), *Monumenta Germaniæ historica* (Scriptorum Tomus xxi.), 275.
- Peter (Carl), *Geschichte Roms*, vol. iii. pt. 2, 115.
- Phillips (J.), *Vesuvius*, 159.
- Pope (The) and the Council, 67-72; parties in the Church of Rome, and their views of the Papacy, 67; the Jesuits, *ib.*; position of the bishops as respects the dogma of the Pope's infallibility, 67, 68; the question as to whether the faith of Catholics is liable to be changed at will by their Church authorities, 68; argument of a recent work on this subject, 68, 69; Gratian's Decretals, 69; the methods and motives which have reared the Popish system, 69, 70; The Pope and the Council the manifesto of a great party, 70; defects in the work, 70, 71; questions avoided by the author, 71; Möhler and Döllinger, 71, 72.
- Pottier (André), *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*, 311.
- Prévost-Paradol (M.), *France*, 305.
- Prussia, Decentralization in; see France and Prussia.
- RAEMDONCK (Dr. T. van), Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, 285.
- Ranke (L. von), *Zur Deutschen Geschichte vom Religionsfrieden bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 126.
- Ranke (L. von), *Geschichte Wallensteins*, 287.
- Reimann (E.), *Geschichte des Bairischen Erbfolgekrieges*, 133.
- Rembrandt, 146, 288.
- Renan (Ernest), *Saint Paul*, 114.
- Renouf (P. Le Page), *The Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered with reference to recent Apologies*, 273.
- Riehl (W. H.), *Wanderbuch*, 307.
- Riley (H. T.), *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, vol. iii., 279.
- Ritt (Olivier), *Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez*, 304.
- Rosen (Baron), *Aus den Memoiren eines Russischen Dekabristen. Beiträge zur Geschichte des St. Petersburger Militäraufstandes vom 14 (26) December 1825 und seiner Theilnehmer*, 298.
- Rossini, *Life of*, by H. S. Edwards, 142.
- Rougé (M. de), *Chrestomatie Egyptienne*, second part, 106.
- Rozière (E. de), *Liber Diurnus ou Recueil des Formules usitées par la Chancellerie Pontificale du V<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 115.
- Rymer's *Fœdera*, 289.
- SAINTE-BEUVE (C. A.), *Nouveaux Lundis*, eleventh vol., 309.
- Sanders (W. C.), *Poems of Ludwig Uhland translated into English Verse, with a short Biographical Memoir of the Poet*, 153.
- Sarpi, Fra Paolo, 125.
- Schelling's *Leben in Briefen*, edited by Prof. Plitt, 292.
- Schirren (C.), *Livländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarian*, 304.
- Sclopis (Fred.), *Le Cardinal Jean Morone*, 284.
- Sculpture, Italian, 147.
- Secession, war of, in America, 144.
- Simcox (G. A.), *Poems and Romances*, 150.
- S... n (G. von), *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener October-Aufstandes*, 1848, 142.
- Spedding (James), *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, vols. iii. and iv., 124.
- Stilling, Jung, 205, 212.
- Strehlke (E.), *Tabulæ Ordinis Theutonici*, 278.
- Stubbs (Prof.), *The Chronicles of Roger de Hovedene*, vols. i. and ii., 277.
- Swift, 169-188; estimate which has been formed of his works, 169; his personal character less favourably judged, *ib.*; his characteristics through life, 170; correspondence with Mr. Kendall, *ib.*; Sir William Temple, 170, 171; becomes for a short time incumbent of Kilroot, *ib.*; publication of the Tale of a Tub, 172; the Battle of the Books, *ib.*; becomes chaplain to Lord Berkeley, *ib.*; opposition to his appointment as Dean of Derry; is at last presented to the two livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan, 172, 173; intimacy with Miss Jane Waring, 173; Stella and Vanessa, *ib.*; his life at Laracor, 174; visit to London in 1710, when he abandons the Whigs and supports the policy of the Tories, 175; the Tory ministers, 176; Miss Vanhomrigh, 177; appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, 178; his relations with Stella, 178, 179; death of Vanessa, 180; his resistance to Wood's copper coinage, *ib.*; was he a sincere Irish patriot? 180, 181; publication of Gulliver, 182; and of the Voyage to Laputa, *ib.*; Stella's last illness and death, 183; Swift's declining years, 184; his death, 185; his character, 185, 186; strictures of Thackeray, 186, 187; the reproach of coarseness in his writings, 188; summary, *ib.*
- Synesius, the rhetorician, and Bishop of Apollonia, 273.
- TAINE (H.), *Philosophie de l'Art dans les Pays Bas*, 146.
- Teissier (O.), *Histoire de Toulon au Moyen Age*, 281.
- Theiner (Aug.), *Histoire des deux Concordats*, 188.
- Thirlwall, Dr., 6.
- Tory Party (Repentance of the), 251-267; Tory tactics for the last twenty years a failure, 251; real Toryism finally defeated at the Revolution, *ib.*; Bolingbroke's Neo-Toryism, *ib.*; confusion of parties consequent on the French Revolution, 252; the Tory-Conservatism of the period between 1790 and 1830 broken up by the Reform Bill of 1832, *ib.*; Peel as leader of the disorganized party, *ib.*; Disraeli's early criticism of Conservatism, 253; publication of Vivian Grey, 253, 254; his letter to Lord Lyndhurst in 1835 intended as a programme of his own performances, 254-256; his view of politics, 256, 257; his political novels, 257, and their distinctive object, *ib.*; his theories, as enunciated in them, 257-259; sketch showing how far they have been carried out, 259; his view of parliamentary parties, 259, 260; the grand centre round which all his political opinions are grouped—himself, 261; the three qualities of a great statesman—according to Mr. Disraeli,—all claimed for himself, *ib.*; the attraction between disorganized Conservatism and a man of his opinions and character, *ib.*; to have revenge on Peel, he became champion of the Protectionists, 262; became leader of the Conservatives in 1849, *ib.*; is made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852, 263; Lord Derby's ministry of 1853, 264; the Reform struggle of 1867, 265; the conflict between the three schools of Liberalism, Toryism, and Conservatism during the passage of the Irish Church Bill, *ib.*; the sterility of Toryism, 266; Conservatism merely a sentiment, *ib.*; what the opposition have yet to learn, 267.

- Typical Selections from the best English Authors, 308.
- UHLAND, LUDWIG, 158.
- Ulster custom of tenant-right, 101, 241, 244-246.
- United States, Democracy in the, by R. H. Gillett, 144.
- VARNHAGEN VON ENSE (K. A.), Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte, 140.
- Venetian ceramics, 132.
- Vesuvius, 159.
- Vivenot (Dr.), Thugut, Clerfayt, und Wurmser, 186.
- Volkmann (Dr. R.), Synesius von Cyrene, 272.
- Vosmaer (C.), Rembrandt, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, 288.
- WATTENBACH (W.), Eine Ferienreise nach Spanien und Portugal, 145.
- Wellington, Duke of, 140.
- Whately, Archbishop, 38.
- Williams (F.), Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury, 130.
- Wright (Dr.), The Homilies of Aphraates the Persian Sage (vol. i. The Syriac Text), 271.
- YONGE (C. D.), The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, second Earl of Liverpool, 139.

THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CI.

OCTOBER, 1869.

ART. I.—*JUVENTUS MUNDI*.\*

GIBBON thought it worth while to record his belief that his experience in the Hampshire militia was a qualification for narrating the campaigns of Roman armies, and to suggest that his political life as a silent member of Lord North's party qualified him to appreciate the spirit of Roman administration, and to unfold the intrigues of the city and the palace which determined the fate of the Empire. Compared with Tillemont, Gibbon was a man of action: compared with Tacitus, he was a man of letters. Tacitus had lived at the centre of public life: Gibbon had only set one foot within the circle. Tacitus has faults which Gibbon escapes, and merits which he does not reach; and both are due to his training as a great official. He despised the Jews as an administrator too much to read the Septuagint; and accordingly he disfigured the fifth book of his Histories with the malevolent and incoherent fables of their neighbours. But only a statesman could have written his account of the fall of Galba, or of the collapse of the imposing power of Vitellius. Even writers so far inferior to Gibbon as Mr. Helps and Mr. Finlay show us that they have seen events close: their narrative is less impressive and less masterly, but it is easier to realize. Gibbon's generalizations are always firm and clear and accurate; but it is impossible to penetrate behind them to the facts. For the author had generalized from books, and not from life.

Mr. Gladstone is a man of letters in a

much more serious sense than Gibbon was a man of affairs. He carries into literature the whole of his purely intellectual faculties. All the intellectual graces of his greatest speeches are reproduced in his *Studies on Homer*; there is the same power of making details interesting, of making subtlety clear, of making paradoxes all but self-evident. And all this splendid activity is entirely disinterested, in a way in which the works of professed scholars often are not. Mr. Gladstone loves Homer for his own sake: Mr. Grote loves Athens because she was a witness against the policy of the Holy Alliance. It is unfortunate, but perhaps it is inevitable, that intellectual sympathies so keen and so delicate should be somewhat exclusive, and, it must be added, capricious, in their object. A man who cared less for one department of scholarship, and who had done less for his favourite department, would have found it easier to accept at second-hand the results to which the general movement of scholarship tends; and the results which he himself reached would have been more readily admitted, and would have advanced knowledge more, when they were offered, not as a substitute, but as a supplement, to the investigations of other scholars.

There were at one time people who imagined that, in politics, Mr. Gladstone was destined to be the ornament of a lost cause: in literature, he is the ornament of a decaying school. He carries us back to the days when Keble discussed, in his delightful *Prælectiones Academicæ*, what Homer would have thought of the Whigs. In *Juventus Mundi* we do not find the same anxiety to condemn the author's enemies by the sentence of his favourite. Instead of bringing English statesmen to the bar of Homer, he

\* *Juventus Mundi. The Gods and Men of the Heroic Age.* By the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone. (London: Macmillan).

brings Homer to the bar of English virtue in order to a triumphant acquittal. He has much that is valuable to say on Homer's place in human history; but his first thought seems still to be Homer's place in English education. This want of perspective gave an unscientific appearance to many parts of his earlier work, which did injustice to its substance; the author appeared to be wavering between the higher forms of the literature of dilettantism and the lower forms of the literature of edification. Even now, it is doubtful whether a book which contains enough fresh knowledge, clearly put, to make it a valuable text-book on the early history of Greece, will be accepted by English scholars. If *Juventus Mundi* is relegated to the indiscriminate admiration of half-educated readers, the blame will not fall entirely on the exclusiveness of professional students, or their jealousy of amateur co-operation. The author's picture of Homeric life is, with some slight drawbacks, much the fullest and clearest that we know; within these limits he is always solid, consistent, and clear. When he leaves the ground of political and social life to speculate on mythology and ethnology, he is still ingenious, still interesting, still full of views and suggestions, which are sometimes fruitful and often brilliant; but he is no longer trustworthy. He catches at all sorts of hints, in all sorts of writers, ancient and modern, whether they agree or disagree; and a single hint is a foundation for an extensive theory. Thus, though he has supplied models of the most laborious and cautious investigation, he can be exhibited to the sober-minded public as a mere builder of critical card-castles, with, no doubt, a plausible and interesting style, and considerable, but undigested, reading. But equitable judges will remember that, in a subject which touches so many others, he would have needed more learning than is to be required from a busy man, and more timidity than is to be desired from an able man, simply to avoid entangling himself.

At the same time, *Juventus Mundi* represents an unmistakeable advance in clearness and sobriety; the outlines of the author's thought gain in connection and distinctness, now that the mass of detail which was accumulated round them has been brought within its proper limits. Mr. Gladstone no longer insists upon doubtful and invisible points which contribute some grains of cumulative plausibility to the ancillary evidence of some secondary proposition. He is satisfied to give his less important conjectures for what they are worth; and they do not seem less plausible when they are no longer encumbered with unconvincing proof. His new arguments, too, are of a more posi-

tive and prosaic order. In both *Studies in Homer* and *Juventus Mundi*, he discusses the comparative age of Homer and Hesiod, in both the discussion turns upon the epoch of the Five Ages. In the earlier work it was very ingeniously argued that the Heroic age, which interrupts the symmetrical progress of degeneracy, must be simply the reflection of the halo thrown by Homer over the generation that fought at Troy, and that Homer must have been already an ancient poet when those who heard his lays gave a sacredness to his heroes which he does not merit. In the later work, the genuineness of the episode is no longer assumed: its date is conclusively fixed. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, iron is a much rarer and more valuable metal than copper or bronze: at the time of Hesiod or pseudo-Hesiod, as now, iron was much cheaper and more abundant than copper; and this condition has been established long enough to allow it to be regarded as a type of worthlessness.

There is room, perhaps, for as much difference of opinion about the date and manner of the composition of the *Iliad*, as about the authorship of the touching episode of the Five Ages. But Mr. Gladstone's scepticism has not yet extended to Homer. His claims on behalf of his author become more exalted, though they are a shade more exclusive and less absolute. Homer he claims to be, not merely the mirror of the Greek society, but the mould in which Greek society was cast, the creator of a literature of a religion, of a nation. On the other hand, he no longer discards with indifference the testimony of later writers when it is at variance with what Homer says or leaves unsaid. Instead of finding a Sipyle in Greece to discredit the post-Homeric legend that a great Greek hero had come from Phrygia, he now admits the legend to supplement the reticence of Homer and to prove that the great Greek poet is an unwilling witness to the foreign origin of a great Greek house. Perhaps it is carrying deference to Homer's antiquity rather far to assume that he knew all that was worth knowing in later poets and mythographers, though he did not always choose to say what he knew. Pindar points to a distinction between the general legends circulated by irresponsible rhapsodists and the local legends which were in the custody of States and individual houses, and were often connected with special and immemorial rites. Such legends, of course, would be liable to a special kind of embellishment and a special kind of perversion; but there is no reason to think that they are post-Homeric in origin. The Athenians were in a condition to point out the spot where the sons of



Tyndareus rescued their sister from Theseus; and it is really frigid to suggest that the Athenians attributed an inchoate abduction to their national hero in a spirit of servile imitation. Such an hypothesis is too high a price to pay for the privilege of accepting Homer's chronology, with its internal harmony and its arbitrary framework. Argive Helen may have been historical, for mythical traits do sometimes accumulate upon historical characters; but her abductions by Theseus and by Paris must be regarded as parallel myths, since they cannot be regarded as successive legends.

One admission cannot be made—that Achilles and Helen, and Agamemnon himself, may never have existed, and that yet the *Iliad* may have had a lofty historical purpose. According to Mr. Gladstone, Homer intended to instruct his contemporaries by recalling a not remote and glorious past, and the only question is whether he chose to do this by a history of the turning-point of the war of Troy, or by a historical romance founded upon that war. If the *Iliad* is a historical romance, it is assumed that its author observed the conditions of local colour and internal harmony as they have never been observed before or since. Mr. Gladstone prefers the first view, on the whole; but he weakens the force of his vigorous advocacy, by offering to fall back on an unmeaning and indefensible compromise. He consents to give up a view for which there is very much to be said, out of deference to opponents whom he expects to accept a view for which there is nothing to say. If the author of the *Iliad* invented Achilles and Helen and Agamemnon, as Tasso invented Rinaldo,—if he took them as Virgil took Dido, as ready-made themes for poetical embellishment,—then the author of the *Iliad* had nothing but the most fragmentary knowledge of the Trojan war, and of the then state of Greek society. It is more than improbable that, knowing so little, he had a didactic purpose in telling what he knew; and the manners of his heroes and the wounds of his gods must be relegated together to the past which was never present. There is something in the argument that Nestor's long stories must be valuable from the historical point of view, because they are inopportune from the poetical; it may be admitted that the mare of Menelaos may be historical, because it is too insignificant to repay invention. But, after arguing to the trustworthiness of the whole from the fidelity of the parts, it is impossible to maintain that the most prominent parts may show the license of invention, but that the general aspects of the whole have been faith-

fully reproduced. Even apart from this paralogism, it is not worthy of Mr. Gladstone's intellect and courage to write as if the evidence which makes a large proposition probable must be sufficient to make a small proposition certain. But this kind of infelicity appears throughout the book. The author displays great subtlety and flexibility of mind in support of opinions which are often sound and original, but are crudely and inflexibly conceived. His treatment of Homer's personality is a characteristic, though not a solitary, instance. He believes that our *Iliad* and our *Odyssey* have come to us from a single mind; the belief is supported by the evidence of antiquity, and probably by the evidence of the poems. But it does not follow that because the Homeric poems are not the arbitrary compilation of Peisistratos or Hipparchos, they are the work of a single individual Homer, in the same sense as the *Æneid* is the work of Virgil, or as *Hamlet* is the work of Shakespeare. Mr. Gladstone does not mention Mr. Paley's brilliant but tantalizing theory, which satisfies all the internal conditions so completely, without a shred of external support, and seems to be passing as silently into oblivion in our own age as Mr. Paley supposes our Homer to have risen into glory in the age of Pericles. But this cross-light on the intricacies of the Homeric question is not needed to show that, under the circumstances in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have come to us, we are not justified in reasoning from them to the mental peculiarities of their authors, and then reasoning again from those peculiarities. Again, there are many intermediate stages between the painstaking good faith of Herodotus, and wilful, conscious, deliberate invention. Mr. Gladstone has collected many details which are real indications of Homer's intention to tell the tale of Troy as it was told to him; but it is impossible to accept Homer as the oldest, and not the least trustworthy, of Greek historians. Even now, a narrative which simply embodies the evidence is difficult to an untutored mind: such a narrative would have been more difficult when all minds were untutored, and the habit of submission to educated judgment had not been transmitted through a long succession of generations. Even now we substitute our reflections for facts; primitive poets did more. Their reflections took the concrete form of fresh facts, sometimes substituted for the genuine narrative, sometimes appended to it. Mr. Gladstone is, without intending it, unjust to his author, when he refers everything that is visibly unhistorical to Homer's art or Homer's manner, in terms

which imply, and perhaps are meant to imply, that Homer was at liberty to invent what he liked, and that, under these circumstances, he considered what would be edifying to his countrymen, and creditable to his country.

The controversy whether Homer's aim was amusement or instruction is at least as old as Strabo. The Introduction to *Juventus Mundi* is chiefly directed to a not unsuccessful revival of a half-forgotten side of a familiar question. The author's speculations on Greek ethnology, especially in their latest form, are much more original, though, at the same time, more questionable. The point of departure is well chosen. He recapitulates Mure's proof that the received theory of Hellen and his four sons, as it was accepted by Thucydides, is an *ex post facto* fiction, and that the Hellenes are the men, not of Hellen, but of Hellas, the land of the Helloi, whom it is almost inevitable to identify with the Selloi of the prayer of Achilles. From this example of the worthlessness of conventional tradition, we are led straight to the "Three great Appellatives," — Homer's names for Homer's Greeks. These are, as Mr. Gladstone's readers will remember, Danaoi, Argeioi, Achaioi. The application of these names is traced with admirable and not unrewarded diligence, especially in the case of Argeioi. The oldest of the names is naturally the least suggestive. There is little to be said about Danaoi, except that it is the oldest, and that it is used in an exclusively military sense. It is rather more interesting to connect them with Danaos, the ancestor of Perseus and his house, whom local tradition represented as an immigrant who introduced the art of irrigation into Argolis. The tradition brought him from Egypt; and it is disappointing to find that nothing has yet been added to the tradition. In his first work, Mr. Gladstone had already been struck by the similar sound of Tuatha De Danann: in his second, he has been struck in the same way, like Mr. Renan, by Danniè or Dyan-niyeh, the name of a district in Phœnicia. But these coincidences are still too isolated to be fruitful. Perhaps simplification is carried rather too far when it is proposed to identify Danaos with Akrisios, because Homer omits an opportunity of including them in the same genealogy. They are quite distinct in later tradition; and there is no positive reason for refusing to distinguish them in Homer. The dynastic name of Danaoi becomes in a way significant by its contrast with the territorial name of Argeioi, the men of Argos, which is plausibly referred to the class of roots which apply to

cultivation. The analogy of the Lowlands is more questionable, if it is intended to have an etymological bearing. It is certainly true, as Mr. Gladstone points out, that we speak of the Lowlands of many countries, and that the Greeks spoke of the Argos of many races; and that there was only one district in each case where the descriptive name passed into a proper name. But if we are to translate Argos into Lowlands, we ought to be put in a position to translate Arkades into Highlanders; for it was the neighbourhood of the Highlands, in Scotland, that gave, by the force of contrast, a definite geographical sense to the Lowlands. If we regard Argos as simply the name of the habitable land, the regions fit for human use and tillage, it would be tempting to translate Argeioi as the "people of the land," though of course it is never possible to substitute the etymological meaning of a proper name for the name itself in all the passages where it occurs. There would be no difficulty, if this meaning were otherwise admissible, in accounting for the more restricted application of the name to the inhabitants of the peninsula south of the Isthmus of Corinth. The leading dynasties of that district, the house of Perseus and the house of Pelops, are constantly represented by tradition as foreign immigrants who brought the natives under their power. These natives would be known to the rest of Greece, not by the name they used among themselves, but by the name their rulers found it convenient to use for them. "The people of the land" would be quite a sufficient name for the rulers' purposes; and, if it satisfied them, it was sure to efface the national names of their subjects, first among foreigners, and then among those subjects themselves. In this way it might become a valuable distinction for the Helot to be called an Argive—to receive back from Dorian masters the name which his ancestors had accepted from Achaian princes. This explanation of the name would suit the other proverbial phrases collected by the author, which seem to point to a race of rude, yet crafty and formidable, boors.

Whatever theories may be held as to the meaning of Argos, and the causes which determined the application of its derivatives, Mr. Gladstone's induction to fix the chief divisions of Homeric Greece is incontestably sound and valuable. We find (beside general expressions like "through Hellas and Middle Argos") the Argos of the Pelasgoi, which corresponds to Northern Thessaly, the Argos of the Achaioi, which seems to include the eastern half of Peloponnese, and lastly, Iason Argos, which represents, for the suitors of Penelope, the mainland of civilized

Greece. Mr. Gladstone nowhere mentions Dr. Curtius's *Ionians before the Ionian Migration*, which was published at Berlin in 1851, nor his *History of Greece*, which contains the same view in a more popular form. They would have suggested to him the completion of a theory which is much too good to be left in a fragmentary condition. Iason Argos is obviously the Argos of the Iaones, not the Argos of Iasos. If the western half of Southern Greece had been named after him, it would have been Iasion Argos. As the last two syllables of Iaones are treated in Greek as a termination, though they may have belonged originally to the root, there can be no danger in connecting Iasion Argos with the Ionian sea, or in supposing that the love of Demeter for the child of Iasos is a legend of the beginnings of Ionian agriculture. If Hesiod did not lay the scene of the amour in Crete, there would be rather more reason for identifying the favourite with Erechtheus, than for identifying Acrisios with Danaos. As Dr. Curtius thinks it permissible to connect Iasos and Iason, those who follow his authority will find it difficult to accept Mr. Gladstone's contemptuous estimate of the Ionians of the Homeric age. If Iason is an Ionian leader, the powerful and civilized Minuai must have been intimately connected with the Ionians, if they were not the first-fruits of the Ionian race. Even Homer bears a singular testimony to early Ionian civilization, though his latest commentator depreciates its value. The Athenian general had no superior in "getting his men into line," as Mr. Gladstone puts it, which was then a high and difficult accomplishment. Before quitting Argos, it may be well to point out an "undesigned coincidence" in support of the traditional juxtaposition of Ion and Achais in the Hellenic family. When the suitors tell Penelope that she would be better seen in Iason Argos than in Ithaka, they add that she would be seen by Achaioi.

The Achaioi of Homer are perhaps the most important, and certainly the most perplexing, portion of his ethnology. They fill the whole foreground of his poems; yet it is not known whence they come. In later traditions they have practically disappeared, it is not known whither. Mr. Gladstone has done nearly all that is possible. He has brought out some primary facts of capital importance: that the Achaioi of the Homeric age were a ruling race spread over Greece, everywhere apparently homogeneous among themselves, and apparently in many places, as in Ithaka, distinct from the mass of the common people; and that, according to the indications in Homer, they

were at home in Homer's Hellas, and, less certainly, rose into importance together with the house of Pelops. Their predominance, therefore, would naturally mark the commencement of the Hellenization of Greece, if it is necessary to assign a date for the commencement of a somewhat indeterminate process. If it should be established, by the consent of competent judges, that the Akaiusha-u appear in Egyptian inscriptions of an older date than those which mention the Danæ, and that the district in which they are succeeded by them is really the Peloponnese, the accession of the Pelopidai would be a curious counterpart of the return of the Herakleidai. In one case we should have an old element of the population regaining its supremacy in conjunction with a foreign dynasty, as in the other we have an invading population availing itself of the claims of an ancient ruling house. As we do not know the original seat of the Achaioi, or the course by which they came to Hellas or Peloponnese, Mr. Gladstone repeats his former suggestion that they came from Persia, chiefly, it seems, because Achaios sounds like Achaimenes. If the royal family of Persia went back to the days of Thothmes III., or were even as old as Homer, the coincidence would certainly be startling, though, in the utter absence of connecting links, it would be still improbable that it was more than a coincidence; but, as there is not a particle of evidence that the house of Achaimenes is older than the eighth century, no serious connection is possible. Mr. Gladstone himself obviously attaches little importance to this conjecture. He does not insist on its imaginary evidence; and he does not repeat a second time to an unbelieving world that the Persians are the ancestors of the Hellenes and the Germans, and the Medes the ancestors of the Pelasgians and the Celts.

It is not surprising to meet the Pelasgians again: the world will never be rid of them till it knows who they were. While scholars refuse to appreciate Niebuhr's theory by the light of subsequent discoveries, they will always be liable to be affronted by finding that laymen of real and high intelligence still accept it in its original form. As a theory of the connection of Greece and Italy, Niebuhr's system has been discredited by the diffusion of the results of Sanskrit scholarship. There never was any direct evidence that any population in Italy was called Pelasgian; and to attempt to establish this by linguistic argument only discredits the direct evidence for admitting a Pelasgian population in Greece. As the Aryan race has been differentiating itself

slowly for more than thirty centuries, and as the process is not over yet, it is difficult to attribute each stage of it to the irruption of a new tribe. This presumption is not overthrown by the interesting fact that the vocabulary of the family, the farm, and the fold, is substantially identical in Greece and Italy, while the vocabulary of the chase, the camp, and the city, offers few and uncertain resemblances. The fact would have arisen if Greece and Italy had been occupied by a homogeneous Pelasgian population, and if this population had been subdued by Oxaus in Italy and Hellenes in Greece. But two objections were obvious, even when the theory was fresh: there had never been any Pelasgians in Italy, and in the time of Homer there were very few left in Greece, and yet the Hellenes had scarcely begun to arrive. Since then, it has been discovered that a change of scene and a change of habits necessarily involve a change of vocabulary, and that foreign influences may tell upon language, though they do not extend to conquest. The best informed Greeks in the fifth century B.C. believed that the national armour was an importation from Caria. But the collapse of this part of the theory does not affect the independent evidence which proves that the Pelasgians once occupied the greater part of Greece. Mr. Gladstone has given an effective *résumé* of all the scattered testimony in Homer and later writers which confirms the belief of Æschylus and Herodotus; and so far his results, though not very novel, have an incontestable value, as enforcing a view which has been discredited with the general public rather by authority than by legitimate discussion. When we come to the question who the Pelasgians were, his speculations have a fresher interest, though we cannot follow them with implicit confidence. All theories on the subject must be provisional; for we do not know what light may be thrown on the subject by the Oriental sources already within reach, or what fresh lines of enquiry may be opened by fresh discoveries. And Mr. Gladstone rather complicates matters by heaping up presumptions that one tribe after another had Pelasgian affinities, before he has made it clear what Pelasgian affinities mean. He is haunted by the traditional antithesis of Hellenes and Pelasgians; though he is familiar with the proof that one term of the antithesis is no better than a fiction, the only fruit of his knowledge is the substitution of some visionary Hellic tribes for the conventional Hellenes. We know of two great races that came out of Hellas, the Achæians and the Dorians; and there is reason to believe that

the ascendancy of the latter spread the Hellic name over Greece. There is no reason to believe that either race differed materially, in either blood or culture, from the races among whom they came. But if any writer chose to exaggerate their influence, at least there would be something to exaggerate. "The Hellic tribes" do not supply any groundwork to the imagination. No doubt there must have been one to give its name to Hellas; but that one was most probably the Selloi; and it would be preposterous to trace Hellenic civilization to the horde of sacred savages who congregated at Dodona, and perhaps left their name as a trace of their presence at Sellasia, in a part of Greece too poor and backward to be ever thoroughly "Hellenized."

The pursuit of this shadowy antithesis has led Mr. Gladstone to overlook the evidence that the Achæioi of the mainland were substantially on a level with the Danaoi and Iæones, who came over sea, as well as the close connection which Greek antiquaries recognised between the Achæioi and Iæones. He refers to the perfectly authentic tradition of the conflict between the Ionians of the city and the Pelasgians of the open country. The Pelasgians complained that they were treated as intruders in a land which they had found a desert and left a garden. The Athenians complained that their daughters, when they went out to draw water, were insulted by the older and more brutal race. These data cannot be set aside by the *ipse dixit* of Herodotus, that the Ionians were a Pelasgian race. His error is easily to be explained by the fact that the Ionians certainly did not come from Hellas, properly so called, and in that sense were not Hellenes. As they were not Hellenes, and claimed to be autochthonous, it followed, by a primitive process of exhaustion, that they must be Pelasgians, as it was known that there had been Pelasgoi before there were Hellenes in Greece. Perhaps also, as the Dorians were undeniable representatives of Hellenism, it was assumed that their antipodes, the Ionians, must savour of Pelasgianism.

As it must be admitted that the Hellenes are an aggregate of kindred tribes, rather than a single race with a common centre in Thessaly, it is not improbable that the same will hold of the earlier populations of Greece. Dr. Thirlwall judiciously says that "in all likelihood the name of Pelasgians was a general one, like that of Saxons, Franks, or Alemanni, but each of the Pelasgian tribes had also one peculiar to itself." If the analogy is carried a step further, it suggests an instructive contrast. All the names selected for comparison were the self-chosen

names of extensive confederacies formed in historical times; as we know nothing of the peculiar names of the tribes out of which they were formed, it is safe to suppose that they were formed of broken tribes. The Pelasgians are prehistoric; but we know many tribal names which we include, on more or less convincing evidence, under the Pelasgian name. It is natural to suppose that that name was imposed by strangers on an aggregate of kindred tribes. If the general name was the national name of the race, it would be curious that the parts should be better known than the whole. The Jews were known to their neighbours, sometimes as the Hebrews, the men who came over, sometimes by their national name of Israelites; but we never find that any individual tribe was known by its own name to neighbours who did not know the general national name of Israel. The Israelites were named by men who came before them: the Pelasgians were named by men who came after them, moving along many routes. In the pre-Homeric period it cannot be said that in all the country between Lebanon and Hæmus, between Memphis and Ambrecia, there was any race in exclusive possession of a definite territory. On the outskirts of this country the population was comparatively homogeneous aggregates. Thrace was Aryan on the whole, in spite of the strong Phœnician settlements on the coast; Asia Minor was Aryan on the whole also. The great people of the Phrygians, who knew of no race older than themselves, held the central plateau, from whence their chiefs wandered down to establish dynasties in the fertile mountain valleys of the coast. It seems that the Semitic Lydians had not yet broken through to the valley of the Hermus; but another Semitic tribe, the Solymi, still disputed the valley of the Xanthus with the Aryan race who gave their name to the land. To the east all the coast was more or less Semitic; but the rich island of Cyprus was already divided between Greeks and Phœnicians. There were Greeks in the Delta; but the character of Egyptian civilization was fixed. There were Greeks upon the east of the Ægean; but its waters were disputed by Carians and Phœnicians.

It would enable us to give a very simple and satisfactory arrangement of Greek ethnology, if we could suppose that the Ionians and the Achæans, like the Danaans, entered the mainland of Greece by sea, and found it occupied on their arrival by tribes related to themselves, who had moved by land round the head of the Ægean; and that they classified these tribes, who were still unacquainted with the richer life of the eastern coast, as

Thrakes and Pelasgoi, men of the hills and men of the plain, Highlanders and Lowlanders. If this tempting theory should ever be established, much of the honour will be due to Mr. Gladstone for suggesting for Πελαγος an etymology which suits so perfectly the extent and application of the name. It is probable that he would have given it all the development of which it is capable, if he had not been hampered by his adherence to the unsupported theory of a "Pelasgic race." If he had set clearly before himself the meeting of his two lines of speculation, one or other must have been abandoned. Pelasgoi cannot mean Lowlanders, if it is the national name of a great race which branched into tribes with special names, like Aones, Huantes, Arkades, Kaukones, and so on. It is much to be regretted that this latent contradiction prevented him from supporting a very promising hypothesis by the industrious illustration which it peculiarly needs, and which he is peculiarly fitted to supply. At present it remains a mere suggestion: we are not even prepared to say that it is admissible etymologically. If it were proved that Πελαγος, or any of its derivatives, might, in accordance with Greek analogies, be transformed into Πελαργος, it would still need something more than the solitary example of Pelagonia to show satisfactorily that roots connected with Πελαγος, in the sense of plain, entered largely into the nomenclature of Greek geography. There is another preliminary difficulty. The Thrakes of Homer are found in the heart of Greece, and apparently separated by a very sharp line from the Greeks themselves; it is natural to suppose that Thrakes is a general name given by the Greeks to all the hill tribes from Parnassus to Rhodope, who held their ground in the wild country north of the Ægean, but were absorbed by the higher civilization of Greece. But here comes the difficulty. It is hard not to connect the Biblical Tiras with Thrace: are we to suppose that the writer of the tenth chapter of Genesis derived that part of his information, we do not say from Greece, but from the Ionians of the Ægean? Again, if the Pelasgians were to be identified with the Pulisata of some Egyptian monuments, the same difficulty would recur in a somewhat stronger form. Egyptologists are disposed to fix the Pulisata in Crete; now the Egyptians, if we suppose that they were never a maritime people, were decidedly more likely to hear of Crete from Phœnicians than from Greeks. M. Lenormant does not enable the readers of his *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient* to refer to the original memoirs on which he bases his vague and startling account of a Liby-Pelasgic confed-

eration which disturbed the majesty of Egypt in the latter part of the nineteenth dynasty. Consequently we do not know on what ground he places his Akaiusha-u in Peloponnese, or his Leka in Lakonia; we do not know whether he has any authority for his Japhetic Libyans, except their features on the monuments, and the old legends which connect Cyrene with the Argonauts; nor can we say whether he has any solid ground for spreading his Pulisata over Greece and Italy. In another edition of his manual, this theory may perhaps be worked out with as much detail as he has allotted to less unfamiliar views. At present it is necessary to refer to his atlas to ascertain what he conceives to be the hieroglyphical forms of the names that figure in this revolutionary narrative, which, if true, would preclude all possibility of finding in Pelasgians a name of the industrious and peaceable Lowlanders of Thessaly and Attica and Argolis, though we might fall back on the common meaning of Πελαγος, and regard the Pelasgians as prehistoric Vikings. Mr. Gladstone steers clear of the Libyan half of the theory; but he accepts the rest so completely as to cast about for an explanation of Homer's silence on the subject of this great national enterprise.

Perhaps this is the place to speak of another half discovery of Mr. Gladstone's, which has a decidedly better chance of permanent scientific recognition. He has established that the title "Lord of Men" is not a mere superlative of dignity, and that, as its application is evidently not capricious, we are entitled to look for a common character in all the sovereignties to which it is applied. His conception of the features on which this character depends is less complete, and not quite consistent. He seems to be entangled in some traditional visions of unbroken patriarchal sway; yet he clearly admits the force of the evidence that Pelops appears in the legends practically as a foreign adventurer. Hence his view reduces itself very nearly to the meagre proposition that "Lord of Men" was the proper title of the head of a royal house that did not owe its elevation to its subjects. So far there seems to be no reason why this glory among others should not have been showered upon Peleides; for upon none of the great Greek houses do the elements of patriarchal authority meet more unmistakably than on the house of Aiakos. However, there are two sides to the patriarchal system. Abraham was a father of many nations: he had also 318 trained servants born in his house. It is possible that Pelops realized the second of these conditions, though it is unlikely that he or his were

called "Lord of Men" because he realized the first. The suggestion may go for what it is worth; but it is not inconsistent with the general position of Pelops in Greek legend. The special title, "Lord of Men," would serve very well to mark the special power which rested on the hereditary possession of an armed household; and the rarity of this phenomenon in Greece would itself account for the rarity of the title. As a general rule, the Greek chieftains maintained the ascendancy to which their birth gave them a presumptive right, simply by the force of superior wisdom and superior powers. If they fell below the level of their functions, other well-born and high-spirited landowners found it easy to assume their responsibilities and their privileges. The "Lord of Men" had clearly something more than this vague, half-personal, half-official pre-eminence. Homer seems to suggest, as Mr. Gladstone notices, that even Angeias and Anchises could do strong things in virtue of their rank. In both cases when they receive the title, they are represented as taking liberties with the horses of other men, in a way that would certainly have been easier if they were backed by an armed household. The wealth that an armed household implies is sufficient of itself to suggest that the dynasties which possessed it were closely connected with the rich civilizations east of the Ægean. This appears to have impressed itself on the author, in the interval between the publication of *Studies on Homer* and *Juventus Mundi*; and accordingly he provides possible links between most of the dynasties that bear the title and "Phœnician influence," which is the form wherein he conceives all fruitful intercourse between the mainland of Greece and the sea. This restricted way of looking at the subject leads him to spend a good deal of labour on rather shadowy points. It would have been simpler to connect Eumeloq of Pherai at once with the half-Oriental Minuai, than to gather up the broken clues that seem to lead to Ephure, and Poseidon, and Aiolos. On the other hand, as it is impossible for the most romantic ingenuity to connect Dardanos with Phœnicia, Mr. Gladstone omits a promising opportunity of connecting Anchises with Phœnicia, through his love-match with a Phœnician goddess. A Phœnician household might make him "Lord of Men" without making him king of Troy, whether he did or did not represent the elder branch of the line of Dardanos; and the title would seem naturally to denote the master of a household rather than the head of a line.

As the course of speculation on the legend-

ary ethnography of Greece shows signs of becoming conservative, it is probable that many of the results of Mr. Gladstone's Phœnician researches may find a permanent place in science. It is admitted already that our Greek sources of information are more than incomplete; and, as they are beginning to be supplemented by Oriental discoveries, Minos is found to be one of the most substantial instead of one of the most shadowy figures of the prehistoric world. It is rather premature to speculate whether he was a viceroy of Thothmes III. In those days the Egyptians may have had a fleet of their own, though, if so, they must have lost the use of navigation afterwards, as we know was the case of the Hindus. As the continental power of Egypt seems to have stretched as far as the Karians, it is possible that that race, who were lords of the Ægean till Minos expelled them, may have been willing to act as the vanguard of an advancing power. But whether the empire of Minos is to be regarded as representing or succeeding the supremacy of Egypt, it certainly was in some sense historical. It is not so clear whether Greek legends treat Minos as a pure Phœnician. In Homer it is only his mother who is daughter of an illustrious Phœnician (Mr. Gladstone no longer resists Homer's obvious meaning, in his zeal for the pure Hellenism of all the royal houses of Greece). Perhaps we are to see in him a person of mixed race, who built up a power out of the wreck of an earlier dominion. When the predatory commonwealth of the Northern Seas was broken up in the twelfth century, Somerled, a half mythical adventurer, whose own nationality cannot be determined, founded a Celtic State in the Hebrides, out of the ruins of a Norse earldom. This State was, in theory, a vassal of the crown of Scotland; but it conquered largely, at the expense of the Lord Paramount, during the exhaustion of the English Wars. The principal families of the Western Highlands still trace their descent to Somerled and his immediate followers. It is possible that Minos and Aiolos, to whom so many Greek houses traced their descent, may have been leaders of the same class, under whom the Greek inhabitants of the Ægean coasts and islands learned to exercise their strength on their own account, at the expense of the Karians and Leleges. It is not unlikely that Aiolos means, as Mr. Gladstone supposes, "the man with a coat of many colours," which is certainly likely to be a Phœnician characteristic. Little value can be attached to the conjecture that the Aiolid houses were the chief channel through which the mainland of Greece was enriched with the arts

and culture of the East. With the exception of Sisyphus, they occupy a very obscure and undistinguished position in legendary history, compared with the Kadmeioi in Boiotia, and the Pelopidai in Southern Greece. It is easy to answer the question why "Thebes did not become the eye of Greece, like Athens at a later period." The settlement of the Easterlings was ruined by their own dissensions, and by the envy of their neighbours. But it was so powerful and so flourishing, that seven of the greatest chiefs in Southern Greece thought it worth while to attack it, and failed. The Pelopidai were more fortunate; their dominion was wider and more popular, and uncontested while it lasted. Agamemnon's style was not only "Lord of Men," but "King of Golden Mikenai," or "Lord of many islands" (perhaps "the multitude of the isles" would be as picturesque and more accurate), and all Argos. Both the latter titles, at least, imply close relations with richer and older civilisations. Gold came into Greece as treasure, not as an article of traffic. The insular dominion of Agamemnon seems to have reached Cyprus, which was always a centre of Phœnician commerce and worship. These indications entirely coincide with the consistent tradition which brings the house of Pelops from the western coast of Asia Minor, which was then, and long after, in advance of the mainland of Greece, in all that concerned material civilization.

But whatever the channel of Phœnician influence, Mr. Gladstone has misconceived its nature, and somewhat overrated its extent. He pictures the Greeks, after the fleet of Sidon had ceased to hold them in subjection to the crown of Egypt, sitting shut up between the Ægean and the Ionian seas, with no knowledge of the outer world, except what they received from the Phœnician mariners. This is an over-statement of the isolation of even the Homeric Greeks. If Homer is to be trusted for anything, he is to be trusted for the very curious fact that there was a Greek colony in Egypt which he imagined to be contemporary with the Trojan war. Poludanna is the wife of Thon; so we have no right whatever to suppose that the other personages with Greek names, whom Menelaos finds in Egypt, are Egyptians in disguise. If this had been so, the author of the *Odyssey* was quite equal to disguising Thon. And the isolation of the Homeric Greeks was comparatively recent. The Ionians had ranged the same seas as the Sidonians; a dynasty from Sidon had established itself in the heart of Greece; a dynasty from Egypt established itself in Peloponnese; perhaps another established itself in

Attica; one from Asia Minor established itself as paramount in Greece. Whether these dynasties were founded by Grecised Orientals or by Orientalized Greeks is a secondary question; if Greeks and Orientals had not still been able to blend readily, these dynasties could not have been founded at all. The foreign elements in Greek civilization and mythology were absorbed through these channels while Greece was making: they were not infused by irresponsible mariners after Greece was made, in order to scare Greek seamen from ranging beyond the Archipelago. The extravagance of the fables of the outer geography of the *Odyssey* admits a simpler explanation, if they are viewed as reminiscences of a wider world, in which the Greeks had mingled with many other races, who became stranger and stranger to their descendants as they concentrated themselves within the limits of historical Greece, and as their national character crystallized into a harmonious unity.

Mr. Gladstone's recent ethnological theories have naturally influenced his treatment of Homeric religion. In *Studies on Homer* the deities were classified mainly as Hellenic or Pelasgian. In *Juventus Mundi*, a Phœnician class is confidently introduced; its leading members are Aphrodite, Hermes, Hephaistos, and Poseidon. The claims of Aphrodite cannot be seriously disputed; those of Hermes are too slight to be refuted; about Hephaistos, Mr. Gladstone is possibly right; about Poseidon, we think he is wrong.

The worship of Aphrodite must be Phœnician in its origin, since it centres in Phœnician settlements; and the evidence about Hephaistos is of the same kind, though very perceptibly weaker. As Mr. Gladstone points out, it is conceivable that he was united with Aphrodite in Phœnician worship, and with Charis in Greek mythology. At the same time, he is aware that Aphrodite herself is not exclusively Phœnician. Her mother Dione is, in the old national worship of Dodona, a female reflection of Zeus, which gives Aphrodite a better title to naturalization in Greece than the etymology of her name, to which Professor Max Müller assigns his favourite meaning, "the Dawn." There is a certain monotony in a school which finds the Sun in almost every god and hero, and the Dawn in almost every goddess and heroine, which sees nothing in the tale of Troy divine but the daily siege of the East by the West to recover the Light; but the mythological speculations of the Oxford Professor of Comparative Philology, though somewhat one-sided in their development, are too valuable to be dismissed with the perfunctory notice which is all they receive

from the author of *Juventus Mundi*. Even this, however, is an advance upon *Studies on Homer*. There, all comparative mythology was repudiated to make room for the hypothesis of primeval revelation, presented in a form which implied that all the descendants of Noah had a traditional knowledge of the abstraction from Christianity known in the eighteenth century as Natural Religion, and that some favoured descendants of Japhet had also a traditional knowledge of the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. This assumption made it necessary to explain all false religions either by the gradual degradation of the one primeval faith or by downright wilful invention. The theory was worked out with so much graceful fervour, and so much reverent ingenuity, that it would have commanded wide acceptance if put forward fifteen or twenty years earlier. As it was, the general theory of the origin of false religions, which its author has silently discarded, only served as scaffolding to another hypothesis, to which he still attaches special value. But the discarded theory has always hindered Mr. Gladstone from appreciating the only school of scientific mythology in England, and from following what has been done in Germany since the days of Ottfried Müller. It is true, we are told parenthetically, that, according to Professor Max Müller, the Charites are the same as the Harits, and that Erinus is the same as Saranyu; but we are never told that the Dioskouroi are the same as the Acvins. Yet this identification is more generally accepted, more interesting in itself, and more important for the interpretation of Homer, than those which Mr. Gladstone cites. If the Dioskouroi of later tradition are purely mythical creations, embodying the double twilight of dusk and dawn, the sons of Leda and their sister can scarcely belong to purely human legend. It is a subject quite open to discussion, whether the Homeric version of the story represents the gods of one tribe passing into the heroes of another, or the activity of popular belief beginning to invest historical princes with mythical and elemental attributes. A commentator of Homer is free to decide the question either way—to lean to the text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or to the traditions embodied in the cultus of Amuklai and Therapne—but not to ignore the question altogether. Again, there is much to be said for and against the view that the Homeric Hermes is identical with the Vedic Sarameyas, and that they both mean the morning wind. The view may very possibly be untrue; but, if it is true, it would be a strong additional reason for accepting the obvious etymology of Leto. This



etymology bears directly on a favourite theory of Mr. Gladstone's; and therefore he was bound to dispose of it exhaustively. In order to prove that Leto is the mystical Woman, the mother of the Promised Seed, it is necessary to prove that she is not night, and that the Hermes of the theomachy is not the morning wind, powerless to dispel her darkness.

Readers of *Studies on Homer* will be prepared to find that Apollo and Athene are still the central figures of the Pantheon in *Juventus Mundi*. Though the Preface to the latter work states that the author has "endeavoured to avoid a certain crudity of expression in some sections of the 'Olympos,'" which led to misapprehension of his meaning, there is no substantial change in his conception of either. Apollo is still a reminiscence of the Seed of the Woman, the Son of the Father. Athene is still an attempt to embody a tradition of the Uncreated Wisdom, the Eternal Word. This time the expression of this surprising theory is faultless; it was never very faulty. The evidence in its favour is collected with the author's usual care, and arranged with his usual clearness. The necessary assumptions are stated with perfect simplicity and modesty. There is not the slightest tendency to make earnestness or strength of feeling do the work of argument. Mr. Gladstone advocates his Messianic theories without any dogmatic arrogance; and, when unfounded theories are put forward reasonably, there is no need to regret the cost of their construction and demolition. It is certainly extremely singular that two Homeric deities have exactly the attributes which they ought to have had if a traditional knowledge of the two natures of the Incarnate Word had reached the author of the Homeric poems. But these attributes admit another and an easier explanation; and they are not sufficiently decisive to warrant the inference, which is really indispensable to the theory, that the Greeks on this subject had received a much larger deposit of tradition, and preserved it much more faithfully, than the Jews. The whole theory about Athene might have been given up when the author found that he had to lay as much stress upon the Book of Wisdom as upon the Proverbs of Solomon. There is no reason to think that the theosophy of the earlier work represents any primitive tradition. If that of the later work is to be said to represent any tradition at all, it is only the esoteric one of a comparatively recent school. The theological value of such a tradition may be high: its historical value is null. It is rather worse to quote the Book of Wisdom

for the primitive belief of the Jews than to quote the Timæus for the primitive belief of the Greeks. About Apollo, the author has almost a plausible case. This time, the Jewish form of the tradition is really traditional. Instead of being later than Plato, it is older than Solomon; and the coincidence is certainly very striking. The promised deliverer, the conqueror of the dragon, is an ideal which meets so many desires, that, when the promise which belonged to all the race was forgotten, it is not strange that the ideal should have been reconstructed in Greece. Professor Curtius has shown that the worship of Apollo spread after the age of Homer, because it favoured the spiritual elevation of the nation, and corresponded to its spiritual needs. As the promise given in Genesis exercised no appreciable influence upon the development of the Messianic idea among the people chosen to preserve it, and as it was forgotten in Greece, it is superfluous to credit the Greeks with an obscure remembrance of an object which they were perfectly capable of imagining. Besides, Apollo is certainly the sun; his constant epithets, bright, far-darting, silverbow, are quite decisive even by themselves; and Mr. Gladstone knows Homer far too well to insist on the superficial objection that the Homeric system contains another personification of the sun, which maintained a sort of shadowy separate existence till the fifth century B.C., when a taste for rationalism made it possible to blend the two conceptions on terms of something like equality. As the sun, Apollo is pure; he abolishes pollution as the sun abolishes the vapours of darkness. As the sun is the revelation of heaven, Apollo is the revelation of Zeus. As there can be no contradiction between the bright sun and the brightness of heaven, so Apollo is always obedient to his father, and the willing instrument of his purposes. As the black, rent storm-cloud is the expression of the wrath of Heaven, so when the sun in his strength looks forth from behind its blackness, it is the expression of his anger too. Hence Apollo is armed with the Aegis of his father. He is the Angel of Death, to borrow Mr. Gladstone's application of a beautiful phrase, because a sunstroke seems the type of mysterious and happy decease. All the attributes relied on to establish the Messianic character of Apollo really tend more or less directly to confirm his solar character, already established by attributes which have no meaning on the Messianic hypothesis, and are too familiar to the author to attract his attention as they deserve.

It is easy to say what Apollo is: it is

easy to say what Athene is not. She is not the Shechinah, she is not the Eternal Word. It is doubtful whether she is the Dawn, or the Queen of the Air. If the identification of Athene with Ahana were certain, and if Ahana were demonstrably the Dawn, of course the former view would be sufficiently proved. But the Homeric Athene bears in herself no trace of any character which indicates that she is the Dawn; and her prerogative of the Aegis tells the other way, unless we could insist on the view which explains Medusa of Night. Again, the rosy-fingered Eos can scarcely be the same as the clear-eyed goddess whose eyes are between grey and blue; the conceptions are disparate, if not quite incompatible. It would be decidedly simpler, so far as Homer goes, to regard Athene simply as a female reflection of Zeus, the brightness of his glory, the express image of his person. It is natural that she should be his daughter rather than his bride, for she is too magnificent to be relegated to a secondary rank; and in the Homeric Pantheon, the fruitful Earth of Argos is the undisputed Queen of Zeus, while the marriage of Heaven and Earth is itself too august to be thrown into the shade. Accordingly, Athene is born of her father without mother (which is itself suggestive,—Why should not the Dawn, like the Sun, be the child of Night?), and Here is queen without a rival. Her ethical and ideal superiority to her father is even more unmistakeable than Apollo's; and its explanation is the same. The parts are purer than the whole, because the whole is greater than its parts. The sensuality and caprice of Zeus are the simple results of his anthropomorphic omnipotence. All manner of persons and things were naturally conceived as children of Heaven; but they could not all be conceived as children of the Earth, of Argos. So when Heaven came to be conceived as a king who lived in a palace on the top of a mountain, among "the gold clouds metropolitan," he became famous for the variety of his amours, and incurred the risk of telling one personification of Earth that he preferred her to several others. Then whatever happened was the will of Heaven; and much that happened was foolish and wrong. In those days men had not imagined either the growing multitude of secondary causes on which we discharge the responsibility of Providence, or the coarser expedient of an impersonal Fate. So the Zeus of Homer pays the full penalty of his omnipotence, in his visible self-indulgence and indecision, and his ineffectual and unmerited goodwill to losing causes. The partial functions of the Heaven, the Sun which

is the organ of its brightness, the clear radiance whether of noon or dawn, are capable of being more perfectly idealized, because they are partial, and possess the remoteness and the unity which are favourable to dignity. This is the reason why Apollo and Athene are so detached and immaterial, and yet are able to exercise the most intimate spiritual influence on the lower world, with which they have no sensible or degrading contact.

If it is necessary sometimes to differ from Mr. Gladstone's views of the rest of the Pantheon, the difference does not extend to first principles. Perhaps the most questionable point is his treatment of the theomachy, which he examines as seriously, and quotes as confidently, as if it stood on a level with the Catalogue of the Ships. Now the theomachy, in its present form, is simply a scenic display, magnificent as a whole but rather tasteless in its parts, which serves to adorn and delay the final triumph of Achilles. No part of the poems bears more traces of arbitrary invention, unless we suppose that solar myths have gathered round the legend of the Trojan war; even this leaves room for the interpretation of frigid rationalists, that the triumph of the Greeks was retarded by storms and floods. There is also a tendency to push the theory of conflicting races and successive worship rather far. There is some plausibility in the conjecture that each member of the ruling triad—Zeus, Poseidon, and Aidoneus—was originally the supreme god of some element of the Greek nation. Though the tripartite division of visible nature might easily establish such a division of the supremacy among the anthropomorphic deities of Olympus, it would not be quite an adequate explanation of the title of Infernal Zeus not unfrequently given to Aidoneus, or of the practical supremacy of Poseidon in the sphere of the outer geography. It is not merely that the Sea-god can do what he wills with a seafaring man, but that where a minstrel in Scherie has to describe an assembly of the gods he represents Poseidon taking the lead, as a matter of course, without thinking it necessary to account for the absence of Zeus. The presumption that arises from these circumstances is hardly strengthened by Poseidon's rhetorical assertion of equality in the fifteenth *Iliad*, or by a very euphemistic statement in a late geographer, that Pluto was once king of the Molossians. Of course this last is connected with the backwardness of the Pelasgians, who, it is suggested, may at one time have been incapable of any higher conception than a deification of earth; for, in accordance with the general scheme of the

ethnology, Mr. Gladstone supposes a Pelasgian nature-worship, superseded by an Hellenic anthropomorphism. The supreme god of the general Pelasgian system was, it is assumed, Okeanos, from whom, even in Homer, is the generation of the gods, though Zeus is their father. No attempt is made in *Studies on Homer* or in *Juventus Mundi* to find a place in Homer's system for Hesiod's golden age under the presidency of Kronos. The author very wisely takes Homer's Titans simply as he finds them, as rebels against the order of Olympus, and does not try to make them the dethroned rulers of a happier world, because their leader is represented as the father of the reigning sovereign. Their rebellion may or may not be an echo of the rebellion of the angels, or the war in heaven, or the tower of Babel; probably it is none of them, being simply a rude way of expressing a belief that order has to be brought out of confusion. But Mr. Gladstone is justified in proclaiming by his eloquent silence that it is not an obscure reminiscence of the worship of a conquered race. If so, may not the conception of Okeanos be found in the same way, by working backwards from the existing order? The Titans no doubt are in bondage and darkness: Okeanos is in honour and peace. But this is only because the Titans represent the wild forces, which are bridled by the order of the world, and Okeanos represents the calm element out of which that order arose. The same considerations make it difficult to accept a canon to which Mr. Gladstone attaches considerable importance—that whenever we hear of the birth or infancy of a deity that deity was only recently introduced into Greece. When cosmical phenomena, as the production of a natural force, were conceived under the form of the infancy of a deity, it was a necessary result of anthropomorphism that they should be thrown back into the past, and that the ordinary conception of the deity should represent him in his maturity. We hear of the infancy of Dionysos, because the vintage cannot be conceived without a beginning. If we are to regard him as an imported deity, it is because his orgies are always connected, through the whole of antiquity, with Thrace, and because, as Mr. Gladstone observes, the Greeks proper were familiar with the rational use of wine. If Hephaistos is Phœnician, it is not because we read of his being cast down from heaven, and nursed in a sea-cave, but because his worship centres at places where we seem to trace Phœnician settlements.

On the general question, if there is reason to think that the difference between Pelasgians and Hellenes was a difference of stage

and not of race, it will be unreasonable to draw a sharp line of division between their religious tendencies. For instance, the goddesses which Mr. Gladstone designates Hellenic are chaste, because they are so completely anthropomorphic that what is offensive in a woman is offensive in them. But the amour of Demeter and Iasion does not prove that she was a goddess of a sensual race: the legend is only a naïve way of expressing the bounty of the earth when she yields herself to tillage. We seem, but only seem, to be on surer ground in contrasting parallel deities, Gaia and Here, Apollo and Helios, Poseidon and Nereus. Here indeed is a much more developed personification than Gaia; and the points of similarity and contrast are worked out in *Juventus Mundi* with a patient ingenuity and sober originality that could not but lead to a valuable result. But it adds nothing to our knowledge, or to the force of the argument, to surmise that Here is Hellenic and Gaia is Pelasgic. Here is a pre-eminently local deity in Homer; she is the goddess of the Argive plain, where she appears, as we learn from Plato (*Rep. Lib. ii.*), as a priestess gathering "alms for the life-giving children of Inachos, river of Argos." In the Argonautic legends, which have come to us through later channels, she appears as the familiar spirit of the Ionian, or half Ionian, Minuiai. Now, in Mr. Gladstone's terminology, the Danaans certainly, and probably the Minuans, would figure as pre-Hellenic. How then can they be favourites of an Hellenic goddess? Again, it suits his argument to dwell upon the strong possibility that, in the ordinary worship of Troy, Helios had the same place as Apollo in the ordinary worship of Greece. As Helios is elemental, and Apollo anthropomorphic, it is tempting to infer that Apollo is Hellenic, and Helios Pelasgic. Unfortunately the cultus of Apollo centres at Parnassos and at De'os. At Parnassos he is surrounded by the Muses, who are almost certainly Thracian: the worship at Delos proves to demonstration that he is not Hellenic in the technical sense. Delos is an Ionian sanctuary: before it was Ionian it was held by *Καρές Βαρβαρόφωνοι*. Whether Apollo is Thracian, Karian, or Ionian, he is not Hellenic.

Poseidon forms the subject of a much more elaborate theory; indeed, the theory is so elaborate that its author regards it as certain. He starts with the fact that Poseidon overshadows Nereus, who, it is assumed, was the national water-god, because water in modern Greek is *nero* (it is nowhere assumed that Charon was once the national god of Death, superseded by Hades

and Persephone). Then the reasons already discussed are given for thinking that Poseidon was the supreme god of whatever race introduced his worship. It is shown that he was connected with far-off races in strange lands which the author supposes were accessible to the Phœnicians alone; and unquestionably some of these races, like the Phaiakes and the fairy family of Aiolos, have a strong Phœnician character, apart from their origin. There are strong, if not decisive, reasons for connecting the legendary Aiolid houses both with Poseidon and Phœnicia. Lastly, we read of the Carthaginians sacrificing to Poseidon in historical times. From all this it is inferred that Poseidon was the supreme Phœnician deity, whom the Phœnician settlers, Aiolid and others, brought with them to Greece, and maintained as a member of the supreme triad, though they were compelled to admit the primacy of Zeus. As the horse certainly seems to have come into Greece with Poseidon, and as the Phaiakes were accomplished dancers, it is further inferred that public games were introduced into Greece by the Phœnicians, as a part of the worship of Poseidon. No serious evidence is brought forward that Poseidon was worshipped in Phœnicia. The Greek authors who speak of the Carthaginians as worshipping Poseidon do not give his Phœnician title: so we cannot say if the identification is correct. The practice of the Carthaginians in the fifth century could in no case prove the Phœnician origin of an Homeric deity. The Carthaginians were quite capable of sacrificing to a Greek sea-god when about to attack Greeks over sea. The Greeks were quite capable of turning the Melkarth of Carthage into Poseidon; they had turned the Melkarth of Thebes into a sea-god already, under the name of Melikertes. Now, we know that Poseidon was the national god of the Ionians of Aigialos, who worshipped him at Helike; we know also that he was very near being the national god of the Ionians of Attica. Is it necessary to go any further? The Aiolid houses appear chiefly on the extremities of Ionian territory; Scherie and the Kuklopes are to be sought beyond the Ionian Sea. All we know of the Ionians suggests a maritime people, to whom noble foreign houses and powerful foreign races would naturally present themselves as children of the sea.

Mr. Gladstone's general account of the Olympian system is the most valuable part of the section he gives to mythology, except perhaps the felicitous identification of Here. If it does not add very much to our knowledge, it throws a new light upon knowledge

in a way that was not unneeded. It has almost been forgotten what a unique and wonderful creation the Homeric Pantheon really is. Other mythologies have been more profound, and have embodied higher conceptions; but they have all been confused and obscure, and there is not one among them, not even the religion of Walhalla, that attains the intelligible forms, the fair humanities, of Olympos. They retain too many traces of their origin: their gods are always beginning. Homer's began once for all; and thenceforward they are complete and unchangeable together. They serve not as cumbrous symbols of the life of the world, but as a glorious mirror of the heroic life of man. They have all things men live for: they need none of the things men live by. Their inferiority to those they rule shows no corruption in the imagination which created them, and bowed before its own creation. Being made in the image of man, they could not be made nobler or purer, if duty and danger and effort were to be suppressed from their lives of perfect ease. When we compare the human polity of the Olympos of Homer with the dreary genealogies of Hesiod, who belongs to an ancient though a later period, it seems difficult to refer the contrast entirely to the different character of the poets. If it cannot be admitted that Homer founded the Greek religion, neither can it be denied that the Homeric poems mark a decisive, perhaps the decisive, step in its transformation from a cosmogony to a mythology. The author has not exaggerated the moral influence of the Homeric religion; but he is rather unfair to the ordinary piety of later Greece, when he calls it superstition, because it was ridiculed. The general absence of a priesthood in Homer, and its occasional appearance, is noticed with the tentative explanation that probably the Pelasgians easily yielded to priestcraft, and that *ἱερεύς* is probably connected with *γέρων*, which leaves *ἱερός* unexplained. Perhaps the Homeric priest is simply the worshipper of a strange god, whose neighbours desire to take part in the benefits of his worship. His commonest name is *ἀρήνηρ*, which means the prayer to such and such a god, and comes nearer to "worshipper" or "servant" than to priest; and this notion would agree very well with the tradition which assigned a Thracian origin to the great priestly family of Eleusis, the Eumolpidæ. It would be interesting if the most famous mysteries of the ancient world could be traced to the curiosity of the Ionians to witness the wild ceremonies of the Thracian harvest-home.

Neither extract nor abridgment could do

anything like justice to the rich contents of Mr. Gladstone's five chapters on Homeric ethics and polity. There are few things better of the kind in English literature; on the special subject there is nothing so good. The author's only material defect is, that his perception of the youth and rudeness of Homeric society is sometimes obscured by his perception of its real and precocious refinement. He speaks as if Paris when he built his own house, and Odysseus when he wrought his own bed, displayed something of the eccentric enterprise of Hippias when he made his own dress and jewels, and of Peter the Great when he worked in a dock-yard. The division of labour had not been carried so far in a society that was still essentially predatory, where the chief perhaps inherited house and land, but had to stock both himself, and the son inherited no goods but the booty of the father (*Od.* i. 398). The most conclusive proof that the moral delicacy of Homeric society was a recent conquest, is to be found in the short genealogies, which all end with a woman and a god. It is much more probable that these legends are relics of an earlier condition of polyandry than that they were conventional courtesies invented to screen the involuntary dishonour of high-born women.

The section which was called *Aoidos* in its original form has been retrenched with a severity not always beneficial. It was well, indeed, to omit the detailed polemic against Mr. Grote's arbitrary hypothesis of an *Iliad* expanded out of an *Achilleid*; and Mr. Gladstone's own theory, that Homer conceived colours rather as degrees than as kinds of light, gains upon the whole by the removal of its scaffolding. It would have been better if this scaffolding had been replaced by some illustrations from the deliberate, scientific arrangements of Aristotle and Goethe, which proceed on the same mistaken principle. Aristotle's authority would have shown that Homer's classification was natural to a Greek; and Goethe's, that it was attractive to a poet. But it is very decidedly to be regretted that Mr. Gladstone has excluded the charming pages in which he traced the fortune of Homer's creations in later literature; and the analysis of the characters themselves suffers grievously by compression. The author becomes cold and formal, and writes as if he had a definite list of qualities to get through. The only character which seems more accurately appreciated in the new form of the work is Diomed. The business-like element that mingles itself with his unmistakable gallantry has forced itself on Mr. Gladstone's notice. This shows itself alike in

his practical submission to Agamemnon's unpractical rebuke, in the fourth book, and in his eagerness to deprecate any offence being taken at his constitutional protest against Agamemnon's poltroonery, in the ninth. It shows itself not only in the adroit exchange of armour with Glaucus, which Mr. Gladstone evidently suspects of shabbiness, but in his anxiety to secure the horses of all the champions whom he overcomes. Hector and Paris, on the other hand, not only become comparatively lifeless under the process of abridgment, but the representation of them in the earlier work, which was already too severe, is inevitably exaggerated and distorted by the omission of details. No reader of Homer ever carried away the impression that Sarpedon was a better man than Hector, or that he did the fighting and Hector did the hectoring; yet this is almost the impression Mr. Gladstone leaves—perhaps it is not far from the impression he intended to leave. It is quite true that our interest in Sarpedon depends upon the satisfactory perfection with which he performs his part; but then his part is limited. The part of Hector would require a character vaster than the character of Achilles to perform it as perfectly; and accordingly our interest in Hector depends on his pathetic and heroic consciousness of failure. Nevertheless, in the *mêlée* and the rout, which after all were the most important parts of the battle, he was inferior to no Greek warrior but Achilles. It was their recollection of his terrible success in the *mêlée* that made the most valiant chieftains shrink for a moment from his challenge to single combat, where several of them were his superiors. In the Homeric period a man was a great warrior when his rush was as often irresistible as Hector's, even if he was easily baffled by gallant and obstinate resistance. Even Paris, though doubtless odious, is not quite so odious as Mr. Gladstone represents him: he is really, after Polydamas, the most reasonable and judicious person on the Trojan side. As his interests are separate from those of Troy, his prudence is even less profitable to his country; but it is real, and creditable in a sense. He knows exactly how much blame he must bear for the ebb and flow of his courage, and how much he may concede for the chance of buying off the Greeks: at the same time he knows how to hold his own, and to snub Hector upon occasion, in a style which is certainly calculated to prevent a repetition of the offence. His self-knowledge in fact is as unfailing as Helen's: only her self-knowledge is an instrument of self-abasement, his of self-defence. Perhaps it was not to be expected

that an author who was the first to appreciate the unworldly delicacy of Homer's portraiture of Argive Helen, should have done equal justice to the light fortitude, the easy Stoicism, the not ungentle determination, of her tempter and her master.

Mr. Gladstone tells us in his preface that he has not yet taken leave of Homer: he has undertaken an analysis of the contents of the poems, which is to be arranged in the most accessible form, resembling that of a dictionary. There are few writers who would find so much toil anything else than drudgery, even when applied to Homer; and it is to be regretted that a task which cannot be executed without trampling on most precious leisure, is not likely to be forestalled by other hands. But the work cannot fail to be valuable. Not only will it 'help to give an idea of Homer's power, by showing some part of the copious materials with which he executed his great synthesis, the first and also the best composition of an Age, the most perfect 'form and body of a time,' that ever has been achieved by the hand of man;' but if it vindicates the soundness and accuracy of the author's general method, it will secure the stability of more than one original view at present compromised by the speculations that surround it—speculations which are too plainly the fruit of eager ingenuity, uncontrolled by the *communis sensus* of those who have mastered the few data yet attainable upon such subjects.

#### ART. II.—THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

THE way in which Coligny and his adherents met their death has been handed down by a crowd of trustworthy witnesses; and few things in history are known in more exact detail. But the origin and motives of the tragedy, and the manner of its reception by the opinion of Christian Europe, are still subject to controversy. Some of the evidence has been difficult of access; part is lost; and much has been deliberately destroyed. No letters written from Paris at the time have been found in the Austrian archives. In the correspondence of thirteen agents of the House of Este at the court of Rome, every paper relating to the event has disappeared. All the documents of 1572, both from Rome and Paris, are wanting in the archives of Venice. In the Registers of many French towns, the leaves which contained the records of August and September in that year have been torn out.

The first reports sent to England by Walsingham and by the French Government have not been recovered. Three accounts printed at Rome when the facts were new speedily became so rare that they have been forgotten. The Bull of Gregory XIII. was not admitted into the official collections; and the reply to Muretus has escaped notice until now. The letters of Charles IX. to Rome, with the important exception of that which he wrote on the 24th of August, have been dispersed and lost. The letters of Gregory XIII. to France have never been seen by persons willing to make them public. In the absence of these documents the most authentic information is that which is supplied by the French ambassador and by the Nuncio. The despatches of Ferralz, describing the attitude of the Roman court, are extant, but have not been used. Those of Salviati have long been known. Chateaubriand took a copy when the papal archives were at Paris, and projected a work on the events with which they are concerned. Some extracts were published, with his consent, by the continuator of Mackintosh; and a larger selection, from the originals in the Vatican, appeared in Theiner's *Annals of Gregory XIII.* The letters written under Pius V. are beyond the limits of that work; and Theiner moreover has omitted whatever seemed irrelevant to his purpose. The criterion of relevancy is uncertain; and we shall avail ourselves largely of the unpublished portions of Salviati's correspondence which were transcribed by Chateaubriand. These manuscripts, with others of equal importance not previously consulted, determine several doubtful questions of policy and design.

The Protestants never occupied a more triumphant position, and their prospects were never brighter, than in the summer of 1572. For many years the progress of their religion had been incessant. The most valuable of the conquests it has retained were already made; and the period of its reverses had not begun. The great division which aided Catholicism afterwards to recover so much lost ground was not openly confessed; and the effectual unity of the Reformed Churches was not yet dissolved. In controversial theology the defence was weaker than the attack. The works to which the Reformation owed its popularity and system were in the hands of thousands, while the best authors of the Catholic restoration had not begun to write. The press continued to serve the new opinions better than the old; and in literature Protestantism was supreme. Persecuted in the South,

and established by violence in the North, it had overcome the resistance of princes in Central Europe, and had won toleration without ceasing to be intolerant. In France and Poland, in the dominions of the Emperor and under the German prelates, the attempt to arrest its advance by physical force had been abandoned. In Germany it covered twice the area that remained to it in the next generation, and, except in Bavaria, Catholicism was fast dying out. The Polish Government had not strength to persecute; and Poland became the refuge of the sects. When the bishops found that they could not prevent toleration, they resolved that they would not restrict it. Trusting to the maxim "*Bellum Hæreticorum pax est Ecclesiæ*," they insisted that liberty should extend to those whom the Reformers would have exterminated.\* The Polish Protestants, in spite of their dissensions, formed themselves into one great party. When the death of the last of the Jagellons, on the 7th of July 1572, made the monarchy elective, they were strong enough to enforce their conditions on the candidates; and it was thought that they would be able to decide the election, and obtain a King of their own choosing. Alva's reign of terror had failed to pacify the Low Countries; and he was about to resign the hopeless task to an incapable successor. The taking of the Brill in April was the first of those maritime victories which led to the independence of the Dutch. Mons fell in May; and in July the important province of Holland declared for the Prince of Orange. The Catholics believed that all was lost if Alva remained in command.†

The decisive struggle was in France. During the minority of Charles ix. persecution had given way to civil war, and the Regent, his mother, had vainly striven, by submitting to neither party, to uphold the authority of the crown. She checked the victorious Catholics, by granting to the Huguenots terms which constituted them, in spite of continual disaster in the field, a vast and organized power in the State. To escape their influence it would have been necessary to invoke the help of Philip ii., and to accept protection which would have made France subordinate to Spain. Philip laboured to establish such an alliance; and it was to promote this scheme that he sent his queen, Elizabeth of Valois, to meet her mo-

ther at Bayonne. In 1568, Elizabeth died; and a rumour came to Catherine touching the manner of her death, which made it hard to listen to friendly overtures from her husband. Antonio Perez, at that time an unscrupulous instrument of his master's will, afterwards accused him of having poisoned his wife. "*On parle fort sinistrement de sa mort, pour avoir été avancée*," says Brantôme. After the massacre of the Protestants, the ambassador at Venice, a man distinguished as a jurist and a statesman, reproached Catherine with having thrown France into the hands of him in whom the world recognised her daughter's murderer. Catherine did not deny the truth of the report. She replied that she was bound to think of her sons in preference to her daughters, that the foul play was not fully proved, and that if it were it could not be avenged so long as France was weakened by religious discord.\* She wrote as she could not have written if she had been convinced that the suspicion was unjust.

When Charles ix. began to be his own master he seemed resolved to follow his father and grandfather in their hostility to the Spanish power. He wrote to a trusted servant that all his thoughts were bent on thwarting Philip.† While the Christian navies were fighting at Lepanto, the King of France was treating with the Turks. His menacing attitude in the following year kept Don Juan in Sicilian waters, and made his victory barren for Christendom. Encouraged by French protection, Venice withdrew from the League. Even in Corsica there was a movement which men interpreted as a prelude to the storm that France was raising against the empire of Spain. Rome trembled in expectation of a Huguenot invasion of Italy. For Charles was active in conciliating the Protestants both abroad and at home. He married a daughter of the

\* Quant à ce qui me touche à moy en particulier, oncores que j'ayme uniquement tous mes enfans, je veulx préférer, comme il est bien raisonnable, les filz aux filles; et pour le regard de ce que me mandez de celluy qui a faict mourir ma fille, c'est chose que l'on ne tient point pour certaine, et où elle le seroit, le roy monsieur mondit filz n'en pouvoit faire la vengeance en l'estat que son royaume estoit lors; mais à présent qu'il est tout uni, il aura assez de moien et de forces pour sen ressentir quant l'occasion s'en présentera (Catherine to Du Ferrier, Oct. 1, 1572; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 15,555). The despatches of Fourquevaux from Madrid, published by the Marquis Du Prat in the *Histoire d'Elisabeth de Valois*, do not confirm the rumour.

† Toutes mes fantaisies sont bandées pour m'opposer à la grandeur des Espagnols, et délibère m'y conduire le plus dextrement qu'il me sera possible (Charles ix. to Noailles, May 11, 1572; Noailles, *Henri de Valois*, i. 8).

\* Satius fore ducebam, si minus profigari posset omnes, ut ferrentur omnes, quo mordentes et comedentes invicem, consumerentur ab invicem (Hosius to Karnkowsky, Feb. 26, 1568).

† The Secretary of Medina Celi to Cayas, June 24, 1572 (*Correspondance de Philippe II.*, ii. 264).

tolerant Emperor Maximilian II.; and he carried on negotiations for the marriage of his brother with Queen Elizabeth, not with any hope of success, but in order to impress public opinion.\* He made treaties of alliance, in quick succession, with England, with the German Protestants, and with the Prince of Orange. He determined that his brother Anjou, the champion of the Catholics, of whom it was said that he had vowed to root out the Protestants to a man,† should be banished to the throne of Poland. Disregarding the threats and entreaties of the Pope, he gave his sister in marriage to Navarre. By the peace of St. Germain the Huguenots had secured, within certain limits, freedom from persecution, and the liberty of persecuting; so that Pius V. declared that France had been made the slave of heretics. Coligny was now the most powerful man in the kingdom. His scheme for closing the civil wars by an expedition for the conquest of the Netherlands began to be put in motion. French auxiliaries followed Lewis of Nassau into Mons; an army of Huguenots had already gone to his assistance; another was being collected near the frontier; and Coligny was preparing to take the command in a war which might become a Protestant crusade, and which left the Catholics no hope of victory. Meanwhile many hundreds of his officers followed him to Paris, to attend the wedding which was to reconcile the factions, and cement the peace of religion.

In the midst of these lofty designs and hopes, Coligny was struck down. On the morning of the 22d of August he was shot at and badly wounded. Two days later he was killed; and a general attack was made on the Huguenots of Paris. It lasted some weeks, and was imitated in about twenty places. The chief provincial towns of France were among them.

Judged by its immediate result, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was a measure weakly planned and irresolutely executed, which deprived Protestantism of its political leaders, and left it for a time to the control of zealots. There is no evidence to make it probable that more than seven thousand victims perished. Judged by later events, it was the beginning of a vast change in the

conflict of the churches. At first it was believed that a hundred thousand Huguenots had fallen. It was said that the survivors were abjuring by thousands,\* that the children of the slain were made Catholics, that those whom the priests had admitted to absolution and communion were nevertheless put to death.† Men who were far beyond the reach of the French Government lost their faith in a religion which Providence had visited with so tremendous a judgment;‡ and foreign princes took heart to employ severities which could excite no horror after the scenes in France.

Contemporaries were persuaded that the Huguenots had been flattered and their policy adopted only for their destruction, and that the murder of Coligny and his followers was a long premeditated crime. Catholics and Protestants vied with each other in detecting proofs of that which they variously esteemed a sign of supernatural inspiration or of diabolical depravity. In the last forty years a different opinion has prevailed. It has been deemed more probable, more consistent with testimony and with the position of affairs at the time, that Coligny succeeded in acquiring extraordinary influence over the mind of Charles, that his advice really predominated, and that the sanguinary resolution was suddenly embraced by his adversaries as the last means of regaining power. This opinion is made plausible by many facts. It is supported by several writers who were then living, and by the document known as the Confession of Anjou. The best authorities of the present day are nearly unanimous in rejecting premeditation.

The evidence on the opposite side is stronger than they suppose.

The doom which awaited the Huguenots had been long expected and often foretold. People at a distance, Monluc in Languedoc, and the Protestant Mylius in Italy, drew the same inference from the news that came from the court. Strangers meeting on the road discussed the infatuation of the Admiral.§ Letters brought from Rome to the

\* In reliqua Gallia fuit et est incredibilis defectio, quæ tamen usque adeo non pacavit immanes illas feras, ut etiam eos qui defecerunt (qui pene sunt innumerabiles) semel ad internecionem una cum integris familiis trucidare prorsus decreverint (Beza, Dec. 3, 1572; *Ill. vir. Epp. Sel.* 621, 1617).

† Languet to the Duke of Saxony, Nov. 30, 1573 (*Arcona*, sec. xvi. 183).

‡ Vidi et cum dolore intellexi lanienam illam Gallicam perfidissimam et atrocissimam plurimos per Germaniam ita offendisse, ut jam etiam de veritate nostræ Religionis et doctrinæ dubitare inciperint (Bullinger to Wittgenstein, Feb. 23, 1573; *Friedländer, Beiträge zur Rel. Gesch.* 254).

§ De Thou, *Mémoires*, 9.

\* Il fault, et je vous prie ne faillir, quand bien il seroit du tout rompu, et que verriés qu'il n'y auroit nulle espérance, de trouver moyen d'en entretenir toujours doucement le propos, d'ici à quelque temps; car cella ne peut que bien servir à establir mes affaires et aussy pour ma réputation (Charles IX. to La Mothe, Aug. 9, 1572; *Corr. de La Mothe*, vii. 311).

† This is stated both by his mother and by the Cardinal of Lorraine (*Michélet, La Ligue*, 26).



Emperor the significant intimation that the birds were all caged, and now was the time to lay hands on them.\* Duplessis-Mornay, the future chief of the Huguenots, was so much oppressed with a sense of coming evil, that he hardly ventured into the streets on the wedding-day. He warned the Admiral of the general belief among their friends that the marriage concealed a plot for their ruin, and that the festivities would end in some horrible surprise.† Coligny was proof against suspicion. Several of his followers left Paris, but he remained unmoved. At one moment the excessive readiness to grant all his requests shook the confidence of his son-in-law Téligny; but the doubt vanished so completely that Téligny himself prevented the flight of his partisans after the attempt on the Admiral's life. On the morning of the fatal day, Montgomery sent word to Walsingham that Coligny was safe under protection of the King's guards, and that no further stir was to be apprehended ‡

For many years foreign advisers had urged Catherine to make away with these men. At first it was computed that half a dozen victims would be enough.§ That was the original estimate of Alva, at Bayonne.¶ When the Duke of Ferrara was in France, in 1564, he proposed a larger measure; and he repeated this advice by the mouth of every agent whom he sent to France.¶ After the event, both Alva and Alfonso reminded Catherine that she had done no more than follow their advice.\*¹ Alva's letter explicitly confirms the popular notion

\* Il me dist qu'on luy avoist escript de Rome, n'avoit que trois semaines ou environ, sur le propos des noces du roy de Navarre en ces propres termes; Que a ceste heure que tous les oiseaux estoient en cage, on les pouvoit prendre tous ensemble (Vulcob to Charles ix., September 26, 1572; *Noailles*, iii. 214).

† *Mémoires de Duplessis-Mornay*, i. 38; *Ambert, Duplessis-Mornay*, 38.

‡ *Digges, Compleat Ambassador*, 276, 255.

§ *Correr, Relazione; Tommaseo*, ii. 116.

¶ Ille said to Catherine: Que quando quisiesen usar de otro y averlo, con no mas personas que con cinco o seys que son el cabo de todo esto, los tomasen a su mano y les cortasen las cabeças (Alva to Philip II., June 21, 1565; *Papiers de Granvelle*, ix. 298).

¶ Ci ralleghiamo con la Maestà sua con tutto l'affetto dell' animo, ch' ella habbia presa quella risoluzione così opportunamente sopra la quale noi stesso l'ultima volta che fummo in Francia parlammo con la Regina Madre. . . . Dipoi per diversi gentilhuomini che in varie occorrenze habbiamo mandato in corte siamo instati nel suddetto ricordo (Alfonso II. to Fogliani, Sept. 13, 1572; *Modena Archives*).

\*¹ Muchas vezes me ha accordado de aver dicho a Su Mag. esto mismo en Bayona, y de lo que mi ofrecio, y veo que ha muy bien desempeñado su palabra (Alva to Zuñiga, Sept. 9, 1572; *Coquerel, La St. Barthélemy* 12).

which connects the massacre with the conference of Bayonne; and it can no longer now be doubted that La Roche-sur-Yon, on his deathbed, informed Coligny that murderous resolutions had been taken on that occasion.\* But the Nuncio, Santa Croce, who was present, wrote to Cardinal Borromeo that the Queen had indeed promised to punish the infraction of the edict of Pacification, but that this was a very different thing from undertaking to extirpate heresy. Catherine affirmed that in this way the law could reach all the Huguenot ministers; and Alva professed to believe her.† Whatever studied ambiguity of language she may have used, the action of 1572 was uninfluenced by deliberations which were seven years old.

During the spring and summer the Tuscan agents diligently prepared their master for what was to come. Petrucci wrote on the 19th of March that, for a reason which he could not trust to paper, the marriage would certainly take place, though not until the Huguenots had delivered up their strongholds. Four weeks later Alamanni announced that the Queen's pious design for restoring unity of faith would, by the grace of God, be speedily accomplished. On the 9th of August Petrucci was able to report that the plan arranged at Bayonne was near execution.‡ Yet he was not fully initiated. The Queen afterwards assured him that she had confided the secret to no foreign resident except the Nuncio;§ and Petrucci resentfully complains that she had also consulted the ambassador of Savoy. Venice, like Florence and Savoy, was not taken by surprise. In February the ambassador Contarini explained to the Senate the specious tranquillity in France, by saying that the Government reckoned on the death of the

\* *Kluckhohn, Zur Geschichte des angeblichen Bündnisses von Bayonne* 36. 1868.

† Il signor duca di Alva . . . mi disse, che come in questo abboccamento negotio alcuno non havevano trattato, ne volevano trattare, altro che della religione, così la lor differenza era nata per questo, perchè non vedeva che la regina ci pigliasse risoluzione a modo suo ne de altro, che di buone parole ben generali. . . . È stato risoluto che alla tornata in Parigi si farà una ricerca di quelli che hanno contravenuto all' editto, e si castigaranno; nel che dice S. M. che gli Ugonotti ci sono talmente compresi, che spera con questo mezzo solo cacciare i Ministri di Francia. . . . Il Signor Duca di Alva si satisfied piu di questa deliberatione di me, perchè io non trovo che serva all' estirpation dell' heresia il castigar quelli che hanno contravenuto all' editto (Santa Croce to Borromeo, Bayonne, July 1, 1565, ms.).

‡ *Desjardins, Négociations avec la Toscane*, iii. 755, 765, 802.

§ Io non ho fatto intendere cosa alcuna a nessuno principe; ho ben parlato al nunzio solo (Desp. Aug. 31; *Desjardins*, iii. 828).

Admiral or the Queen of Navarre to work a momentous change.\* Cavalli, his successor, judged that a business so grossly mismanaged showed no signs of deliberation.† There was another Venetian at Paris who was better informed. The Republic was seeking to withdraw from the league against the Turks; and her most illustrious statesman, Giovanni Michiel, was sent to solicit the help of France in negotiating peace.‡ The account which he gave of his mission has been pronounced by a consummate judge of Venetian State-papers the most valuable report of the sixteenth century.§ He was admitted almost daily to secret conferences with Anjou, Nevers, and the group of Italians on whom the chief odium rests; and there was no counsellor to whom Catherine more willingly gave ear.|| Michiel affirms that the intention had been long entertained, and that the Nuncio had been directed to reveal it privately to Pius v.¶

Salviati was related to Catherine, and had gained her good opinion as Nuncio in the year 1570. The Pope had sent him back because nobody seemed more capable of diverting her and her son from the policy which caused so much uneasiness at Rome.\*¹ He died many years later, with the reputation of having been one of the most eminent Cardinals at a time when the Sacred College was unusually rich in talent. Personally, he had always favoured stern measures of repression. When the Countess of Entremont was married to Coligny, Salviati declared that she had made herself liable to severe penalties by entertaining proposals of marriage with so notorious a heretic, and demanded that the Duke of Savoy should, by all the means in his power, cause that wicked bride to be put out of the way.†¹ When the peace of St. Germain was concluded, he assured Charles and Catherine that their lives were in danger, as the Huguenots were seeking to pull down the throne as well as the altar. He believed that all intercourse with them was sinful,

and that the sole remedy was utter extermination by the sword. "I am convinced," he wrote, "that it will come to this." "If they do the tenth part of what I have advised, it will be well for them." \* After an audience of two hours, at which he had presented a letter from Pius v., prophesying the wrath of Heaven, Salviati perceived that his exhortations made some impression. The King and Queen whispered to him that they hoped to make the peace yield such fruit that the end would more than counter-vail the badness of the beginning; and the King added, in strict confidence, that his plan was one which once told could never be executed.† This might have been said to delude the Nuncio; but he was inclined on the whole to believe that it was sincerely meant. The impression was confirmed by the Archbishop of Sens, Cardinal Pellevé, who informed him that the Huguenot leaders were cressed at Court in order to detach them from their party, and that after the loss of their leaders it would not take more than three days to deal with the rest.‡ Salviati on his return to France was made aware that his long deferred hopes were about to be fulfilled. He shadowed it forth obscurely in his despatches. He reported that the Queen allowed the Huguenots to pass into Flanders, believing that the Admiral would become more and more presumptuous until he gave her an opportunity of retribution; for she excelled in that kind of intrigue. Some days later he knew more, and wrote that he hoped soon to have good news for his Holiness.§ At the last moment his heart misgave him. On the morning of the 21st of August the Duke of Montpensier and the Cardinal of Bourbon spoke with so much unconcern, in his presence, of what was then so near, that he thought it hardly possible the secret could be kept.||

\* Oct. 14, 1570.

† Sept. 24, 1570.

‡ Nov. 28, 1570.

§ Quando scrissi ai giorni passati alla S. V. Illustrissima in cifra, che l'armiraglio s'avanzava troppo et che gli darebbero su l'unge, già mi ero accorto, che non lo volevano più tollerare, et molto più mi confermai nell' opinione, quando con caratteri ordinarii glie scrivevo che speravo di dover haver occasione di dar qualche buona nova a Sua Beatitudine, benchè mai havrei creduto la x. parte di quello, che al presente veggio con gli occhi (Desp. Aug. 24; *Theiner, Annales*, i. 329).

¶ Che molti siano stati consapevoli del fatto è necessario, potendogli dizer che a 21 la mattina, essendo col Cardinal di Borbone et M. de Montpensier, viddi che ragionavano sì domesticamente di quello che doveva seguire, che in me medesimo restando confuso, conobbi che la pratica andava gagliarda, e piuttosto disperai di buon fine che altrimenti (same Desp.; *Mackintosh, History of England*, ii. 355).

\* *Alberi, Relazioni Venete*, xii. 250.

† *Alberi*, xii. 328.

‡ Son principal but et dessein estoit de sentir quelle esperance ilz pourroient avoir de parvenir à la paix avec le G. S. dont il s'est ouvert et a demandé ce qu'il en pouvoit espérer et attendre (Charles ix. to Du Ferrier, Sept. 28, 1572; *Charrière, Négociations dans le Levant*, iii. 310).

§ *Ranke, Französische Geschichte*, v. 76.

|| *Digges*, 258; *Cosmi, Memorie di Morosini*, 26.

¶ *Alberi*, xii. 294.

\*¹ Mituit eo Antonium Mariam Salvium, reginæ affinem eique pergratum, qui cam in officio continet (Cardinal of Vercelli, Comment. de Rebus Gregorii XIII.; *Ranke, Pöpste*, App. 85).

†¹ Desp. Aug. 30, 1570.

The foremost of the French prelates was the Cardinal of Lorraine. He had held a prominent position at the Council of Trent; and for many years he had wielded the influence of the House of Guise over the Catholics of France. In May 1572 he went to Rome; and he was still there when the news came from Paris in September. He at once made it known that the resolution had been taken before he left France, and that it was due to himself and his nephew, the Duke of Guise.\* As the spokesman of the Gallican Church in the following year he delivered a harangue to Charles ix., in which he declared that Charles had eclipsed the glory of preceding Kings by slaying the false prophets, and especially by the holy deceit and pious dissimulation with which he had laid his plans.†

There was one man who did not get his knowledge from rumour, and who could not be deceived by lies. The King's confessor, Sorbin, afterwards bishop of Nevers, published in 1574 a narrative of the life and death of Charles ix. He bears unequivocal testimony that the clement and magnanimous act, for so he terms it, was resolved upon beforehand, and he praises the secrecy as well as the justice of his hero.‡

Early in the year a mission of extraordinary solemnity had appeared in France. Pius v., who was seriously alarmed at the conduct of Charles, had sent the Cardinal of Alessandria as Legate to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and directed him, in returning, to visit the court at Blois. The Legate was nephew to the Pope, and the man whom he most entirely trusted.§ His character stood so high that the reproach of nepotism was never raised by his promotion. Several prelates destined to future eminence attended him. His chief adviser was Hippolyto Aldobrandini, who, twenty years later, ascended the papal chair as Clement viii. The companion whose presence con-

ferred the greatest lustre on the mission was the general of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia, the holiest of the successors of Ignatius, and the most venerated of men then living. Austerities had brought him to the last stage of weakness; and he was sinking under the malady of which he was soon to die. But it was believed that the words of such a man, pleading for the Church, would sway the mind of the King. The ostensible purpose of the Legate's journey was to break off the match with Navarre, and to bring France into the Holy League. He gained neither object. When he was summoned back to Rome it was understood in France that he had reaped nothing but refusals, and that he went away disappointed.\* The jeers of the Protestants pursued him.† But it was sufficiently certain beforehand that France could not plunge into a Turkish war.‡ The real business of the Legate, besides proposing a Catholic husband for the Princess, was to ascertain the object of the expedition which was fitting out in the Western ports. On both points he had something favourable to report. In his last despatch, dated Lyons, the 6th of March, he wrote that he had failed to prevent the engagement with Navarre, but that he had something for the Pope's private ear, which made his journey not altogether unprofitable.§ The secret was soon divulged in Italy. The King had met the earnest remonstrances of the Legate by assuring him that the marriage afforded the only prospect of wreaking vengeance on the Huguenots: the event would show; he could say no more, but desired his promise to be carried to the Pope. It was added that he had presented a ring to the Legate, as a pledge of sincerity, which the Legate refused. The first to publish this story was Capilupi, writing only seven months later. It was repeated by Folieta,|| and is given with all details by the historians of Pius v.—Catena and Gabuzzi. Catena was secretary to the

\* Attribuisse a se, et al nipote, et a casa sua, la morte del' almiraglio, gloriandosene assai (Desp. Oct. 1; *Theiner*, 381). The Emperor told the French ambassador "que, depuis les choses avenues, on lui avoit mandé de Rome que Mr. le Cardinal de Lorraine avoit dit que tout le fait avoit esté délibéré avant qu'il partist de France" (Vulcob to Charles ix., Nov. 8; *Groen van Prinsterer*, *Archives de Nassau*, iv., App. 22).

† *Marlot*, *Histoire de Reims*, iv. 426. This language excited the surprise of Dale, Walsingham's successor (*Macintosh*, iii. 226).

‡ *Archives Curieuses*, viii. 305.

§ Egli solo tra tutti gli altri è solito particolarmente di sostenere le nostre fatiche . . . Essendo partecipe di tutti i nostri consigli, et consapevole de' segreti dell' intimo animo nostro (Pius v. to Philip ii., June 20, 1571; *Zucchi*, *Idea del Segretario*, i. 544).

\* *Serranus*, *Commentarii*, iv. 14; *Davila*, ii. 104.

† *Digges*, 193.

‡ Finis hujus legationis erat non tam suadere Regi ut fœdus cum aliis Christianis principibus iniret (id nempe notum erat impossibile illi regno esse); sed ut rex ille prætermisus non videretur, et revera ut sciretur quo tenderent Gallorum cogitationes. Non longe nempe a Rocella naves quasdam prægrandes instruere et armare coeperat Philippus Strozza prætexens velle ad Indias a Gallis inventas navigare (Relatio gestorum in Legatione Card. Alexandrini ms.).

§ Con alcuni particolari che io porto, de' quali ragguaglierò N. Signore a bocca, posso dire di non partirmi affatto mal espedito (*Ranke*, *Zeitschrift*, iii. 598). Le temps et les effectz luy témoignèrent encores d'avantage (Mémoire baillé au légat Alexandrin, Feb. 1572; Bib. Imp. F. Dupuy, 523).

|| *De Sacro Foedere*, *Grævius Thesaurus*, i. 1038.

Cardinal of Alessandria as early as July 1572, and submitted his work to him before publication.\* Gabuzzi wrote at the instance of the same Cardinal, who supplied him with materials; and his book was examined and approved by Borghese, afterwards Paul v. Both the Cardinal of Alessandria and Paul v., therefore, were instrumental in causing it to be proclaimed that the Legate was acquainted in February 1572 with the intention which the King carried out in August.

The testimony of Aldobrandini was given still more distinctly, and with greater definiteness and authority. When he was required, as Pope, to pronounce upon the dissolution of the ill-omened marriage, he related to Borghese and other Cardinals what had passed in that interview between the Legate and the King, adding that, when the report of the massacre reached Rome, the Cardinal exclaimed: "God be praised! the King of France has kept his word." Clement referred D'Ossat to a narrative of the journey which he had written himself, and in which those things would be found.† The clue thus given has been unaccountably neglected, although the Report was known to exist. One copy is mentioned by Giorgi; and Mazzuchelli knew of another. Neither of them had read it; for they both ascribe it to Michele Bonelli, the Cardinal of Alessandria. The first page would have satisfied them that it was not his work. Clement VIII. describes the result of the mission to Blois in these words:—"Quæ rationes eo impulerunt regem ut semel apprehensa manu Cardinalis in hanc vocem proruperit: Significate Pontifici illumque certum reddite me totum hoc quod circa id matrimonium feci et facturum sum, nulla alia de causa facere, quam ulciscendi inimicos Dei et hujus regni, et puniendi tam infidos rebelles, ut eventus ipse docebit, nec aliud vobis amplius significare possum.—Quo non obstante semper Cardinalis eas subtexuit difficultates quas potuit, objiciens regi possetne contrahi matrimonium a fidele cum infidele, sitve dispensatio necessaria; quod si est nunquam Pontificem inductum iri ut illum concedat. Re ipsa ita in suspensio relicta discedendum

esse putavit, cum jam rescivisset qua de causa naves parabantur, qui apparatus contra Rocellam tendebant."

The opinion that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was a sudden and unpremeditated act cannot be maintained; but it does not follow that the only alternative is to believe that it was the aim of every measure of the Government for two years before. Catherine had long contemplated it as her last expedient in extremity; but she had decided that she could not resort to it while her son was virtually a minor.\* She suggested the idea to him in 1570. In that year he gave orders that the Huguenots should be slaughtered at Bourges. The letter is preserved in which La Chastre spurned the command: "If the people of Bourges learn that your Majesty takes pleasure in such tragedies, they will repeat them often. If these men must die, let them first be tried; but do not reward my services and sully my reputation by such a stain."†

In the autumn of 1571 Coligny came to Blois. Walsingham suspected, and was afterwards convinced, that the intention to kill him already existed. The Pope was much displeased by his presence at Court; but he received assurances from the ambassador which satisfied him. It was said at the time that he at first believed that Coligny was to be murdered, but that he soon found that there was no such praiseworthy design.‡

In December the King knew that, when the moment came, the burghers of Paris would not fail him. Marcel, the prévôt des marchands, told him that the wealth was driven out of the country by the Huguenots: "The Catholics will bear it no longer. . . . Let your Majesty look to it. Your crown is at stake, Paris alone can save it."§ By

\* Vuol andar con ogni quiete et dissimulatione, fin che il Rè suo figliuolo sia in età (Santa Croce, Desp. June 27, 1563; *Lettres du Card. Santa Croce*, 243).

† La Chastre to Charles IX., Jan. 21, 1570; *Raynal, Histoire du Berry*, iv. 105; *Lavallée, Histoire des Français*, ii. 478. Both Raynal and Lavallée had access to the original.

‡ Il Papa credeva che la pace fatta, e l'aver consentito il Rè che l'Ammiraglio venisse in corte, fusse con disegno di ammazzarlo; ma accortosi come passa il fatto, non ha creduto che nel Rè Nostro sia quella brava risoluzione (Letter of Nov. 28, 1571; *Desjardins*, iii. 782). Pour le regard de M. l'Admiral, je n'ay failly de luy faire entendre ce que je devois, suyvant ce qu'il a pleu à V. M. me commander, dont il est demeuré fort satisfait (Ferralz to Charles IX., Dec. 25, 1571; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,039, Walsingham to Herbert, Oct. 10, 1571—to Smith, Nov. 26, 1572; *Digges*, 290).

§ Marcel to Charles IX., Dec. 20, 1571; *Cabinet Historique*, ii. 253.

\* *Catena, Vita di Pio V.* 197; *Gabutus, Vita Pii V.* 150, and the Dedication.

† D'Ossat to Villeroy, Sept. 22, 1599; *Lettres*, iii. 503. An account of the Legate's journey was found by Mendham among Lord Guildford's Manuscripts, and is described in the Supplement to his *Life of Pius V.* 13. It is written by the master of ceremonies, and possesses no interest. The *Relatio* already quoted, which corresponds to the description given by Clement VIII. of his own work, is among the Manuscripts of the Marquis Capponi, No. 164.

the month of February 1572 the plan had assumed a practical shape. The political idea before the mind of Charles was the same by which Richelieu afterwards made France the first power in the world: to repress the Protestants at home, and to encourage them abroad. No means of effectual repression was left but murder. But the idea of raising up enemies to Spain by means of Protestantism was thoroughly understood. The Huguenots were allowed to make an expedition to aid William of Orange. Had they gained some substantial success, the Government would have followed it up, and the scheme of Coligny would have become for the moment the policy of France. But the Huguenot commander Genlis was defeated and taken. Coligny had had his chance. He had played and lost. It was useless now to propose his great venture against the King of Spain.\*

Philip II. perfectly understood that this event was decisive. When the news came from Hainaut, he sent to the Nuncio Castagna to say that the King of France would gain more than himself by the loss of so many brave Protestants, and that the time was come for him, with the aid of the people of Paris, to get rid of Coligny and the rest of his enemies.† It appears from the letters of Salviati that he also regarded the resolution as having been finally taken after the defeat of Genlis.

The court had determined to enforce unity of faith in France. An edict of toleration was issued for the purpose of lulling the Huguenots; but it was well known that it was only a pretence.‡ Strict injunctions were sent into the provinces that it should not be obeyed; § and Catherine said openly to the English envoy, "My son will have exercise but of one Religion in his Realm." On the 26th the King explained his plan to Mondoucet, his agent at Brussels: "Since it has pleased God to bring matters

to the point they have now reached, I mean to use the opportunity to secure a perpetual repose in my kingdom, and to do something for the good of all Christendom. It is probable that the conflagration will spread to every town in France, and that they will follow the example of Paris, and lay hands on all the Protestants. . . .

I have written to the Governors to assemble forces in order to cut to pieces those who may resist."\* The great object was to accomplish the extirpation of Protestantism in such a way as might leave intact the friendship with Protestant States. Every step was governed by this consideration; and the difficulty of the task caused the inconsistencies and the vacillation that ensued. By assassinating Coligny alone it was expected that such an agitation would be provoked among his partisans as would make it appear that they were killed by the Catholics in self-defence. Reports were circulated at once with that object. A letter written on the 23d states that, after the Admiral was wounded on the day before, the Huguenots assembled at the gate of the Louvre, to avenge him on the Guises as they came out.† And the first explanation sent forth by the Government on the 24th was to the effect that the old feud between the Houses of Guise and of Chatillon had broken out with a fury which it was impossible to quell. This fable lasted only for a single day. On the 25th Charles writes that he has begun to discover traces of a Huguenot conspiracy;‡ and on the following day this was publicly substituted for the original story. Neither the Vendetta of the Guises nor the conspiracy at Paris could be made to explain the massacre in the provinces. It required to be so managed that the King could disown it. Salviati describes the plan of operations. It was intended that the Huguenots should be slaughtered successively, by a series of spontaneous outbreaks in different parts of the country. While Rochelle held out, it was dangerous to proceed with a more sweeping method.§ Accordingly no written instructions from the King are in existence; and the Governors were expressly informed that they were to

\* Le Roy estoit d'intelligence, ayant permis à ceux de la Religion de l'assister, et, cas advenant que leurs entreprises succédassent, qu'il les favoriseraient ouvertement . . . Genlis, menant un secours dans Mons, fut défait par le duc d'Alve, qui avoit comme investi la ville. La journée de Saint-Barthélemy se résolut (*Bouillon, Mémoires*, 9).

† Si potria distruggere il resto, maxime che l'admiraglio si trova in Parigi, popolo Catholico et devoto del suo Rè, dove potria se volesse facilmente levarselo dinnanzi per sempre (Castagna, Desp. Aug. 5, 1572; *Theiner*, i. 327).

‡ *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, 687.

§ En quelque sorte que ce soit ledict Seigneur est résollu faire vivre ses subjectz en sa religion, et ne permettre jamais ny tollérer, quelque chose qui puisse advenir, qu'il n'y ait aultre forme ny exercice de religion en son royaume que de la catholique (Instruction for the Governors of Normandy, Nov. 3, 1572; *La Mothe*, vii. 390). ;

\* Charles IX. to Mondoucet, Aug. 26, 1572; *Compte Rendu de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 2<sup>e</sup> Série, iv. 327.

† Li Ugonotti si ridussero alla porta del Louvre, per aspettare che Mons. di Guisa e Mons. d'Aumale uscissero per ammazzarli (Borso Trotti, Desp. Aug. 23; *Modena Archives*).

‡ L'on a commencé à descouvrir la conspiration: que ceux de la religion prétendue réformée avoient faicte contre moy mesmes, ma mère et mes frères (Charles IX. to La Mothe, Aug. 25; *La Mothe*, vii. 325).

§ Desp. Sept. 19, 1572.

expect none.\* Messengers went into the provinces with letters requiring that the verbal orders which they brought should be obeyed.† Many Governors refused to act upon directions so vague and so hard to verify. Burgundy was preserved in this way. Two gentlemen arrived with letters of recommendation from the King, and declared his commands. They were asked to put them on paper; but they refused to give in writing what they had received by word of mouth. Mandelot, the Governor of Lyons, the most ignoble of the instruments in this foul deed, complained that the intimation of the royal wishes sent to him was obscure and insufficient.‡ He did not do his work thoroughly, and incurred the displeasure of the King. The orders were complicated as well as obscure. The public authorities were required to collect the Huguenots in some prison or other safe place, where they could be got at by hired bands of volunteer assassins. To screen the King it was desirable that his officers should not superintend the work themselves. Mandelot, having locked the gates of Lyons, and shut up the Huguenots together, took himself out of the way while they were being butchered. Carouge, at Rouen, received a commission to visit the other towns in his province. The magistrates implored him to remain, as nobody, in his absence, could restrain the people. When the King had twice repeated his commands, Carouge obeyed; and five hundred Huguenots perished.§

It was thought unsafe even for the King's brother to give distinct orders under his own hand. He wrote to his lieutenant in Anjou that he had commissioned Puygailhard to communicate with him on a matter which concerned the King's service and his own, and desired that his orders should be received as if they came directly from himself. They were, that every Huguenot in Angers, Saumur, and the adjoining country, should be put to death without delay, and without exception.|| The Duke of Montpensier himself sent the same order to Brit-

tany; but it was indignantly rejected by the municipality of Nantes.

When reports came in of the manner in which the event had been received in foreign countries, the Government began to waver, and the sanguinary orders were recalled. Schomberg wrote from Germany that the Protestant allies were lost unless they could be satisfied that the King had not decreed the extermination of their brethren.\* He was instructed to explain the tumult in the provinces by the animosity bequeathed by the wars of religion.† The Bishop of Valence was intriguing in Poland on behalf of Anjou. He wrote that his success had been made very doubtful, and that, if further cruelties were perpetrated, ten millions of gold pieces would not bribe the venal Poles. He advised that a counterfeit edict, at least, should be published.‡ Charles perceived that he would be compelled to abandon his enterprise, and set about appeasing the resentment of the Protestant powers. He promised that an inquiry should be instituted, and the proofs of the conspiracy communicated to foreign governments. To give a judicial aspect to the proceedings, two prominent Huguenots were ceremoniously hanged. When the new ambassador from Spain praised the long concealment of the plan, Charles became indignant.§ It was repeated everywhere that the thing had been arranged with Rome and Spain; and he was especially studious that there should be no symptom of a private understanding with either power.|| He was able to flatter himself that he had at least partially succeeded. If he had not exterminated his Protestant subjects, he had preserved his Protestant allies. William the Silent continued to solicit his aid; Elizabeth consented to stand godmother to the daughter who was born to him in October; he was allowed to raise mercenaries in Switzerland; and the Polish Protestants agreed to the election of his brother. The promised evidence of the Huguenot conspiracy was forgotten; and the King suppressed the materials which were to have served for an official history of the event.¶

\* Il ne faut pas attendre d'en avoir d'autre commandement du Roy ne de Monseigneur, car ils ne vous en feront point (Puygailhard to Montsoreau, Aug. 26, 1572; *Mourin, La Réforme en Anjou*, 106).

† Vous croirez le présent porteur de ce que je luy ay donné charge de vous dire (Charles ix. to Mandelot, Aug. 24, 1572; *Corr. de Charles IX. avec Mandelot*, 42).

‡ Je n'en ay aucune coulpe, n'ayant sceu quelle estoit la volonté que par umbre, encores bien tard et à demy (Mandelot to Charles ix., Sept. 17, p. 73).

§ *Floquet, Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, iii. 121.

|| Anjou to Montsoreau, Aug. 26; *Mourin*, 107; *Falloux, Vie de Pie V.* i. 358; *Port, Archives de la Mairie d'Angers*, 41, 42.

\* Schomberg to Brulart, Oct. 10, 1572; *Capefigue, La Réforme*, iii. 264.

† Instructions for Schomberg, Feb. 15, 1573; *Noailles*, iii. 305.

‡ Monluc to Brulart, Nov. 20, 1572, Jan. 20, 1573, to Charles ix., Jan. 22, 1573; *Noailles*, iii. 218, 223, 220.

§ Charles ix. to St. Goard, Jan. 20, 1573; *Groen*, iv. App. 29.

|| Letter from Paris in *Strype's Life of Parker*, iii. 110; *Tocsain contre les Massacreurs, Archives Curieuses*, vii. 7.

¶ Afin que ce que vous avez dressé des choses

Zeal for religion was not the motive which inspired the chief authors of this extraordinary crime. They were trained to look on the safety of the monarchy as the sovereign law, and on the throne as an idol that justified sins committed in its worship. At all times there have been men, resolute and relentless in the pursuit of their aims, whose ardour was too strong to be restricted by moral barriers or the instinct of humanity. In the sixteenth century, beside the fanaticism of freedom, there was an abject idolatry of power; and laws both human and divine were made to yield to the intoxication of authority and the reign of will. It was laid down that kings have the right of disposing of the lives of their subjects, and may dispense with the forms of justice. The church herself, whose supreme pontiff was now an absolute monarch, was infected with this superstition. Catholic writers found an opportune argument for their religion in the assertion that it makes the prince master of the consciences as well as the bodies of the people, and enjoins submission even to the vilest tyranny.\* Men whose lives were precious to the Catholic cause could be murdered by royal command, without protest from Rome. When the Duke of Guise, with the Cardinal his brother, was slain by Henry III., he was the most powerful and devoted upholder of Catholicism in France. Sixtus V. thundered against the sacrilegious tyrant who was stained with the blood of a prince of the church; but he let it be known very distinctly that the death of the Duke caused him little concern.†

Catherine was the daughter of that Medici to whom Machiavelli had dedicated his *Prince*. So little did religion actuate her conduct that she challenged Elizabeth to do to the Catholics of England what she herself had done to the Protestants of France, promising that if they were destroyed there

would be no loss of her good-will.\* The levity of her religious feelings appears from her reply when asked by Gomicourt what message he should take to the Duke of Alva: "I must give you the answer of Christ to the disciples of St. John, 'Ite et nuntiate quæ vidistis et audivistis; cæci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur.'" And she added, "Beatus qui non fuerit in me scandalizatus."†

If mere fanaticism had been their motive, the men who were most active in the massacre would not have spared so many lives. While Guise was galloping after Ferrières and Montgomery, who had taken horse betimes and made for the coast, his house at Paris was crowded with families belonging to the proscribed faith, and strangers to him. A young girl who was amongst them has described his return, when he sent for the children, spoke to them kindly, and gave orders that they should be well treated as long as his roof sheltered them.‡ Protestants even spoke of him as a humane and chivalrous enemy.§ Nevers was considered to have disgraced himself by the number of those whom he enabled to escape.|| The Nuncio was shocked at their ill-timed generosity. He reported to Rome that the only one who had acted in the spirit of a Christian, and had refrained from mercy, was the King; while the other princes, who pretended to be good Catholics, and to deserve the favour of the Pope, had striven, one and all, to save as many Huguenots as they could.¶

The worst criminals were not the men who did the deed. The crime of mobs and courtiers infuriated by the lust of vengeance and of power is not so strange a portent as the exultation of peaceful men, influenced by no present injury or momentary rage, but by the permanent and incurable perversion of moral sense wrought by a distorted piety.

passées à la Saint Barthélemy ne puisse être publié parmi le peuple, et même entre les étrangers, comme il y en a plusieurs qui se mêlent d'écrire et qui pourraient prendre occasion d'y répondre, je vous prie qu'il n'en soit rien imprimé ni en français ni en Latin, mais si en avez retenu quelque chose, le garder vers vous (Charles IX. to the President de Cély, March 24, 1573; *Revue Rétrospective*, 2 Série, iii. 195).

\* Botero, *Della Ragion di Stato*, 92. A contemporary says that the Protestants were cut to pieces out of economy, "pour afin d'éviter le cout des exécutions qu'il eust convenu payer pour les faire pendre;" and that this was done "par permission divine" (*Relation des troubles de Rouen par un témoin oculaire*, ed. Pottier, 36, 46).

† Del resto poco importerebbe a Roma (Card. Montalto to Card. Morosini; *Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V.*, ii. 116).

\* Quand ce seroit contre tous les Catholiques, que nous ne nous en empescherions, ny altérerions aucunement l'amitié d'entre elle et nous (Catherine to La Mothe, Sept. 13, 1572; *La Mothe*, vii. 349).

† Alva's Report; *Bulletins de l'Académie de Bruxelles*, ix. 564.

‡ Jean Diodati, *door Schotel*, 88.

§ *Œuvres de Brantôme*, ed. Lalanne, iv. 38.

|| Otros que salvó el Duque de Nevers con harto vituperio suyo (*Cabrera de Cordova, Felipe Segundo*, 722).

¶ Il Re Christianissimo in tutti questi accidenti, in luogo di giudicio e di valore ha mostrato animo christiano, con tutto habbia salvato alcuno. Ma li altri principi che fanno gran professione di Cattolici et di meritar favori e gratie del papa hanno poi con estrema diligenza cercato a salvare quelli più di Ugonotti che hanno potuto, e se non gli nomino particolarmente, non si maravigli, per che indifferentemente tutti hanno fatto a un modo (Salviati, *Desp. Sept.* 2, 1572).

Philip II., who had long suspected the court of France, was at once relieved from the dread which had oppressed him, and betrayed an excess of joy foreign to his phlegmatic nature.\* He immediately sent six thousand crowns to the murderer of Coligny.† He persuaded himself that the breach between France and her allies was irreparable, that Charles would now be driven to seek his friendship, and that the Netherlands were out of danger.‡ He listened readily to the French ambassador, who assured him that his court had never swerved from the line of Catholic policy, but had intended all along to effect this great change.§ Ayamonte carried his congratulations to Paris, and pretended that his master had been in the secret. It suited Philip that this should be believed by Protestant princes, in order to estrange them still more from France; but he wrote on the margin of Ayamonte's instructions, that it was uncertain how long previously the purpose had subsisted.|| Juan Diego de Zuñiga, his ambassadors at Rome and at Paris, were convinced that the long display of enmity to Spain was genuine, that the death of Coligny had been decided at the last moment, and that the rest was not the effect of design.¶ This opinion found friends at first in Spain. The General of the Franciscans undertook to explode it. He assured Philip that he had seen the King and the Queen-Mother, two years before, and had found them already so intent on the massacre that he wondered how anybody could have the courage to detract from their merit by denying it.\*† This view generally prevailed in Spain. Mendoca knows not which to admire more, the loyal and Catholic inhabitants of Paris, or Charles, who justified his title of the Most Christian King by helping with his own hands to

slaughter his subjects.\* Mariana witnessed the carnage, and imagined that it must gladden every Catholic heart. Other Spaniards were gratified to think that it had been contrived with Alva at Bayonne.

Alva himself did not judge the event by the same light as Philip. He also had distrusted the French Government; but he had not feared it during the ascendancy of the Huguenots. Their fall appeared to him to strengthen France. In public he rejoiced with the rest. He complimented Charles on his valour and his religion, and claimed his own share of merit. But he warned Philip that things had not changed favourably for Spain, and that the King of France was now a formidable neighbour.‡ For himself, he said, he never would have committed so base a deed.

The seven Catholic Cantons had their own reason for congratulation. Their countrymen had been busy actors on the scene; and three soldiers of the Swiss guard of Anjou were named as the slayers of the Admiral.‡ On the 2d of October they agreed to raise 6000 men for the King's service. At the following Diet they demanded the expulsion of the fugitive Huguenots who had taken refuge in the Protestant parts of the Confederation. They made overtures to the Pope for a secret alliance against their Confederates.§

In Italy, where the life of a heretic was cheap, their wholesale destruction was confessed a highly politic and ingenious act. Even the sage Venetians were constrained to celebrate it with a procession. The Grand Duke Cosmo had pointed out two years before that an insidious peace would afford excellent opportunities of extinguishing Protestantism; and he derived inexpressible consolation from the heroic enterprise.|| The Viceroy of Naples, Cardinal Granvelle, received the tidings coldly. He was surprised that the event had been so long postponed; and he reproved the Cardinal of Lorraine for the unstatesmanlike delay.¶

\* *Estque dictu mirum, quantopere Regem exilaravit nova Gallica* (Hopperus to Viglius, Madrid, Sept. 7, 1572; *Hopperi Epp.* 360).

† Ha avuto, con questa occasione, dal Rè di Spagna, sei mila scudi a conto della dote di sua moglie, e a richiesta di casa di Guise (Petrucchi, Desp. Sept. 16, 1572; *Dejardins*, iii. 838). On the 27th of December 1574, the Cardinal of Guise asks Philip for more money for the same man (*Bouillé, Histoire des Ducs de Guise*, ii. 505).

‡ Siendo cosa clara que, de hoy mas, ni los protestantes de Alemania, ni la reyna de Inglaterra se fiaran del (Philip to Alva, Sept. 18, 1572; *Bulletins de Bruzelles*, xvi. 255).

§ St. Goard to Charles IX., Sept. 12, 1572; *Groen*, iv. App. 12; *Raumer, Briefe aus Paris*, i. 191.

|| Archives de l'Empire, K. 1530, B. 34, 299.

¶ Zuñiga to Alva, Aug. 31, 1572: No fue caso pensado sino repentino (Arch. de l'Emp. K. 1530, B. 34, 66).

\*† St. Goard to Catherine, Jan. 6, 1573; *Groen*, iv. App. 28.

\* *Comment. de B. de Mendoca*, i. 344.

† Alva to Philip, Oct. 13, 1572; *Corr. de Philippe II.* ii. 287. On the 23d of August Zuñiga wrote to Philip that he hoped that Coligny would recover from his wound, because, if he should die, Charles would be able to obtain obedience from all men (Archives de l'Empire, K. 1530, B. 34, 65).

‡ *Bulletins de la Société pour l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, viii. 292.

§ *Eidgenössische Abschiede*, iv. 2, 501, 503, 506, 510.

|| Cosmo to Camaiani, Oct. 6, 1570 (*Cantù, Gli Eretici d'Italia*, iii. 15). Cosmo to Charles IX., Sept. 4, 1572 (*Gachard, Rapport sur les Archives de Lille*, 199).

¶ Grappin, *Mémoire Historique sur le Card. de Granvelle*, 73.



The Italians generally were excited to warmer feelings. They saw nothing to regret but the death of certain Catholics who had been sacrificed to private revenge. Profane men approved the skill with which the trap was laid; and pious men acknowledged the presence of a genuine religious spirit in the French court.\* The nobles and the Parisian populace were admired for their valour in obeying the sanctified commands of the good King. One fervent enthusiast praises God for the heavenly news, and also St. Bartholomew for having lent his extremely penetrating knife for the salutary sacrifice.† A month after the event the renowned preacher Panigarola delivered from the pulpit a panegyric on the monarch who had achieved what none had ever heard or read before, by banishing heresy in a single day, and by a single word, from the Christian land of France.‡

The French churches had often resounded with furious declamations; and they afterwards rang with canticles of unholy joy. But the French clergy does not figure prominently in the inception or the execution of the sanguinary decree. Conti, a contemporary indeed, but too distant for accurate knowledge, relates that the parish priests went round, marking with a white cross the dwellings of the people who were doomed.§ He is contradicted by the municipal Registers of Paris.|| Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, though he had resigned the seals which he received from L'Hôpital, still occupied the first place at the royal council. He was consulted at the last moment; and it is said that he nearly fainted with horror. He recovered, and gave his opinion with the rest. He is the only French prelate, except the Cardinals, whose complicity appears to be ascertained. But at Orleans, where the bloodshed was more dreadful in proportion than at Paris, the signal is said to have been given, not by the bishop, but by the King's preacher, Sorbin.

Sorbin is the only priest of the capital who is distinctly associated with the act of the Government. It was his opinion that God has ordained that no mercy shall be shown

to heretics, that Charles was bound in conscience to do what he did, and that leniency would have been as censurable in his case as precipitation was in that of Theodosius. What the Calvinists called perfidy and cruelty seemed to him nothing but generosity and kindness.\* These were the sentiments of the man from whose hands Charles ix. received the last consolations of his religion. It has been related that he was tortured in his last moments with remorse for the blood he had shed. His spiritual adviser was fitted to dispel such scruples. He tells us that he heard the last confession of the dying King, and that his most grievous sorrow was that he left the work unfinished.† In all that blood-stained history there is nothing more tragic than the scene in which the last words preparing the soul for judgment were spoken by such a confessor as Sorbin to such a penitent as Charles.

Emond Auger, one of the most able and eloquent of the Jesuits, was at that time attracting multitudes by his sermons at Bordeaux. He denounced with so much violence the heretics and the people in authority who protected them, that the magistrates, fearing a cry for blood, proposed to silence or to moderate the preacher. Montpezat, Lieutenant of Guienne, arrived in time to prevent it. On the 30th of September he wrote to the King that he had done this, and that there were a score of the inhabitants who might be despatched with advantage. Three days later, when he was gone, more than two hundred Huguenots were murdered.‡

\* Pourront-ils arguer de trahison le feu roy, qu'ils blasphèment luy donnant le nom de tyran, veu qu'il n'a rien entrepris et executé que ce qu'il pouvoit faire par l'expresse parole de Dieu . . . Dieu commande qu'on ne pardonne en façon que ce soit aux inventeurs ou sectateurs de nouvelles opinions ou hérésies . . . Ce que vous estimez cruauté estro plutôt vraye magnanimité et douceur (Sorbin, *Le vray reveille-matin des Calvinistes*, 1576, 72, 74, 78).

† Il commanda à chacun de se retirer au cabinet et à moy de m'asseoir au chevet de son lit, tant pour ouyr sa confession, et luy donner ministériellement absolution de ses péchez, que aussi pour le consoler durant et après la messe (Sorbin, *Vie de Charles IX.*, *Archives Curieuses*, viii. 287). Est très certain que le plus grand regret qu'il avoit à l'heure de sa mort estoit de ce qu'il voyoit l'idole Calvinésque n'estre encores du tout chassée (*Vray reveille-matin*, 88).

‡ The charge against the clergy of Bordeaux is brought by D'Aubigné (*Histoire Universelle*, ii. 27) and by De Thou. De Thou was very hostile to the Jesuits, and his language is not positive. D'Aubigné was a furious bigot. The truth of the charge would not be proved, without the letters of the President L'Agebaston and of the Lieutenant Montpezat: "Quelques prescheurs se sont par leurs sermons (ainsi que dernièrement j'ai escript plus ample-

\* Bardi, *Età del Mondo*, 1581, iv. 2011; Campana, *Historie del Mondo*, 1599, i. 145; B. D. da Fano, *Aggiunte all' Historie di Mambrino Roseo*, 1585, v. 252; Pellini, *Storia di Perugia*, vol. iii. ms.

† Si è degnato di prestare alli suoi divoti il suo taglientissimo coltello in così salutare sacrificio (Letter of Aug. 26; Alberi, *Vita di Caterina de' Medici*, 401).

‡ Labitte, *Démocratie chez les Prédicateurs de la Ligue*, 10.

§ Natalis Comes, *Historia sui temporis*, 512.  
| Capefigue, iii. 150.

Apart from these two instances it is not known that the clergy interfered in any part of France to encourage the assassins.

The belief was common at the time, and is not yet extinct, that the massacre had been promoted and sanctioned by the Court of Rome. No evidence of this complicity, prior to the event, has ever been produced; but it seemed consistent with what was supposed to have occurred in the affair of the dispensation. The marriage of Margaret of Valois with the King of Navarre was invalid and illicit in the eyes of the church; and it was known that Pius v. had sworn that he would never permit it. When it had been celebrated by a Cardinal, in the presence of a splendid court, and no more was heard of resistance on the part of Rome, the world concluded that the dispensation had been obtained. De Thou says, in a manuscript note, that it had been sent, and was afterwards suppressed by Salviati; and the French bishop Spondanus assigns the reasons which induced Gregory xiii. to give way.\* Others affirmed that he had yielded when he learned that the marriage was a snare, so that the massacre was the price of the dispensation.† The Cardinal of Lorraine gave currency to the story. As he caused it to be understood that he had been in the secret, it seemed probable that he had told the Pope; for they had been old friends.‡ In the commemorative inscription which he put up in the church of St. Lewis he spoke of the King's gratitude to the Holy See for its assistance and for its

advice in the matter—"consiliorum ad eam rem datorum." It is probable that he inspired the narrative which has contributed most to sustain the imputation.

Among the Italians of the French faction who made it their duty to glorify the act of Charles ix., the Capilupi family was conspicuous. They came from Mantua, and appear to have been connected with the French interest through Lewis Gonzaga, who had become by marriage Duke of Nevers, and one of the foremost personages in France. Hippolyto Capilupi, bishop of Fano, and formerly Nuncio at Venice, resided at Rome, busy with French politics and Latin poetry. When Charles refused to join the League, the bishop of Fano vindicated his neutrality in a letter to the Duke of Urbino.\* When he slew the Huguenots, the bishop addressed him in verse,

"Fortunate puer, paret cui Gallica tellus,  
Quique vafros ludis pervigil arte viros.  
Ille tibi debet, toti qui præsidet Orbi,  
Cui nihil est cordi religione prius. . . .  
Qui tibi sæpe dolos struxit, qui vincla paravit,  
Tu puer in laqueos induis arte senem. . . .  
Nunc florent, tolluntque caput tua lilia, et  
astris  
Clarius, hostili tincta cruore micant." †

Camillo Capilupi, a nephew of the Mantuan bard, held office about the person of the Pope, and was employed on missions of consequence.‡ As soon as the news from Paris reached Rome he drew up the account which became so famous under the title of *Lo Stratagemma di Carlo IX.* The dedication is dated the 18th of September, 1572. § This tract was suppressed, and was soon so rare that its existence was unknown in 1574 to the French translator of the second edition. Capilupi republished his book with alterations, and a preface dated the 22d of October. The substance and purpose of the two editions is the same. Capilupi is not the official organ of the Roman court: he was not allowed to see the letters of the Nuncio. He wrote to proclaim the praises of the King of France, and the Duke of Nevers. At that moment the French party

ment à votre majesté) étudié de tout leur pouvoir de troubler ciel et terre, et conciter le peuple à sédition, et en ce faisant à passer par le fil de l'épée tous ceux de la prétendue religion réformée . . . Après avoir des le premier et deuxième de ceste mois fait courrir un bruit sourd que vous, Sire, aviez envoyé nom par nom un rolle signé de votre propre main au Sieur de Montferand, pour par voie de fait et sans aultre forme de justice, mettre à mort quarante des principaulx de cette ville. . . ." (L'Ageboston to Charles ix., Oct. 7, 1572; *Mackintosh*, iii. 352). "J'ai trouvé que Messieurs de la cour de parlement avoyent arresté que Monsieur Eniond, prescheur, seroit appellé en ladicté court pour luy faire des remonstrances sur quelque langage qu'il tenoit en ses sermons, tendant à sédition, à ce qu'ils disoyent. Ce que j'ay bien voulu empêcher, craignant que s'il y eust esté appellé cella eust animé plusieurs des habitants et este cause de quelque émotion, ce que j'eusse volontiers souffert quant j'eusse pansé qu'il n'y en eust qu'une vingtaine de despêché" (Montpezat to Charles ix., Sept. 30, 1572; *Archives de la Gironde*, viii. 337).

\* *Annal. Baronii Contin.* ii. 734. Bossuet says: "La dispense vint telle qu'on la pouvoit désirer" (*Histoire de France*, 820).

† *Ormelegreny, Reflexions sur la Politique de France*, 121.

‡ *De Thou*, iv. 537.

\* *Charrière*, iii. 154.

† *Carmina Ill. Poetarum Italorum*, iii. 212, 216.

‡ *Tiepolo*, *Disp.* Aug. 6, 1575; *Mutinielli, Storia Arcana*, i. 111.

§ *Parendomi*, che sia cosa, la quale possa apportar piacere, e utile al mondo, si per la qualità del soggetto istesso, come anco per l'eleganza, e bello ordine con che viene così leggiadramente descritto questo nobile, e glorioso fatto . . . a fine che una così egregia azione non resti defraudata dell' honor, che merita.—(The editor, Gianfrancesco Ferrari, to the reader.)

in Rome was divided by the quarrel between the ambassador Ferralz and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had contrived to get the management of French affairs into his own hands.\* Capilupi was on the side of the Cardinal, and received information from those who were about him. The chief anxiety of these men was that the official version which attributed the massacre to a Huguenot conspiracy should obtain no credence at Rome. If the Cardinal's enemies were overthrown without his participation, it would confirm the report that he had become a cipher in the State. He desired to vindicate for himself and his family the authorship of the catastrophe. Catherine could not tolerate their claim to a merit which she had made her own; and there was competition between them for the first and largest share in the gratitude of the Holy See. Lorraine prevailed with the Pope, who not only loaded him with honours, but rewarded him with benefices worth 4000 crowns a year for his nephew, and a gift of 20,000 crowns for his son. But he found that he had fallen into disgrace at Paris, and feared for his position at Rome.† In these circumstances Capilupi's book appeared, and enumerated a

series of facts proving that the Cardinal was cognisant of the royal design. It adds little to the evidence of premeditation. Capilupi relates that Santa Croce, returning from France, had assured Pius v., in the name of Catherine, that she intended one day to entrap Coligny, and to make a signal butchery of him and his adherents, and that letters in which the Queen renewed this promise to the Pope had been read by credible witnesses. Santa Croce was living, and did not contradict the statement. The *Stratagema* had originally stated that Lorraine had informed Sermoneta of the project, soon after he arrived at Rome. In the reprint this passage was omitted. The book had therefore undergone a censorial revision which enhances the authenticity of the final narrative.

Two other pieces are extant which were printed at the Stamperia Camerale, and show what was believed at Rome. One is in the shape of a letter written at Lyons in the midst of scenes of death, and describing what the author had witnessed on the spot, and what he heard from Paris.\* He reports that the King had positively commanded that not one Huguenot should escape, and was overjoyed at the accomplishment of his orders. He believes the thing to have been premeditated, and inspired by Divine justice. The other tract is remarkable because it strives to reconcile the pretended conspiracy with the hypothesis of premeditation.† There were two plots which went parallel for months. The King knew that Coligny was compassing his death, and deceived him by feigning to enter into his plan for the invasion of the Low Countries; and Coligny, allowing himself to be overreached, summoned his friends to Paris, for the purpose of killing Charles, on the 23d of August. The writer expects that there will soon be no Huguenots in France. Capilupi at first borrowed several of his facts, which he afterwards corrected.

The real particulars relative to the marriage are set forth minutely in the correspondence of Ferralz; and they absolutely contradict the supposition of the complicity of Rome.‡ It was celebrated in flagrant defiance of the Pope, who persisted in refusing the dispensation, and therefore acted

\* Huc accedit, Oratorem Ser<sup>mi</sup> Regis Galliar, et impulsu inimicorum sæpediti Domini Cardinalis, et quia summopere illi displicuit, quod superioribus mensibus Ill<sup>ma</sup>. Sua Dominatio operam dedisset, hoc sibi mandari, ut omnia Regis negotia secum communicaret, nullam prætermisisset occasionem ubi ei potuit adversari (Cardinal Delfino to the Emperor, Rome, Nov. 29, 1572; Vienna Archives).

† Fa ogni favor et gratia gli addimanda il Cardinale di Lorena, il consiglio del quale usa in tutte le più importanti negotiationi l'occorre di haver a trattar (Cusano to the Emperor, Rome, Sept. 27, 1572). Conscia igitur Sua Dominatio Ill<sup>ma</sup> quorundam arcinorum Regni Galliar, creato Pontifice sibi in Concilio Tridentino cognito et amico, statuit huc se recipere, ut privatis suis rebus consuleret, et quia tunc foederati contra Thuream, propter suspicionem Regi Catholico injectam de Orangio, et Gallis, non admodum videbantur concordare, et non multo post advenit nuncius mortis Domini de Colligni, et illius assecraturum; Pontifex justa de causa existimavit dictum Ill<sup>ma</sup> Cardinalem favore et gratia sua merito esse complectendum. Evenit postmodum, ut ad Serenissimam Reginam Galliarum deferretur, bonum hunc Dominum jactasse se, quod particeps fuerit consiliorum contra dictum Colligni; id quod illa Serenissima Domina iniquo animo tulit, quæ neminem gloriæ socium vult habere; sibi enim totam vendicat, quod sola talis facinoris auctor, et Dux extiterit. Idcirco commorationem ipsius Lotharingæ in hac aula improbare, ac reprehendere aggressa est. Hæc cum ille Illustrissimus Cardinalis perceperit, oblata sibi occasione utens, exoravit a Sua Sanctitate gratuitam expeditionem quatuor millia scutorum redditus pro suo Nepote, et 20 millia pro filio, præter sollicitudinem, quam præ se fert, ut dictus Nepos in Cardinalem numerum cooptetur. . . . Cum itaque his de causis autoritas hujus Domini in Gallia imminuta videatur, ipseque prævideat, quanto in Gallia minoris

æstimabitur, tanto minori etiam loco hic se habitum iri, statuit optimo judicio, ac pro eo quod sum existimacioni magis conducit, in Galliam reverti (Delfino, *ut supra*, both in the Vienna Archives).

\* *Intiera Relazione della Morte dell' Ammiraglio.*

† *Ragguaglio degli ordini et modi tenuti dalla Majesta Christianissima nella distruzione della setta degli Ugonotti, Con la morte dell' Ammiraglio, etc.*

‡ Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,039.

in a way which could only serve to mar the plot. The accusation has been kept alive by his conduct after the event. The Jesuit who wrote his life by desire of his son, says that Gregory thanked God in private, but that in public he gave signs of a tempered joy.\* But the illuminations and processions, the singing of *Te Deum* and the firing of the castle guns, the jubilee, the medal, and the paintings whose faded colours still vividly preserve to our age the passions of that day, nearly exhaust the modes by which a Pope could manifest delight.

Charles ix. and Salviati both wrote to Rome on St. Bartholomew's Day; and the ambassador's nephew, Beauville, set off with the tidings. They were known before he arrived. On the 27th, Mandelot's secretary despatched a secret messenger from Lyons with orders to inform the Pope that the Huguenot leaders were slain, and that their adherents were to be secured all over France. The messenger reached Rome on the 2d of September, and was immediately carried to the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorraine. Gregory rewarded him for the welcome intelligence with a present of a hundred crowns, and desired that Rome should be at once illuminated. This was prevented by Ferralz, who tried the patience of the Romans by declining their congratulations as long as he was not officially informed.† Beauville and the courier of the Nuncio arrived

on the 5th. The King's letter, like all that he wrote on the first day, ascribed the outbreak to the old hatred between the rival Houses, and to the late attempt on the Admiral's life. He expressed a hope that the dispensation would not now be withheld, but left all particulars to Beauville, whose own eyes had beheld the scene.\* Beauville told his story, and repeated the King's request; but Gregory, though much gratified with what he heard, remained inflexible.†

Salviati had written on the afternoon of the 24th. He desired to fling himself at the Pope's feet to wish him joy. His fondest hopes had been surpassed. Although he had known what was in store for Coligny, he had not expected that there would be energy and prudence to seize the occasion for the destruction of the rest. A new era had commenced; a new compass was required for French affairs. It was a fair sight to see the Catholics in the streets, wearing white crosses, and cutting down heretics; and it was thought that, as fast as the news spread, the same thing would be done in all the towns of France.‡ This letter was read before the assembled Cardinals at the Venetian palace; and they thereupon attended the Pope to a *Te Deum* in the nearest church.§ The guns of St. Angelo

\* Charles ix. to Ferralz, Aug. 24, 1572; *Mackintosh*, iii. 348.

† Elle fust merveilleusement ayse d'entendre le discours que mondit neveu de Beauville luy en feist. Lequel, après luy avoir conté le susdit affaire, supplia sadicte Saincteté, suyvant la charge expresse qu'il avoit de V. M. de vouloir concéder, pour le fruit de ceste allegresse, la dispense du mariage du roy et roynne de Navarre, datée de quelques jours avant que les nopces en feussent faictes, ensemble l'absolution pour Messeigneurs les Cardinaux de Bourbon et de Rambouillet, et pour tous les autres evesques et prelats qui y avoient assisté. . . . Il nous feit pour fin response qu'il y adviseroit (Ferralz, *ut supra*).

‡ Pensai che per tutte le città di Francia debba seguire il simile, subito che arrivi la nuova dell' esecuzione di Parigi . . . A N. S. mi faccia gratia di basciar i piedi in nome mio, col quale mi rallegro con le viscere del cuore che sia piaciuto alla Dio. Mtà. d'incaminar nel principio del suo pontificato si felicemente e honoratamente le cose di questo regno, havendo talmente havuto in protezione il Rè e Regina Madre che hanno saputo e potuto sbarrare queste pestifere radici con tanta prudenza, in tempo tanto opportuno, che tutti lor ribelli erano sotto chiave in gabbia (Salviati, Desp. Aug. 24.; *Theiner*, i. 329, *Mackintosh*, iii. 355).

§ Sexta Septembris, mane, in Senatu Pontificis et Cardinalium lectæ sunt literæ a legato Pontificio et Gallia scriptæ, admirali et Huguenotos, destinata Regia voluntate atque consensu, trucidatos esse. Ea re in eodem Senatu decretum esse, ut inde recta Pontifex cum Cardinalibus in ædem D. Marci concederet, Deoque Opt. Max. pro tanto beneficio Sedi Romanæ orbe Christiano collato gratias solemniter ageret (*Scriptum Roma missum in Capisulæ*, 1574,

\* *Maffei, Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, i. 34.

† La nouvelle qui arriva le deuxième jour du présent par ung courrier qui estoit despesché secrètement de Lyon par ung nommé Danes, secrétaire de M. de Mandelot . . . à ung commandeur de Saint Anthoine, nommé Mr. de Gou, il luy manda qu'il allast advertir le Pape, pour en avoir quelque présent ou bienfait, de la mort de tous les chefs de ceulx de la religion prétendue refformée, et de tous les Huguenotz de France, et que V. M. avoit mandé et commandé à tous les gouverneurs de se saisir de tous iceulx huguenotz en leurs gouvernemens; ceste nouvelle, Sire, apporta si grand contentement à S. S., que sans ce que je luy remonstray lors me trouvant sur le lieu, en presence de Monseigneur le C<sup>l</sup> de Lorraine, qu'elle devoit attendre ce que V. M. m'en manderoit et ce que son nonce luy en escriroit, elle en vouloit incontinent faire faire des feux de joye. . . . Et pour ce que je ne voulois faire ledit feu de joye la première nuit que ledit courier envoyé par ledit Daues feust arrivé, ny en recevoir les congratulations que l'on m'en envoyoit faire, que premièrement je n'eusse eu nouvelles de V. M. pour sçavoir et sa voulanté et comme je m'avoys à conduire, aucuns commençoient desjà de m'en regarder de mauvais œils (Ferralz to Charles ix., Rome, Sept. 11, 1572; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,040). Al corriero che portò tal nuova Nostro Signore diede 100 Scudi oltre li 200 che hebbe dall' Illustrissimo Lorina, che con grandissima allegrezza se n'ando subito a dar tal nuova per allegrarsene con Sua Santità (Letter from Rome to the Emperor, Sept. 6, 1572; *Vincent Archives*).

were fired in the evening; and the city was illuminated for three nights. To disregard the Pope's will in this respect would have savoured of heresy. Gregory XIII. exclaimed that the massacre was more agreeable to him than fifty victories of Lepanto. For some weeks the news from the French provinces sustained the rapture and excitement of the Court.\* It was hoped that other countries would follow the example of France: the Emperor was informed that something of the same kind was expected of him.† On the 8th of September, the Pope went in procession to the French church of St. Lewis, where three-and-thirty Cardinals attended at a mass of thanksgiving. On the 11th he proclaimed a jubilee. In the Bull he said that, forasmuch as God had armed the King of France to inflict vengeance on the heretics for the injuries done to religion, and to punish the leaders of the rebellion which had devastated his kingdom, Catholics should pray that he might have grace to pursue his auspicious enterprise to

the end, and so complete what he had begun so well.\* Before a month had passed, Vasari was summoned from Florence to decorate the hall of kings with paintings of the massacre.† The work was pronounced his masterpiece; and the shameful scene may still be traced upon the wall, where, for three centuries, it has insulted every pontiff that entered the Sistine chapel.

The story that the Huguenots had perished because they were detected plotting the King's death was known at Rome on the 6th of September. While the sham edict and the imaginary trial served to confirm it in the eyes of Europe, Catherine and her son took care that it should not deceive the Pope. They assured him that they meant to disregard the edict. To excuse his sister's marriage, the King pleaded that it had been concluded for no object but vengeance; and he promised that there would soon be not a heretic in the country.‡ This was corroborated by Salviati. As to the proclaimed toleration, he knew that it was a device to disarm foreign enmity, and prevent a popular commotion. He testified that the Queen spoke truly when she said that she had confided to him, long before, the real purpose of her daughter's engagement § He exposed the hollow pretence of the plot. He announced that its existence would be established by formalities of law, but added that it was so notoriously false that none but an idiot could believe in it. || Gregory gave no

84) Quia Die 2<sup>a</sup> prædicti mensis Septembris S<sup>ma</sup> D. N. certior factus fuerat Colignium Franciæ Admirallium a populo Parisien. occisum fuisse et cum eo multos ex Ducibus et primioribus Ugonotarum hæreticorum eius sequacibus Rege ipso Franciæ approbante, ex quo spes erat tranquillitatem in dicto Regno reeditarum expulsi hæreticis, ideo S<sup>ma</sup> Sua expleto concistorio descendit ad ecclesiam Sancti Marci, præcedente cruce et sequentibus Cardinalibus et genuflexus ante altare maius, ubi positum fuerat sanctissimum Sacramentum, oravit gratias Deo agens, et inchoavit cantando hymnum Te Deum (Fr. Mucantii Diaria, B. M. Add. mss. 26, 811).

\* Après quelques autres discours qu'il me feist sur le contentement que luy et le collège des Cardinaux avoient receu de ladite exécution faicte et des nouvelles qui journellement arrivoient en ceste court de semblables exécutions que l'on a faicte et font encore en plusieurs villes de vostre royaume, qui, à dire la vérité, sont les nouvelles les plus agréables que je pense qu'on eust scu apporter en ceste ville, sadite Salneté pour fin me commanda de vous escrire que cest évènement luy a esté cent fois plus agréable que cinquante victoires semblables à celle que ceulx de la ligue obtindrent l'année passée contre le Turc, ne voulant oublier vous dire, Sire, les commandemens estroictz qu'il nous feist à tous, mesmement aux françois d'en faire feu de joye, et qui ne l'eust faict eust mal senty de la foy (Ferralz, *ut supra*).

† Tutta Roma stà in allegria di tal fatto et frà i più grandi si dice, che'l Rè di Francia ha insegnato alli Principi christiani ch' hanno do simili vassalli nè stati loro a liberarsene, et dicono che vostra Maestà Cesarea dovrebbe castigare il Conte Palatino tanto nemico della Serenissima casa d'Austria, et della Religione cattolica, come l'anni passati fece contra il Duca di Sassonia tiene tuttavia prigione, che a un tempo vendicarebbe le tante ingiurie ha fatto detto Palatino alla chiesa di Dio, et poveri Christiani, et alla Maestà Vostra et sua Casa Serenissima sprezzando li suoi editti, et commandamenti, et privarlo dell' elezione dell' Imperio et darlo al Duca di Baviera (Cusano to the Emperor, Rome, Sept. 6, 1572; Vienna Archives).;

\* The Bull, as published in Paris, is printed by Strype (*Life of Parker*, iii. 197). La prima occasione che a ciò lo mosse fù per lo stratagemma fatto da Carlo Nono Christianissimo Rè di Francia contra Coligno Ammiraglio, capo d'Ugonotti, et suoi seguaci, tagliati a pezzi in Parigi (*Giappi, Vita di Gregorio XIII.*, 1596, 63).

† Vasari to Borghini, Oct. 5, 1572, March 5, 1573 —to Francesco Medici, Nov. 17, 1572; *Gaye, Catalogo d'Artisti*, iii. 328, 366, 341.

‡ Indubitamente non si osserverà interamente, havendomi in questo modo, punto che torno dall' audienza promesso il Rè, imponendomi di darne conto in suo nome a Nostro Signore, di volere in breve tempo liberare il Regno dalli Ugonotti . . . Mi ha parlato della dispensa, escusandosi di non haver fatto il Parentado per altro, che per liberarsi da suoi inimici (Salviati, Desp. Sept. 3, Sept. 2, Oct. 11, 1572).

§ Si vede che l'editto non essendo osservato ne da popoli, ne dal principe, non è per pigliar piede (Salviati, Desp. Sept. 4) Qual Regina in progresso di tempo intende pur non solo di revocare tal editto, ma per mezzo della giustitia di restituir la fede cattolica nell' antica osservanza, parendogli che nessuno ne debba dubitare adesso, che hanno fatto morire l'armiraglio con tanti altri huomini di valore, conforme ai ragionamenti altre volte havuti con esso meco essendo a Bles, et trattando del parentado di Navarra, et dell' altre cose che correvano in quei tempi, il che essendo vero, ne posso rendere testimonianza, e a Nostro Signore e a tutto il mondo (Aug. 27; *Theiner*, i. 329, 330).

|| Desp. Sept. 2, 1572.

countenance to the official falsehood. At the reception of the French ambassador, Rambouillet, on the 23d of December, Muretus made his famous speech. He said that there could not have been a happier beginning for a new pontificate, and alluded to the fabulous plot in the tone exacted of French officials. The Secretary, Boccapaduli, replying in behalf of the Pope, thanked the King for destroying the enemies of Christ, but strictly avoided the conventional fable.\*

Cardinal Orsini went as Legate to France. He had been appointed in August; and he was to try to turn the King's course into that line of policy from which he had strayed under Protestant guidance. He had not left Rome when the events occurred which altered the whole situation. Orsini was now charged with felicitations, and was to urge Charles not to stop half-way.† An ancient and obsolete ceremonial was suddenly revived; and the Cardinals accompanied him to the Flaminian gate.‡ This journey of Orsini, and the pomp with which it was surrounded, were exceedingly unwelcome at Paris. It was likely to be taken as proof of that secret understanding with Rome which threatened to rend the delicate web in which Charles was striving to hold the confidence of the Protestant world.§ He requested that the Legate might be recalled; and the Pope was willing that there should be some delay.

\* The reply of Boccapaduli is printed in French, with the translation of the oration of Muretus, Paris, 1573.

† Troverà le cose così ben disposte, che durarà poca fatica in ottenere quel tanto si desidera per Sua Beatitudine, anzi haverà più presto da ringratiar quella Maestà Christianissima di così buona et sant' opera, ha fatto far, che da durare molta fatica in persuaderli l'unione con la Santa Chiesa Romana (Cusano to the Emperor, Rome, Sept. 6). Sereno (*Comment. della guerra di Cipro*, 329) understands the mission in the same light.

‡ Omnes mulas ascendentes cappis et galeris pontificalibus induti associarunt R<sup>mo</sup> D. Cardinalem Ursinum Legatum usque ad portam Flaminiam et extra eam ubi factis multis reverentiis eum ibi reliquerunt, juxta ritum antiquum in ceremoniali libro descriptum qui longo tempore intermissus fuerat, ita Pontifice iubente in Concistorio hodierno (Mucantii Diaria). Ista associatio fuit determinata in Concistorio vocatis x Cardinalibus et ex improvviso exequenti fuimus (C. Firmani Diaria, B.M. Add. mss. 8448).

§ Mette in consideratione alla Santità Sua che havendo deputato un Legato apostolico sù la morte dell' armiraglio, et altri capi Ugonotti, ha fatti ammazzare a Parigi, saria per metterla in molto sospetto et diffidenza delli Principi Protestanti, et della Regina d'Inghilterra, ch'ella fosse d'accordo con la Sede Apostolica, et Principi Cattolici per farli guerra, i quali cerca d'acquettar con accertarli tutti, che non ha fatto ammazzar l'armiraglio et suoi seguaci per conto della Religione (Cusano to the Emperor, Sept. 27).

While Orsini tarried on his way, Gregory's reply to the announcement of the massacre arrived at Paris. It was a great consolation to himself, he said, and an extraordinary grace vouchsafed to Christendom. But he desired, for the glory of God and the good of France, that the Huguenots should be extirpated utterly; and with that view he demanded the revocation of the edict. When Catherine knew that the Pope was not yet satisfied, and sought to direct the actions of the King, she could hardly restrain her rage. Salviati had never seen her so furious. The words had hardly passed his lips when she exclaimed that she wondered at such desigus, and was resolved to tolerate no interference in the government of the kingdom. She and her son were Catholics from conviction, and not through fear or influence. Let the Pope content himself with that.\* The Nuncio had at once foreseen that the court, after crushing the Huguenots, would not become more amenable to the counsels of Rome. He wrote, on the very day of St. Bartholomew, that the King would be very jealous of his authority, and would exact obedience from both sides alike.

At this untoward juncture Orsini appeared at Court. To Charles, who had done so much, it seemed unreasonable that he should be asked for more. He represented to Orsini that it was impossible to eradicate all the remnants of a faction which had been so strong. He had put seventy thousand Huguenots to the sword; and, if he had shown compassion to the rest, it was in order that they might become good Catholics.†

The hidden thoughts which the Court of Rome betrayed by its conduct on this memorable occasion have brought, upon the Pope himself an amount of hatred greater than he deserved. Gregory XIII. appears as a pale figure between the two strongest of the modern Popes, without the intense zeal of the one, and the ruthless volition of the other. He was not prone to large conceptions or violent resolutions. He had been converted late in life to the spirit of the Tridentine Reformation; and when he showed rigour it was thought to be not in his character, but in the counsels of those who influenced him.‡

\* Salviati, Desp. Sept. 22, 1572.

† Charles IX. to S. Goard, Oct. 5, 1572; *Charrière*, iii. 330. Ne poteva esser bastante segno l'haver egli doppo la morte dell' Ammiraglio fatto un editto, che in tutti i luoghi del suo regno fossero posti a fil di spada quanti heretici vi si trovassero, onde in pochi giorni n'erano stati ammazzati settanta milla e d'avantaggio (*Cicarelli, Vita di Gregori, XIII., Platina Vile de' Pontefici*, 1715, 592).

‡ Il tengono quasiche in filo et il necessitano a far

He did not instigate the crime, nor the atrocious sentiments that hailed it. In the religious struggle a frenzy had been kindled which made weakness violent, and turned good men into prodigies of ferocity: and at Rome, where every loss inflicted on Catholicism, and every wound, was felt, the belief that, in dealing with heretics, murder is better than toleration, prevailed for half a century. The predecessor of Gregory had been Inquisitor-General. In his eyes Protestants were worse than Pagans, and Lutherans more dangerous than other Protestants.\* The Capuchin preacher, Pistoja, bore witness that men were hanged and quartered almost daily at Rome;† and Pius declared that he would release a culprit guilty of a hundred murders rather than one obstinate heretic.‡ He seriously contemplated razing the town of Faenza because it was infested with religious error; and he recommended a similar expedient to the King of France.§ He adjured him to hold no intercourse with the Huguenots, to make no terms with them, and not to observe the terms he had made. He required that they should be pursued to the death, that not one should be spared under any pretence, that all prisoners should suffer death.|| He threatened Charles with the punishment of Saul when he forebore to exterminate the Amalekites.¶ He told him that it was his mission to avenge the injuries of the Lord, and that nothing is more cruel than mercy to the impious.\*<sup>1</sup> When he sanctioned the mur-

der of Elizabeth he proposed that it should be done in execution of his sentence against her.\* It became usual with those who meditated assassination or regicide on the plea of religion to look upon the representatives of Rome as their natural advisers. On the 21st of January 1591 a young Capuchin came, by permission of his superiors, to Segna, bishop of Piacenza, then Nuncio at Paris. He said that he was inflamed with the desire of a martyr's death; and having been assured by divines that it would be meritorious to kill that heretic and tyrant, Henry of Navarre, he asked to be dispensed from the rule of his order while he prepared his measures and watched his opportunity. The Nuncio would not do this without authority from Rome; but the prudence, courage, and humility which he discerned in the friar made him believe that the design was really inspired from above. To make this certain, and to remove all scruples, he submitted the matter to the Pope, and asked his blessing upon it, promising that whatever he decided should be executed with all discretion.†

The same ideas pervaded the Sacred College under Gregory. There are letters of profuse congratulation by the Cardinals of Lorraine, Este, and Pellevé. Bourbon was an accomplice before the fact. Granvelle condemned not the act but the delay. Delmino and Santorio approved. The Cardinal of Alessandria had refused the King's gift at Blois, and had opposed his wishes at the conclave. Circumstances were now so much altered that the ring was offered to him

cose contra la sua natura e la sua volontà perche S. S.<sup>ta</sup> è sempre stato di natura piacevole e dolce (Relatione di Gregorio XIII.; *Ranké, Papeste*, App. 80). Faict Cardinal par le pape Pie IV. le 12<sup>e</sup> de Mars 1559, lequel en le créant, dit qu'il n'avoit créé un cardinal ains un pape (Ferraz to Charles IX., May 14, 1572).

\* *Senatus Dominus Noster dixit nullam concordiam vel pacem debere nec posse esse inter nos et hereticos, et cum eis nullum foedus ineundum et habendum . . . verissimum est deteriores esse hæreticos gentilibus, eo quod sunt adeo perversi et obstinati, ut propemodum infideles sint* (Acta Concistorialia, June 18, 1571; Bib. Imp. F. Lat. 12,561).

† Ogni giorno faceva impiccare e squartare ora uno, ora un altro (*Cantù* ii. 410).

‡ *Legazioni di Serristori*, 436, 443.

§ Elle desire infiniment que vostre Majesté face quelque ressentement plus qu'elle n'a fait jusques à ceste heure contre ceux qui lui font la guerre, comme de raser quelques-unes de leurs principales maisons pour une perpétuelle mémoire (Rambouillet to Charles IX., Rome, Jan. 17, 1569; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 17,989).

¶ Pius v. to Catherine, April 13, 1569.

\*<sup>1</sup> Pius v. to Charles IX., March 28, 1569.

\* Sa Saincteté m'a dict que j'escrie à vostre majesté que icelle se souvienne qu'elle combat pour la querelle de Dieu, et que cest à elle de faire ses vengeances (Rambouillet to Charles IX., Rome, March 14, 1569; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,039). Nihil est enim

ea pietate misericordiae crudelius, quam in impios et ultima supplicia meritis confertur (Pius v. to Charles IX., Oct. 20, 1569).

\* *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, ii. 185.

† Inspirato più d'un anno fa di esporre la vita al martirio col procurare la liberazione della religione, et della patria per mezzo della morte del tiranno, et assicurato da Theologi che il fatto saria stato meritorio, non ne haveva con tutto ciò mai potuto ottenere da superiori suoi la licenza o dispensa . . . Io quantunque mi sia parso di trovarlo pieno di tale humiltà, prudenza, spirito et core che arguiscono che questa sia inspiratione veramente piuttosto che temerità o leggerezza, non cognoscendo tuttavia di poterliela concedere l'ho persuaso a tornarsene nel suo convento raccomandarsi a Dio et attendere all'obbedienza delli suoi superiori finchè io attendessi dallo assenso o ripulsa del Papa che haverli interpellato per la sua santa beneditione, se questo spirito sia veramente da Dio donde si potrà conjetturare che sia venendo approvato da Sua S.<sup>ta</sup>, e perciò sarà più sicuro da essere eseguito . . . Resta hora che V. S. Ill.<sup>ma</sup> mi favorisca di comunicare a S. B. il caso, et scrivermene come la supplico quanto prima per duplicate et triplicate lettere la sua santa determinatione assicurandosi che per quanto sarà in me il negotio sarà trattato con la debita circumspectione (Segna, Desp. Paris, Jan. 23, 1591; deciphered in Rome, March 26).

again; and this time it was accepted.\* The one dissentient from the chorus of applause is said to have been Montalto. His conduct when he became Pope makes it very improbable; and there is no good authority for the story. But Leti has it, who is so far from a panegyrist that it deserves mention.

The theory which was framed to justify these practices has done more than plots and massacres to cast discredit on the Catholics. This theory was as follows:—Confirmed heretics must be rigorously punished whenever it can be done without the probability of greater evil to religion. Where that is feared, the penalty may be suspended or delayed for a season, provided it be inflicted whenever the danger is past.† Treaties made with heretics, and promises given to them, must not be kept, because sinful promises do not bind, and no agreement is lawful which may injure religion or ecclesiastical authority. No civil power may enter into engagements which impede the free scope of the Church's law.‡ It is part of the punishment of heretics that faith shall not be kept with them.§ It is even mercy to kill them, that they may sin no more.||

Such were the precepts and the examples by which the French Catholics learned to confound piety and ferocity, and were made ready to immolate their countrymen. During the civil war an association was formed in the South for the purpose of making war upon the Huguenots; and it was fortified by Pius v. with blessings and indulgences. "We doubt not," it proclaimed, "that we shall be victorious over these enemies of

God and of all humankind; and if we fall, our blood will be as a second baptism, by which, without impediment, we shall join the other martyrs straightway in heaven."\* Monluc, who told Alva at Bayonne that he had never spared an enemy, was shot through the face at the siege of Rabasteins. Whilst he believed that he was dying, they came to tell him that the place was taken. "Thank God!" he said, "that I have lived long enough to behold our victory; and now I care not for death. Go back, I beseech you, and give me a last proof of friendship, by seeing that not one man of the garrison escapes alive."† When Alva had defeated and captured Genlis, and expected to make many more Huguenot prisoners in the garrison of Mons, Charles ix. wrote to Mondoucet that it would be for the service of God, and of the King of Spain, that they should die. "If the Duke of Alva answers that this is a tacit request to have all the prisoners cut to pieces, you will tell him that that is what he must do, and that he will injure both himself and all Christendom if he fails to do it."‡ This request also reached Alva through Spain. Philip wrote on the margin of the despatch that, if he had not yet put them out of the world, he must do so immediately, as there could be no reason for delay.§ The same thought occurred to others. On the 22d of July Salviati writes that it would be a serious blow to the faction if Alva would kill his prisoners; and Granvelle wrote that, as they were all Huguenots, it would be well to throw them all into the river.||

Where these sentiments prevailed, Gregory XIII. was not alone in deploring that the work had been but half done. After the first explosion of gratified surprise men perceived that the thing was a failure, and began to call for more. The clergy of Rouen Cathedral instituted a procession of thanksgiving, and prayed that the King might continue what he had so virtuously begun, until all France should profess one faith.¶ There are signs that Charles was tempted at one moment, during the month of October, to follow up the blow.\*† But he died without

\* Ferralz to Charles ix., Nov. 18, Dec. 23, 1572.

† *De Castro, De Justa Hæret. Punitioe*, 1547, 119. Jure divino obligantur eos extirpare, si absque maiori incommodo possint (*Lancelottus, Hæreticum quare per Catholicum quia*, 1615, 579). Ubi quid indulgendum sit, ratio semper exacta habeatur, an Religioni Ecclesiæ, et Reipublicæ quid vice mutua accedat quod majoris sit momenti, et plus prodesse possit (*Pamelius, De Relig. diversis non admittendis*, 1589, 159). Contagium istud sic grassatum est, ut corrupta massa non ferat antiquissimas leges, severitasque tantisper remittenda sit (*Possevinus, Animadv. in Thuanum; Zacharia, Iter Litterarium*, 321).

‡ Principi sæculari nulla ratione permissum est, hæreticis licentiam tribuere hæreses suas docendi, atque adeo contractus ille iniustus. . . Si quid Princeps sæcularis attentet in præiudicium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, aut contra eam aliquid statuat et paciscatur, pactum illud nullum futurum (*R. Sweetiti, De Fide Hæreticis servanda*, 1611, 36).

§ Ad pœnam quoque pertinet et odium hæreticorum quod fides illis data servanda non sit (*Simancha, Inst. Cath.* 46, 52).

|| Si nolint converti, expedit eos citius tollere e medio, ne gravius postea damnentur, unde non militat contra mansuetudinem christianam, occidere Hæreticos, quin potius est opus maximæ misericordiæ (*Lancelottus*, 579).

\* *De Rozoy, Annales de Toulouse*, iii. 65.

† Alva to Philip, June 5, 1565; *Pap. de Granvelle*, ix. 288; *Comment. de Monluc*, iii. 425.

‡ Charles ix. to Mondoucet, Aug. 31, 1572; *Compte Rendu*, iv. 349.

§ *Bulletins de Bruzelles*, xvi. 256.

|| Granvelle to Morillon, Sept. 11, 1572; *Michélet*, 475.

¶ *Floquet*, iii. 137.

\*† Walsingham to Smith, Nov. 1, 1572; *Digges*, 279. Ita enim statutum ab illis fuit die 27 Octobris (Beza, Dec. 3, 1572; *Ill. vir. Epp. Sel.* 621). *La Mothe*, v. 164; *Faustino Tasso, Historie de nostri tempi*, 1583, 343.



pursuing the design; and the hopes were turned to his successor. When Henry III. passed through Italy on his way to assume the crown, there were some who hoped that the Pope would induce him to set resolutely about the extinction of the Huguenots. A petition was addressed to Gregory for this purpose, in which the writer says that hitherto the French court has erred on the side of mercy, but that the new King might make good the error if, rejecting that pernicious maxim that noble blood spilt weakens a kingdom, he would appoint an execution which would be cruel only in appearance, but in reality glorious and holy, and destroy the heretics totally, sparing neither life nor property.\* Similar exhortations were addressed from Rome to Henry himself by Muzio, a layman who had gained repute, among other things, by controversial writings, of which Pius v. said that they had preserved the faith in whole districts, and who had been charged with the task of refuting the Centuriators. On the 17th of July 1574, Muzio wrote to the King that all Italy waited in reliance on his justice and valour, and besought him to spare neither old nor young, and to regard neither rank nor ties of blood.† These hopes also were doomed to disappointment; and a Frenchman writing in the year of Henry's death, laments over the cruel clemency and inhuman mercy that reigned on St. Bartholomew's Day.‡

This was not the general opinion of the Catholic world. In Spain and Italy where hearts were hardened and consciences corrupted by the Inquisition, in Switzerland where the Catholics lived in suspicion and dread of their Protestant neighbours, among ecclesiastical princes in Germany whose authority waned as fast as their subjects abjured their faith, the massacre was welcomed as an act of Christian fortitude. But in France itself the great mass of the people was struck with consternation.§ "Which manner of proceeding," writes Walsingham on the 13th of September, "is by the Catholics themselves utterly condemned, who

desire to depart hence out of this country, to quit themselves of this strange kind of government, for that they see here none can assure themselves of either goods or life." Even in places still steeped in mourning for the atrocities suffered at the hands of Huguenots during the civil war, at Nîmes for instance, the King's orders produced no act of vengeance. At Carcassonne, the ancient seat of the Inquisition, the Catholics concealed the Protestants in their houses.\* In Provence, the news from Lyons, and the corpses that came down in the poisoned waters of the Rhone, awakened nothing but horror and compassion.† Sir Thomas Smith wrote to Walsingham that in England "the minds of the most number are much alienated from that nation, even of the very Papists."‡ At Rome itself Zuñiga pronounced the treachery of which the French were boasting unjustifiable, even in the case of heretics and rebels;§ and it was felt as an outrage to public opinion when the murderer of Coligny was presented to the Pope.|| The Emperor was filled with grief and indignation. He said that the King and Queen-Mother would live to learn that nothing could have been more iniquitously contrived or executed: his uncle Charles v., and his father Ferdinand, had made war on the Protestants, but they had never been guilty of so cruel an act.¶ At that moment Maximilian was seeking the crown of Poland for his son; and the events in France were a weapon in his hands against his rival, Anjou. Even the Czar of Muscovy, Ivan the Terrible, replying to his letters, protested that all Christian princes must lament the barbarous and needless shedding of so much innocent blood. It was not the rivalry of the moment that animated Maximilian. His whole life proves him to have been an enemy of violence and cruelty; and his celebrated letter to Schwendi, written long after, shows that his judgment remained unchanged. It was the Catholic Emperor who roused the Lutheran Elector of Saxony to something like resentment of the butchery in France.\*¹

\* Discorso di Monsignor Terracina a Gregorio XIII.; *Thesauri Politici Contin.* 1618, 73-76.

† Infia che ne viverà grande, o picciolo di loro, mai non le mancheranno insidie (*Lettere del Mutio*, 1590, 232).

‡ Coupez, tronquez, cisaillez, ne pardonnez à parens ny amis, princes et subietz, ny à quelque personne de quelque condition qu'ils soient (*D'Orléans, Premier avertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques*, 1590, 13). The notion that Charles had displayed an extreme benignity recurs in many books: "Nostre Prince a surpassé toute mesure de clémence" (*Le Frère, de Laval, Histoire des Troubles*, 1576, 527).

§ Serranus. *Comment.* iv. 51.

\* Bouges, *Histoire de Carcassonne*, 343.

† *Sommaire de la Félonie commise à Lyon.* A contemporary tract reprinted by Gonon, 1848, 221.

‡ On this point Smith may be trusted rather than Parker (*Correspondence*, 399).

§ *Bulletins de Bruxelles*, xvi. 249.

|| Qui è venuto quello che dette l'archibusata all' armiraglio di Francia, et è stato condotto dal Cardinal di Lorena et dall' Ambasciator di Francia, al papa. A molti non è piaciuto che costui sia venuto in Roma (Prospero Count Arco to the Emperor, Rome, Nov. 15, 1572; Vienna Archives).

¶ Zuñiga to Philip, March 4, 1573; Arch. de l'Empire, K. 1531, B. 35, 70. Zuñiga heard it from Lorraine.

\*¹ Et est toute la dispute encores sur les derniers

For the Lutherans were not disposed to recognise the victims of Charles ix. as martyrs for the Protestant cause. During the wars of religion Lutheran auxiliaries were led by a Saxon prince, a margrave of Baden, and other German magnates, to aid the Catholic forces in putting down the heresy of Calvin. These feelings were so well known that the French Government demanded of the Duke of Wirtemberg the surrender of the Huguenots who had fled into his dominions.\* Lutheran divines flattered themselves at first with the belief that it was the Calvinistic error, not the Protestant truth, that had invited and received the blow.† The most influential of them, Andreae, declared that the Huguenots were not martyrs but rebels, who had died not for religion but sedition; and he bade the princes beware of the contagion of their spirit, which had deluged other lands with blood. When Elizabeth proposed a league for the defence of Protestantism, the North German divines protested against an alliance with men whose crime was not only religious error but blasphemous obstinacy, the root of many dreadful heresies. The very proposal, they said, argued a disposition to prefer human succour rather than the word of God.‡ When another invitation came from Henry of Navarre, the famous divine Chemnitz declared union with the disciples of Calvin a useless abomination.§

The very men whose own brethren had perished in France were not hearty or unanimous in execrating the deed.|| There were Huguenots who thought that their party had brought ruin on itself, by provoking its enemies, and following the rash counsels of ambitious men.¶ This was the opinion of their chief, Theodore Beza, him-

événemens de la France, contre lesquels l'Electeur est beaucoup plus aigre qu'il n'estoit à mon aultre voyage, depuis qu'il a esté en l'escole à Vienne (Schomberg to Brulart, May 12, 1573; *Groen*, iv., App. 76).

\* *Satiler, Geschichte von Württemberg*, v. 23.

† Audio quosdam etiam nostraliū theologorum cruentam istam nuptiarum feralium celebrationem pertinaciæ Gallorum in semel recepta de sacramentalibus mysteriis sententia acceptam referre et præter illos pati neminem somnari (Steinberger to Crato, Nov. 23, 1572; *Gillet, Crato von Crafftheim*, ii. 519).

‡ *Heppe, Geschichte des Deutschen Protestantismus*, iv. 37, 47, 49.

§ *Hachfeld, Martin Chemnitz*, 137.

|| Sunt tamen qui hoc factum et excusare et defendere tentant (Bullinger to Hotoman, Oct. 11, 1572; *Hotoman, Epis.* 35).

¶ Nec dubium est melius cum ipsis actum fuisse, si quemadmodum a principio instituerant, cum disciplinam ecclesiasticam introducere, viros modestos et piæ veræque reformationis cupidos tantum in suos cæsus admisissent, reiectis petulantibus et servidis

self. Six weeks before, he wrote that they were gaining in numbers, but losing in quality, and he feared lest, after destroying superstition, they should destroy religion: "Valde metuo ne superstitioni successerit impietas." \* And afterwards he declared that nobody who had known the state of the French Protestants could deny that it was a most just judgment upon them.†

Beza held very stringent doctrines touching the duty of the civil magistrate to repress religious error. He thought that heresy is worse than murder, and that the good of society requires no crime to be more severely punished.‡ He declared toleration contrary to revealed religion and the constant tradition of the Church, and taught that lawful authority must be obeyed, even by those whom it persecutes. He expressly recognised this function in Catholic States, and urged Sigismund not to rest until he had got rid of the Socinians in Poland;§ but he could not prevail against the vehement resistance of Cardinal Hosius. It was embarrassing to limit these principles when they were applied against his own Church. For a moment Beza doubted whether it had not received its deathblow in France. But he did not qualify the propositions which were open to be interpreted so fatally,|| or deny that his people, by their vices, if not by their errors, had deserved what they had suffered.

The applause which greeted their fate came not from the Catholics generally, nor from the Catholics alone. While Protestants were ready to palliate or excuse it, the majority of the Catholics who were not under the direct influence of Madrid or Rome recognised the inexpiable horror of the crime. But the desire to defend what the Pope approved survived sporadically, when the old fierceness of dogmatic hatred was ex-

ingeniis, quæ eos in diros tumultus, et inextricabilia mala coniecerunt (*Dinothus, De Bello Civili*, 1582, 243).

\* Beza to Tilius, July 5, 1572; *III. vir. Epp. Sel.* 607.

† Quoties autem ego hæc ipse prædixi! quoties præmonui! Sed sic Deo visum est, iustissimis de causis irato, et tamen servatori (Beza to Tilius, Sept. 10, 1572, 614). Nihil istorum non iustissimo iudicio accidere necesse est fateri, qui Galliarum statum norunt (Beza to Crato, Aug. 26, 1573; *Gillet*, ii. 521).

‡ Ut mihi quidem magis absurde facere videantur quam si sacrilegas aut parricidas puniendos negarent, quum sint istis omnibus hæretici infinitis partibus deteriores. . . . In nullos unquam homines severius quam in hæreticos, blasphemos et impios debet animadvertere (*De Hæreticis puniendis, Tract. Theol.* i. 143, 152).

§ *Epist. Theolog.* 1575, 388.

|| Beza to Wittgenstein, Pentecost 1583; *Friedländer*, 143.

inct. A generation passed without any perceptible change in the judgment of Rome. It was a common charge against De Thou that he had condemned the blameless act of Charles ix. The blasphemies of the Huguenots, said one of his critics, were more abominable than their retribution.\* His History was put on the Index; and Cardinal Barberini let him know that he was condemned because he not only favoured Protestants to the detriment of Catholics, but had even disapproved the massacre of St. Bartholomew.† Eudæmon-Johannes, the friend of Bellarmine, pronounces it a pious and charitable act, which immortalized its author.‡ Another Jesuit, Bompiani, says that it was grateful to Gregory, because it was likely to relieve the Church.§ The well-known apology for Charles ix. by Naudé is based rather on political than religious grounds; but his contemporary Guyon, whose History of Orleans is pronounced by the censors full of sound doctrine and pious sentiment, deems it unworthy of Catholics to speak of the murder of heretics as if it were a crime, because, when done under lawful authority, it is a blessed thing.|| When Innocent xi. refused to approve the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Frenchmen wondered that he should so far depart from the example which was kept before him by one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his palace.¶ The old spirit was decaying fast in France; and the superb indignation of Bossuet fairly expresses the general opinion of his time. Two works were published on the medals of the Popes, by a French and an Italian writer.\*† The Frenchman awkwardly palliates the conduct of Gregory xiii.; the

Italian heartily defends it. In Italy it was still dangerous ground. Muratori shrinks from pronouncing on the question,\* while Cienfuegos, a Jesuit whom his order esteemed one of the most distinguished Cardinals of the day, judges that Charles ix. died too soon for his fame.† Tempesti, who lived under the enlightened rule of Benedict xiv., accuses Catherine of having arrested the slaughter, in order that some cause should remain to create a demand for her counsels.‡ The German Jesuit Biner and the Papal historian Piatti, just a century ago, are among the last downright apologists.§

Then there was a change. A time came when the Catholics, having long relied on force, were compelled to appeal to opinion. That which had been defiantly acknowledged and defended required to be ingeniously explained away. The same motive which had justified the murder now prompted the lie. Men shrank from the conviction that the rulers and restorers of their Church had been murderers and abettors of murder, and that so much infamy had been coupled with so much zeal. They feared to say that the most monstrous of crimes had been solemnly approved at Rome, lest they should devote the Papacy to the execration of mankind. A swarm of facts were invented to meet the difficulty:—The victims were insignificant in number; they were slain for no reason connected with religion; the Pope believed in the existence of the plot; the plot was a reality; the medal is fictitious; the massacre was a feint concerted with the Protestants themselves; the Pope rejoiced only when he heard that it was over.|| These things were repeated so often that they have been sometimes believed; and men have fallen into this way of speaking whose sincerity was unimpeachable, and who were not shaken in their religion by the errors or the vices of Popes. Möhler was pre-eminently such a man. In his lectures on the history of the Church, which were published only last year, he said that the Catholics, as such,

\* Lobo de Silveis to De Thou, July 7, 1616; *Histoire*, xv. 371, J. B. Gallus, *Ibid.* 435.

† Le Cardinal Barberin, que je tiens pour Serviteur du Roy, a parlé franchement sur ceste affaire, et m'a dit qu'il croyoit presque impossible qu'il se trouve jamais remède, si vous ne la voulez recommencer; disant que depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin vous estes monstres du tout passionné contre ce qui est de l'honneur et de la grandeur de l'Eglise, qu'il se trouvera dans vostre histoire que vous ne parlez jamais des Catholiques qu'avec du mépris et de la louange de ceux de la religion; que mesme vous avez blâmé ce que feu Monsieur le président de Thou vostre père avoit approuvé, qui est la S. Barthelemy (De Brèves to De Thou, Rome, Feb. 18, 1610; Bib. Imp. F. Dupuy, 812).

‡ Crudelitatisne tu esse ac non clementia potius, pietatisne putas? (*Resp. ad Ep. Casauboni*, 1612, 118).

§ Quæ res uti Catholicæ Religioni sublevandæ opportuna, ita maxime jucunda Gregorio accidit (*Hist. Pontif. Gregori XIII.*, 30).

¶ *Histoire d'Orléans*, 421, 424.

¶ Germain to Bretagne, Rome, Dec. 24, 1685; Valéry, *Corresp. de Mabilon*, i. 192.

\*† Du Molinet, *Hist. S. Pont. per Numismata*,

1679, 93; Buonanni, *Numismata Pontificum*, i. 336.

\* *Annali d'Italia ad ann. 1572.*

† Si huviera respirado mas tiempo, huviera dado a entender al mundo, que avia Rey en la Francia, y Dios en Israel (*Vida de S. Francisco De Borja*, 446).

‡ *Vita di Sisto V.*, i. 119.

§ Quo demum res evaderent, si Regibus non esset integrum, in rebelles, subditos, quietisque publicæ turbatores animadvertere? (*Apparatus Eruditionis*, vii. 503), Piatti, *Storia de' Pontefici XI.*, 271.

¶ Per le notizie che ricevette della cessata strage (*Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione Ecclesiastica*, xxxii. 298).

took no part in the massacre; that no cardinal, bishop, or priest, shared in the councils that prepared it; that Charles informed the Pope that a conspiracy had been discovered; and that Gregory made his thanksgiving only because the King's life was saved.\* Such things will cease to be written when men perceive that truth is the only merit that gives dignity and worth to history.

### ART. III.—THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF ELEMENTARY LOGIC.

OF all portions of mental science logic is that in which the different schools come nearest in contact. On the one side, Dr. Whewell, a philosopher of what is called the intuitive school, has been found to agree with the theory of the syllogism propounded by Mr. Mill: on the other hand, though Mr. Mill opposes the doctrines of Hamilton on logic almost throughout, his opposition is in great measure grounded, not on their falsity, but on what he thinks their clumsiness and obscurity—a kind of objection which implies a much less degree of difference. This greater accordance of logicians, as compared with metaphysicians, arises from the narrower compass of logic, at least in its elementary parts; for in its further developments logic admits of very wide diversity of treatment. But in their fundamental portions, the diversity of writers on logic is not too great to admit of reconciliation; and such a reconciliation will be the main object of the present article. It will result from this, that the foundations of logic alone can here be treated of at length: the more abstruse and advanced speculations on the subject (such as those of Hegel, the second volume of Mr. Mill, or Mr. Herbert Spencer) may be hinted at, and the point of their divergence from the main root shown; but no more thorough inquiry into them can be attempted.

Logic is a portion of the great science which treats of thought and knowledge; it deals with thought and knowledge under a particular aspect, and that a very abstract and general one. Now thought, and knowledge, which is the culmination and crowning attainment of thought, and that which thought perpetually endeavours to become, are terms expressive of a relation—a relation, namely, between the mind and the ob-

jects which the mind thinks of or knows. All our knowledge has its centre in the mind; there is not a scrap of it which must not have been gathered together, tested, and approved, by a process identical with that which extends through the whole. But, remembering that the mind is one, and that the ultimate principle of thought must be one likewise, whereas the objects of knowledge—the materials which the mind is employed in collecting and sifting—are vast and various, infinite in number and kind, it will be apparent that two schools of logicians will arise, marked by very different characteristics. One school will analyse with the greatest care the universal principles of knowledge, will endeavour to reject from their enumeration of these principles all that, however excellent it may be, is not clearly ultimate, or clearly derivable from what is ultimate, and will think little of illustration or practical applicability, provided their analysis is correctly accomplished. The other school will, perhaps, be less careful in subtle distinction, in proving the perfect universality of some abstract principle; but, taking a broad rule that approves itself at any rate to all but the most refinedly theoretical intellect, they will show and exemplify the operation of this rule over the world of realities, through the diverse concrete sciences and branches of knowledge that have arisen among mankind. There is no necessary antagonism between these two schools; but they are very apt to regard one another antagonistically, and each to look upon rivals, in the one case as hair-splitting and useless theorists, in the other case as mere loose and popular describers.

The German logicians, and together with them Sir William Hamilton, have, with a thoroughness and consistency rare in any body of inquirers, taken their stand with the more abstract of the two schools above named. In defining their science—in answering the question, "What is logic?" they cut off such huge provinces of inquiry, one after another (all of which appear, at any rate, as if they had something to do with logic), that the reader is driven at last to wonder if anything will be left but the barest and leanest scarecrow of a science. And to say the truth, their distinctions are perhaps not always carefully enough thought out, or expressed with the precisest accuracy. But in others again they are unquestionably right; and so alien is the mind of ordinary men from this severity in the conception of a science, so necessary is it to be on our guard lest, while professing to be engaged in one kind of speculation, we

\* *Kirchengeschichte*, iii. 211.

should slip away into other easier and more popular topics, that we may well excuse Kant, Esser, or Hamilton, for errors in which they are likely to find but few followers.

The other class of logicians is the one that has always found the most favour with the English schools of philosophy. Bacon was its founder. Whately was a conspicuous example of it; indeed, Whately's whole works may be said to be a kind of appendix to his book on logic, so much did he delight in the testing of processes of thought by the rules (as he conceived them) of correct thinking. But the most powerful writer of this school that has appeared in recent times is undoubtedly Mr. Mill. It would indeed be incorrect to class Mr. Mill as exclusively of this school, if by that were implied an absence of subtle speculation or systematizing ability. The central and most important part of his *System of Logic*, all that relates to the syllogism and the inductive processes, is bound together by a tie of the most stringent nature; the abstract part of it, however it may hereafter be made to assume a different aspect through colligation with other truths, is in its essential elements unassailable. And, besides this, it is absolutely new. The relation of the syllogism to induction is expounded by Mr. Mill as it had never been expounded before, while yet, from the clearness with which he puts it, it appears wonderful that of so many previous logicians no one should have seen how the case exactly stood. But the same praise cannot be extended to other parts of his treatise. His first book is a mere rope of sand. Putting the Introduction aside (which is a definition of the subject), it is simply an assemblage of observations, some acute, some commonplace, on the elements of language. There is no coherent argument binding together the parts; there is no firm walking; there is a perpetual stumbling against metaphysical questions, from which Mr. Mill retreats not victoriously. Nor are the distinctions drawn always consistent with each other, as indeed was hardly to be expected from their heterogeneous nature. For instance, the first division of names into general and individual, which, at p. 27, Mr. Mill declares to be fundamental, is rendered futile by the remark on p. 30, that certain abstract names are neither general nor individual, but in a class apart. And throughout the treatise, he avoids in a very marked manner the more subtle mental analysis—a defect which causes him at once to misunderstand opponents, and to slur over questions of real difficulty. So that, on the whole, his first

object in his work is not speculative, but practical—not to refine his investigations into theoretical symmetry, but to enforce practically the broadest rules that should actuate our ordinary procedure in the search after truth. He does not mind leaving out loose ends in his working, provided the bulk of it is massive and useful.

Logic was spoken of a little way back as a science treating of thought and knowledge under a very abstract and general aspect. More accurately, it might be defined as the science which treats of the universal laws through which knowledge is formed, or of the universal laws of thought in its progress towards knowledge. There is a certain kind of thinking with which logic is not concerned, or at any rate concerned only in a very remote manner, namely, those casual wandering thoughts that flit about our brains with no certain aim or purpose. Such wandering thoughts have no doubt their laws, which may legitimately be the subject of investigation. They rise; they die away from certain causes; they have certain natural effects. But it is not these laws, causes, and effects, that are the subject of logic. The subject of logic is the progress of thought to knowledge; its aim is to find those rules and principles which are the absolutely universal accompaniments of this progress. When these absolutely universal principles are found, logic may freely extend itself again downwards into principles of less universality—principles which, though they do not invariably accompany the acquirement and verification of our knowledge, and therefore are not to be held as an indispensable test of it, yet so frequently accompany it that it is extremely well worth while to know them. In this subordinate part of the science would be introduced all which Hamilton called by the name of Modified Logic—the discussion of those moral qualities which further or hinder the discovery or reception of truth, of the value of testimony, of the different kinds of analogical reasoning, of the various concrete modes in which men may be deceived, and so on. It would, for instance, be a very interesting problem in this branch of logic, to examine the different causes, moral, intellectual, or physical, which prevented for so long a time the general reception of the Copernican theory. But yet, though inquiries of this kind are a legitimate part of logic, and though the utility of them is in many cases very great, they are yet not the central point, the essence of logic. Pure Logic, as Hamilton styled it, must be intellectual, and rigidly intellectual. The causes which lead us to truth may be

moral causes, or may be necessary only in part, or perhaps not necessary at all; but the process whereby knowledge is attained is in itself intellectual; nor can we avoid believing that there are certain characteristics of it which are always and universally present, though it may not always be easy to bring them out when we come to analyse our concrete knowledge. Easy, however, or difficult, this is the first and chief aim of logic—to bring out those universal marks which characterize the development of our knowledge, the progress of thought to knowledge.

The account of the province of logic given by Hamilton and the German logicians coincides in its essential parts with that given in the above paragraph, though they expressed themselves with rather unnecessary obscurity. Thus Hamilton defined logic as the science which deals with the "laws of thought as thought," meaning, by "thought as thought," thought in its essential office—thought, not in its casual impulses and agencies, but in its progress towards knowledge. In other words, he described the subject-matter of logic as the "laws of the form of thought," or the "formal laws of thought," following Kant, who defined logic as "*eine Wissenschaft von der blossen Form des Denkens überhaupt*," and again, as "*eine Wissenschaft, a priori von den nothwendigen Gesetzen des Denkens*." By the laws of thought, the "*nothwendigen Gesetzen*," were of course understood, by all these logicians, the laws to which thought must conform if it is to result in knowledge.

The account which Mr. Mill gives of logic is less precise and accurate than that of the German school, but more copious, explanatory, and practical. I will quote the principal passages which embody his conception of it. He begins by distinguishing (after Whately) between logic as a science, and logic as an art. Whately, he says, rightly defined logic to be "the science as well as the art of reasoning; meaning by the former term, the analysis of the mental process which takes place whenever we reason, and by the latter, the rules grounded on that analysis for conducting the process correctly. . . . To reason," he adds in explanation, "is simply to infer any assertion, from assertions already admitted."

The distinction between the science and the art of logic is laid down here much too broadly. One would expect, from Mr. Mill's words, to find his treatise to consist of two parts, the first consisting of analysis, the second of rules. It is needless to say that no such division is found in it;

and, in fact, every universal principle of reasoning which analysis establishes involves a corresponding rule—the rule, namely, of not transgressing the principle. How can any separation be effected between such a principle and such a rule? But it need not be denied that logic may be regarded in a more theoretical or in a more practical manner, and that in the former case it may be styled a science, in the latter an art. We speak, not incorrectly, of a man learning to reason, and to learn anything is certainly an art. But, on the whole, Hamilton is right in saying that logic, in the fundamental view of it, is a science; the object of the logician is to know, and to know systematically—to know, namely, the fundamental principles which underlie our acquirement of knowledge. Another alteration that might be introduced with advantage into the passage from Mr. Mill, is in his definition of reasoning. It would be better thus: "To reason is to infer any fact, from facts already admitted;" or, still better (because a fact, almost always implies an individual fact), "To reason is to infer any truth, from truths already admitted." Surely a dog, or even a worm, reasons, when it infers the position of its food from the indications supplied by its senses—sight or hearing or smell; but there is no assertion involved in the matter in these cases. Mr. Mill probably wrote "assertion," because he wished to include bad reasoning within his definition of reasoning. To reason badly, he would say, is still to reason, though not to infer a fact or a truth. And those to whom this consideration appeared important, might substitute "supposed fact," or "supposed truth," in the definition as above given. Lastly, Mr. Mill's definition of logic is narrower than that of the German writers, in that he confines it to the simple act of reasoning, while they extend it to conceptions, which are the results of reasoning. Of this, more will be said presently.

Regarding then logic, after Mr. Mill's manner, as the science of reasoning, it is clear that it must have a relation to all our separate and particular modes of reasoning—to the several sciences. It is true that logic cannot take a special interest in the discoveries either of any one science or of all sciences together; the sole function of logic with respect to them lies in the examination of the processes by which they are established. And Hamilton is no doubt right when he says, "The objects (the matter) of thought are infinite; no one science can embrace them all, and, therefore, to suppose logic conversant about the matter

of thought in general, is to say that logic is another name for the Encyclopædia—the *omne scibile*—of human knowledge. The absurdity of this supposition is apparent." And he rightly concludes that logic is concerned essentially with the "form," *i. e.*, the universal principles, of thought. Nevertheless, it is possible to place far too wide a separation between logic and the actual concrete sciences. After all, in discussing the theory of thinking, we cannot omit the consideration of the processes in which it is exemplified; nay, we can have no knowledge of the theory except through consideration of the special processes. So much as this would be admitted by nearly all, if not by all, philosophers; for though Kant, in the words we have quoted, styles logic "eine Wissenschaft a priori," and uses afterwards still stronger language as to the independence of logic of the separate sciences, he did not mean to deny (as he explains in the first words of his *Kritik*) that all universal principles were developed out of concrete material. He only affirmed that the concrete material, though necessary to the exhibition of the universal principles, was not the source of those principles; and this he did in an intelligible sense, though it is not needful here to pursue or criticise his meaning further. But the practice of the German philosophers is more liable to exception than their theory. It is quite undeniable that they are extremely deficient in the exemplification and illustration of their rules by concrete experience. When they do introduce examples, these are of the barest and most commonplace character, instead of being chosen from processes of thought that have really taxed the energies of the thinker. It does not involve dissent from the recently quoted observation of Hamilton, to perceive that the remarks of Mr. Mill on the relation of logic to the sciences are more judicious; and it should be noticed, in illustration of Mr. Mill's own bias, how much he dwells on the practical utility of logic, how little on its theoretical beauty. "The field of logic," he writes, "is co-extensive with the field of knowledge. Logic is the common judge and arbiter of all particular investigations. It does not undertake to find evidence, but to determine whether it has been found. Logic neither observes, nor invents, nor discovers; but judges. It is no part of the business of logic to inform the surgeon what appearances are found to accompany a violent death. This he must learn from his own experience and observation, or from that of others, his predecessors in his peculiar pursuit. But logic sits in judgment on the

sufficiency of that observation and experience to justify his rules, and on the sufficiency of his rules to justify his conduct. . . . It is in this sense that logic is, what Bacon so expressively called it, *ars artium*; the science of science itself. All science consists of data and conclusions from those data, of proofs and what they prove: now logic points out what relations must subsist between data and whatever can be concluded from them, between proof and everything which it can prove. If there be any such indispensable relations, and if these can be precisely determined, every particular branch of science, as well as every individual in the guidance of his conduct, is bound to conform to those relations, under the penalty of making false inferences, of drawing conclusions which are not grounded in the realities of things" (vol. i. p. 9).

No exception can be taken to this passage. But there is an unfounded distinction to which Mr. Mill on other occasions appears to lean, though without wholly committing himself to it; namely, that logic is rather the science of proof than the science of discovery. Now, it is quite true that the logician, as such, does not set himself to work to discover material truth; but this is quite another thing from saying that the processes of discovery do not form part of the subject-matter of the logician, quite as much as the processes of proof. And indeed, Mr. Mill's own four experimental methods, on which he lays so much stress, are quite as much processes of discovery as of proof. So that when he says, in the passage quoted, that 'logic does not discover, but judges,' this is only true when confined to the practical use of logic. The theory of logic is quite as much the theory of discovery as of proof; it is the theory of the whole process by which thought grows into knowledge. But practically, people do not discover by logic; they only test what they think their discoveries by it. And in illustration of this, Kant might be quoted as well as Mr. Mill. "Logic," he says, "is of course useful, not for the extension, but merely for the correction and verification of our knowledge" (*Logik-Einleitung*, p. 5). And there is a great deal that may be usefully noticed with respect to the practical employment of logic; but for the present let us confine ourselves to the theory.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to describe, either in my own language or that of others, what logic is. To say what it is not, that is, to sever it from the other cognate sciences, still remains. And first of all, it is very plain that *to know* is not the only

faculty, not the only function of the soul. The soul has passions, pleasures, and pains; it affects the body, and is affected through the bodily organs in ways to which the term knowledge is not applicable; it determines action in its individual capacity; collectively, many souls being cognisant of each other's existence through the senses, and being urged by desire, form those combinations which we term political or social. From the consideration of the soul in these its different capacities arise many sciences—ethics, æsthetics, politics, social science, physiological psychology, etc.—all of which sciences together may be called the psychological sciences. Now the science which treats of knowledge—its growth, its laws, its development—is one of these sciences; for to know is one of the functions of the soul—as some think, the supreme function, and that without which any consideration of the rest is futile (the opinion, as is to be supposed, of Schelling and Hegel)—but at any rate, one of the functions.

But now, selecting out of the whole number of the psychological sciences this science, which treats of the development of knowledge, the question arises, Is this science throughout its whole scope to be designated by the title of logic? It is not; and yet it may be entirely surveyed from the logical point of view. But there is also another point of view from which we may look on it. It is clear that we may treat of the development of our knowledge to some extent in a simply historical fashion. We may say, Thus and thus were different branches of knowledge successively added on to our previous stock, without dwelling on the truth and reality of the knowledge thus added, on its conformity with the essential laws of all knowledge. If, on the other hand, we wish to treat of knowledge from the logical point of view, the history of the development of knowledge sinks into minor importance, and is only used to illustrate the essential laws of knowledge. That this distinction is possible to a certain extent is plain from the different character of such a book as Dr. Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences* from any professedly logical treatise, such as that of Mr. Mill. In Dr. Whewell, the principles illustrate the history; in Mr. Mill, the history illustrates the principles. But how far is this distinction, between the science which treats of the logical justification of our knowledge and the science which treats of its historical development, capable of being carried out? This is a question that must be entered upon more fully, if we wish to know the exact relation of logic to metaphysics.

There are then certain portions of our knowledge which have been accumulated within historical times; the faculties by which they have been gained are faculties not possessed to anything like their full extent by the savage or the uncultivated person. Of this class are the physical sciences; and accordingly in the case of the physical sciences we can distinguish very accurately between their logic and their history, between the reasons which compel us to believe in them and the actual record of their growth. We can observe the processes of thought, induction and deduction, that secure to us this knowledge: we vitally accept these processes, not merely as principles that have obtained during the past, but as principles that must guide us for the future—in a much more stringent and thorough sense than that in which the principles which underlie any material science may be said to guide our action. By far the larger portion, however, of our knowledge, is acquired so very shortly after our birth, that we lose all recollection of the process by which it was gained. The faculties of sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch; the knowledge of ourselves, our emotions, and feelings; these we are said to possess naturally. But it cannot be doubted by any one who reflects on the subject, that though we, through some mysterious process of inheritance, come into possession of these kinds of knowledge easily and quickly, they were not gained easily or quickly by those who first possessed them. Thought and effort must have been necessary for their acquisition; and in that thought and effort must have been at work universal principles similar to those which gain and secure to us the knowledge which we are now for the first time gathering together. And the very difficult science which treats of this knowledge, which we possess so securely as to call it elementary and primary, is entitled *Metaphysics*; and here it is impossible to distinguish between the logic and the historical growth of our knowledge. Why I believe that this chair, this table, this house, stands before me, and, How I came to this belief, are no doubt two different questions; but to treat them separately is very hard indeed. In general, the German metaphysicians have treated of the former, the logical, question; the English psychologists of the latter, the historical, to the solution of which they have invoked the aid of physiology. But, in point of fact, it is very difficult to treat of either question satisfactorily, apart from the other. And hence, though logic can in part be studied quite without reference to metaphysics, yet



there is a part of logic which is closely entwined with metaphysics, and at present inseparable from it.

If we could enter into the mind of an infant, and see it, with a swiftness of thought unparalleled in later life, gather together its knowledge of the material world, of colours, sounds, smells, tastes, feelings, and the connections of these, it is not to be doubted but that the fundamental principles which govern the development of knowledge must be rigorously adhered to; the infant must be a perfect, though unconscious, logician. What, however, is more particularly to be noticed is this: it is not quite certain that these primary processes of the mind are exactly of that nature which can be called induction and deduction, the only logical processes that we can be said fully to understand. Even in our present mathematical processes, it is difficult to characterize the method of our knowledge by these terms; we feel, though we cannot describe, a difference. It cannot be thought impossible that a further analysis of our logical processes, such as that which Hegel attempted, may be necessary when we come to consider the processes of our elementary knowledge. But into the Hegelian logic it is impossible to enter here; though it is necessary to point out the relation which it bears to the ordinary logic. Such a logic, if correctly carried out—and I express no opinion whether Hegel carried it out correctly or not—must be more penetrating than ordinary logic. It may appear to contradict ordinary logic; just as to superficial minds the Copernican system appears to contradict the Ptolemaic system. It requires a scientific mind to discern that, in a much more important sense, the Copernican system is the development of the Ptolemaic system. Just so, while the possibility of this deeper logic must be vindicated, and the inquiry into it urged, it is certain that it cannot really be other than the development, through an acuter analysis, of our ordinary logic.

I have endeavoured to present above a correct view of the difference, and at the same time the relation, between logic and metaphysics. Logic is the science which elucidates the fundamental principles that run through the whole of our knowledge. Metaphysics is the investigation, at once logical and historical, into a certain portion of our knowledge, namely, the elementary portion. Thus logic and metaphysics are intersecting sciences, though this often escapes notice, from the fact that the portion where both intersect is the most abstruse portion of either. It will be proper, how-

ever, to hear what previous writers have said as to the difference between these two sciences.

Mr. Mill is hardly clear enough on the subject. "Of the science," he says, "which expounds the operations of the human understanding in the pursuit of truth, one essential part is the inquiry, What are the facts which are the objects of intuition or consciousness, and what are those which we merely infer? But this inquiry has never been considered a portion of logic. Its place is in another and a perfectly distinct department of science, to which the name metaphysics more particularly belongs: that portion of mental philosophy which attempts to determine what part of the furniture of the mind belongs to it originally, and what part is constructed out of materials furnished to it from without. To this science appertain the great and much debated questions of the existence of matter; the existence of spirit, and of a distinction between it and matter; the reality of time and space, as things without the mind, and distinguishable from the objects which are said to exist *in* them. . . . To the same science belong the inquiries into the nature of Conception, Perception, Memory, and Belief; all of which are operations of the understanding in the pursuit of truth, but with which, as phenomena of the mind, or with the possibility which may or may not exist of analysing any of them into simpler phenomena, the logician as such has no concern. To this science must also be referred the following, and all analogous questions: To what extent our intellectual faculties and our emotions are innate—to what extent the result of association: whether God and duty are realities, the existence of which is manifest to us *a priori* by the constitution of our rational faculty; or whether our ideas of them are acquired notions, the origin of which we are able to trace and explain, and the reality of the objects themselves a question not of consciousness or intuition, but of evidence and reasoning. The province of logic must be restricted to that portion of our knowledge which consists of inferences from truths previously known, whether those antecedent data be general propositions, or particular observations and perceptions. Logic is not the science of Belief, but the science of Proof or Evidence" (vol. i. pp. 7, 8). It may be noticed, by the way, that the proposition that "the province of logic must be restricted to that portion of our knowledge which consists of inferences," is not quite consistent with the observation which Mr. Mill makes on the succeeding page, that "the field of logic is

co-extensive with the field of knowledge." And the fact is that, though Mr. Mill has a highly positive and precise idea of what he *does* intend to write about (which is indeed the first necessity in an author), his conception of the subjects outside his scope—of what he styles "metaphysics"—is somewhat vague. His metaphysical questions are a very miscellaneous set. None of them are meaningless; but the meaning of many of them is extremely indeterminate; they are mere tentative expressions, and can by no means be said to sketch the outline of a science. And if it be asked, Do we not really know some things by intuition, others by inference? and if so, must not these separate kinds of knowledge be the subjects of different sciences? it must be replied, that the division thus stated, whether theoretically possible or not, is practically impossible. No fact, no truth, comes before us, of which it can be said, This is known to us at once and purely, without any mental process whatever leading up to it. We must take knowledge as we find it, as a conglomerate. In short, metaphysics, as the science which treats of our elementary knowledge, is intelligible; while if defined as the science of our intuitive knowledge, it challenges questions that are not easily answered.

Much better is the account given by Kant and his followers of the difference between logic and metaphysics. According to them, logic deals with the form, *i. e.*, the universal principles, of thought: metaphysics, with the matter of thought, the actual objects that we know. The definition of logic is indeed unexceptionable: that of metaphysics is more vague; it leaves it still doubtful what kind of inquiry into the matter of thought it is which metaphysics proposes. If it were answered that metaphysics proposes a *historical* inquiry into the development of our knowledge, this account of the matter would not very essentially differ from that which has been advanced in the above pages. It would differ from it in two ways only: first, in the total exclusion of logic from the sphere of metaphysics, whereas, according to the account here given, they are in certain parts inextricably entwined; and secondly, in extending metaphysics beyond the region of our elementary knowledge. But Kant's conception of metaphysics was clearly not that of a historical science. The metaphysics of Hamilton had more of a historical character; but the question is one that cannot be pursued further in this place. Here must terminate the investigation into the external relations of logical science; it

is time to consider the science in itself, its present condition, and its prospects.

The most fundamental axiom of logic relates to the sharp separation between truth and falsehood. A judgment, an opinion, a proposition, must be true or not true. This, it may be thought, is sufficiently obvious; but something remains to be said of it. The axiom assumes of course that the judgment or proposition has a clear meaning; that it is a hard solid fact knocking at the doors of the mind and challenging entrance; that it is not idle words or fluctuating thought. Indeed, the very terms judgment and proposition do, perhaps, imply this; an unmeaning judgment, an unmeaning proposition, is no real judgment, no real proposition. It should, however, be noticed that, though in logic the distinction between true and false is the most thoroughgoing possible, it is one which a prudent mind will be rather shy of urging sharply on all occasions. The sifting of thought necessary before a clear judgment or proposition can be arrived at is in most cases a great deal more than half the battle in the discovery of truth. Nevertheless, if truth is ever to be attained, we must in all cases come at last to a final decision:—Is this alleged truth true or not true? And therefore the distinction between truth and falsehood is the fundamental distinction of logic.

What I have tried to put forward in loose explanatory fashion in the above paragraph, is technically expressed by logicians in the laws, as they are called, of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. The law of identity says, A thing is what it is. The law of contradiction says, A thing is not what it is not. The law of excluded middle says, What you think, is either true or not true. These three laws are rightly considered the primary laws of logic.

But, how are we to discern truth from falsehood, to separate corn from chaff, to educe a cosmos out of the chaos of sensation and opinion, to raise an enduring fabric of knowledge? Logicians have from the first endeavoured to generalize the means by which this is done, and with growing success; though it would be idle to deny that obscurity yet rests on many parts of the subject. Aristotle, the founder of the science, laid down the syllogism as the universal model after which all reasoning proceeds, and by which alone certain truth can be attained. What the syllogism is, and what are the different forms of it, is much too well known for it to be necessary to enter into a detailed description here. The general type of it is as follows: What is true of a class, is true of everything con-

tained in the class; or, to use Kant's phraseology, That which stands under the condition of a rule, stands under the rule itself. But it is clear that this formula presupposes that we already know the class, the rule, to which we are to reduce our instance. How, then, is this knowledge acquired? Until we can ascertain this, a very large gap is left open in our theory of knowledge. And certainly it is a very extraordinary example of the readiness of mankind to acquiesce in words, that from Aristotle to Bacon no one should have had any idea but that "classes"—"rules"—were ultimate pieces of knowledge, not requiring to be accounted for, nor obtained by any process whatever, but existing originally in the mind. Bacon, as is well known, instituted a new era, and laid down induction from observation as the great process by which knowledge is accumulated. Now it would be incorrect to suppose that the Aristotelian philosophers had no idea of induction; only, strangely enough, they supposed that this process, which is a good half of the whole method by which we increase our knowledge, and the only part of it by which we gain our knowledge of those "classes" and "rules" which the syllogism presupposes, was only a particular kind of syllogism—was subordinate to the syllogism as a whole. Unfortunately, the Baconian school of thinkers at once despised the syllogism and thought induction too simple a process to stand in need of any philosophizing whatever. Logic was at a discount with them; and, till the present century, no writer who could with any truth be styled a follower of Bacon produced any systematic work on the subject, though there are valuable remarks relating to it in the treatises of Hobbes and Locke. Hence it happened that the greater number of writers on logic still continued to put the syllogism alone in the forefront, and to make induction subordinate to it. Kant, indeed, was more acute. He set down syllogism and induction ("die bestimmende Urtheilskraft" and "die reflectirende Urtheilskraft" he called them) as co-ordinate processes; but the latter process, as not giving immediate, but only gradual and probable knowledge, he was disposed to banish out of the domain of logic, except that its existence was to be formally recognised (*Logik*, pp. 205–208). Krug did the same; and Hamilton went so far in a backward direction as to make induction a particular kind of syllogism. All these writers thought it impossible to give general laws of induction; it seems to have been tacitly assumed by them, as indeed it was by the followers of Bacon, that probable reasoning

did not admit of being reduced to rule and form. Hence, though in many important respects they classified and extended their science, there remained this great gap at the base of it still unfilled.

It was reserved for Mr. Mill, in his *System of Logic*, to give such a view of reasoning as should combine at once syllogism and induction, proving them together to form an entire and complete process of argumentation, of such a nature that either the inductive or syllogistic part of the process may in particular arguments drop out and be unnoticed, though a full view of the argument will express them both. We reason, says Mr. Mill, in every case in which the argument is complete, from particulars to particulars, from like to like. Only, the particular thing from which we reason, and the particular thing to which we reason, being like one another (which is indeed the necessary condition of our being able to argue from one to the other), it follows that some one quality, or group of qualities, must be the same in both; and the particular result which we infer will ensue, must be inferred as a result of the qualities which are the same in both phenomena. Hence, if we choose, we may represent in a general proposition the connection of the antecedent similarity and the inferred result. Instead of writing down our conclusion with respect to the individual phenomenon alone, we may write it down in a general manner: "Such and such qualities will always lead to such and such a result." It is clear, that we are perfectly justified in setting down such a general proposition; for, if we make an inference in one case on the strength of certain observed qualities of a phenomenon, we must be equally justified in drawing the same inference in any other case where the same qualities occur. Now supposing one of these general propositions to have been registered and remembered so long that we forget the particular instances from which it was derived, it may in time be considered a kind of first principle in itself; and we may deduce results from it, without referring to the facts in which it originated. When this takes place, then we have pure syllogistic or deductive reasoning; when, on the other hand, we suppress the general proposition, and argue directly from particulars to particulars, or again, when we argue from particulars to a general, we have pure inductive reasoning. But the full argument would always be from particulars to particulars, expressing at the same time that similarity of marks in the two sets of particulars, which is the ground of inferring a

like result in either case. To this general process of argumentation Mr. Jevons has given the appropriate name of "the substitution of similars."

It would be superfluous to dwell at length on the explanation of the theory; but it should be noticed that a logician who was more of a mental analyst than Mr. Mill would lay a stress which Mr. Mill has not laid on the invariable presence, even in an argument from particulars to particulars, of a general element—of an element capable of being referred to any case. For, even if the reasoner himself does not so refer it, or erect the grounds of his conclusion into a general proposition, we, if we analysed his thoughts, must so refer it for him. And the psychological question might be raised, whether, in the mind of one who argues from particulars to particulars, there is not always a moment (mostly forgotten afterwards) when both particulars as particulars are lost, and the points common to both alone come into prominence. Certain it is that, in arguing from particulars to particulars, we often forget the particular from which we argue; we draw a conclusion so rapidly as to forget not merely the argument, but the very facts which form the premises. So that it may seem not improbable that the actual moment of transition from particular to particular is forgotten afterwards.

No student of psychology can fail to notice the analogy between this logical theory of "the substitution of similars" and the psychological theory of "the association of ideas." The difference is that, while the psychological theory affirms merely that when two thoughts have been frequently presented together to the mind the recurrence of one (whether in the shape of observation or memory) tends to make the other recur simultaneously, the logical theory affirms that, when two facts have been frequently presented to the observation together, the recurrence of the one tends to create an expectation of the recurrence of the other. But the two theories are undoubtedly very near akin at their origin; and it may be useful to show how they are related to each other. Let us suppose then an infant whose mind is just awakening to the world around him, and has not yet gained any grasp of facts and their sequences. Let us suppose two facts, A and B, to pass successively, and to be observed by the infant. If, on another occasion, the fact A (that is, a fact precisely similar to A) recurs, and is observed by the infant, then by the law of association, the remembrance of the fact B, as observed on the

former occasion, will have a tendency to be excited in the consciousness of the infant, and may perhaps actually be so excited. The infant will observe A, and remember B. So far we have only an example of memory. But it is a law of human nature that we should look forward to the future, and endeavour to anticipate it. Suppose then the infant's mind to be at this moment in a state of expectancy—of looking forward for something actually to happen within the sphere of his cognisance,—what will he expect? He cannot expect A, because he is observing A, and what is meant by his expecting is, what does he think will happen when A has disappeared? Now, next to A, B occupies the chief place within his sphere of consciousness; he is at present remembering B. Clearly then, unless some other cause interferes, the infant will not merely remember B; he will also expect B to happen in the concrete, immediately. And in fact, at this stage, his remembrance of B as a past event will not be distinguishable from his expectation of B as a coming event; his memory, without some powerful cause to make him throw back B into that past time in which he first observed it, will be swallowed up in his expectation. Here then, at the outset of consciousness, we have the two laws of association of ideas, and substitution of similars—the psychological and logical laws—actually coinciding in their effects. But let us conduct the analysis a little further. The infant, as we left him, was observing A (for the second time) and expecting B. Now suppose B actually to happen this second time. Then the expectation of B will be merged in the observation of it; there will be no sharp line drawn between the two; indeed, memory, expectation, observation, will all three as yet be indistinguishable in the infant's mind. But now suppose A to happen a third time, and to be observed by the infant, who will then have the memory, and at the same time the expectation, of B forced upon him even more strongly than on the previous occasion (from the repetition). But suppose, this third time, that which succeeds A in the observation of the infant to be not B, but C. Then (if B has by this time been strongly enough impressed on his memory) a sense of antagonism will be aroused within his consciousness: expecting B, he will experience C. Thus while C impresses itself most strongly on him, from its immediate presence, B will still remain within his consciousness, in that faint reflection which we call memory. Here then, for the first time, we have memory divorced from observation; the psychological law of asso-

ciation has maintained itself, while the logical law of substitution of similars has been defeated—has found no place for its exercise. And, in point of fact, if there be no connection in external nature between A and B, their junction in consciousness, which was accidentally established, will in time be dissolved. The law of association will have played its part, and will slowly become too feeble to retain a tie unsupported from independent causes. But suppose that between any two phenomena, say A and F, there is a connection in external nature, so that when A happens, F invariably or generally follows. Then that association in thought between A and F, which was established by their first appearance together or in succession, will be strengthened by every such appearance that takes place afterwards; the expectation of F, which ensues upon the observation of A, will be confirmed, not disappointed. And in this case the logical law of the substitution of similars will be found to hold; we shall be able to predicate of any phenomenon that includes A, that it will also include F.

According to the above theory, the law of association of ideas is a necessary preliminary of the logical law of the substitution of similars; were it not for the psychological law, we should never be able to draw a logical conclusion at all. But, though a necessary condition, it is not the only condition—the other being a certain disposition of external nature. Were it not that nature really contains certain fixed sequences, we should never know that it contained such sequences; but also, we should never know that it contained such sequences were it not for this principle of the association of ideas originally native to our minds. In logic, in the attainment of truth, mind and nature are alike necessary: they each contribute their separate element to certain knowledge.

The above is an endeavour to give a clear account of the genesis of that law the nature of which has been so ably expounded by Mr. Mill. Mr. Mill's own account of the genesis of the law can hardly be deemed satisfactory. He contents himself with saying that we know *by experience* that the course of nature is uniform; that we have always observed it to be uniform; and so on. But have we always observed the course of nature to be uniform? No one has maintained more strenuously than Mr. Mill that the course of nature possesses not merely uniformity but infinite diversity; the uniformities do but stretch as a shining web over a field of immense variety that expands far beyond our ken. It needs

mind, and some definite mental faculty, beyond the mere sensation, to discern these uniformities. I have endeavoured in the above analysis to assume no mental faculty that would not be granted by the most stringently searching philosopher.

If, however, the account given by Mr. Mill of the philosophical genesis of induction be insufficient, it must be added that, as in his reconciliation of the syllogism with induction, so in his account of the different inductive processes, he is unrivalled. But these belong to a more advanced part of the subject than belongs to this article; and it is necessary to hasten to the improvements in the theory of logic effected by the rival school.

In spite of the statement at the commencement of the article, that the two philosophical schools came to closer quarters in logic than in any other portion of mental science, it is even here no easy task to attain a position from which one may do justice to them both. The truth is that the aims of the two schools, though very cognate to each other, so cognate that to a superficial reader they appear the same, are yet different—not widely different, it is true, but so much so that the assumption of entire identity of purpose serves only to mislead and irritate the disputants on either side. The practical mind of Mr. Mill, always looking out for some concrete use to which to apply his science, cannot away with distinctions and definitions which, like those of Hamilton, appear to lead nowhere; nor can we much doubt that Hamilton found Mr. Mill's treatise unphilosophical, and possibly vulgar. The scientific character of Mr. Mill's treatise has been here maintained; the greater abstruseness of the German speculations will make it a harder task to show their exact position; yet this may be done.

The difference, then, between Mr. Mill and the German school (which was briefly indicated at the outset) is this. Mr. Mill tries to bring the mind of his readers into the argumentative posture: Kant and Hamilton endeavour to make their reader survey as from an external point the argumentative mind, the mind in the act of reasoning. Mr. Mill looks at the process of reasoning, so to speak, with the naked eye; he looks at it as a calm and sober reasoner who cared only to know the main elements of an argument might look at it. Kant and Hamilton turn a microscope on the reasoning process; the practical matter, whither it will lead them, they care less for; their object is to analyse it speculatively. Those who keep this difference of purpose in view

are the most likely to do justice to both sides. Yet the object of Kant and the object of Mr. Mill are not wholly alien; though diverse, they are akin to each other; and both belong to the science of logic.

The Germans, and Hamilton with them, endeavoured to analyse the reasoning mind, and to give names to all its operations and attitudes. Thus, while Mr. Mill, on all ordinary occasions, speaks of a *proposition*, which is the natural word that an arguer would use himself when thinking of that which he lays before an opponent, Hamilton, on the other hand, speaks of a *judgment*, which is the mental attitude of the arguer when he is propounding anything. This, however, is a less striking instance than some others. Here is a more peculiar one. Mr. Mill speaks of *classes*, which are material phenomena contemplated by the arguer himself: Hamilton rather avoids the word class, but analyses the mental state of one who is contemplating a class, and frames the word *concept* to express it. Now there is no word in the Hamiltonian vocabulary which irritates Mr. Mill so much as this word concept. He cannot deny it a meaning; but he thinks it wholly unneeded. He thinks it a "misfortune that it was ever invented;" he calls it a bad and obscure expression for the "signification of a class-name." All this results from the fact that he has never put himself in the point of view of the Germans; he sympathizes too keenly with the argumentative temper to be able to analyse the argumentative process as an unengaged person; portraying it, he portrays it from the inside, not from the outside. In fact, it is rather the expression "signification of a class-name" that is clumsy; the word concept (*Begriff*) is one much needed to express a particular, and quite real, mental attitude. As Hamilton well defines it, it is "the cognition or idea of the general character or characters, point or points, in which a plurality of objects coincide." And this too must be remembered: if, as is surely the case, we can and do reason sometimes, *i.e.*, draw inferences, without the use of language, then the word "judgment" is wider than the word "proposition," the word "concept" wider than the word "signification of a class-name." Let me borrow an example from Mr. Mill. A general, from long experience, knows how to arrange his troops in a battle so as to be secure of the victory; yet he cannot explain to another what his knowledge is, how he comes to make such and such arrangements. By what terms shall we describe the mental attitude of the general, the turn of mind which enables him to win a

victory, without knowing how he wins it? Mr. Mill would say simply that he had collected a great deal of previous experience, and drew his conclusions from that. But it is very plain that the general need not consciously remember his previous experience in order to reap the benefit of it; nay, in the crisis of a great battle, the probability is that he will be far too keenly engaged with the present to be able to turn his eyes backwards on the past. What happens is something of this sort. In all his previous battles he has accustomed himself to note the kind of combinations that contributed to success; these combinations, without remembering them in their entirety, without giving them any name or appellation, he has yet symbolized to himself, in some manner which he himself perhaps hardly recognises, but in such a way that the main elements of the combinations shall be ready to start within him when need is. Now this may well and accurately be expressed by saying that his mind is stored with conceptions or *concepts*. For he does not remember the whole configuration and picture of his previous experiences; but the law of association of ideas calls back to him the principal elements of them, which, however, in themselves would be but bare outlines, though being applied to the concrete phenomena before him they prove themselves endowed with a power of combining, ordering, and classifying these phenomena, and furnishing their possessor with valuable contrivances for his present material need. I do not know any English word, except concept or conception (which latter, however, Hamilton uses to express the process of gathering concepts), that at all expresses the mental attitude which I have endeavoured to describe above. Certainly Mr. Mill's proposed substitute, "signification of a class-name," is very inapposite indeed.

Let us take another illustration. A person learns to play at chess; in the first game he plays, being unaccustomed to the board, the men, and the different moves of the pieces, he has continually to strain his attention to remember what he may do, and see what it is best for him to do. After a dozen games, he finds no difficulty at any rate in the simpler matter. After a hundred games he may be a fair player. What has happened in the interval? This; he has seen the chessboard frequently, and a large number of individual positions, moves, and combinations,—to which, moreover, his attention has been more strenuously directed from the fact of his being himself one of the players. Of these positions, moves,

and combinations, some have occurred more frequently than others, or from other reasons have been more specially noticed by him; these he will remember most readily; and the very sight of the board and men will, by the law of association, call up some of them before his mind. But this is not all; there will be a generalizing process going on in his mind with respect to those images which the law of association excites. For instance, a particular combination of the bishop and knight occurs to his mind. This combination he can set in any part of the board he pleases; again, he can dispose the other pieces differently in relation to it; he can add a castle to his combination, thereby increasing its complexity, but diminishing the number of subsidiary combinations which, from the capacity of his mind, he is capable of disposing around it; or he can take away the bishop and substitute a pawn, and so on. Now these kind of combinations we do, even in our common talk, call conceptions; Hamilton called them concepts; but whichever word we use, there can be no doubt of the utility of some such word. Mr. Mill would perhaps use the phrase "classes of combinations;" but, not to speak of the length of such an expression, there seems reason, where the mental element comes into such prominence as it does here, to employ a word that will bring it out. We might also use the word "combination" simply; but this would, I think, be understood in a less general sense. Thus, to recur to our former example, a general would, on any particular occasion, be said to have made excellent combinations; but if the whole class and nature of his combinations were being spoken of, it would be said that his conceptions were excellent. It will be observed that every conception implies a class, and every class implies a conception; and we should use the one word or the other according as we do or do not wish to lay a stress on the mental labour of apprehending the class. Thus we should speak of the class of vertebrate animals; because the labour of apprehending the notion of a vertebrate animal is inconsiderable. But for a philosopher who wished to lay stress on the mental element of apprehension, there would be no inaccuracy even here in speaking of the conception or concept of vertebrate animals. And it is observable that, though every conception corresponds to a class, every conception has not a class-name. Thus any particular disposition of the bishop and knight on the chessboard may be made the centre of a class of combinations; but yet such a disposition has no peculiar name. So that

Mr. Mill's proposed substitute for concept, "signification of a class-name," will not invariably hold. Hamilton's distinction of conception from concept, using the former to represent the mental effort, the latter the result of that effort, is not perhaps of any great consequence; but as it has been employed in philosophical works, and may prove useful, there seems no reason for abandoning it.

I have dwelt at some length on the explanation of this word concept, because it is a point in which the difference between the two logical schools comes out very plainly. Mr. Mill, thinking of classes, speaks of classes: Hamilton, thinking of the mind in the act of contemplating a class, speaks of a concept. And as Mr. Mill's phraseology is better calculated to assist a man in arguing himself, Hamilton's is more likely to furnish him with the means for understanding the arguments of another. That is, it will furnish him with a kind of blank forms for the understanding of an argument, just as Mr. Mill's work will supply him with blank forms for arguing himself. It may justly be thought that Mr. Mill illustrates his blank forms a great deal better than Hamilton. Yet there are one or two admirable illustrations in these chapters on concepts; and the whole set of explanations and distinctions contained in them, with hardly an exception, are excellent. The main outline of them had, indeed, been given by Kant; and the greater number of them are taken either from him or some other German logician.

One more point in these chapters is worth dwelling on. It is this:—The word concept has been defined as indicating a general notion, not an individual thing: can we, then, correctly speak of the concept of an individual? There is no doubt that in common language we could speak of our conception of Socrates; and Hamilton says himself, "If I think of Socrates as son of Sophroniscus, as Athenian, as philosopher, as pug-nosed, these are only so many characters, limitations, or determinations which I predicate of Socrates, which distinguish him from all other men, and together make up my *notion* or *concept* of him." This, Mr. Mill charges on him as an inconsistency. The case, however, is very simple. I may have a conception or concept of an individual, without the individual being that conception or concept. No one knows better than Mr. Mill that reality extends beyond, is greater than, our conceptions; it is a thing always to be remembered, in dealing with realities; having framed our fullest conception, we must allow for some-

thing in nature beyond it. But, for all that, we must frame conceptions of realities. It is true that there appears a contradiction in terms between the definition of a concept as "the characters in which a *plurality* of objects coincide" and an expression which implies that the concept only indicates a single individual; but nothing is more common, as all mathematicians know, than for a limiting case to be apparently not included in the definition of its class. Thus a parabola is the limiting case of an ellipse; if one focus be supposed removed to an infinite distance; and propositions true of an ellipse may, under this condition, be at once applied to the parabola. And yet the definitions of an ellipse (whether taken from the sections of a cone or from the eccentricity) do in terms exclude the parabola. In the same way, our conception (or concept) of an individual (meaning, as it does, the whole sum of the characteristics of the individual that we know) is the limiting case of a concept in respect to the number of individuals contained under it. There is, however, a real error in another passage which Mr. Mill quotes, where Hamilton says, "When the extension of a concept becomes a minimum, that is, when it contains no other notions under it, it is called an individual." Hamilton should have said, "it represents an individual to us," for the individual extends beyond our conception of it. But this is an isolated slip on his part; for the third passage quoted by Mr. Mill as an example of inconsistency is perfectly explainable, though I cannot here stop to explain it. It is to be observed that, when we speak of our conception of Socrates, we mean something quite different from our perception or sight, hearing, etc., of him; and it was the use of conception in this latter sense that Hamilton protested against.

The three great divisions into which the German school divide our thinking, are Concepts, Judgments, and Reasonings. Before proceeding to consider these two latter divisions, it may be remarked that one great excellence of the school is the thoroughness with which they consider, not specially reasonings, but the whole process of thought. The object of reasonings is to obtain Judgments—to know fresh truths; these fresh truths enlarge our conceptions, our knowledge; the conceptions thus enlarged become the groundwork of new reasonings, new judgments, and still more enlarged conceptions, and so on. It is an ever-recurring circle, which no other class of logicians, as far as I know, have described so clearly. The conceptions, in most cases,

are confirmed by having names given to them; but this, as we have seen, does not always take place, even when further progress is made by their means, though of course it must take place if the knowledge thus obtained is to be communicated to others.

But it is necessary briefly to consider the main charge which Mr. Mill makes against Hamilton, and which he would no doubt make against the whole German school of logicians, and especially as respects their doctrine of judgments and reasonings; namely, that in it they take no notice of that which he affirms, and rightly affirms, to be the central object of logic, the discernment of truth from falsehood. "A judgment," says Kant (*Logik*, p. 156), "is the representation of the unity in consciousness of diverse phenomena, or the representation of their mutual relation, in so far as they make up a conception." ("Ein Urtheil ist die Vorstellung der Einheit des Bewusstseyns verschiedener Vorstellungen, oder die Vorstellung des Verhältnisses derselben, so fern sie einen Begriff ausmachen.") "To judge," says Krug, "means to think how representations are related to an object which is to be represented by them, and consequently to determine their relation for the unity of consciousness." ("Urtheilen heisst denken, wie sich Vorstellungen in Bezug auf einen dadurch vorzustellenden Gegenstand verhalten, mithin ihr Verhältniss zur Einheit des Bewusstseins bestimmen.") "To judge," says Hamilton, "is to recognise the relation of congruence or of conflict, in which two concepts, two individual things, or a concept and an individual compared together, stand to each other" (*Works*, iii. 225). Now for the other side. "I give the name of judgment," says Reid, "to every determination of the mind concerning *what is true* or *what is false*. This, I think, is what logicians, from the days of Aristotle, have called judgment." "And this," says Mr. Mill, "is the very element which Sir W. Hamilton's definition omits from it." The fact is, however, that Hamilton and his fellow logicians were endeavouring to contemplate and describe from the outside the mental attitude of a judgment. Hence they laid the greatest stress, not on the affirmation or negation itself, but on its mental concomitants; but that affirmation and negation of reality were necessary to a judgment they would not have denied; indeed, it is implicitly contained in their words. The clumsiness of their definitions cannot be denied; though that of Hamilton would have been tolerably clear, had he written



(as would have been far better) *class* instead of *concept*. A cognate, though not quite the same, accusation of Mr. Mill against Hamilton is that his logic has for its object to determine, not truth, but consistency. Yet this, again, is not entirely correct; for, however imperfectly, induction is still recognised by Kant and his followers.

The definitions, however, of these philosophers are the most obscure parts of those chapters of their treatises which relate to judgments. On the whole, the excellence of their analysis of the different kinds of judgments is undeniable; that of Kant is especially full and concise. On the subject of reasonings there is little in them, comparatively, that is original; and their scantiness in this branch may be at once gathered from the fact that they almost entirely neglect induction. On the whole, the chief excellences of the German school of logicians lie, first, in the severity of their conception of the science, and at the same time the clearness of their discernment of its relation to the connected topics of investigation in every point, except (a very important exception) in the case of the physical sciences, which are reached by inductive logic; secondly, in the comprehensiveness of their view in showing the whole connection of thought, and not stopping at mere reasonings; thirdly, in the accuracy of their analysis of conceptions, and, in a less degree, of judgments.

In conclusion, what are the inquiries that in the present state of the subject lie immediately before the logician? First, there is the extension in the direction of material science; the development of the formulæ for induction, the examination into the topics of testimony, of chance, of analogical reasoning. Doubtless there is much to be discovered on these points. Here too may be mentioned the advantage that would ensue from laying the different sciences side by side, with a view to comparing the evidence by which they are severally supported—a comparison which would probably be of great service to us in those not infrequent cases in which we know the evidence by which a supposed fact has been supported, but hesitate as to its exact value. If, in such a case, we could immediately refer to some known science, and find that in such and such a case less evidence than the present had been deemed satisfactory, or on the other hand greater evidence than the present had not been deemed satisfactory, such a discovery would be no slight help to our judgment. But in the second place, logic may progress in the psychological direction. In this quarter we touch upon the investiga-

tions, already alluded to, of Hegel. And here too must be named a class of problems that remain as yet unsolved—I mean those which lie at the root of mathematics, which relate to measure and number. Each party at present has its pet formula for the solution of these problems. The one side say, Mathematical axioms are known to us by experience, and the science is thence drawn by deduction: the others say, The axioms are known to us *a priori*, and (Kant at any rate would add) the science is built up from them synthetically. But the problem is considerably too difficult to be disposed of in either of these ways; and, before it is solved, a much more accurate analysis must be made of the genesis of number and measure than has ever yet been done. The third direction in which logical science may progress lies in those subsidiary investigations which concern our practical advance towards truth; and here would come in, not merely intellectual, but moral and even physical considerations.

J. R. M.

---

#### ART. IV.—MR. BROWNING'S LATEST POETRY.\*

"THE Title," says Remigius on Donatus, "is the key or porch of the work to which it is prefixed. And note," adds pseudo-Aquinas upon Boethius, after quoting it, "that Title is so called from Titan, that is the Sun. For as the Sun enlighteneth the world, so doth the Title the book." The title of Mr. Browning's new poem is so far from doing this, that he is obliged to set apart a book of the poem to shed light on the title. At first sight it might appear that it referred to the ring or circle of cantos of which the book consists; or that it hinted at the poet's solicitude for proportion, and his care that the architecture of his poem should be as good as its masonry, and that the whole should be symmetrical as a circle. These ideas may be implied; but the author's primary meaning is something far more material and realistic. He presents himself to us with a ring in one hand and a book in the other. The first, he tells us, is Roman work by Castellani; and he explains by what art so delicate a filigree is produced—how, in order to render the thin gold capable of bearing the tools which are to emboss it, it is mixed with alloy, and the composite mass

---

\* *The Ring and the Book*. By Robert Browning. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)

hammered out into its proper shape, when, with a spirt of acid, the alloy is burnt away, leaving the gold pure and all its embellishments perfect. The book, he tells us, is a volume, half print, half manuscript, which he found at a stall in Florence, and which contains all the documents and pleadings in the case of a murder committed in Rome in 1698 by Count Guido Franceschini upon his wife, Pompilia Comparini, and her supposed father and mother. This book he compares to the pure gold of fact, which he alloys with a sufficient amount of poetical fiction to be able to round it off into a perfect and living work of art. As it will be necessary afterwards to inquire how far he has complied with the conditions which he has set himself, we may pass on for the present, because, as one of the characters says,

"we must not stick  
*Quod non sit attendendus Titulus*  
To the Title."

There can be little doubt that this poem is the masterpiece of the writer. With a timely consciousness that he has hitherto failed to be generally understood, he has set himself in the early afternoon of his power to repeat what he had to say in a tongue more comprehensible. Once, it seems, he thought that if he could understand himself, any one else could understand him; that if his eyes were focused, and his ears attuned for the cave,

"Where brooding darkness spreads his jealous wings,  
And the night raven sings,"

all other eyes and ears would be equally piercing and equally pleased. But he acknowledges that the British public has decreed otherwise; therefore, with a self-denying modesty, he has determined to write for the many, and not for the few. He has entered into himself, felt the pulse of his Muse, found where its beats were out of sympathy with the national pulse, and has at last attempted to produce a national poem,—

"Perchance more careful whoso runs may read  
Than erst, when all, it seemed, could read who ran,  
Perchance more careless whoso reads may praise,  
Than late, when he who praised, and read, and wrote  
Was apt to find himself the self-same me."

The simple confession that he never knew he was too hard for the most cursory reader sheds a flood of light on the author of *Sordello* and *Paracelsus*. If he was unintelligible, it was not on theory, nor with the affectation of those inconsiderate authors who would rather be admired than understood, nor per-

haps with the youthful dream that quaintness is power and that to differ is greater than to agree, nor with that ambition of surprising which has ever been the fruitful parent of fustian, but with a consciousness of a secret gift which genius spontaneously reveals, with a feeling that a good writer writes, not like other people, but like himself, and that a man should be something that all men are not, and individual in somewhat besides his name. Originality accounts not only for obscurity, but for unpopularity. A special mode of thinking must have a special mode of expression, which will at first be as incomprehensible as an attempt to explain logarithms to a Sandwich islander in his own language. The new poet is brought within the abattoirs of criticism, where the majority condemn him, simply because men must think that nonsense which they do not understand. Dogs bark at unknown footsteps; and all the curs in the parish join in chorus. On the other hand, there are some to whom unintelligibility itself becomes a recommendation;

"As charms are nonsense, nonsense seems a charm  
Which hearers of all judgment does disarm."

A few of these, rating higher their duties as critics, dig painfully in the stony ground, if perchance some harvest of meaning may reward their toil. The book may be a menagerie of fabulous beasts, like the Queen's arms, the style so figurative as to require a herald to blazon it into English, the texts so oracular that none but the Sibyl can read them; but labour conquers. The critic puts a false bottom even to an empty tub, and, enamoured of his own handiwork, tells a vaunting tale of it. He breaks windows in the dead wall, and then,

"in the chequered shade,  
Admires new light through holes himself has made."

Criticism, indeed, is hardly to be trusted in appraising novelties; nor is it quite its business to announce to the world the advent of the poet of the future. It can see the revolution, can perceive the negation, but cannot determine the positive worth of the new phenomenon. It is not criticism, but sympathy, which catches at once the whispers of genius, and readily recognises a new poet in the bud. Such an apparition appeals to the critic, not on the critical side of his nature, which proceeds by rules and precedents, but on the side of his feelings, which it is his business to control and prune. The plodding critic sees too little; the enthusiastic critic sees too much; the genuine critic is suspected of

enthusiasm. Amongst them the new poet remains unacknowledged, and has to make his way painfully by his own weight. Mr. Browning has experienced this long struggle, and, though forcing himself to be cheerful under the trial, has, at least vicariously, grumbled at his audience,—

"The public blames originalities.  
You must not pump spring-water unawares  
Upon a gracious public, full of nerves."

With "patience perforce," he has resigned himself to be his own audience and his own critic; but fortunately for himself, he has also kept his ears open to the sounds of the outer world, and at last the happy thought has struck him that he would try to say what he meant in a language common to himself and his fellow-men. This has worked well for his poetry. There is a new sense of freedom in his present book. The man who writes for himself only, his own sole reader and sole judge, can never satisfy himself; for, knowing both terms, the ideal and its embodiment, he also knows the gulf between them. In writing for others, he writes for those who can only guess at his ideal, and cannot tell whether his expression of it falls short or runs over; he must therefore be more careless of their judgment than of his own. Writing for other men thus delivers the scrupulous author from his own most importunate carper, himself, without making him the thrall of his new masters. It delivers him from his domestic slavery without selling him to a new servitude.

In availing himself of his new freedom, Mr. Browning has wrought no notable change in himself. He is the same man, the same thinker, the same speaker, as formerly, but delivered at last from the bonds of the anxious and minute self-inspection and examination which, he confesses, qualified his former utterances. The present poem of 21,000 lines, the product of four years' thought, has evidently not been distilled by dribblets with a bar's rest between each drop, in the alternate fire of invention and frost of criticism. Mr. Browning has never been one

"To strain from hard-bound brains eight lines  
a year."

On the contrary, his gush is, if anything, too easy; he sometimes squanders himself in a debauch of words, and, rather than fall short of his tale of bread, when wheat-flour fails will make use of sawdust and chopped hay. Such stuffing is omitted in this, the first poem which the author has written avowedly and of set purpose, not for himself but for his audience, and with the express intention of converting the "British public," who hither-

to have "liked me not," into admirers who "may like me yet, marry and amen." It is not that the coarse love of reputation has replaced the refined craving for sympathy, but that the sense of power urges him to assay his force upon a larger mass.

In the explanation which he gives of the title of his poem, Mr. Browning invites attention to the matter of which he makes it, to the form in which he ultimately leaves it, and to the alloy which he lends it, by projecting into it his own "surplusage of soul." The poet, his method, and his materials, make up his poem.

Mr. Browning has been long before the world. As a poet he seeks to be not a mere rhymist, not a mere expresser of ordinary thoughts in uncommon language, but a vates, a prophet, and expounder of the mysteries of things. He is a theological poet, a Christian, orthodox in the main, but tempering his creed with universalist notions about the ultimate salvation of all men. He is, moreover, a moralist, especially in relation to causes of love and marriage. Both as theologian and moralist he is a confirmed casuist. With a secondary sympathy for creeds which he does not profess, and for habits which he disallows, he takes a special pleasure, and shows an extraordinary facility, in throwing himself into the states of mind of the professors of such creeds, or the thralls of such habits, groping tenderly his assumed conscience, explaining and defending to himself his hypothetical position, and making out the best case he can in the assertion, or defence, or palliation, or simple exposition, of the mental and moral situation. He possesses this power to so a remarkable a degree, that he can enter into phases of intellect which are even beneath humanity, and belong, if to anything, to inferior beings. One of his strongest points is the faculty of seizing the lower and more bestial currents of thought and feeling, and translating them into human language. Nothing is more known to a man's obscure self-consciousness than the importunate proofs of his animality and his degradation. But nothing is more uncommon than the translation of these sullen and darkness-haunting feelings into coherent and articulate thought. In all men, civilized or savage, there is a possibility of the generation of superstition out of sottish ignorance or panic terror. But it would be miraculous to see such ignorance and terror contemplating themselves, arguing upon themselves, and formulating their conclusions, as in Mr. Browning's "Caliban upon Setebos." He sees that the intellect can express all things, even what is most contrary to itself. There may be a science of ignorance; there may be

a fine bust of an unrefined face, an amusing personation of bore, and a philosophical reflection of the workings of the dull and embryonic intellect, of a lump neither alive nor dead. Mr. Browning even goes so far as to strive to enter the animal brain, to open a new intercourse with fishes and insects, to feel in his own fibres the irrational consciousness, and to express in words what birds and beasts express in cries and pipings. He, if any one, is the man for whom

"Pigs might squeak love odes, dogs bark satire."

He has a power of seeing things in their chaotic rudiments, of ranging them in lines one behind the other, so as to see one thing through another, of tracing the perfect form in the germ, and finding kindred not only in likeness but in contradiction. Such a power might result in Hudibras's confusion of vision, whose

"notions fitted things so well,  
That which was which he could not tell."

In Mr. Browning it only leads to a metaphorical habit, full of comparisons, which looks at things not centrally, in their own characteristic qualities and acts, but collaterally in their relations, and

"With windlances, and with assays of bias  
By indirections finds directions out."

Mr. Browning thinks in blocks, by images and pictures, not by abstract notions, and forms his ideas not by clearing away the superfluous, but by conglomerating all possible details. He adopts not Goethe's ideal of simplicity and repose, but the Shakespearian ideal, and therefore cuts off no excrescence, though it be ugly, prefers substance to form, truth to ornament, the raw thing, with all its natural complications and irregularities, to the manufactured thing, with all its prunings, transformations, artificialities, and arrangements. To embody this ideal a poet must have, besides subtlety and tenderness, a coarse, round-about common sense, and a freedom and familiarity of mind which jumbles together the great and the little, and jests about its creed as naturally as it rails with its friend or toys with its mistress.

The same habit of mind which prefers the free forest scenery of Shakespeare's school to the clipped and prim parterres of Racine, usually magnifies nature and disparages art, and distributes arts into two classes, that which follows nature, and that which expels it. The first kind of art Mr. Browning allows, because in all its workings the art itself is nature.

"For nature is made better by no mean,  
But nature makes that mean."

The unnatural kind of art he rejects, and under its category he includes such things as the speech which hides instead of revealing our thoughts, and the political contrivances which keep up artificial social relations and the conventionalities of civilisation. The moral which he draws at the end of the present poem is

"This lesson—that our human speech is  
naught,  
Our human testimony false—our fame  
And human estimation words and wind."

Truth, he tells us, comes out, not in the long-drawn collections of reason, but in the sudden interjections of feeling. Testimony is for him a perversion of facts to prove a foregone conclusion; this conclusion, mere words and wind, and life itself—at least artificial, correct, externally-ordered life—only a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. Sir Humphrey Davy has remarked, that the first effect of incipient civilisation, in the way of clothing, is to make man rebel against nature by tattooing his skin, boring his ears, or slitting his nose; and Mr. Browning takes up the parable and delights in framing cases, which shall expose the unexpected but universal contradictions that crop up between nature and artificial life. He finds everywhere baseness, emptiness, and hollowness, but always, where Rousseau finds it, in the conventional and made-up part of life. The men and women whom he offers to our scorn, ridicule, or disapproval, are very often mere painted bladders distended with the wires and buckram of social machinery. He delights in placing a cold colourless soul within some special social forcing-house, in order that he may study the influence which some political situation, or some wheel of the mechanism of society, would exercise upon it. This is the prescription according to which he has made up "Luria" and "The Soul's Tragedy." In "The Flight of the Duchess" and "My last Duchess," he carries out the principle so logically that the two Dukes become not men but apparitions of abstract dukeness. They hardly exist as persons; they impose themselves as institutions; and their wives, who ought to be nourished on their warm humanity, are starved, and either die or elope. Lord Tresham, in "The Blot on the Scutcheon," is rather abstract rank than a man of rank. Mr. Browning is a master in exhibiting how a system or creed, or conviction, or craze, imposes itself on a man, enters into him, possesses him, and

takes the place of his soul. In his hands the abstract essence of an age, or society, or school, becomes a kind of goblin, a *simulacrum* of a soul, which may on occasion serve instead of a soul for his men and women. The quintessence of the Renaissance is impersonated in "The Bishop's Tomb in St. Praxed."

But even the better part of human energy, its spontaneous action, is affected with an imperfection analogous to that of its premeditated action—incompleteness. Wherever the element of contrivance or thought comes in it leaves its mark. Art is marred by "the particular devil that makes all things incomplete." Even when reason is apprenticed to feeling, and is made blind to give passion eyes, it still retains its infectious virus. Human passion and human action become, not hollow like reason, but incomplete.

"All success  
Proves partial failure; all advance implies  
What's left behind; all triumph, something  
crushed  
At the chariot wheels."

Love is linked to what it hates, or is divided from what it loves, or is ejected by jealousy, or fades away into indifference. Hate destroys itself by its very success. And passion, not intellect, is

"Indisputably mistress of the man."

Life then, made up as it is of the empty contrivances of reason, and the imperfect utterances of passion, becomes itself vanity, and would be merely a failure and a jest if it were not for its teleological consequences. But Mr. Browning, theologian as he is, can rarely help looking chiefly at its grotesque side, and speaking of it somewhat in Thersites's vein, without reference to its more serious aspects; or rather, he jumbles up its comic and tragic sides, and illustrates them by the first metaphors which come to hand, with the indifference of nature planting a hedgerow with nettles and honeysuckles, roses and toadstools.

The recklessness with which he squanders his similes is rather a characteristic of his mind than of his style. Next to Shakespeare, he is the most comparative of poets, because, like Shakespeare, he thinks by images, not by abstractions. And he treats each image as a word, not to be followed by a consequent image, as pictorial effect might demand, but by another image-word, which may carry on the sense, without reference to the congruity of the metaphor. He will describe a murder thus:—"Vengeance, like a mountain wave that holds a monster in it,

burst o'er the house, and wiped clean its filthy walls with a wash of hell-fire, and bathed the avenger's name clean in blood." A courtly canon, beginning life at Arezzo to end it at Rome, is

"A star, shall climb apnce and culminate,  
Have its due hand-breadth of the heaven  
at Rome,  
Though meanwhile pausing on Arezzo's  
edge,  
As modest candle mid the mountain fog,  
To rub off redness and rusticity  
E'er it sweep chastened, gain the silver  
sphere."

What would Boileau or Pope say to such confusion of metaphor? It is only defensible on the ground that the writer is dissatisfied with the coldness of our bleached abstract terms, and is making a new pictorial or hieroglyphic vocabulary to represent his thoughts.

Sometimes the similes are prolonged into episodes; and in such cases the reader is almost certain to find that in the long-run the picture and the thought are only partially consistent. Incompleteness, first the devil of art, soon comes to receive a Pagan worship, and is then enthroned as a god. It is a grief which the poet learns to wear

"like a hat, aside,  
With a flower stuck in it."

One of the cantos of this poem is a speech of Bottini, an advocate, who, in about a hundred lines of exordium, discourses touching the way in which an artist composes a picture; then, for about forty lines, the principle thus illustrated is applied to his own business, when the orator suddenly finds the application unmanageable, and so takes to a new metaphor. Half-a-dozen lines further on he finds that he must let his new simile go, and invent still another. Perhaps Bottini is no more astray in his application of painting to oratory than the poet himself is in his comparison between ring-making and poetry, from which *The Ring and the Book* has its title. The gold is the dead matter of the poem; the alloy is the "surplusage of soul," which the poet projects into the dead matter to make it malleable; the embossing and shaping is the poetic form; the spirit of acid by which the alloy is washed away is some final act of the poet, by which he removes all traces of himself, and leaves the poem quite impersonal. This Mr. Browning claims to have done:

"So I wrought  
This arc, by furtherance of such alloy  
And so, by one spirt, take away its trace.  
Till, justifiably golden, rounds my ring."

But the reader, who will see that each speaker in these idyls talks unmistakable Browningese, that, however varied the character, the turns of thought and expression always remain similar, and that with the rough hands of Esau we still have the voice of Jacob, will justifiably wonder what spirit it is which has caused that which was only just now alloy suddenly to have become pure unalloyed gold. He may think the process as imaginary as that of the scrupulous Abbot, who, finding himself seated before roast chicken on a Friday, commanded the capon to be carp, and then canonically fell to with clear conscience. For in truth we cannot find that Mr. Browning makes any special spirit to clear away his own additions to the story, except an argument to prove that the alloy is no alloy, but spirit and life. According to him, historical fact is gold, but gold in the ingot. The gold is unformed; the fact unvivified, lifeless, unremembered. An old and dead fact can only be re-created by being infused, transfused, inspired, by the living force of a creative, or rather re-creative, fancy, which is related to fact as alloy is related to gold in making the ring—necessary to prepare it for the hammer and file which are to give it artistic shape and imagery. All facts, as they are performed, live their day, and then fade into oblivion. Some leave their shrunk skin and dry bones in annals, and are entombed in archives. These too are dead, but, like dry sponges, are able to suck up the living water, and so to be raised to a second life, which the artist, from whose breast that water flows, confers on them. God gives the first life; the artist gives the second. The creative force proceeds forth from the poet, mixes itself with the deceased fact, makes the shrunk skin plump, the dead bones to live, and the corpse to stand on its feet, and run on its own legs. However true all this may be, it does not seem to account for any double action of the poet. The alloy is added by one act. An apprentice in the art will make this alloy so personal that the dramatic element will be nil; each speaker will only be a mask to conceal the poet's face, not his voice. A great artist will make the alloy entirely impersonal, and will allow it to contain none of the elements of his own biography. But whatever alloy the poet first contributes remains in the perfect poem, unless he writes it all over again. There are not two distinct acts—first of infusing surplusage of soul, and next of washing it away. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Browning seems, of set purpose, to let an element of incompleteness, or even error, remain in his similes. An amusing instance occurs in Bottini's speech, where he tells a

very good story of the apostles Peter, John, and Judas. It is somewhat of an anticlimax when, in the application, the faithful apostles stand for two knaves, and the traitor for the hero whose conduct Bottini is defending.

Allied with the incompleteness of his more elaborate similes is the indirectness of his passing metaphors. As he gives life to his story, so he wishes also his diction to be alive and liquid; and to effect this he does not kill and anatomize his images, and make a cabinet of the bits, but gives each in its natural and living totality, even though it may be too great or too little for the matter in hand. As the Chinese represents a foreign word, not by any alphabetical spelling, but by a combination of the nearest syllables which his monosyllabic dictionary contains, so Mr. Browning communicates his ideas, not by images which have been worn down to mere symbols and abstract words, but by whole pictures. It is as if he tried to represent a circle with a number of rough sticks. He could only make a polygon, each side of which would be represented by a most unmathematical piece of rusticity. And this inadequacy of representation he seems to accept, not as a painful necessity, but as a condition of poetical beauty. He compels his eye to view things askance. His metaphors, which are his new words, are generally one-sided and incomplete; so are his poems. The concluding canto of the present poem is like the conclusion of a fire-work—an empty tube and a stick. It will not do to say of this poem that the end crowns the work; a better motto would be—

“Acribus initiis, incurioso fine.”

He leaves his work to end in a flourish, like a torso in arabesque. And this gives his poetry an appearance of coarseness of design and execution. There is nothing like vulgarity in it, if vulgarity is a conventional coarseness; nor is his coarseness one of exaggeration, like that of the flabby imitators of Rubens: it is rather akin to the coarseness of the earlier Flemings, in pictures of martyrdoms or of the last judgment. They ransack Noah's ark for monstrous reptiles, obscene birds, poisonous insects, hogs and hyænas, each of which suggests some special ugliness and wickedness, and which altogether make a very grotesque, but a very effective suggestion of hell. Or, to come down to later days, his coarseness is something like that of Gustave Doré, who made a mistake in choosing the sculptured and classical imagery of Mr. Tennyson to illustrate, rather than the Rembrandt-like obscurities of Mr. Browning. The poet of *Childe Roland* has

surely more than the poet of the *Idyls of the King* in common with the artist of the *Wandering Jew*. But though Mr. Browning has no conventional coarseness, yet he is hardly enough on his guard against mannerism. Mannerism of thought is more or less inseparable from individuality of character; but mannerism of representation is a routine unworthy of a great artist. No good painter would paint all his reds with vermilion; Mr. Browning can never see the colour without talking of blood. With him a crimson sun-set is blood-red, tulips are bubbles of blood. If he introduces us to anything painted red, he must hasten to assure us that it is not painted with blood, as if that thought was an inevitable temptation and the first suggestion of Satan.

The satirical element in Mr. Browning's mind is strong; but he is too serious a theologian and moralist to be a genuine satirist. His humour lacks not only the keen edge and fine incisiveness, but the playful and careless dallying, of satire. Satire should appeal to the inner consciousness of the person satirized; he should be made to feel, not only that the cap was made to his measure, but that it fits him. It would be too great a stretch of imagination to suppose that any prelate could ever in his inmost heart have recognised Blougram's apology as correctly representing his own moral situation. This, and several similar poems, wherein the speaker is introduced dragging to public light hidden tendencies and by-ways of thought which he could scarcely see clearly enough to confess to himself, are beyond the range of satire, and come within the category of casuistry. And they assume quite a prophetic character, when we remember the assumptions and pretensions of the poet. For Mr. Browning, in analysing as he does the processes and the characters of men's minds, attributes to himself a kind of infallibility, which ought to be enough to make his judgments haunt his victims like an evil conscience. After giving us his theory of dead fact restored to life by the alloy of poetical fiction, he asks whether this fiction is truth:

"Are means to the end themselves in part the end?

Is fiction which makes fact alive fact too?"

He gives no very coherent answer to the question; but he makes it very evident that he considers that the artist is the real and only truth-teller. For him the fictions of art, combined with the facts of nature, are of a higher grade of truth than the facts by themselves. Moreover, all human attempts, by means of logic or theories of

probabilities, or criticism, to sift and tell the truth, are failures; "our human speech is naught, our human testimony false;" but

"art remains the one way possible  
Of speaking truth,"—

at least, he adds modestly, to mouths like his. It is fair to say that this truthfulness of art does not in his view apply to personal satire, but only to such art as speaks not to man, but to mankind. The artist, however infallible in his analysis of special character, may be mistaken in attributing it to any special person. This saving clause will make it doubtful whether those rehabilitations of men defamed in history, which have lately been so plentiful, would be regarded by Mr. Browning as so many conquests of artistic truth. Literary artists have persuaded themselves that there are persons who have been shamefully calumniated by the naughtiness of speech and the falsehood of testimony—have been limned by contemporaries as devils, when they were angels disguised. With this conviction, these artists have projected their own surplusage of soul into the dead idola, and have presented us with new Eighth Henriets, new Lucrezia Borgias, new Neros. Is the fiction which makes these facts alive fact too? It is not clear that Mr. Browning would deny it. With perfect apparent seriousness he has affirmed that the dramatic scenes of his *Paracelsus* might be slipped between the leaves of any memoir of the man by way of commentary. Hitherto he had not ventured on dealing thus with any of the more articulate and defined characters of history. He had selected its obscure zoophytes, historical mists, cloud-forms, like Sordello and Paracelsus, to try his hand upon. Here he was safe; where history is silent, she does not protest. But in the present poem he has introduced a person as well known as Pope Innocent XII., and has assigned him a long and searching soliloquy. The main outlines of the character show a careful regard of Ranke; the fillings-up smack rather of the poet's surplusage of soul than of any probable opinions of any Pope. Innocent XII. would hardly have propounded as part of his creed the opinions of modern Universalism, nor have gone far towards identifying God with Nature; nor, because he was the first of his line who exhibited either justice or mercy to the Jansenists, would he necessarily have proceeded to compare an "irregular noble scapegrace," whom he meant to praise, with Augustine, or a "fox-faced horrible priest," whom he abhorred, with Loyola; nor, without the gift of prophecy, would he have alluded to and joined in the condemna-

tion of modern civilisation in the Syllabus of Pius IX.; nor, without a kind of presentiment of Hegel's doctrine of the genesis of being out of not-being, would he have formulated his fine theory of the restoration of faith in the latter days through the antagonism of doubt. The poet knows how far he is here wandering from probability; and before the end of the poem he harks back to this supposed Papal doctrine, and says,—

' If he thought doubt would do the next age good,  
'Tis pity he died unapprised what birth  
His reign may boast of, be remembered by—  
Terrible Pope, too, of a kind,—Voltaire."

The alloy which attributes an elaborate theory to a historical person, followed by the spirit of acid which washes out the fiction with an "if," is perhaps the most noteworthy exhibition of this typical process of ring-making to be found in the whole poem.

The artistic truth, then, which is brought out in such an exhibition of a historical character, is not historical truth or verity of fact, but that verity of congruity which allows one to say that if it was not so it ought to have been so. By this rule, the artist shows us not what a man was, but what he ought to have been, in order to place him in conformity, not with the moral law, but with the artist's ideal. For, after all, the truth which the artist contends for is his own ideal—himself. Much must be forgiven to genius; the superior man may well be supposed to have also a superior Ego, besides higher motives to thrust his own personality upon others. But the man of genius should be the first to find out that of all human qualities personality is at once the most familiar and the least communicable, that a man's intercourse with himself, if it is the first object of his own intelligence, is the last object for the intelligence of other people. He that speaketh in this unknown tongue edifieth himself, for in the spirit he speaketh mysteries; but he is a barbarian to others. He speaks, but says nothing; his puzzling no-meaning is as hopeless an enigma as a bankrupt's books. There are thoughts which are not transferable, autochthons that can only live where they are born, and cannot be naturalized in another soil. The youth of genius often makes volcanic efforts to colonize with such thoughts. The effort is excellent to teach him negatively the limits of his power; but its positive results are worthless. Mr. Browning continued his youth far into his age, and for too long a time gave too many occasions to ask whether his lines were philosophy gone mad or madness philosophizing. But there were always oases in his desert; and they gained him a mino-

rity of friends enough to encourage him, while the majority of foes have at last chastened him into tolerable sobriety. In deference to them he has, as it were, cast his skin, and has made an effort for which he clearly anticipated the rare success it has gained,—the success of pleasing his revilers and turning them into admirers. Perhaps the spirit of acid which he speaks of is this suppression of the individual and secret personality which, after so many efforts, he has found to be incommunicable, and the determination only to communicate so much of himself as he can render intelligible in the common tongue. But it was not only the wish to tell his dreams in his own dream-language which made him hard to be understood: his theory of metaphor, and his involved grammar, added the difficulties of construction to the difficulties of interpretation. His character led him to the uncouthness and abruptness of a style full of breaches and pitfalls, just as his appreciation of the value of what he had to communicate led him into amplification and repetition, and the spreading of his thoughts prosaically thin over his poetical pages. He is not a poet who sings by ear only; and he thoroughly well knew what he was doing when he wove the loose texture of his style. It was the proper raiment of his thoughts. He is too good a critic, and has too habitually criticised himself, not to be entirely conscious of the coarse grain of his composition. He wished to impose himself—his own views, his own language, his own sense of the beautiful and the congruous, his own appreciation of himself and others—upon his audience. Knowing well what he did, but not knowing what he could do best, he always tried to be a dramatist; but he is, and ever will be, a critical poet. The author is never off the scene. Like Thackeray, he is always commenting on the sayings and doings and meanings of his dramatic personages. And when he is not formally doing so his readers feel that the process is still going on underground. He is his own chorus, the ideal spectator of his own dramas; and the chorus is often, perhaps generally, more important than the dialogue.

Such appear to be a few of the main characteristics of the poet who infuses his surplusage of soul into the tale told in the *The Ring and the Book*. And they show how it is that, in spite of his theological bias and undeniable Christianity, he is acceptable to the materialistic and positivist thought of the day. The man whose imagination can interpret the soul of brute matter seems to show to other imaginations how thought and soul may be only secretions of matter specially organised, while his decided con-



tempt for reason in comparison with the sentiments must endear him to all friends of Comte's law, "que l'esprit doit être subordonné au cœur." If we turn to the form into which he has moulded his story, we must be struck with a novelty which has at the same time the merit of simplicity and obvious naturalness. In some respects the design follows the plan of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; there is a similar prologue, which introduces to the reader the narrators of the poem, followed by a series of cantos or idyls, in which each of them tells his tale. But Mr. Browning's design has a more compressed unity than Chaucer's; for in the twelve books of this poem there is only one complete action, one tune, the subject of twelve variations. He has a theory that the life of a fact consists in the variety of ways in which it is regarded. A truth in which all are agreed gradually fades and dies. A living fact looks differently to each beholder. The "variance and eventful unity" of opinion regarding it make up its thread of life; and therefore the poet, who has to quicken a dead fact, must, as it were, throw its carcass into the arena to be fought over and dragged hither and thither by the lions of thought.

"See it for yourselves,  
This man's act, changeable because alive."

The poet has forgotten to tell us how it is that human speech and human judgment, which he thinks are naught, and which prove their naughtiness by their inconstancy, are able by this very inconstancy to rise to the most sublime function of humanity—poetical creation. But perhaps this is only one instance out of many where our weakness is our strength. Perhaps generalization rests on confusion of memory and forgetfulness of special details; and the absence of logical accuracy and metaphysical abstraction may be a condition for the picturesqueness of metaphor and abundance of imagery which distinguish the poet. It is however a truth, that facts, as mirrored in men's minds, are infinitely variable; and it is this changeableness which makes judicial investigations so interesting, and makes it possible to write a great poem on the present plan. To tell the same story in the same way a dozen times over would be to overdo the loquacious imbecility of Mrs. Quickly or Juliet's nurse. But, in its place, repetition is one of the fundamental laws of art. As nature begins with uniform repetition, and ends with differentiated repetition, so does art. Indeed, a scale of arts might be constructed on this principle. The less articulate and intellectual the art is, the more readily it ad-

mits simple repetition, even in its highest works. In music, the repetition of the tune, the subject, or the figure, is one of the most imperative rules of the art. In Beethoven's pastoral symphony a single bar is repeated ten times successively; fugues, imitations, variations, figures of accompaniment, are all instances of the same law. In architecture, the ranges of repeated members—arcades, columns, pinnacles, the arrangement of the elevation, where mass answers to mass, and tower is flanked with tower—are examples of repetition as simple as that of music. When we advance to the higher efforts of sculpture, painting, and poetry, we find the repetitions veiled, as they are in the differentiated segments of a highly organized vertebrate, though in their lower examples—the frieze, the arabesque, the ballad with its burden—we find the same simplicity as in the less articulate arts. But the same rule of repetition holds good throughout; all the subtleties of rhythm, proportion, and measured flow, depend on the law of repetition and variation. One of the most honoured traditions of the Elizabethan dramatists was the composite plot, in which the subsidiary action answered to the main one as its supplement, its contradictory, or its parody. Much of the stereoscopic solidity of their work may be due to this binocular vision which they afford us of it. The law of repetition applies not only to the creation but to the enjoyment of art. A thing of beauty is a joy forever, not for a moment merely, like a peach, which is eaten and done with; the picture, the play, the poem, is visited and revisited, heard and reheard, read and re-read, by the same people, and by their children, generation after generation. If Raphael never wearied of repeating his Madonnas, the public have never grown tired of gazing on them. Poet after poet, tragedian after tragedian, has taken up the same tale; and the masterpieces of literature have been written on stock stories, familiar as nursery tales. If Mr. Browning's design is new, it is founded on old analogies, and obeys a well-known law.

Another trait of this poem is its hybrid character. Mr. Browning, in his essays to be a dramatist, has gradually been sliding back till he has landed in the archaic simplicity of Thespis. His drama is long monologue, only made dramatic by faithfully portraying the actual and present workings of the speaker's passions and intellect. But this vitality at once gives the monologue or the narrative a lyric character. The monologues are dramatic, because the speakers are placed in dramatic situations, where the event depends upon their suasive power.

They are narrative; for they set before us the history, not the actual development, of an event. But they are eminently lyric, because their chief interest is reflective, lying not in the deed or narrative itself, but in the psychological states of the speakers, and in the various hues which the history assumes when refracted through their various minds. It is with reason then that the poet makes an invocation to lyric love the posy of his ring. This invocation has been everywhere quoted, and everywhere read, rather, probably, for its music than for its intelligence; for it can hardly speak plainly except to those who know the poem. The poet gazes on lyric love, half angel and half bird; and as he gazes its form becomes transfigured, and it seems to be a lost companion, whose presence was once his best gift of song. He still gazes, and the well-known features are glorified into those of the Redeemer, dropping down "to toil for man, to suffer or to die." For to him, poetry, love, and religion, are but three aspects of one great creative force, not logic or reason, though he identifies it with the Logos, but "all a wonder and a wild desire," a pure passion, which he enthrones as Queen of man and the world. Lyric love accepts not the world as it is; that is the dramatist's realm. The dramatist knows that

"there is no art  
To find the mind's construction in the face,"

and so employs himself in exposing the contradiction between the mask and the brain beneath it. But lyric love spurns this world, feathered with deceitful promises and false truths, and makes to itself another world, where the inside corresponds to the outside, where the face is the mind, and the grace of the body is the shadow of the grace of the soul. Such a world is the ideal of art; for art itself is but the expression of truth in its most natural symbols. Its problem is to make the invisible visible, and give articulate voice to the mute feelings of the heart. Shapes and colours, and sounds and words, are its only materials. With these it has to express the shapeless, colourless, inaudible, inarticulate motions of the mind; and therefore, in the interests of its own life, it has to assume a constant relationship, even an identity, between the convex and concave of its world. Words become things, colours become moral qualities; the face is no longer merely the index of the heart, but becomes the heart itself. In the lyric world of art

"What the breast forges, that the tongue  
must vent;"

there is no opposition between being and seeming. Hence the very first doctrine of the lyric philosopher is love at first sight. No other love is love, as Marlowe declares in the saw which Shakespeare quotes. A face, as Mrs. Browning says, strikes like a symbol on a face, and fills with its silent clangour brain and heart, transfiguring the man to music. So it is with the love in this poem. Caponsacchi sees Pompilia once for a moment, and she sees him. He describes the result:

"That night and next day did the gaze endure  
Burnt to my brain, as sunbeam through shut  
eyes,  
And not once changed the beautiful sad smile."

In that instant he learns her whole character. Evil reports come to him; vile papers which purport to be her own letters are brought to him. He knows them to be false and forged. The lips of one of Raphael's Madonnas might as soon drop scorpions as she be foul. He might say of her, as Pericles of Perdita,

"Falseness cannot come from thee; for thou  
look'st  
Modest as Justice, and thou seem'st a palace  
For the crowned Truth to dwell in."

In the same way Pompilia knows Caponsacchi at a glance; his face is sufficient refutation of all scandal against him:

"Thus I know  
All your report of Caponsacchi false  
Folly or dreaming; I have seen so much  
By that adventure at the spectacle,  
The face I fronted that one first, last time:  
He would belie it by such words and thoughts.  
Therefore while you profess to show him me  
I ever see his own face."

This love at first sight is but one stone of the temple of Lyric Love. The whole constitutes a complete philosophy, distilled from Plato, and coming down to us in a succession of poets, of whom Dante, Petrarch, and Shakespeare in his sonnets, are the chief. It is a philosophy which does not fit things as they are, but perhaps would fit them if they were as they ought to be. If applied to life, it sets it to a higher pitch, translates it to a more refined language, representing it not as it is, but "as you like it," as it may be supposed to go on in the mythical forest of Arden. It lends itself to the drama, and produces a Romeo and Juliet. It is the poet's means for raising man above himself. It is the idealism which, joined to the realism of natural representation, gives an elevation more than human to human life and human energy. The passion which it

deifies is not blind human craving, but an ideal passion endowed with intuition, and freed from the roundabout processes of our interpretative reason and inferential logic. Inspired with this, the poet's heroic men and women rise superior to all the thralls of blind passion, to the calculating pursuers of pleasure or interest, to the astute politicians who direct the storm and thrive on others' ruin. The lyric love with which they are inspired makes them examples to follow, touchstones of right and wrong, ideals to guide our judgments, models of martyrdom, and of the supreme happiness of suffering and passion.

Lyric art, in embodying this ideal, has to deal with many other things besides lyric love. Like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, it has to be the supposed spectator of all that happens, and to convey to the spectator of the play a lyrical and poetical expression of the emotions which he ought to feel. It contrasts not only the doings of men with the lyric ideal, but much more their feelings. It has to trace the various ways in which Job's comforters judge him, and to judge their judgments. The Greek chorus represented a whole population; and Mr. Browning introduces populations—half Rome, and the other half Rome—delivering their sentiments upon the actors and action of his story. In this again his ideal approaches that of the earliest Greek drama. There is no such popular running commentary on the action in Shakespeare, except sometimes in the observations of the fool or clown. We know of nothing quite like it in modern literature, except perhaps the social opinion which comes in as Chorus in George Eliot's novels, and gives the judgment of the Raveloe alehouse or the Florentine barber's shop upon the action and persons of the history. The parliamentary and representative fancy that makes an idyl of popular opinion, though a novelty, is yet an advance in the grooves of the great movement of thought. When philosophical criticism regards the hero of literature simply as the spokesman of his age, it proposes to writers the problem of making the characters they invent not individual and idiosyncratic, but samples of common opinion. We have indeed crowds and mobs and citizens in Shakespeare; but they are rather yielding material in the hands of the individual demagogue or orator than masters of the situation. Public opinion has now become a constraining force, as often directing as following those whose hands turn the wheels of society and the State. Literature can represent all that is, and after a time will be able to embody public opinion as poetically as it has exhi-

bited the action of the heroic will or the individual prudence. There is no reason why some of the persons of a drama should not be collective corporations, organized aggregates of men; and there is no reason why these composite persons should not be truly poetical. The people is in its way a poet. To it we owe proverbs and ballads. It seizes on skeletons of facts, and, like a poet, projects its "surplusage of soul" into them, giving them its own colouring, and making them "alive" with its own fictions. On the narrow basis of a telegram it can set up a tower of Babel huge enough to cast a shadow over a whole empire. It can be as wayward and wilful as a baby; it can also be patient and persevering as a spider. As the poet strives to enter into the minds of his heroes, to possess himself of their springs of action, to think and feel in their grooves, so, when he makes public opinion his hero, he can possess himself of its national spirit, of its corporate logic, and represent collective humanity as easily as he can represent individuals. Collective humanity individualizes itself in the average man, and in him manifests its way of looking at things. And in an age of democratic advance the average man's toe comes so near the heel of the hero that he galls his kibe. Some people think that the day of novelists has passed its meridian, and that the sun of journalists is about to rise. For society, they suppose, is growing tired of the exceptional, and is beginning to feel its interest centre in the common action of mankind. The age of chivalry is gone, when one man engrossed all interest, and the rest were only chaff and bran, porridge after meat. The hero has already been served up in every variety of cookery—plain for simple palates, deviled for the uncertain feverish appetite, minced for children to swallow. There is no more gold to be found in these diggings. Those who still work at them are apt to give us the strained products of an imagination groping in the sewers for new spawn of Belial, new networks of improvised fatalities, new atrocities of noble-minded crime. Men turn from this to the dull matter-of-fact of reporters and correspondents and journalists, and find it more interesting. There is on the whole a movement of thought among those who feed on light literature, similar to that which has changed the aspect of historical books. The novel of exceptional character and intrigue is analogous to the history which makes the world depend on politicians and diplomatists, and governs the chariot of progress by the will of the strong checked by the plots of the wise. The history, on the other hand, which no longer

looks exclusively to the erratic course of the eccentric hero, but finds force in the multitude, and law in the uniform flow of average society, obtains in journalism its proper literary expression. When it is commonly recognised that the hero and statesman is no original creator, no imposer of his own private dreams upon mankind, but one who represents their average opinions, and enforces them with extraordinary ability, the hero of literature must become not the eccentric but the sample man. The vagaries of sensationalism seem to herald its dissolution. A moribund school, whether of theology or philosophy or art, is always most rabid in its anathemas, most uncompromising in its logic, most extravagant in its one-sided consistency. There is an autumnal and painted gorgeousness, which is the precursor not of life but of death. Sensationalism may be the last fitful glare of the novel of exceptional character and situation, and journalism the first twilight and the model of a school about to arise. Mr. Browning's poem is cousin-german to a series of newspaper articles. His "horrid murder" is not led up to, hidden, and discovered as in a novel, but bursts upon us like an announcement in a journal. Its interest lies not in its sensational atrocity or pathos, but in its ambiguous character,—the various interpretations which may be given to the acts and motives of the murderer, his wife, her parents, and her friend. And these are just the qualities which would make it fit material for the journalist. A cruel murder, stupidly conceived and clumsily executed, where justice has no trouble in tracing the evidence, and where the motives are apparent and the provocation imaginary, does not become a celebrated cause. It is only when it involves terrible uncertainties of inferential evidence, or when the motives urged in justification are capable of various explanations, that the case becomes meat and drink for journalists. Then society is moved. Then all classes contribute their comments, and improve the occasion to enforce their various social theories, their belief in the corruption of the aristocracy, their distrust of trial by jury, their contempt for the English law of evidence, their conviction of the connection between the increase of crime and the advance of democracy. It is just such a series of comments which three out of twelve of Mr. Browning's cantos furnish. "Half Rome" might be a summary of the articles and correspondence of the daily Liberal journal on the subject, "the other half Rome" a similar digest of the opinions of the Tory paper, while the "Tertium quid" would be the acrid and impartial distribution of universal condemna-

tion administered by a weekly journal reviewing the perturbations of the world from a region of sweetness and light. These cantos resemble leading articles done into verse, in that they are the lyrical expressions of a chorus of public opinion, exercising itself on the deeds which move its interest, delivering its judgments on their evidence and motives, and recording its sentiments about them. They do not dramatize public opinion; to do so, it would be necessary to exhibit a common wish and will using its own instruments, performing its own functions, and controlling events, with multitudes instead of persons as actors. Here the aggregates of men simply record their sentiments through the mouth of an average member.

Although Mr. Browning makes use of these expositors of opinion, he does not cease to accompany their utterances with a running commentary of his own, sometimes expressed, sometimes understood, forming a perpetual gloss on the text, and ever making us alive to the relationship in which the sentiments dramatically expressed stand to those of the poet himself. He writes with a didactic purpose. He claims to have a mission; and the most direct way of accomplishing it would be to look his brethren in the face, and tell them that they have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, and that what they count faith is foolishness. But besides the peril of making one's-self a common enemy by calling all things by their right names, such a way of delivering his message would be obnoxious to the common charge against all human testimony and human speech. He must therefore deliver his message in the way of art, which "nowise speaks to men, only to mankind," which tells truth obliquely by painting the picture that shall breed the thought, and thus both satisfy the imagination and save the soul. It is not to be forgotten, in considering the complex form of Mr. Browning's poem, that it is in some sense a sermon.

With regard to the materials of the poem, the first thing that strikes one is that it is, both in the plot and in the characters, a renewal of old productions.

"For out of the old fieldes, as men sayth,  
Cometh all this newe corn from year to year,  
And out of olde bookis, in good sayth,  
Cometh all this new science that men  
lere."

A comparison of it with the poet's earlier writings will show that it stands to them in that relation of finished picture to previous studies on which Bottini enlarges in the beginning of his monologue. Up to the publi-

cation of the poem, it was generally thought that "The Flight of the Duchess" was Mr. Browning's most considerable work. But as the individual characters of that piece are mostly only developments of previous isolated studies—studies of neglected wives and of heartless husbands—so the whole complex play of characters, their mutual action and reaction, in *The Ring and the Book*, is very much a reproduction and improved version of the play of moral forces exhibited in "The Flight of the Duchess." In both there is the child-wife, great in moral nature and in possibilities of development, but ignorant, innocent, and unformed; in both the icy, formal, heartless husband; in both the "gaunt grey nightmare" of the mother-in-law; in both a deliverer whose presence is like a flash of light to the pining wife, transfiguring her to a daring heroine. In one poem this character is borne by the gipsy, in the other by the canon Caponsacchi. In both there is a censor who relates the story, and delivers his judgment upon the motives and acts of the persons. In one, this office is borne by the old huntsman; in the other it is divided between the three representative speakers who utter the opinions of Roman society, and the Pope who sums up the case, and makes the final award. Certain types have long dwelt in the poet's mind; on them he has persistently brought to bear his powers of analysis and construction; he has often exhibited them singly and in different combinations, in studies of various degrees of extent and intensiveness. In his more extensive studies, where the reaction of the characters on each other had to be exhibited, he has always shown a deficiency in the power of inventing plots. The greatest masters of characterization have often confessed a sheer inability to devise personages or incidents. Even Shakespeare, by his practice of using ready-made plots, indirectly owns to the difficulty or irksomeness of the labour. It is therefore no violent detraction from Mr. Browning's merits to say that his plots are often ridiculous, his incidents absurd, and his personages bizarre. Nothing can well exceed the unreal, unnatural effect of the introduction of the gipsy in "The Flight of the Duchess." If the writer in the exercise of his self-criticism ever felt this weakness, the discovery of his Florentine book, with an interesting story ready made, supplying not merely a likely but a true plot, furnished with the best possible machinery and incidents for a new display of his favourite types of character, must have appeared even whimsically providential. He seized on his treasure, gloated over it, talked of it, investigated the records

connected with it, brooded over it for four years, and told its story over again, with the additions of his own fancy, using it as a mould for recasting all his favourite characters, in the composition of whose metal almost his whole life had been spent. While he designed moulds for himself, he had generally remained perilously near the edge of the impossible or the grotesque.

"Amphora cœpit

Institui; currente rotâ cur urceus exit?"

Now he has found a mould, or rather a collection of moulds, which admits of a variegated display of his potter's craft, and requires a large collection of vessels, some to honour, some to dishonour. All that he could not do he found ready to hand; all that he could do best, he saw room for. His characters were ready; he had only to adapt them, and make them act over again in poetry a drama which had once been really acted by persons more or less resembling his masks.

The story had perhaps another attraction for Mr. Browning in its being Italian. Dutch as he is in his realism, in his distance from the abstract ideal, and in a complexity which buries a fire under the abundance of fuel, he yet shares the Dutch artist's love for the

"Woman country, never wed,

Loved all the more by earth's male lands."

But if he goes to Italy and studies there, he paints Italian subjects in the Dutch manner, and is most attracted by the deposits of the Teuton admixture in the strata of the Italian mind. He may decorously display on his table the masterpieces of Latin art, but under them we find the open volumes of Rabelais, Montaigne, Annibale Caro, Pietro Aretino, or the burlesques of Ariosto and Tassoni. To adduce but one example, the grotesque onomatopœia of the Italians exercises quite a magnetic attraction over him. A nation which delights in giving its most renowned families such names as Head-in-a-bag, Beggar-my-neighbour, Wish-you-well, and Rags, has a certain underground fibre of sympathy with a poet who delights in inventing such noises as Blougram, Gigadibs, or Bluphocks. "Uncouth, unkissed," says Chaucer; but an uncouth name has so great an attraction for Mr. Browning that he not only kisses it, but absolutely chews it, and licks it into shape with the affection of a she-bear for her cubs. The fatted calf, Dominus Hyacinthus de Archangelis, who in one of the cantos is exhibited alternating between the pains of composing a defence of the murderer, and the pathos of intercalary benedictions of his little boy Hyacinth, whose birthday it is, ransacks the whole armoury

of Italian increments for variations on the child's name—Giacinto, Giacintino, Cinino, Ciniccino, Cincicello, Cinone, Cinoncino, Cinoncello, Cinotto, Cinozzo, Cinuzzo, Cinarello, Cinuccio, Cinucciato, Cineruggiolo, —where affection prompts a homeliness of sound analogous to the homeliness of meaning in the mother who calls a child by the endearing terms of pig or duck. There is a great deal of expression in names, whether articulate or only musical in their utterance. We see strong character in Shakespeare's Sir Toby and in his Goodman Puff, in many of the names of Ben Jonson's plays and epigrams, and in those prefixed to Robert Herrick's *criminosi iambi*, where the words are generally as expressive in meaning as in sound. It requires, perhaps, a greater refinement of musical ear to comprehend a meaning in the insignificant sounds of a name, and with Victor Hugo to sum up the saintly qualities of a prelate in such a sound as *Myriel*. Mr. Browning's ear is keenly apprehensive of these latent affinities; but his taste leads him rather to the farcical than the beautiful. He does not attempt to make up for other wants by the queeriness of his nomenclature, as Old Shandy would have compensated for his son's loss of nose by christening him *Trismegistus*; but he gladly lays hold of its accessory aid. It must have delighted him to find that the story would fill his lines with *Pompilia* and *Caponasacchi*, and would give him occasion to lug into his verse such agglomerations of syllables as *Panciaticchi* and *Acciaiuoli*.

Italians would probably condemn Mr. Browning's Latinizing as a corrupt following of his apostles, and repeat their old proverb, *Inglese italianizzato diavolo incarnato*. If the intricate and rapid rhymes, of which he has heretofore shown such management, have an Italian example in *Leporeo*, *Leporeo* is but a corrupt follower of the rhyming Latin of the mediæval monks. Mr. Browning is Saxon, and not Latin, when he hunts the letter with clash and clatter like *Holophernes*, and ambles along with the artificial aid of alliteration. If he affects crabbed and club-fisted words like *Marston*, it was just for this that the more classical taste of Ben Jonson made him so indignant with that poet. But all these things are probably connected with the retrospective attitude of the poet. As he draws his story and characters from old books, so he draws up whatever he can find in the well of old English, and transfers to his own pages whatever he finds most characteristic. This proceeding has been common to our poets, of all ages and of all calibres. They have all been news-gleaners from old archives, wise scribes

bringing out of their treasures things new and old.

The chief value of the story of Mr. Browning's poem is to form the framework for the display of the characters. These are, first, Count Guido Franceschini, the murderer, a poor nobleman who, having fished all his life in the antechambers of a cardinal at Rome, and caught nothing, in the wane of his years baits his hook with his nobility and catches the wife, and through her the supposed daughter, of a wealthy Roman burgess. Guido is Mr. Browning's *Iago*; in him we have his ideal of wickedness. Guido is not a man of strong passions urged by his nature to vice. He is, on the contrary, an artificial man, one whose hinges turn not on the pivot of passion but on that of reason. He is a walking example of Rousseau's aphorism, "*L'homme qui raisonne est un animal dépravé*." His master passion is a made-up one, the love of money, which, in common with mediæval moralists, Mr. Browning considers the least human and most diabolical of all, because it is simply artificial. Whoever stands in the way of this passion is simply vermin to Guido—first to be provoked to suicide, and in default of that to be led into some crime which may excuse deadly vengeance, and in default of that to be poisoned or stabbed. Add to him pride, not the natural pride of his far-reaching intelligence, or any other natural gift, but the pride of station, another artificial passion, and we have a reason for the cruel vengeance, the "lust and lech of hate" which he exhibits. After his cold-blooded indifference to his wife and her parents has provoked them to confess that she is not their child, and therefore not entitled to their fortune, she becomes the object of all his schemes of vengeance, which he conducts in so astute a manner as to throw the greatest doubt on his own guilt and her innocence. Like *Iago*, he is a man of logical and powerful mind, knowing the world, wary in observation, prophetic in political forecast, looking quite through the deeds of men. This cold, satanic intellect, with the artificial heat organized out of gold and rank, Mr. Browning incarnates in a body almost like a tragic *Hudibras*—short, thick-shouldered, hook-nosed, dark, with a bushy red beard, capable of enduring pain like a brute, but deficient in physical courage. The man is one whose language has a relation to his own interests, but not the slightest relation to truth, except at the last moment, when the terror of death compels him to invoke his murdered wife as a saint, and who, again like *Iago*, permits himself on all occasions the utmost license in talk. In-

deed, Mr. Browning may be charged with not sufficiently trapping the gullies of Guido's uncircumcised imagination.

In contrast with the cold reason and active conventionality of Guido, we have the nature and passion of Pompilia, his wife, and Caponsacchi, her deliverer. Each, either devoid of education or ill-educated, puts to shame the artificial power of education by the natural flow of right feeling and instinct. The woman exhibits this in her innocence and ignorance; the man, in the midst of the frivolities and wild-oats sowing of courtly Italian life. They are both essentially lyrical characters; and in obedience to the lyrical law, they both lack active originating power, but sit down in a boat, without oars or sails, to be luckily wafted over the wild waters of life by the breezes of good feeling and the gales of passionate instinct. Hence they lack striking individuality. Mr. Browning tells us miles more about them than we are told about Hotspur or Cordelia; yet they come miles behind Hotspur and Cordelia in definiteness, dramatic energy, and elevation of individual character. They neither of them flash upon the reader; he has to gather their characters from a multitude of sayings or doings or sufferings. He has to credit them with what they tell him of their own feelings and intentions, and to believe them chiefly because their features are so handsome, and their countenances so open. Nevertheless they are real characters; and the cumulative, painfully heaped up conceptions of them which we gradually agglomerate in our minds become, if not grand outlines, at least grand patches of massive and yet subtle colour. They constitute the masculine and feminine ideals of the poet; and there is great pathos and lyrical power in the monologue and sallies of Caponsacchi, explaining how, like Prince Hal, he lived amidst pleasures which he loved not, and how he was saved from them by a sudden passion. But there is more pathos when Pompilia, like a dying swan, intones the plain song of her life, and gives the history of her weary walk with Guido, and her exciting run with Caponsacchi. The story is a convenient one for a man who can put together last speeches, and knows that

"the tongues of dying men  
Enforce attention, like deep harmony."

Guido's speech to his confessors before execution is one of the most powerful in the poem. But perhaps the most satisfactory on the whole is the monologue of the aged Pope, who investigates the case as if it were his last earthly work, and speaks of his de-

cision as the crowning effort of his life. The ripe observation and mature wisdom with which he characterizes the persons of the drama, and at the same time delivers himself of a multitude of religious, moral, political, and even artistic theories, makes his speech a model of Mr. Browning's lyric-didactic style. The poet himself speaks behind the mask. It is not however that the poet becomes Romanized, but the Pope becomes tinctured with his presenter, as we have already sufficiently seen. In this canto of the poem, consequently, Mr. Browning's whole circle of teaching, feeling, and criticism may be most conveniently studied. He will be found to possess great unity of principle. It is not only in human characters that he contrasts the gush of nature with the creeping contrivances of art. He exhibits a general scepticism, not about the observed laws, but about deduced precepts and conventional rules of morals, politics, and economy. He includes in the same condemnation premeditated proofs, prepared speeches, made-up marriages, codified rules, regulated education, and routine in general. He enforces his argument by examples of the failure of special contrivances. The clergy are in the world to humanize mankind; yet it was not the clergy who objected to the torture chamber. The seminary and the monastery should wean priests from the world, and harden them for their sharp duties; yet in Mr. Browning's poem it is the regularly educated priests who timidly follow the world, while the "irregular noble scapegrace," the man who should be a priest but is a desultory lover and poet, alone rushes from the ball-room to the battle-field at the call of duty. The physician falls sick, the lawyer cheats, the divine is damned, and the aimless saunterer finds health, success, and salvation.

"The politico  
And cunning statesman, that believes he fath-  
oms  
The counsels of all kingdoms on the earth,  
Is by simplicity oft over-reached."

In the astutest villains he puts such a mixture of the fool as brings to nought the knave. In the extremely moderate Roman jurisprudence he exhibits the mild flame of justice, hidden under the bushel of that plausible desire to avoid disputes which is the palladium of all establishments, and which drives them to let souls perish rather than themselves lose credit; and he shows how the intemperate sallies of those who are right are always matters of righteous blame for those who are temperately and methodically wrong. Nature against art is a central

thought with him; but in his view the fine arts are nature.

After those described, the two most prominent speakers in the poem are two Roman advocates, of whom one argues for Guido and one for Pompilia. For each his brief is his rule of faith. This is an offence as great in the poet's eyes as a marriage of convenience. One is the unpardonable sin against passion, the other against truth. Guido sins in one way, and is foiled; the advocates in another, and become ludicrous. Each, with his piebald language, his forensic quotations, his oratorical conceit, his jealousy of his opponent, his childish arguments, fitter for Euphues than for an advocate, becomes, however tedious, a comic and burlesque personage. One of them, the lean bachelor Bottini, blue-eyed, bright-haired, treble-voiced, screaming

"in heights of head

As, in his modest studio, all alone,  
The tall wight stands a tiptoe, strives and strains  
Both eyes shut, like the cockerel that would crow,"

seems painted after Chaucer's pardoner. These are the persons who are dramatically brought out. The rest have only an existence in the narrative. These more undefined characters have a great range, from the neutral tints of the Comparini to the black, scarlet, and yellow of Guido's family. A number of them are twin brothers or sisters with men or women in Mr. Browning's former poems, many of whom seem to have missed their vocation in appearing where they did. They would certainly have been more at home in *The Ring and the Book* than where their premature birth has placed them.

Among the materials of the poem would be the place to discuss the minute realism of the poet, his theory of rhythm, his grammar, his style, as distinct and special in verse as Mr. Carlyle's in prose, his felicitous power of working at once upon contradictory models, consciously copying Euripides but producing something even more like Æschylus, and, in attempts to advance beyond the most advanced of the Greek dramatists, falling back upon the mythical beginnings of the Greek drama. His great virtue is that he has an impetus, a rush, which, to a great extent, hides his contradictory faults. It carries the reader over pages of "prose swell'd to verse, verse loitering into prose," over sheets where thoughts lie jumbled together, close packed and without room to move. It carries him over pitfalls of grammar, over empty holes and hard stones,

where a slow coach would be upset or stopped. It carries him on in such wise that he is content only half to understand, to forgive more than he takes in, and to retain but a little of that which passes through his ears. If there were not positive evidence to the contrary, Mr. Browning might be considered a careless poet, bestowing ample pains on amassing his materials, but little on their organization. But whatever trouble he may take he evidently lacks the power to give any great unity to the multifariousness of his farrago. Loaded as his pictures are with details, they can only please at a considerable distance. He writes a symphony carefully, and scores it for an orchestra of "saltbox, tongs, and bones." A minute critic might ask in vain for a plausible defence of line after line of his verse. He must be read running, and read with the eye more than with the ear. To read him aloud, or to let the ear pore over his verse is mortal. But to the intelligence he repays minute study. He presents a boundless chaos of accidental knowledge. The wide horizon of dim distance teeming with suggestions of facts outside the action of the poem gives it an air of reality, life, domesticity, and truthfulness, such as we are conscious of in Homer and Shakespeare. It is as plausible as a letter from home or a police report in the newspaper. Yet the laboured accumulation of appropriate allusions is sometimes rather overdone. In reading his lines also we perpetually arouse fleeting and impalpable memories of the great poets of the reign of James I. But there is at least one of them who knew how in a few paragraphs to anticipate many of Mr. Browning's chief characteristics. The Old City Captain in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* does not say much. But what he does say is so richly streaked with peculiar metaphor, that he reminds one very strongly of Mr. Browning. When, at the head of the insurgent apprentices, he catches and threatens the Spanish prince, he speaks the purest Browningese—

"Nay,

My beyond-sea-sir, we will proclaim you:

You would-be king!

Thou tender heir-apparent to a church-ale,

Thou slight prince of single sarcenet,

Thou royal ring-tail, fit to fly at nothing

But poor men's poultry."

The difference is that the burlesque of Beaumont becomes serious in Mr. Browning. He knows how infinite should be the changeable flash of the facets of a poem which is destined to live; and he seeks this variety rather in the costume of his charac-



ters than in their differences of expression. Each of them is saturated with his profession. His lawyers speak in terms of the pleas and bench; his divines in those of the pulpit and the schools; and his nobles are all heralds. All are vexed with an itch of making metaphors corresponding to the circumstances of their lives. Hence the style is rather a pudding-stone of dialects, all formed on the same principle, but out of different materials, than a smooth amalgam in which all the materials are made fluid, and worked up into the one comprehensive and dignified language of the cultivated man. There is enough of observation, learning, humour, wit, wisdom, but little charm; "*nihil hic nisi carmina desunt*." Yet there is more to admire than to forgive in Mr. Browning. Like Plato he is a poet because he is a poetical philosopher, though it may be a question whether his philosophy does not tend to strangle his poetry. His power may be guessed by the opposition he has encountered. Smashers clip gold, not copper. But to some his very power is repulsive. There are still many wise men, and men of taste, who would have their teeth drawn or toes amputated rather than read him. And those who can appreciate him are often so struck with the multifariousness of his merits in detail that, without appraising him higher than he deserves, they are apt in criticising him to raise expectations which the reading of his poems will fail to satisfy.

#### ART. V.—THE POPE AND THE COUNCIL.\*

[COMMUNICATED.]

THE attempt to establish the infallibility of the Pope by decree of a General Council is a phase of controversy which the internal disputes of the Church of Rome have made almost inevitable. The Catholic opposition in its several forms, national in Italy, scientific in Germany, liberal in France, has uniformly been directed against one or other of the Papal claims. Amongst the Catholics there are numbers who earnestly condemn the despotism of the Popes, their asserted superiority to all human law, civil and ecclesiastical, the exclusiveness with which they profess themselves sole interpreters of the Divine law, their systematic warfare against freedom of conscience, of science,

and of speech. These men find the arms of their adversaries effectually strengthened by the Papacy, and their own efforts confounded by reproaches which it justifies; but they seldom acknowledge that the causes of their weakness are in Rome. Sooner or later they almost always renounce or silence their convictions. Rather than definitely contradict the utterances of the Pope, or publicly censure his acts, they devote themselves to force or to veil his meaning. They shrink from a direct antagonism, and refuse to let the cause of the Pope be separated from their own. Their dread of a collision, and their obtrusive submissiveness, encourage the enterprise of those whose desire is to promote the Papal authority. Men who succumb in order to avoid the Index cannot be expected to reject what is proposed as an article of faith. If they will not resist a Roman congregation acting in the name of the Pope, they are not likely to resist an œcumenical council claiming to represent the Church. It is thought at Rome that, by declaring the Pope infallible, the independent action of the liberal party may be arrested, and the troubles of internal discussion averted for the future.

This infallibility is already a received doctrine with a considerable fraction of the Catholics. In the Commission to which the question was submitted at Rome, in preparation for the Council, only one dissentient vote was given. Among the Jesuits it has long prevailed; and the Jesuits being now in power, and recognised exponents of the Pope's own sentiments, the moment is propitious to make their doctrine triumph. For the ideas of the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864, by which Pius ix. desired to remodel society, have not commanded general assent. The mind of Europe moves in other orbits; and nation after nation breaks away from the fetters of the canon law. It is hoped that the Pope's words will be heard with more deference if they are enforced by severer penalties. Obedience or excommunication would be a formidable alternative to the Catholics. The calculation is that it may yet be possible to recover by authority what has not been preserved by reason, and to restore, at one stroke, an influence which is waning, and a spirit that has passed away.

There is no doubt that many of the bishops will be glad if the dogma of infallibility is not submitted to the Council. A book by a French prelate is announced to appear shortly, which proves that the authority and example of Bossuet are not lost upon his countrymen. The German bishops, meeting at Fulda the other day, agreed that

\* *Der Papst und das Concil.* Von Janus. (Leipzig: Steinacker.)

it would be better for the Church if the question were not to be raised. The most eminent amongst them has declared his belief that the effect of the proposed decree would be to make all Germany Protestant. Others are not less forcibly impressed with the injury which would be done to the prospects of their Church in Great Britain. They have all combined to issue a pastoral letter, in which they repudiate with indignation the designs imputed to them. But they declare in the same document that no serious differences of opinion disturb the unanimity of the Catholic episcopate. Men who can utter such a thing in Germany must be capable of doing stranger things in Rome.

It will not be easy for the opposition to prevent the decree. In various ways the bishops are already largely committed. Since the revival of Provincial Synods, their acts have been sent to Rome for approval; and many of them have asserted their belief in the Papal infallibility. In 1854 the episcopate allowed the Pope to proclaim a new dogma to the Church. In 1862 they almost unanimously pronounced in favour of the temporal power. In 1864 they accepted the Syllabus. In 1867 they assured the Pope that they were ready to believe whatever he should teach. At that time the intention to summon a General Council, and the purpose of the summons, were no secret; and the bishops knew that their address would not be received if it expressed their obedience in less explicit terms. They will now be required to redeem their pledges. The most sanguine opponent can hardly expect, if the Council meets, that the dogma will not be proposed, or that it will be rejected in principle, or on any higher ground than that of present expediency. Its rejection, so qualified, might easily be represented as implicit acceptance of the principle, leaving the question of time to the judgment of the Pope. It will probably appear that the question of expediency is the only one which will be fairly submitted to be affirmed or negatived by the Council. The managers consider that the doctrine itself is virtually decided, and that only those who believe it are real Catholics. Their object will be gained if the assembled episcopate confirms their opinion by tacit acquiescence, while it determines whether a formal decree is opportune.

No charge is more strenuously repelled by intelligent Catholics than that their faith is subject to be changed at will by the authorities of their Church, and that they may be called upon to believe to-morrow what they deny to-day. Their position in this respect is becoming critical. It is manifestly possi-

ble that a Council, at which their episcopate will be more fully assembled than it has been at any former Council, may proclaim that Catholicism must stand or fall with the infallibility of the Pope. They repudiate that doctrine now: will they believe it if the Council should so decide? On the answer to this question, even more than on the deliberations of the bishops at Rome, the future of their cause depends.

An answer to it has at length been given, and given with such force and distinctness that it cannot be forgotten or recalled. A volume has appeared at Leipzig, on the competence of the Council and the infallibility of the Pope, which will complete that revolution in Catholic divinity, and in the conditions of religious controversy, which was begun by Möhler's treatment of the claim to indefectibility, and by Newman's theory of the development of doctrine. The argument of the book, sustained by a portentous chain of evidence, is briefly this:—The Christian Fathers not only teach that the Pope is fallible, but deny him the right of deciding dogmatic questions without a Council. In the first four centuries there is no trace of a dogmatic decree proceeding from a Pope. Great controversies were fought out and settled without the participation of the Popes; their opinion was sometimes given and rejected by the Church; and no point of doctrine was finally decided by them in the first ten centuries of Christianity. They did not convene the General Councils; they presided over them in two instances only; they did not confirm their acts. Among all the ancient heretics there is not one who was blamed because he had fallen away from the faith of Rome. Great doctrinal errors have been sometimes accepted, and sometimes originated, by Popes; and, when a Pope was condemned for heresy by a General Council, the sentence was admitted without protest by his successors. Several Churches of undisputed orthodoxy held no intercourse with the See of Rome. Those passages of Scripture which are used to prove that it is infallible, are not so interpreted by the Fathers. They all, eighteen in number, explain the prayer of Christ for Peter, without reference to the Pope. Not one of them believes that the Papacy is the rock on which He built His Church. Every Catholic priest binds himself by oath never to interpret Scripture in contradiction to the Fathers; and if, defying the unanimous testimony of antiquity, he makes these passages authority for Papal infallibility, he breaks his oath.

So far the book only asserts more defi-

nitely, and with deeper learning, facts which were already known. The great problem is to explain how it came to pass that the ancient constitution of the Church was swept away, and another system substituted, contrary to it in principle, in spirit, and in action, and by what gradations the present claims arose. The history of this transformation is the great achievement of the book. Each step in the process, prolonged through centuries, is ascertained and accounted for; and nothing is left obscure where the greater part was till now unknown. The passage from the Catholicism of the Fathers to that of the modern Popes was accomplished by wilful falsehood; and the whole structure of traditions, laws, and doctrines that support the theory of infallibility, and the practical despotism of the Popes, stands on a basis of fraud.

The great change began in the middle of the ninth century, with a forgery which struck root so deep that its consequences survive, though it has been discovered and exposed for three centuries. About one hundred decretals of early pontiffs, with acts of Councils and passages from the Fathers, were composed and published in France. The object of their author was to liberate the bishops from the authority of metropolitans and of the civil government, by exalting the power of the Pope, in whom he represented all ecclesiastical authority as concentrated. He placed the final criterion of orthodoxy in the word of the Pope, and taught that Rome would always be true to the faith, and that the acts of Councils were inoperative and invalid without Papal confirmation. The effect was not what he intended. At Rome the ground had long been prepared by interpolations in St. Cyprian, and by the fictitious biographies of early Popes which bear the name of Anastasius; and the advantage supplied by the Frankish prelate was eagerly seized. Nicolas I. declared that the originals of these texts were preserved in the Papal archives; and the bishops found themselves reduced to the position of dependants and delegates of the Pope. When Gregory VII. undertook to impose his new system of government on the Church, he, as well as the able and unscrupulous men who helped him, made all available use of pseudo-Isidore, and added such further fictions and interpolations as the new claims required. These accumulated forgeries, with more of his own making, were inserted by Gratian in the compilation which became the text-book of canon law. The exposure of the devices by which the Gregorian system obtained acceptance, and a spurious code supplanted the authentic law

of the Church, is the most brilliant and the newest thing in the volume.

The Councils became passive instruments in the hands of the Pope, and silently registered his decrees at the General Council of Vienne. Clement V. stated that he summoned only a few selected prelates, and informed them that whoever dared to speak, without being called on by the Pope, incurred excommunication. The Papal absolutism was practically established when it was forced on the divines by the same arts. A series of forged passages from the Greek Fathers came into existence, by which it appeared that the Pope was recognised as infallible by the Eastern Church in the fourth century. Urban IV. communicated them to St. Thomas Aquinas, who constructed the doctrine, as it afterwards flourished, on the proofs thus supplied. He was deceived by the invention of a false tradition; and his great name spread and established the delusion. At length men became aware that the decay of religion and the lamentable evils and abuses in the Church were caused by the usurpations of Rome. At Constance it was proclaimed that the supreme legislative and judicial authority, and the last appeal in matters of faith, belonged to the Council; and thus the belief and discipline of the Church were restored to what they had been before the forgeries began. The decrees were accepted by the Pope and by succeeding Councils; but it was a transitory reform. In the conflict with Protestantism the notion of unbounded power and unfailing orthodoxy was wrought up to the highest pitch at Rome. Cardinal Cajetan called the Church the slave of the Pope. Innocent IV. had declared that every priest was bound to obey him, even in unjust things; and Bellarmine asserted that if a Pope should prescribe vice and prohibit virtue, the Church must believe him. "Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes mala, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare." Gregory VII. had claimed to inherit the sanctity as well as the faith of Peter; and Innocent X. professed that God had made the Scriptures clear to him, and that he felt himself inspired from above. The present volume traces the progress of the theory, and its influence on religion and society, down to the sixteenth century, and shows with careful detail how much it contributed to the schism of the East, to the divisions of Western Christendom, to the corruption of morality, the aggravation of tyranny, and the fanatical persecution of witchcraft and heresy, and how the only hope of Christian

union lies in the reformation of those defects which have been introduced by fraud and malice during many ages of credulity and ignorance. If anything can ruin the system which exalts so high the claims and privileges of the Pope, it is such an exposure of the methods and the motives that have reared it.

The author evidently is prepared for the worst. He thinks it conceivable that the Council may err as well as the Pope, and may proclaim as a dogma what is false. The encroachments of the Papacy have left so little independence to the episcopate that the testimony of the bishops is no security for their Church. Their oath of office binds them to preserve and to increase the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Pope; they are no longer competent to restrict those rights and authorities, or to resist the proposal to increase them. "Since the time of Gregory VII. the Papal power has weighed upon the Councils far more heavily than the imperial influence of old. When the prospect of a General Council was discussed in the sixteenth century, half Europe justly demanded two conditions,—that it should not be held at Rome, or even in Italy, and that the bishops should be released from their oath of obedience. The new Council will be held not only in Italy, but at Rome itself. That alone is decisive. It proves that, whatever the course of the Council may be, there is one quality that can never be assigned to it, the quality of true freedom" (p. 448).

That is the reply of men versed in all the knowledge of their Church to the anxious question which has been so often asked; and it is not likely that the Council will produce anything more significant than such a declaration of opinion. Catholicism has never taken up stronger ground. Both among Protestants and Greeks there are men in whose eyes the later forms of Papal domination are the one unpardonable fault of Rome. It has always been objected to the Gallican theology that it gave to the bishops what it took from the Pope, and attributed infallibility to the supreme ecclesiastical authorities. But here it is asserted that grave dogmatic error, imposed by authority and accepted without resistance, may long overcloud the Church; that the Papacy has taught false doctrines, and has made their adoption the test of orthodoxy; that it has excommunicated men who were right, while Rome was wrong; that it has been most potent and active in seducing consciences and leading souls astray; that it has obliterated the divine idea and the patristic doctrine of the Primacy. Understood in this

way, and purified from those defects which have proceeded from the arbitrary power usurped by Rome, Catholicism would recover an ample portion of its sway. It will lose at least as much if these detected superstitions are solemnly affirmed. The project has been so long and carefully prepared, and so publicly proclaimed, that the attempt to withdraw it would be ruin. The chronic malady has become acute; and a serious crisis is at hand. Procrastination cannot avert it; and no one can tell whether the ideas of the book which is before us are shared by numbers sufficient to prevail. In the Preface it is stated that they were held by the most eminent men of Catholic Germany in the last generation; and this is true so far as regards their general spirit, their notion of the Church, their practical aspirations, and their moral tone. In this sense the work is the manifesto of a great party, and expresses opinions that are widely spread. But the evidence, the reasoning, the material basis, are in great part new. Many of the investigations were never made before; and the results were not all so clear and so certain as they now are. They are established by many facts which no one knew, and which it was no reproach to be ignorant of; so that the work retains the character of conciliation towards those whose opinions it directly refutes. It constitutes so great an advance in knowledge that it supplies them with some excuse for their errors, and a refuge from the imputation of bad faith.

The author himself has been led by this circumstance into error. It has caused him to underrate the gravity of the charges in which his adversaries are involved. After exposing the fraudulent machinations by which the absolutist theory was set up, he proceeds to assume the sincerity of its advocates. He constantly speaks of the Jesuits, without any qualification, as supporters of the opinions in question. He seems to be utterly unaware that he thereby fixes on the whole Order the stigma of mendacity. It is useless to pretend that, after the progress of learning made known the spurious origin of the documents which are the basis of the modern Roman theory, the theory itself was sincerely believed in by educated men. The power of the modern Popes is retained by the same arts by which it was won. A man is not honest who accepts all the Papal decisions in questions of morality, for they have often been distinctly immoral; or who approves the conduct of the Popes in engrossing power, for it was stained with perfidy and falsehood; or who is ready to alter his convictions at their command, for

his conscience is guided by no principle. Such men in reality believe that fair means will not avail to save the Church of Rome. Formerly, in time of great extremity, they betook themselves to persecution: for the same purpose and with the same motives they still practise deceit, and justify it with the name of religion. The Jesuits continue to be identified with these opinions, because Jesuits conduct the journal that chiefly promotes them. But the *Civiltà Cattolica* is the organ of the Vatican, not of the Society; and there is no small number of the Jesuits who heartily deplore its tendency, and are incapable of imitating its intellectual demoralization. In a passage which is quoted in *The Pope and the Council*, a Paris Jesuit has written, "God does not give His blessing to fraud; the false decretals have produced nothing but harm." And it is not just to say that the terms of extreme adulation applied to the Pope came in with the Jesuits. In the fifteenth century an archbishop writes to Alexander VI., "Te alterum in terris Deum semper habebimus" (Petri de Warda Epistolæ, 1776, p. 331). It is equally wrong to lay the blame of these things on the recent converts to Rome. In this country at least, most of the able opponents of such views among the Catholics are Oxford men.

A more serious defect in the present work is that, having given so much, it has not given more. It is so rich in thought and matter that it creates a wish to see many questions more amply treated which have been only lightly touched. The author tells us that he hopes for a great reform in the Catholic Church; but he does not describe the reform he desires. He hopes to see the evils remedied that spring from religious absolutism and centralization; but this does not constitute a distinct idea of the Church of the future. It would be interesting to know how far the reforming spirit has penetrated among the enlightened Catholics, and how high they place their ideal. There is a long array of problems which would find their solution, and of abuses which would receive their death-stroke, from the consistent application of the principles laid down in this book. Many of them have arisen in recent times, and have grown out of the system established at Trent. On this later ground the author shows himself reluctant to tread. The fulness of his knowledge, and the firmness of his grasp, attend him down to the sixteenth century; but he scarcely glances at the times that follow. The Council of Trent occupies only two or three pages. Yet no example would be more useful to enforce the lesson he is teaching,

or more profitable on the eve of another General Council. The whole system of operations prepared for this occasion is borrowed from the arts that proved so efficacious three centuries ago. And there is one phenomenon which is sure to be repeated. The greatest difficulty of the Legates at Trent was not to resist the pressure of the reforming prelates, but to control the zeal of their own servile followers. They complained that, while the opposition was learned, prudent, and united, the bishops who sustained the policy of Rome compromised it by their obstinacy and the diversity of their views, inasmuch as each endeavoured to excel the others in his anxiety to please the Pope. "Questi ci travagliano non meno che li primi, trovando come facciamo il più delle volte fra loro ostinatione nelle opinioni loro, e diversità, e varietà grande, di modo che quanto è fra li primi di concordia e unione, tanto è discordia e disunione negli secondi, per volersi ciascuno di loro mostrare più affettione l'uno dell' altro alla Sede Apostolica, e al particolare serviggio di N. S. e della Corte; il che quanto noia ci apposti, e quanto disturbo, lassaremo che V. S. Illma, lo consideri per se istessa" (Legates to Borromeo, Jan. 15, 1563).

There is one question of immediate interest to which no answer has yet been given. If the Council were to proclaim the dogma of Papal infallibility, in what sense would those who accept and those who reject it constitute one and the same Church? What bond of unity and test of orthodoxy would remain for them? What doctrinal authority would the Church possess when the Pope had fallen into infallibility? What healing powers are there for such a wound, and by what process of reaction could health be restored? The author avoids these questions. He does not look beyond the immediate issue; and it is probable that, in reality, he feels assured of victory.

For reasons stated in the Preface the authorship of the book is kept secret. The choice of persons capable of writing it cannot be large; and, indeed, the Preface further informs us that it is not the work of one author only. We have disregarded this intimation, because those parts of the volume which have engaged our attention betray a single hand—the hand of one extraordinarily well versed in scholastic divinity and canon law, but not apparently so familiar with the modern history and literature of the Church. There are distinct indications of the school to which he belongs. It is evident that he is a friend of the late Möhler. He censures by name several Catholic writers who have imagined that the

false decretals made no change in the constitution of the Church; and of all recent writers, the one whose error on this point is the most flagrant and notorious is Möhler: yet his name is omitted. Möhler compared the preservation of the faith in the Church to the preservation of the language in a nation. This explanation comes very near to the idea of indefectibility, as the author appears to understand it. Möhler, on the other hand, never adopted the theory of Development which has since been naturalized in Germany by Döllinger, in a work which the author quotes. But the theory is entirely ignored throughout his volume. And this, in the judgment of many who most heartily sympathize with the main spirit and purpose of the book, will appear the one point in which it has failed to maintain its position in the very front rank of science.

---

ART. VI.—THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRIA.

MODERN history exhibits no such example of the hopeless confusion and seemingly inevitable dissolution of a great historical power as Austria afforded after the defeat of Sadowa. At the close of 1866 men thought that the Empire was falling asunder, and that nowhere among its fifteen constituent nationalities, all strangers to each other in language and race, was there any conscious principle of Austrian unity and independence. At least, no such idea anywhere showed signs of life. Many able politicians considered that the disappearance of Austria from the map was only a question of time; and prudent statesmen thought it necessary to make this eventuality a factor in their calculations of the future. Neither Prussia after Jena, nor the French Empire after Moscow, Leipzig, and Waterloo, nor Austria herself during the Revolution of 1848, can be compared with Austria after the Peace of Prague. Conquered and prostrate, owing her nominal existence to the selfish intercession of doubtful friends, shut out from Germany, despaired of but hardly regretted by her peoples, with her forces demoralized and dissolved in spite of their victories in Italy and on the Adriatic, and on the brink of national bankruptcy, Austria saw her rival and conqueror rise in a few weeks from a dubious rank to be supreme over Germany, and the Dictator of Central Europe, whose commands no one of the great Powers ventured to gainsay, and

whose apparent tendencies to national unity found a ready echo either in the hopes and admiration, or in the fears and hallucinations, of the German populations and their princes.

Three years only have passed; and now, though Prussia has lost none of her material power, though her victories and annexations have entailed no war to restore the equilibrium of Europe, though her supremacy in Germany has been confirmed by conventions and constitutions, though her force in the presence of the weakness of her rivals has enabled her to turn every circumstance to account, and though her endeavours to settle the affairs of Germany are nowhere thwarted by Austria, yet the comparative position of the two Powers has been strangely altered. If there is no example of any such overthrow as that of Austria in 1866, still less is there any of so sudden a resurrection. Without help from abroad, without any special good luck, without allies, and without internal disturbances, she is restored to the position not only of a State, but of a great Power. No one now seriously thinks that Austria is doomed; and all competent and impartial judges recognise the necessity of her existence for the equilibrium of Europe. Statesmen have ceased to make the contingency of her disappearance an element of their calculations; nor do they now dispute her claim to a place among the great Powers. The conditions of 1866 are reversed. The populations of the Empire are, generally speaking, in harmony with the Government, co-operating with confidence and generosity in its efforts to reconstruct the State on a constitutional basis of national and religious liberty. The experience of an older time might perhaps seem to suggest that this progress was only specious, and this apparent unanimity of the heterogeneous elements of Austria merely an accident. But the history of the last three years exhibits causes adequate to these wonderful effects. It tells of unwearied exertion, patriotic sacrifice, prudent self-restraint, and deliberate energy, applied to what was urgently necessary, while ameliorations that required time to ripen them were judiciously postponed; and this not in any single section, but throughout all the elements actively employed in the regeneration of the Empire. This political resurrection has been accompanied by a great development of industry, commerce, and agriculture among the masses—itself a result of revived hopes, and a cause of further regeneration in all orders of society.

Count Beust, the author of these reforms, has already gained an imperishable name in

Austrian history. But his plans would have been abortive unless he had sought and found a congenial basis in the actual and historical condition of the Empire and its heterogeneous population. Austria began this course with her wounds open and her strength exhausted. She continues it with her reforms still incomplete. The harvest she has already reaped would have been impossible if she had not understood how to employ the popular energy, and to direct it so as to meet the needs, tastes, and wishes of her various peoples, and the political, social, and religious tendencies of the age. The announcement of the Liberal policy, which was to regenerate the Empire by means of constitutional self-government, honestly carried out in every province and in every department of public life, ought naturally to have been greeted with delight, not only in Austria, but throughout Europe. But at first, in all the German provinces of the Empire, and even among Count Beust's own followers, there was manifested much indifference and distrust of his bold idea of founding the future Empire upon a dualism, and reconstructing the Austrian monarchy upon a compromise with Hungary. It seemed like the empiricism of an idealist, dangerous both to the internal development and the external power of the State, and not without peril to the free constitutional progress of the non-Hungarian provinces. The aversion from experiments was justified by the sterility of the changes of system in 1848; and the fear of weakening the State would scarcely appear exaggerated in presence of the centralized military Powers by which Austria was surrounded. But the sceptics entirely forgot that the dualism was no new unheard-of or ambiguous political invention, but simply a return to a natural condition sanctioned by history, which had existed during three centuries of the vigorous youth and unquestioned supremacy of Austria. The Italian possessions, the German Empire, and the relations to the German Confederation, which had come upon her only to make her squander her energies fruitlessly, had now been cut away; and it had become possible once more to devote all the energies of the State, in its dualistic condition, to its own internal consolidation. That the realization of the plan must involve endless difficulties and dangers, which it needs the most consummate statesmanship to watch, to avoid, and to allay, is evident, even though we treat as exceptional these three years, which have as yet been insufficient for the complete settlement of conditions new to the present generation, and still more for the incorporation of these conditions into the habits and

customs of the people. Yet no unprejudiced observer, who has watched the course of events during these exceptional years, will have failed to see how difficulties and obstacles which at first seemed insurmountable gradually gave way or vanished, as the single links of the great system were gradually reunited, and the theories of the dualism reduced to practice. Moreover, in the peculiar circumstances of Austria, the restitution of the historical constitution of Hungary, and her free development within the conditions and limits of the Pragmatic Sanction, afford an invaluable guarantee for the stability and for the liberal form of the constitution, both as regards the Reichsrath and the separate Diets of the non-Hungarian provinces. The Delegations, freely elected by the Hungarian Parliament and by the Reichsrath, and constituting a parliament for the general interests of the entire monarchy, are a security against any encroachment of the executive government upon constitutional privileges and liberties, and against any policy of the Crown which might be out of harmony with the tendencies, wishes, and opinions of the Austrian people. The dualism with its common Delegations has thus set its seal upon the tomb of all sudden changes of system, of *coups d'état*, and of all arbitrary measures and illiberal proceedings.

In order to exhibit with clearness the elements upon which Count Beust has founded his reconstruction of the Empire, and brought about the changes of the last three years, it is necessary to refer briefly to the chief points of the political history of the extraordinary mechanism called Austria, which, in its mixture of nationalities and variety of soil, is like a little Europe. Every one knows the old epigram "Bella gerant alii, Tu felix Austria, nube;" but few have considered the necessary action of these matrimonial accessions upon the political arrangement of the European microcosm. Austria acquired only a few of her possessions by conquest, and thus could seldom or never deal with them with a conqueror's arbitrary rights. The single provinces accrued to the monarchy by way of remuneration, inheritance, bequest, and convention; each seemed to have a guarantee for the preservation of its own constitution; and the monarchy was but an agglomeration of States till the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 united them into an indissoluble confederacy. The constitutions of all these States were *ständisch*, favouring the privileged orders, and representing the interests of the masses in a very imperfect way. In Hungary there was no pretence at any representation: the unprivileged masses were only a

*misera contribuens plebs.* The development of the popular order in these privileged constitutions would have given the Empire a resistless force against the aristocratic pretensions and the opposition of Hungary; but, instead of this, the series of Austrian statesmen constantly aimed at adapting these constitutions to the exigencies of an enlightened absolutism. The attempt may be said to have been more or less successful. But the centralizing absolutism of Joseph II. strove in vain against the aristocracy of Hungary; and his successor, Leopold II., was obliged, in 1787, to confirm, by solemn act, the inviolability of the old Hungarian constitution, and especially the equal partition of legislative power between the Sovereign and the Parliament. The 10th article laid down that Hungary, like the other Austrian provinces, was bound to acknowledge the succession of the House of Austria, but that Hungary and its annexes were nevertheless completely free and independent in respect to constitutional and legal government, including the administration of justice. Hungary was thus declared to be not subject to any other State or nation, but to be entitled to its own constitution and administration; it was to be governed by its own legitimate king, according to its own laws and customs, and not after the manner of the other provinces of the Empire. Thus, ever since 1787, dualism has been a legal and professed fact,—on the one side, Hungary, with its annexes amalgamated into a single political body, under its old and obstinately defended constitution: on the other side, the non-Hungarian provinces, forced, in spite of their differences, into political unity, by the agency of a civilizing centralization. If, under the Emperor Francis and the administration of Metternich, the regularity of the Hungarian Parliaments had become impaired, and if the other local parliaments had become mere forms, meeting with closed doors, nevertheless the dualism of the Empire was neither destroyed nor radically altered; and Austria, up to 1848, continued to be a monarchy based upon a dualism. Metternich and the Magyars have both been judged by history, and may be dismissed from consideration. But it is necessary to remark that the Austrian Revolution of 1848, which was only a wave of the great European storm, was altogether unconnected with the historical conditions of the Austrian States, although its sterile character of a *bellum omnium contra omnes* might be traced to the policy of the paternal administration. For the Government, whose principle was to keep all the elements of political self-assertion in a state of passive nonage, had turned to its own

account the general incapacity which it had fostered, and used one nationality to overawe another, by working on the ghastly bugbears of national antipathies. Each province easily found in its own conditions sufficient reason to go to war with the Government; but, although they were all united in a cry for liberty, it did not require very long inspection to see that the meaning of the cry was not simply liberty for each province, but liberty for each to oppress all the others, in the assertion of its own precedence and supremacy. None of the revolutions which swept through the Austrian provinces had any definite political programme to begin with; nor did any of them adopt any, however eccentric, to be adhered to and defended with conscious perseverance. Even in Italy, the national antipathy merely fed on the impulsive reforms of Pius IX., and was only fired in the towns, while the masses still adhered to the Government. In the western Slavonic provinces the aristocracy and clergy attempted to appropriate the agitation which had been communicated to the masses from without, and to turn it against the Austrian supremacy, in order, beneath this banner, to re-establish the feudal and hierarchical organization of the past. In the German provinces the claim of the Corporations to a share in the financial regulation of the State was by no means an adequate incentive to revolution. The Revolution came, conquered, and set up its throne upon a heap of ruins. It came like some elementary cataclysm, with power only to destroy, and not to create or to reform.

It was only in Hungary that things looked a little better. There the Revolution at first based itself on certain concrete and legal claims; but there also, as time went on, and the agitation of Kossuth had overborne the sober elements, and established his sway, the movement forfeited its legal status, and became a separatist rebellion. But before it had gone astray, and lost itself in the bloody paths of revolution, it had already legally brought about the constitutional revision of 1848, which both introduced a mass of improvements in the internal administration of the country, and confirmed, without altering, the relation of the kingdom and its annexes to Austria, as fixed by the Pragmatic Sanction and later conventions. This revision, which does not belong to the Revolution, but arose out of the preceding movement, was sanctioned by the Emperor in his quality of King of Hungary. But now came the event which so greatly changed the relations of the various Austrian systems to Hungary. The first Hungarian Parliament elected under the constitution of 1848, acting by the insti-



gation of Kossuth, encouraged and furnished supplies for war against Austria, and then (after the Imperial envoys had been refused an interview, and assassinated, so that all compromise had become impossible, and Austria had been forced to accept the challenge) publicly proclaimed Hungary to be a separate sovereign kingdom, and excluded the legitimate heirs of the House of Austria from the crown. It was politically a gross mistake in Schwartzenberg to apply the same measures to Hungary, after its reduction, as he applied to the other provinces of the Empire after quelling their revolutions, and to treat Hungary and its dependencies as if they had forfeited all their local and historical privileges by the revolution. But it is difficult to show that his position was illegal, or that his argument was the nonsense which it is generally supposed to be. Hungary, after the conquest, found itself in much the same relation to Austria as the Confederate States in America to the Union, after the war. Of course it does not follow that the vindictive administration of Haynau was justifiable. But these questions would lead us out of our course. It is more to the purpose to remark that, in all the revolutionary processes in the Austrian States, tending to alter their relations with the central government, two distinct and divergent tendencies manifested themselves. The Slavonic and Italian revolutions, and the German democratic movement, each demanded for its own provinces and dependencies an administration wholly independent of the central government, so that the relation to be professedly maintained between these groups and the Empire would differ in name only from the separation avowed in the case of Hungary. But, for all this, the strongest and most predominant nation of each given group claimed to exercise a complete central supremacy over the weaker races and fragments of nations comprised within its borders. In Hungary, this pretension led to the struggles of the Servians and Croats against the Magyars, and to the union of the Ban Jellachich with the Imperial government against Hungary and the Viennese revolution. So in Galicia the Ruthenians supported the Empire against the Poles; the Moravians opposed the pretensions of the Bohemians, and the Slavonians those of the Italians. The Imperial government, as soon as it had put down the revolution and was free to act, was naturally looked to by all these smaller nationalities to protect them from the larger ones, and by the moderate reformers in the German provinces to paralyse the baneful action of the extreme democrats. They all called for the supreme direction of

the central government, acting by uniform institutions throughout the Empire, and thus became a centralizing party which balanced the opposing elements of federalism. The position of the Empire had thus become most strange. As it stood victorious upon the fallen ramparts of the revolution, amidst an unexampled ruin of all the orders and institutions of the State, it was conscious that it had fought its way out of this nameless chaos, and had, for the moment at least, restored itself to absolute power. It was conscious, too, that it had in vain offered every concession constitutionally possible, and compatible with its duties and with its own preservation; and that it had restored its authority, not by the aid of the people, but by its own means of coercion, its army. The leaders of this army were men who, though the revolution was raging in their rear, were victorious upon the battle-fields of Italy. They succeeded too in quelling the revolution of Vienna. But in Hungary they had to see their glory transferred to the standards of a traditionally detested ally, who presented himself on the field unasked, and not without menace. It was natural that the man who was to superintend the reconstruction of the shattered Empire should be chosen from among the leaders of this army. The choice fell upon one whom the Neapolitan revolution had driven back from a brilliant political career into the army, and who had gloriously distinguished himself at Curtatone, Goito, and Custoza. A few months before a poet had said to the venerable Radetzky,

"In deinem Heer lebt Oesterreich,  
Wir andern sind elende Trümmern;"

and now he might have said that Austria and Prince Felix Schwartzenberg were but one and the same idea, so closely is the history of the reorganization of Austria after the revolution attached to his individual person.

Schwartzenberg undertook to reconstruct the Empire with a strong hand, on principles neither official nor reactionary. Simply ignorant of the existence of many obsolete rights and relations between the heterogeneous elements of the Empire, he declared their claims to have been forfeited by the revolution, and proceeded to establish, on the 4th of March, 1849, a centralized and yet really constitutional government. The failure of the attempted compromise with the Parliament of Kremsier, which belonged to the preceding revolutionary epoch, had convinced him that the centrifugal fancies were much stronger in the leaders of the revolution than the idea of Austrian unity.

Under these circumstances no one can blame him either for his principles or his conduct. The wrong-doing of the government began later, when it inconsistently withdrew from the liberal principles of the constitution of March. It thus lost the confidence of those populations of the Empire which constituted the centralizing party, on whose moral and parliamentary co-operation it had to rely. After the dissolution of the revolutionary Parliament, and the withdrawal of the March constitution, each province was allowed to retain its own particular constitution, in acknowledgment and for the protection of the political rights which had been granted by the constitution to the inhabitants of each province. If these separate rights had been allowed to become Imperial rights, and the constitution of March had been permitted to become a parliamentary fact, the general reconstruction of the Empire would have been effected, and Hungary might have borne with the secession of Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania, and might have dispensed with those parts of her recovered constitution which did not harmonize with the general constitution of the whole Empire. The Schwartz-berg ministry was clearly guilty of a grave political error by changing the constitution of March into absolutism, and still more, on the 20th of August 1851, by compelling the young Emperor Francis Joseph formally to revoke it. In the peculiar condition of Austria this revocation did a permanent moral injury to the monarchical principle. For when the monarch claims that the various grades of society, the various interests and wishes of mutually jealous populations, should find their central point of indifference in his government, these elements must become impersonal in himself. It was thought and felt that Schwartz-berg had the justification of a clear necessity, when he made it a preliminary condition to his work of reconstruction, that the united crowns should be transferred, from a man in whom they had made themselves deeply obnoxious to the revolution, to a young prince who was without any political past, and was unfettered by any contracts. But when the second great act of this young prince was the revocation of the constitution which he had granted at his accession, then there arose that contempt for the Imperial word, that disbelief of solemn promises, that doubt of any real connection between the public declarations and the private intentions of the government, that want of confidence and energy in the popular elements invited to co-operate with it, that reserved, restless, dissatisfied air in those whose

claims were granted, and that thorough discontent in the masses, which have so remarkably characterized the public life of Austria, and which are not yet effaced even by the complete breach between the present system and the traditions and aspirations of the old Austrian policy.

Truth, honesty, and adherence to the principles of the constitution of March would probably have spared the Austrian people eighteen years of suffering, and would perhaps have saved the Empire from the bitter reverses it has had to endure. Under the pressure of these reverses its successive governments helplessly and desperately drifted from one constitutional experiment to another; but among all these experiments there was only one which could claim to meet the exigencies of the times. The constitution of February 1861 was in many essential points only a reproduction of the constitution of March. The blame of the fatal return to absolutism does not belong to Schwartz-berg so much as to Bach, the Minister of the Interior, who owed his elevation to a political apostasy. The attention of the President of the Cabinet was absorbed in foreign affairs; and his thoughts were exclusively bent on concentrating all the energies of the Empire in a single purpose. Nevertheless, he not merely connived at Bach's reactionary measures, but supported them with all his influence in the Imperial Council. But with him absolutism was not an end, but merely a means by which he hoped to regain that position in relation to Prussia, that influence in Germany and Central Europe, which Austria had lost by the revolution. And this object was gained. But after Schwartz-berg's death in April 1852, his successors, in spite of the stringent absolutism of their bureaucratic administration, could neither maintain the external position of the Empire nor promote its internal prosperity. Once more, therefore, public opinion was in a bitter ferment. Under Schwartz-berg, the constitution of March, though inactive and powerless, yet guaranteed the provincial constitutions; and though he established the privileges and precedence of the clergy, and endeavoured to use their powerful influence in favour of the centralizing absolutism, yet he professed that the question of an organic legislation for the whole Empire was still open, and had to be solved without delay. But, after his death, the absolutist administration of Bach could only make a formal and mechanical division of each province into districts and arrondissements, and, after abolishing the civil and criminal code hitherto in vigour in the Slavo-German provinces, establish

judicial and administrative uniformity throughout the Empire. Bach sent to Hungary a legion of officials, who knew nothing of the country, its usages or customs, in order that they might enforce the new regulations, so repugnant to the popular feeling and wishes. Under his rule, an immense army preyed on the vitals of the Empire; the people were burdened with taxes, with famine, with a preposterous financial administration which contracted annual loans on continually heavier terms, and, finally, with a so-called voluntary national loan, most unjust to the middle classes. Of this, 500,000,000 florins were squandered in the wavering neutrality of the Government during the Crimean War, the only results of which were to embitter the relations of the Empire with Russia and Prussia, and to throw uncertainty on its standing with the Western Powers. But Bach's noxious and reactionary policy culminated in the concordat. It was not by that Act, but by the previous abolition of the *placitum regium*, that free intercourse was granted between the bishops and Rome: the concordat of the 18th of August 1855 guaranteed the independence of the hierarchy within the limits of the political state. In this document the claims of ecclesiastical absolutism were so completely acknowledged that, even during the period of its unquestioned supremacy, several of its regulations were found impossible to enforce. But it really endangered the position of the non-Catholic population; and the more it narrowed the political liberties of the people, the greater was the indignation of all orders at the large and unrestrained liberty which it conferred on the Church. Yet the concordat never did what it was meant to do. It did not enlist the clergy on the side of the Government. On the contrary, a multitude of them, especially of the inferior class, among the Italians, Slaves, and Magyars, continued in the party of opposition.

Such was the situation of Austria when the Emperor Napoleon forced her into war with Italy. Gyulay's incapacity and the imperfect military organization on the one hand, and the rivalry of Prussia in Germany on the other, did their work. Prussia strove to turn to account the difficulties of the Empire, overwhelmed by the French and Sardinians, and to appropriate the military supremacy in the German Confederation. With her ready army she overawed the allies who remained faithful to Austria, and so compelled her to purchase peace with the loss of Lombardy, in order to save her position in Germany. The Austrian Government, bereaved of a kingdom, conscious

of its precarious position in Germany, suspecting that the Peace of Zurich would never be honestly observed, and that it could not prevent the creation of the kingdom of Italy, had now once more to appeal to the Austrian populations. That this could only be done by a liberal and constitutional change of Government was declared by all the provinces, by the public press, and by the most experienced patriots. The financial situation proved decisive. The new Cabinet under Goluchowsky fancied that any radical change might be avoided if only the Reichsrath, to which the budget of 1861 was to be submitted, were reinforced. This Reichsrath was the remains of the constitutional body of 1851, which still acted as the Imperial Council. But the Hungarian members refused to accept such conditions; and the rest of the body declared that the grievances both of the Empire and of the single provinces ought to be abated through the action of a body in which both the provinces and the Empire were effectually represented, that the existing Reichsrath was wholly unfit for the purpose, and that the writ of July 17, 1860, which gave it the right to decide on questions of taxes and loans, was no longer valid. Here the old conflict between the federal and the centralist principles once more cropped up. The majority desired the "historical and political personality" of the separate provinces to issue in their administrative and legislative autonomy; the minority, in spite of its declared liberalism, advocated restrictions on provincial self-government. The diploma of the 20th of October 1860 embodied the views of the majority. It called them an irrevocable principle of policy. It divided all public affairs into two classes—imperial and provincial. The former it assigned to a Reichsrath duly elected by the various provincial parliaments; the latter it made over to the legislative bodies of the provinces. Among imperial affairs it enumerated financial and military administration, and foreign commerce and intercourse. All other legislative matters were referred to the provincial parliaments. The old constitution of Hungary, with its communal autonomy, was restored; and the other provinces received back their local regulations. The cardinal affairs of the non-Hungarian provinces, which had long been transacted in common, were to be decided by the non-Hungarian members of the Reichsrath, who were to constitute the Lesser Reichsrath.

These concessions were both too small and too great. Though the Lesser Reichsrath was a manifest memorial of the ancient

dualism of the Empire, the October diploma, as an irrevocable principle of policy, satisfied no one. In the German hereditary provinces there was the utmost dissatisfaction at its ultra-federalist limitation of the competency of the Reichsrath. In the Slavonic provinces the aristocracy and clergy tried to make use of Goluchowsky's provincial regulations as a means of counteracting the liberal tendencies and modern spirit of the imperial constitutionalism. Hungary, instead of its old constitution, demanded that of 1848, which provided for a merely personal union. Goluchowsky was helpless amidst this confusion of his federal theories; and he was succeeded in December 1860 by the able Schmerling, who stood high in the estimation of the centralizing constitutionalists. The chief object of this minister was, under the semblance of developing the irrevocable principles of the October diploma, to set limits to provincial autonomy, by extending the constitutional competency of the Reichstag. He accordingly relied on the German elements of the Empire. On the 26th of February 1861, he published an Imperial patent to regulate the representation. The Reichsrath, instead of being a single assembly consisting of Imperial Archdukes and members chosen for life by the Emperor from the hereditary nobility, now included also a lower house of 343 members elected by the provincial parliaments, and enjoyed the rights of public debating and initiative, which all former Reichsraths had been without.

The Government, seeing the unfavourable reception of the diploma of October, and unwilling entirely to hand over the Reichsrath to the provincial parliaments, reserved to itself the right, when exceptional circumstances existed, or when the deputies could not be elected by those parliaments, of designating certain towns, districts, or corporations, which might elect the deputies instead. The provision was chiefly meant to counteract the Hungarian opposition to the Reichsrath. But there was also some disquietude at the Slave majorities in some of the non-Hungarian provincial parliaments; the more so, as the constitution of February had legally established the right of the Lesser Reichsrath to deal with the common concerns of the Cis-Leithan provinces. On the other hand, the provincial parliaments, no longer elected on the feudal principle but on that of public interests, acquired the right of initiative and publicity. Notwithstanding these inconsistent waverings between the principles of federalism and centralization, it must be conceded that the patent of February was a mortal blow

to absolutism (which was still alive in the diploma of October) by co-ordinating the assent of the provincial parliaments with the Emperor's sanction, as previous conditions to the enactment of all imperial and provincial laws. Constitutional life really began in Austria with this act, although in several of the provinces it was never properly executed. For all subsequent political struggles have turned upon constitutional principles, though from time to time one party or the other may have evinced an intention of abandoning them. The Government, too, has dispensed with the useful expedient of "necessity of State."

This was the position of things in Austria; in Hungary it was otherwise. There the October diploma and the February patent gave rise to the movement for what was called the Compromise, which assumed such proportions, was pursued with such exasperation, and was so complicated with external circumstances, that it became a vital question for the whole monarchy. And as this struggle had its starting-point in the February patent, so also had it to seek there its final settlement. This will be clearly seen if we examine the situation in which the October diploma and the February patent placed Hungary and its annexes in their relations with Austria.

The centralizing constitution of March 1849 not only abolished the constitution of Hungary, but also separated Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Transylvania, the Woivodships of Serbia and the Banat, and made them independent of Hungary. The ensuing ten years' absolutism, which attempted to establish a bureaucratic administration in Hungary, inevitably maintained this separation. The situation lasted till the diploma of October 1860 revived the old constitution of Hungary, giving back its former civil and political administration and its own official language, but not restoring its separated dependencies. It was held that the representatives of Croatia and Slavonia ought to negotiate this matter for themselves with the provincial parliament of Pesth. On the 27th of December 1860, the old political connection of Serbia and the Banat with Hungary was restored. Still the question remained open with regard to Transylvania and Dalmatia. The discontent thus caused was heightened by the fact that the patent of February sensibly affected the Hungarian constitution, by limiting the competency of the Hungarian Parliament with respect to matters submitted to the Reichsrath. This movement was a great difficulty to the Viennese Government. It could not, if it would, revert to the theory of Schwartz-

berg and Bach, that the revolution had invalidated all previous rights; for the Emperor had, in a rescript of the 16th of January 1861, declared that the October diploma was not a final settlement, and expressed his earnest wish that the institutions which had such deep roots in the affections of Hungary should be promptly and completely conceded, whereby the other provinces would receive a guarantee for the establishment and development of constitutional measures. There is here, however, an inexplicable contradiction with the patent of February, which placed Hungary in exactly the same position as the other provinces. The October diploma and the February patent had to be submitted to the assent of the Hungarian Parliament before the assembling of the Reichsrath in May. The Hungarian Parliament met in April, and in repeated addresses set forth its reservations and doubts about the two acts, which it refused to accept, seeing that Hungary had its own constitution, revised in 1848, and sanctioned by the legitimate King (the Emperor Ferdinand). On the strength of this constitution the Parliament demanded an independent and responsible Hungarian ministry, and repudiated the authority of the Reichsrath. Schmerling could effect no compromise; and the Reichsrath had to be opened without deputies from Hungary or its annexes. In Croatia and Slavonia, where the loyalty of the people in 1848 had been repaid with injustice by the Imperial Government, the Parliament refused all accommodation with regard to the relations between Dalmatia and Hungary; and in Transylvania circumstances prevented the meeting of the Parliament till 1863. Negotiations were still kept up with Pesth, but to no purpose; the Hungarians summed up their objections in a final address of the 12th of August 1861, which concluded by saying that the patent of February made any understanding impossible. There was no alternative but a dissolution, which took place on the 21st of August 1861. If the conduct of the Viennese Government had been hitherto defensible on constitutional grounds, its further proceedings showed a want of the most ordinary common-sense. With the October diploma the foreign administration imposed upon Hungary by Bach had been abolished, and native elected officials substituted. But now the wild agitation of the opposition, which did not amount to rioting or revolution, was met by the suspension of municipal and communal government, and the establishment of military tribunals. A dead silence spread over the country; and a

deep hatred for Austria struck root in the public mind, like the feeling in Lombardy and Venice after the war of 1848. It is now known that this feeling was encouraged and flattered, if not kindled, by foreign agency, which aimed at annihilating Austria, and relied much on the hot blood of the warlike Hungarians. But for years the Government was in ignorance of this fact, and was unaware of the magnitude of the danger. It was not perceived that the conservative and aristocratic elements of Hungary had lost their influence, and were mastered by the austere and upright constitutional party led by Deak, who had been the master-spirit in the Diet in 1861. Neither was it perceived that the slow progress and inefficiency of the Reichsrath, in its three first sessions, had only exasperated the opposition against the constitutional policy of Schmerling.

When the second session of the Reichsrath was opened, and the advent of the Transylvanian deputies gave Schmerling occasion to proclaim that the Lesser Reichsrath was a parliament for the whole Empire, he referred to the absence of the Hungarians, Croats, and Slavonians, and said, "We can wait." There was never a more incomprehensible delusion. The obstinacy of the Hungarians was greater than that of Schmerling; and, in the third session, the Czech deputies from Bohemia and Moravia followed the Hungarian example, and sent in a protest against the representation of the monarchy by an incomplete assembly. At the same time, the feudal and national opposition to the centralizing development of the October diploma, through the February patent, was gaining ground; and even Schmerling's parliamentary friends were so bewildered by his conduct that they left him, and on several occasions voted against him.

The friends of the Constitution, as such, were moderate centralizers, and therefore could neither acknowledge the "absolute refusal" of Hungary, nor see in the federalist aspirations of Czechs and southern Slavonians anything but a disguised opposition to the general constitutional development. In such a situation, then, it was natural that they should ask what Schmerling's Government had done to consolidate the Constitution, to promote material prosperity, or to secure the Empire from within or from without. The masses were once more violently discontented, and were entirely without confidence, either in the Government or in the Reichsrath. The most favourable judge would have had to confess that Schmerling had only fulfilled the smaller

part of the hopes which he had excited on his accession to office, and that the latter half of his administration was only an inactive waiting for events, with poor expedients for the needs of the moment. No positive legislative reforms had been effected by the Government during the three sessions; nor had the Reichsrath done anything great with its initiative. The constitutional treatment of the budget brought small improvement to the finances; for while the question of the mutual relations of the separate parts of the Empire was open, there could be no mutual economy or general financial superintendence. But during these three sessions the whole financial mismanagement was brought to light—the transgression of the budget, the secret loans, and the ruinous money transactions of former years. It is true that there was little use in disputing over spilt milk; and the sharp criticism of the Lower House, and its votes of want of confidence, which ministers combated in vain by promises, threats, and the interference of the Upper House, only helped the enemies of the Constitution in hastening the fall of Schmerling.

During Count Rechberg's administration of foreign affairs, the relations of Austria with Prussia and Germany had become so difficult that a prolongation of the quarrel with Hungary and with the provinces represented in the Reichsrath would have been a grave danger for the Empire. After the assembly of German Princes, convoked by the Emperor at Frankfort in 1863, to reform the confederation, had been dispersed through Prussian opposition, Count Bismarck ingeniously contrived to destroy the popularity of the Austrian federal policy. He induced Rechberg to join him in taking the Schleswig-Holstein question out of the hands of the German popular movement, and of the middle and smaller States, and, under the pretext of a federal execution, to offer a gross insult to the whole German Confederation. Rechberg, after his retirement, recognised the fiasco he had made, when he saw that Prussia had all the profit, while the expense was borne by Austria. Count Mensdorff Pouilly, who succeeded him in October 1864, was unable, all at once, to break off the one-sided alliance with Prussia; for such a rupture could neither amend the external relations of the Empire with the Confederation, nor improve its internal situation. Russia also was deeply offended with Austria on account of her share in the diplomatic pressure of the Western Powers during the Polish crisis in 1863; and there was something alarming in the new relationship of France with Italy, as evidenced by

the Convention of September 1864. Still, the Prussian alliance was becoming daily more imperilled—on the Austrian side by the increasing divergencies in the Duchies, and on the Prussian side from a calculation of the consequences of those growing difficulties in which Austria was involved with Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia. During the summer of 1865 an open rupture was prevented by the Convention of Gastein (August 14-20); but it was substantially nothing but a personal interchange of good-will between the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia.

Count Bismarck could well afford to allow this. Through his agents in Austria he was sufficiently acquainted with the opinions of parties to know that a reactionary change made by Esterhazy, a minister without portfolio, in order to effect the fall of Schmerling, would largely contribute to increase the confusion. The Reichsrath had been closed on the 27th of July, in order that the Diets of the eastern portions of the Empire might be opened, when Count Belcredi, the Governor of Bohemia, was called to replace Schmerling. The very first steps of the new "Ministry of Counts" were enough to assure the Prussian Premier that the Empire was verging on that ruin which he had been long providing for, and warned him to complete his diplomatic and military resources for the occasion. He was not deceived. After negotiations with the old Hungarian Conservative party, which seem to have given assurance that the Diet would probably debate upon proposals concerning the relation of the kingdom to other parts of the monarchy, an imperial manifesto was issued on the 20th of September. It announced that, pending the negotiations with Hungary and Croatia, the elections of the Imperial Parliament would be suspended, and with them also the Lesser Reichsrath, since it was legally impossible to debate constitutionally in one part of the Empire the same measure which was enacted by the Emperor's fiat in another. This subordination of the Empire to the kingdom did not fail to produce a popular impression in Hungary, although the soberer portion of the press lamented the suppression of the Lesser Reichsrath, which might have acted without prejudice to the negotiations. The manœuvre was made the subject of public rejoicings in Bohemia and Galicia; but the German populations were indignant at the temporary return to absolutism, which only retained the provincial parliaments till it had ascertained and decided on the results of the negotiations with Hungary and Croatia, and had published its own arbitrary decrees. The German deputies met the

manifesto with a protest and a reply; and when it was submitted to the sixteen parliaments of the Slavo-German provinces in their November session, those of Upper and Lower Austria, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and the Vorarlberg, unanimously voted that the constitution of February was still valid. In Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola, the German minorities did likewise; only Goritz, Trieste, Dalmatia, and Tyrol expressed no opinion. Galicia, Bukovina, and the Czech majority in Bohemia, voted addresses of thanks to the Government. The reply to these addresses was a promise that the Emperor should be crowned as King of Bohemia; and it thus became clear that the Ministry had resolved to rely on the federalist Slaves, the ecclesiastical absolutists, and the feudal aristocrats, against the German constitutionalists. This made the Slavonic majorities in the mixed provinces intolerably arrogant. The Czechs of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia began to claim a political isolation under the crown of St. Wenceslaus, like that of Hungary under the crown of St. Stephen.

Meantime the difficulties with Hungary had not been overcome; and the old conservative party in its struggles with that of Deak had only shown its utter incapacity. Deak's party had drawn up its programme on the 11th of November. The Government had previously endeavoured to meet one of its demands—the restoration of the territorial integrity of the crown of St. Stephen, or the reunion of the dependencies which had been separated from Hungary since 1849—by submitting to the representatives of Transylvania and Croatia a plan for restoring the ancient union. This extraordinary condescension, however, did not induce the Magyars to abate anything of their other demands. The complications in the remaining provinces, and the danger of war both in the north and south, gave them the game into their own hands; and Belcredi's policy had nothing else to depend on than the anti-centralist tendencies of the Western Slaves, and the separatist velleities of Galicia. The Emperor, when he went to Pesth to open the Diet, was received with great enthusiasm. Certain passages of the royal speech of the 14th of December, which solemnly disavowed the "invalidation theory," and recognised the territorial integrity of the crown of St. Stephen, the ancient local constitution, and the legality of the reforms of 1848, were vociferously applauded. But at the same time, the speech made the coronation of the Emperor as King of Hungary conditional on a previous understanding with the Empire concerning the treat-

ment of common affairs, and made the validity of the legislation of 1848 contingent on a previous revision. Deak's programme put forward conditions exactly the reverse. He demanded first of all the recognition of the continuity of the constitutional rights of Hungary, which involved the unconditional restoration of the national municipal and communal constitutions, and also the unrevised legislation of 1848, with a responsible Hungarian ministry; then only, and not before, the assembly would be able to negotiate on the management of common affairs, and the revision of the laws of 1848. This point of right was inflexibly adhered to in two addresses, of the 26th of February and the 25th of April 1866, in answer to the Emperor's speech and the rescript of the 3d of March. Neither party came a step nearer to agreement. The negotiations were stopped; and when the war began the Diet was adjourned. The inflexibility of Deak's party was the cause of this situation. But the honesty of their conviction that the connection of Hungary with Austria was no accident, but an organic necessity, was manifested before the adjournment, by the appointment of a commission of sixty-seven deputies (fifty-two Hungarians and fifteen Transylvanians) to draw up a plan for the management of the common affairs.

The history of the war of 1866 only enters in a general way into the present argument. Prussia had lost nothing by the ten months in which Belcredi had been allowed to reduce the Empire to a state of such thorough dissolution that its populations were but contingently interested in its preservation. The political consciousness of Austria was scarcely less eclipsed by his administration than it had been by the events of 1848. But now the result was not the work of a revolution; and the depression was most sensible in those nationalities whose political energies had at other times been most vigorous. That Prussia had counted upon this depression as the most important factor for her decisive stroke was proved by the behaviour of her army in Bohemia, by the proclamations of her generals, addressed to the magnanimous and glorious Czech nation and professing a sympathy with the claims of the Slaves, by the formation of Klapka's legion of Hungarian deserters and prisoners, and by the manifesto to Hungary.

After the Peace of Prague, when Austria was on the brink of utter ruin, it was clear that her only chance was to collect her energies for a last attempt to reconstruct her political organization. Her sole hope lay in the reconciliation of her populations to one another and to the Government. The first

step was to satisfy the claims of Hungary. This had now become the turning-point of Austrian unity. The Hungarians had offered a passive resistance to Schmerling, and under Belcredi's wavering policy had firmly maintained their claims; and now, after the war, they knew that the Empire, driven from its position in Germany and Italy, must, if it would remain a first-class Power, make its peace with them. It no longer pertained to the Empire, but to Hungary, to say what must be the conditions. The Government had no alternative but to accept any compromise the Hungarians might offer, if it in any way provided for the interests of the Empire. The Hungarian Diet had not been closed, but only adjourned, leaving its commission to consider the general terms of a compromise. The commanding position of Hungary after the war made it clear that the commission would not give up an iota of the claims put forward in the addresses of February and April. It proposed to re-establish the union of Hungary with the rest of the monarchy on the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, under a sovereign of the House of Austria, and with a common transaction of affairs for both groups of provinces, with common and reciprocal obligations. Thus a more real union than had hitherto been proposed by the Hungarian Parliament was indicated. At the same time, meetings of the most influential members of the various German Parliaments were held at Vienna, to agree upon a common plan of opposition to Belcredi's suspension of the constitution. In spite of their bitter animosity to his system, and of their unanimous determination to maintain the constitution of February, they also saw that they must and could avoid quarrelling with Hungary, since the position of Hungary did not exclude her moral co-operation with the other half of the monarchy. But neither the Hungarian nor the German tendencies suited Belcredi's purpose. He went on negotiating with both sides officially, semi-officially, privately, confidentially, but always uselessly. Even the friends on whom he depended — aristocrats, ecclesiastical absolutists, and federalists — more or less deserted him after the war; and the only success he could boast was the doubtful one that the complementary elections for the mixed Diets exhibited a Slavonic majority.

At the beginning of the war, when the King of Saxony with his army entered Austria, he was accompanied by the President of his Council, Baron Beust. At the conclusion of the war, when Saxony made peace with Prussia, this man became a victim of Prussian policy; his dismissal was

made by Count Bismarck a primary condition of the peace. Though the minister of a small State, he had frequently been concerned in questions of European importance; and instructed public opinion had already designated him as the proper guide for Austria in her foreign affairs. By a curious coincidence, he had taken a peculiar part in the Prussian crisis which ended with Count Bismarck's elevation to the Premiership: and Count Bismarck's hostility to him did not begin in 1866, but dates from these previous and little-known circumstances. A short time after the Peace of Prague, it was proposed to make him foreign minister. He had had ample means of studying the affairs of Austria, and had also become acquainted with her populations. But his position only gave him a single voice in the Council of Ministers, and that not a decisive one in home affairs. There were many people who, at his accession to office, thought it safe to predict for him a speedy fall, as soon as he proved an obstacle to Belcredi and Esterhazy. The public at large received him with little confidence, and with small expectation of his liberal principles being carried out. For they did not reflect on the peculiar conditions which affected the system he had administered amongst the middle States. Napoleon III. showed that he understood him better, when he said to him, "Saxony is too small for you." His first act as minister was to issue the pacific circular of the 2d November, in which he defined his position. In this circular he protested that he came to his post perfectly free from all resentment and all predilection, and that the Imperial Government, whose urgent duty it was to efface the traces of a disastrous war, would remain faithful to its policy of peace and conciliation. On the Emperor's return to Vienna, Baron Beust received the further appointment of Minister of the Imperial Household.

On the 19th of November, all the provincial parliaments met to carry on the negotiations, which had been interrupted by the war. The rescript sent to Pesth on this occasion assented to the proposals of the Hungarian Parliamentary Commission, and acknowledged that they comprised the principal points for the compromise, and that the regulation of common affairs was possible on their basis. It declared that the army and navy, customs, taxes, debts, and credit, should be reckoned common affairs; and it conceded a separate responsible ministry for Hungary, and the restoration of its municipal self-government. During the progress of the debate at Pesth on the reply to this rescript, the acts of the other provincial par-



liaments were published. The exclusively German ones were in sheer opposition to Belcredi's suspension system; the Slavonic majorities in Bohemia and Galicia exhibited their repugnance to the constitution of February; and in several of the mixed provinces a middle party imposed silence on the constitutional minority. At last came the reply of the Hungarian Parliament. It expressed a loyal sense of the measures proposed in the imperial rescript, contingent, however, on the previous fulfilment of the promised restoration of the constitution. Further negotiations were opened at Vienna with the deputation which brought the answer from Pesth, to which place Baron Beust went on the 21st of December with the Hungarian Chancellor. It appeared certain that this business had been taken out of the irresolute hands of Belcredi and the reactionists, and that the lock in the Cabinet was at an end. Still Beust's original and comprehensive ideas had by no means prevailed. Many such brave beginnings had within the last twenty years withered beneath the powerful Court influence of the Austrian nobility and clergy. It was not likely that a foreigner, a Protestant, a "small baron," should succeed in breaking down the bulwark of tenacious traditions, exclusive interests, and inveterate prejudices. Or, if he gained a momentary success, there were still intriguers and flatterers to catch him in their more deceitful toils. Again, there was no demonstration that he was really master of any extraordinary ideas, bold schemes, or daring resolutions, or that he had the energy and prudence to carry them out. In his new career he had not yet succeeded: in his old one he had been baffled. Thus the year 1866 was drawing to a close, amidst the intense expectation of the patriots, when suddenly, just at its end, on the 28th of December, a purely absolutist decree ordered the immediate completion of the army, and a new regulation of public defence for the whole Empire, except the military frontier. The whole negotiation was in jeopardy. The Hungarian Diet, in a protest of the 13th of January 1867, warned the Emperor that such violations of the cardinal principles of the constitution would render any compromise impossible. But a patent had already been issued ten days previously, which made it clear to the non-Hungarian provinces that the Belcredi manifesto of September 1865 had suspended not merely the action of the Reichsrath, but the constitution itself. This patent of the 2d of January revealed the meaning of the Government in decreeing the new army regulations, as well as the financial arrange-

ments of 1867, which had been dealt with in another patent of the 30th of December 1866. For it treated the constitution of February as non-existent, by convoking the Cis-Leithan representatives to an extraordinary Imperial Assembly for the 25th of February, and by dissolving the provincial parliaments, and ordering new elections, so that these parliaments might meet on the 11th of February, though they were only to do so in order to elect members for the extraordinary Reichsrath, which in its turn was only to debate on the constitutional question. And it was clear that the ministry did not wish to revive the constitution; for the alteration of the order of elections for the Reichsrath was an indirect hint to the Slavonic majorities in Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia, and elsewhere, to exclude all Germans and constitutionalists from the representation. Notwithstanding this desperate game, the constitutional opposition kept itself within the limits of legality. In preserving this attitude it was much helped by the situation of Hungary, where Beust, assisted by the restored political exiles, Andrassy, Eötvös, and Lonyay, was rapidly progressing towards a settlement. Though it was believed that his efforts in favour of the Cis-Leithan constitution were neutralized by the Cabinet of Counts, yet his influence was relied upon; and great encouragement was given to the opposition by the declaration of the Hungarians, in their protest of the 13th of January, that the object of the Pragmatic Sanction could only be attained by the establishment of real constitutionalism not only in Hungary but also in the other provinces. This was the first expression of constitutional solidarity between the two halves of the Empire. The elections in February showed the resolution of the German public. In the German provinces, the constitutionalists were in the majority; but in Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola the national antipathies bore their usual fruit. Meanwhile a crisis occurred in the Cabinet. Baron Beust threatened to resign if the scheme of the extraordinary Reichsrath were not abandoned, and if the Lesser Reichsrath were not convoked for the parliamentary treatment of the constitutional question. He gained his point. A complete rupture was made with the system hitherto prevailing; and an Imperial decree of the 4th of February restored the operation of the constitution of February so far as it did not affect the compromise with Hungary. Three days afterwards, Belcredi and Esterhazy were dismissed; and Beust then became President of the Cabinet. Deak was called to Vienna, and received in spe-

cial audience by the Emperor; and the opening of the provincial parliaments was adjourned to the 18th of February. By this time the compromise had been effected, and a responsible Hungarian ministry had been appointed. These events justified the language of Beust's circular of the 11th of February addressed to the provincial governors and officials. The intentions of the Government, he said, were by no means uncertain, as the progress of events would show; the compromise with Hungary was the fruit of the suspension of the constitution; and now the approbation of the Cis-Leithan countries was necessary to consolidate the arrangement: it was not the province of the Government to decide whether, or how far, the constitution had been violated in these difficult arrangements, and it had therefore become its duty to call together the constitutional representatives; it would submit to them the changes in the constitution, which the compromise had rendered necessary, for its intention was not to interfere with the freedom of the Reichsrath: nevertheless it was confident that a patriotic intelligence would see how much Austria would gain by forswearing the irresolute policy of the past, and how much she would lose if that policy were still continued: any further claims could only be satisfied at the expense of the strength of the Empire.

Thus the principles of the revived constitution were clearly defined; and the question now was whether the practice would answer to the theory. It was a time of deliberate and decisive measures. In the first place, there was a congress of members of the German provincial parliaments, who, though they feared that exorbitant concessions would be made to Hungary, abstained from any agitation till the measures should be proposed by Government to the Reichsrath. In the second place, an assembly of Slavonic deputies tried to limit the competency of the Reichsrath by federalist conditions. At this point the Government, in concert with the Hungarian ministers, proclaimed that the compromise was effected, decreed the acts necessary for its execution, and named constitutional presidents for the Cis-Leithan parliaments. On the 16th of February, Count Mailath, the Hungarian Chancellor, was dismissed, and his office suppressed; on the 17th, the proclamation just referred to was made; on the 18th, at the opening of the Landtag, the change of system was announced, and a number of bills introduced to consolidate the new constitutional life of the Empire. The proclamation, and the suspension of the decree concerning the army, were received with enthusiasm in the Hun-

garian Parliament. On the 20th, the Hungarian Cabinet was completed. Count Andrássy was President, Count Festetics Minister *a latere*, Baron Eötvös of Worship, Baron Wenckheim of the Interior, Count Miko of Public Works, Herr von Lonyay of Finance, Herr Horwath of Justice, and Herr von Gorove of Trade. At this moment, when the Government needed to be left in peace to prepare the bills to be laid before the Reichsrath, an address was carried in the Bohemian Parliament by a majority of 156 to 76, declaring that it would send no deputies to the Reichsrath unless that body were reduced to a simple consultative assembly. The reply to this vote was an immediate dissolution of the Bohemian Parliament on the 26th of February. This, however, did not prevent the Parliaments of Moravia and Carniola from following the example of their Czech kinsmen, and they too were dissolved on the 1st of March. The prompt action of the Government was not without effect; and the appeals to the people resulted in the election of three constitutional parliaments, which fully allowed the competence of the Reichsrath. The Reichsrath was not assembled before the 20th of May, nor the convoking patent issued before the 20th of April, because it was necessary that the Hungarian Parliament should have previously accepted a compromise compatible with imperial government. Here also there were difficulties: the democratic party in the Hungarian Parliament maintained an obstinate fight for ten days in favour of the merely personal union; and the victory, at one time considered doubtful, was only obtained by a brilliant speech from Deak, which was followed by a division of 257 against 117 on the 30th of March. In the Upper House the compromise was unanimously accepted, after an insignificant opposition, on the 3d of April.

And now the regeneration of the Eastern part of the monarchy seemed to be accomplished; and Baron Beust was entitled to regard with complacency the results of his system and of his efforts. But he could not forget that as yet he had only half finished his task of reconstruction; for he had to persuade the Reichsrath to accept, *après coup*, a compromise on which it had not been consulted, and he had to establish the constitutional institutions of the Western portion of the Empire on another base of compromise altogether foreign to Hungarian wants and tendencies. As long as there was no ministry for the Cis-Leithan portion of the Empire, this whole responsibility rested on Baron Beust himself, although he had provisionally intrusted special departments

—War, Public Worship, Finance, and the Home-Office—to a few thorough Constitutionalists. He was quite aware that the constitutional German majority in the Reichsrath, though liberal, was also for the most part centralizing, and therefore could not be absolutely counted upon either for the compromise or for any other special question. And the Slaves were indignant at having, for the first time since 1861, lost those majorities in the mixed parliaments which they had hitherto preserved by an alliance with the feudalists and ecclesiastical absolutists. Under the dualism their hopes of ever regaining their influence were slight; whereas under a federalist system they had expected in time to win over the Germans of the mixed provinces to their side. Their leaders, encouraged and assisted from without, then threw themselves into the arms of the Russian Propaganda. The pilgrimage to Moscow was a demonstration not altogether insignificant against Austria. For although her Slavonic populations were but slightly moved, yet it showed clearly what dangers might threaten Austria, Germany, and Central Europe from that quarter, especially when the semi-official press of Prussia, clearly acting under instructions, patronized the movement, in spite of the public feeling against it in German Austria, Germany, and Hungary. It has since become known, through publications of Baron Werther, the Prussian Envoy, and others, that Count Bismarck, even after the Peace of Prague, still kept up an extensive diplomatic intercourse with the non-German populations of Austria, in order to throw difficulties in the way of the consolidation of the Empire. The Emperor opened the Reichsrath on the 22d of May, the Upper House having received an addition of twenty-four new life-members, all representatives of science and of liberal views. His speech treated the compromise with Hungary as a fact already completed, and simply expressed a hope that the Reichsrath would not refuse assent to it, seeing how advantageous it was for the position of Austria in Europe, and what security it gave, not only for the constitutional government and liberties of Hungary, but also, as a necessary consequence, for those of the other provinces. To these, it intimated, any autonomic reforms that did not endanger the integrity of the Empire would be granted. A bill was then brought in to establish ministerial responsibility, and another to modify the obnoxious 13th article of the constitution; financial reforms were promised; and the foreign policy was defined as one free from all ideas of retaliation. Meantime the negotiations with Hungary had

advanced so far that there was no obstacle to the coronation of the Emperor as King of Hungary; and the ceremony took place on the 8th of June. The Reichsrath had simply to accept the fact. The Chamber of Deputies did so, because it gave them ground for putting forward all the more resolutely their own demands for a thorough change in the system of government, for concessions analogous to those granted to Hungary, and, to crown all, for a revision of the concordat. The tenor of the address of the Upper House was similar, but more cautious in its demands, and more reserved with regard to the dualism of the Empire. Thus an interchange of programmes had taken place between the Government and the representatives; and it was now in the power of the Parliament of both parts of the monarchy to secure the freedom of the people. The subsequent proceedings of the Parliament may be passed over with all brevity; but the attitude of the Government should be noticed.

For President of the Lower House the Emperor selected the Mayor of Brünn, Dr. Giskra, a liberal and constitutionalist, and for President of the Upper House, Prince Charles von Auersperg, a liberal, and a very popular man. The address was accepted, with only two dissentients, in the Upper House, chiefly in consequence of Count Beust's clear and masterly vindication of his proceedings, and partly through the eloquence of Professor Herbst. The opposition came from the feudal and clerical elements of Bohemia, Tyrol, and Galicia. In Hungary, the Emperor celebrated his coronation by a general political amnesty, which was a few days later extended to the other parts of the monarchy. At this date, the 20th of June, conferences were held between the Imperial and Hungarian Cabinets on the one hand, and the most influential members of the Reichsrath on the other; and both parties agreed to a plan, proposed by Deak, that a delegation from the Reichsrath should meet another from the Hungarian Parliament, to settle between them the details of the common concerns of the Empire, each delegation having equal right and authority. Thus the dualism was not merely accepted as a principle, but reduced to practice. These delegations had first to settle their forms of procedure, and then to arrange the common financial affairs of the two parts of the Empire. To pave the way for this, it was necessary to know the exact situation of the revenue. A committee was appointed for this purpose on the 5th of July, and it received from the minister a detailed account beginning at the year 1861.

It appeared that the national debt amounted to 3,046,000,000 florins, the annual interest on the same to 127,000,000, and an annual quota of 24,000,000 to a sinking fund; and when the committee put the natural question, whether there was any prospect of emerging honourably from this deplorable situation, the minister replied with a most confident affirmative. At this stage of the proceedings, before the committee could arrange the ways and means, it was thought necessary that there should be a responsible ministry for the Cis-Leithan portion of the Empire, for the purpose of protecting the financial interests of those provinces in the debates of the delegations. But the leaders of the Lower House of the Reichsrath, when invited by Count Beust to accept the charge, all declined, on the ground that they could not pledge themselves to morally contract the compromise on the conditions contracted with Hungary by the Crown. It is a characteristic defect of Austrian liberalism to underrate gains which it had previously regarded as impossible, and to criticise them instead of accepting them, and using them for its own consolidation and development. It may seem commonplace simply to put one's-self at the head of a movement already formed, and inherit rather than win the position; but it is also true that want of organizing power and tact exposes the flank of liberalism to dangerous attacks. The parliamentary leaders exhibited this characteristic defect at the time of the final settlement of Beust's great work. Hence the formation of a parliamentary ministry had to be delayed until the compromise had become law; and thus the Reichsrath and the delegations could only receive the financial report, without being able to take action upon it, before the adjournment on the 25th of July. The financial commission indicated that the surest, though uneven, road towards financial reform, was the utmost possible extension of administrative self-government.

But this session of the Reichsrath was prolific of other results. The law of ministerial responsibility received the Emperor's sanction; and the 13th article of the Constitution, which reserved to the Government an almost unlimited right of suspension under certain contingencies, was abolished. The suppression of the office of Adjutant-General to the Emperor, on the 11th of July, gave the War Minister the same responsibility as his colleagues. With respect to ecclesiastical affairs, the Government had, not from principle but from policy, attempted to restrain the initiative of the Reichsrath. The germs of a conflict

appeared to exist when that body, disregarding the warnings of the Minister of Justice, determined to bring forward certain modifications of the law, tending to nullify the concordat in its most essential points.

It is impossible to enter into the details of the measures agreed upon by the delegations. Although the deputies of the Reichsrath, on account of the previous acceptance of the compromise, found their hands tied very closely, they nevertheless arranged with the Hungarians a common plan of operation. They resolved that, after deducting 25,000,000 from the national debt, and transferring it to the Cis-Leithan provinces, the rest should be divided between the two portions of the Empire in the ratio of 70 to 30. After 1869 a distinction was to be made between interest and sinking fund, the Hungarian contribution to the former being fixed at 29,000,000 (12,000,000 in silver), and to the latter at 1,150,000 florins. The Western provinces were to bear the sole cost of converting the various denominations of debt into a uniform consolidated debt, and to enjoy the sole benefit of whatever saving of interest was thereby effected. The two financial administrations were to be responsible each for its own deficit. Common burdens were only to be imposed with the consent of both parties, and were then to be levied in the same ratio of 70 to 30. The floating debt was to remain under the guarantee of the Empire. The railway guarantees were to be charged on the countries through which the railways ran. The customs-duties were appropriated to defray the expenses of the common affairs, residues to be divided in the ratio of 70 to 30. It was significant that these results were received with equal disfavour by the Reichsrath at Vienna and by the Diet at Pesth; but neither was able to substitute anything better. Each considered itself victimized for the other's advantage. It would have been impossible to make Hungary contribute more than the quota fixed; and the Western portion of the Empire was not saddled with much more than it had hitherto been bound to pay. When the Reichsrath, therefore, resumed its session on the 23d of September, the financial compromise, after much earnest debate, at last became law. It contained: (1.) a law upon the contributions of Hungary towards the common administration; (2.) a law regulating its contributions to the general national debt; and (3.) a customs and commercial convention for ten years.

Thus the Reichsrath, with great self-control, advanced the reconstruction of the Empire upon the dualistic principle; and,

while it fancied that it saw throughout the whole compromise a preference given to Hungarian over Cis-Leithan interests, it did not neglect to establish the affairs of the Western portion of the Empire upon liberal and constitutional principles, and to proceed logically and energetically to their execution. From the beginning, Beust had made the realization of his scheme depend upon the equally free constitutional development of both portions of the monarchy; and he never hesitated to acknowledge and promote it. It has been already mentioned that the first session of the Reichsrath revealed the germs of a conflict on the subject of the concordat, which the Government tried to avoid by pointing to the pending negotiations with Rome. But neither the creation of a Lutheran superior synod nor the withdrawal of the ambassador from Rome could avert the storm which had gathered strength in the recess. At the end of August, the Communal Council of Vienna resolved on a petition to the Reichsrath, for the abolition of the concordat. The more important communes of the Western provinces took the same line; and a general meeting of teachers at Vienna in September became a demonstration in the same sense. But the crisis was brought on by the Austrian Episcopate. Just after the re-opening of the Reichsrath, twenty-five bishops of the Western provinces, ignoring the existence of the constitution, directly petitioned the Emperor for the maintenance of the concordat. In the universal tempest which this proceeding excited, it was not forgotten that the bishops had qualified civil marriages as concubinage, and the free schools as anti-Christian. The Emperor's reply, after advising the petitioners to remain within their proper limits, directed them to apply to the ministers. In the Lower House, the marriage law proposed by the Confession Commission was accepted, which re-established the right of civil marriage; and a school law was passed, which left only the religious instruction to the clergy. Finally, in the beginning of 1868, a new plan was adopted for the regulation of inter-confessional affairs. Anticipating for a moment the chronological order of events, it should be observed that the acceptance of these three laws in the Upper House was preceded, in March 1868, by violent debates, in which all Europe took interest. Hungary had never, except in general terms, recognised the concordat; and therefore, as soon as the Emperor's sanction was given to these laws, Austria was emancipated from all unjust hierarchical control. Inveterate traditions had been

broken through; but the Church still retained her rich possessions under the guarantee of the State, and preserved her freedom in all really ecclesiastical matters. Meanwhile it was a logical consequence of their September petition, that the prelates of the Upper House, led by Cardinal Rauscher, should quit the House, with a protest, after the first reading of the marriage bill. But it might have appeared beforehand inconceivable that the Holy See should so forget its traditional prudence, and so ignore the exigencies of the time, as to issue the Papal allocution of June 1868. This allocution denounced the measures adopted with regard to the concordat, and the fundamental constitutional laws of December 1867, as "abominabiles leges," and declared all who had co-operated in making them, the Emperor of course included, to be liable to ecclesiastical censures. The long resistance of the Upper House to the three laws was an exception to its general attitude towards the progressive efforts of the Lower House. The debates proved that most of the opposition arose not from reactionary principles, but from fear of provoking an antagonism with the powerful influence of the clergy. In proportion to the small regard shown by Rome for the change in the relations between Church and State, and to the contempt and injustice with which the Pope denounced the constitutional regeneration of the Empire, was the ever growing flood of the movement against the concordat—a movement which sometimes threatened to become thoroughly anti-ecclesiastical. This seems to show that the real needs of the moment pointed rather to the policy of Herbst, and those who desired to proceed by means of positive confessional laws, than to the radical proposal of Mühlfeld and others, to abolish the concordat at once. The public at last was convinced that on all great questions the liberalism of the Upper House was on a par with that of the Lower, when it was remembered that neither the fundamental laws nor any of the reforms emanating from the Lower House had been rejected in principle, and that the Upper House had been satisfied with performing upon them the functions of a court of revision.

This progress of constitutionalism seemed to go on as a matter of course; it was only on looking back that it became apparent how marvellous was the change effected, how strong the position gained, and how secure its guarantees. Austria at the close of 1867 was already one of the freest constitutional monarchies on the Continent. On the 21st of December, the Emperor,

at the instance of the Reichsrath, ordered that all laws (including the alteration of the constitution of February, necessary to carry out the dualism) which were the titles of the constitutional rights and privileges of the people and their representatives, should be forthwith promulgated and come into operation. Liberal regulations on the right of public meeting and association had previously been published on the 20th of November. And now were added the equality of all subjects before the law; the admission to public offices of any capable subject; the free enjoyment of property; domestic and personal liberty; the liberty of the press; the inviolability of letters in the post-office; liberty of creeds, conscience, and science; the separation of judicial from administrative functions; the independence of the judge; the oath to the constitution, required from all officials, and their responsibility for all unconstitutional measures; the right of the representatives of the people on all matters of taxation and military conscription; the creation of an imperial parliamentary tribunal; and lastly, the enumeration, in the delegation law, of all the public and common concerns of the different provinces, and the method of their treatment. The Lower House at once appropriated its new rights; it elected Dr. Giskra, who had hitherto been President upon the Emperor's nomination, and named its deputies for the delegation before its adjournment. The Emperor then formed the ministry for the common affairs of the Empire. Count Beust became President, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Chancellor of the Empire—the last being an office which had been dormant since Metternich; Baron Becke was Minister of Finance, and Baron John, afterwards replaced by Baron Kuhn von Künenfeld, of War. At the close of the year also, the ministry for the countries represented by the Reichsrath was completed. Plener became Minister of Commerce; Hasner von Artha, of Worship and Education; Potocki, of Agriculture; Giskra, of the Interior; Herbst, of Justice; Brestl, of Finance; Berger, without portfolio; and Taase, of National Defence and Public Security. Prince Auer-sperg, who had withdrawn from parliamentary life when Belcredi violated the privileges of the Reichsrath, was chosen to pre-side over this combination.

The complete change effected by the constitutional laws and the parliamentary ministry had the effect of silencing that systematic pessimism with which the opposition regarded everything that was given and done, and which they made rather an

end than a means. They had been in the habit of opposing a minister simply because he was minister. But the Chancellor Beust, though his position had been difficult at first, had now become the most popular man in the Empire. Still, however, he was looked upon as a foreigner, a Protestant, an exotic accident. It was difficult for a man to realize not being in opposition, though the ministers were the very men whom he had been following till yesterday, as the acknowledged leaders of the majority. Thus it was long before a great ministerial party could be formed in the Reichsrath. Yet such a party would have been most valuable at the beginning of the year. For the enemies of the new order of things availed themselves of this moment, their last chance, to make a combined assault. The Czechs and their allies in Bohemia began the year with demonstrations against Dr. Herbst, the dualism, and the new constitution. In Hungary the democratic demagogues agitated against the compromise, the Deak party, and the Government, in order to get a majority in the Diet, and thus secure the election of delegates for the consideration of common affairs, who would make any agreement contingent on the acceptance of their chimerical dogma of "personal union." The finance of the Western provinces, which imposed great sacrifices on the taxpayers, seemed the most available topic there for the preachers of discontent. The clerical party had tried to make the confessional laws serve the turn, while the Upper House was discussing them. And the social democracy availed itself of the right of meeting and public association, to disseminate socialism amongst the artisans of the towns. Under this threatening aspect of affairs the delegations met. The Hungarian jealousy of being swallowed up in the Empire had insisted upon a method of proceeding which would have paralysed the new constitution in its cradle, had not the practical necessity of working out the problem transcended the speculative need of solving the theorem. It had been provided that each matter should be separately discussed by each delegation, and then simply voted on—yes or no—without debate, in a common session. Thus at first the negotiations were merely mechanical. But at last the two sets of delegates met together at their clubs and in these non-official sittings amended the mistake of their official fetters. In this way they soon arrived at an understanding, the more readily as the Reichsrath delegation yielded on many of the points objected to by the Hungarians. They soon settled

the questions connected with the expenses of the army, foreign affairs, and finance, without any essential modification of the proposals laid before them; and the sum on which they had to decide was one of 110,968,000 florins. A little later the session was closed with the Imperial sanction of its votes. But its great event had been Baron Beust's Red-book, which began the regular publication of the series of papers relating to diplomatic transactions, and their parliamentary discussion, for the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It was an irrevocable mark of completeness stamped upon the constitution. The series of documents gave evidence of a consequent, unimpassioned, clear, and uniform policy, inspiring confidence both by its directness and its persistent freedom. The despatches are written with tranquillity; and the proceedings they record are conciliatory, and at the same time calculated to preserve the dignity of the Empire. This pacific policy suited the actual needs of both portions of the monarchy, and was a guarantee that for the future the Government would not lightly risk the regular development of internal prosperity. The semi-official Prussian press violently attacked the Red-book and its author, and suggested to the Hungarians that this pacific policy was intended to cover intrigues for future retaliation. These attacks had an effect contrary to that intended. For, in the Hungarian parliament, the extreme right and left, which had hitherto listened with much complaisance to the whispers of Prussia, now protested against them; and in the West all parties except the Czechs appreciated the real motive of the Prussian irritation. It was clearly not agreeable at Berlin to see that the tendency of Austria's home affairs was to keep the Western provinces out of the map of war, and that the Chancellor intended to direct foreign policy in conformity with the authority of Parliament—a concession demanded in vain from Count Bismarck by the North German Parliament.

Under such conditions the Reichsrath could with confidence set about finishing the new regulations. The President of the Upper House, Prince Colorado Mansfeld, opened the session on the 10th of February, with a welcome to the newly elected deputies, and with a declaration of his conviction that they represented the earnest wishes of the great majority of the country. For the first time since the establishment of the dualism the Archdukes took their seats—a significant hint to the reactionary party of the nobles. In the Chamber of Deputies, where Kaiserfeld had replaced

Giskra in the chair, the first utterance of the new ministry came from Prince Auer-sperg. He loyally acknowledged the principle of the dualism, which, if it did not promote unity, at least advanced unanimity. With reference to the agitations in Bohemia, dangerous alike to the Constitution and the Empire, he declared the intention of ministers to protect the constitution as a common and inalienable possession, to preserve the legislative authority of the Reichsrath as the palladium of popular freedom, to maintain unfettered the just self-government of each province and kingdom, and at the same time to put down whatever threatened the quiet constitutional development of the State. A few days later Dr. Giskra gave a detailed account of the programme of the Government. He disclaimed any actual separation of countries historically connected, promising them only a larger autonomy, and some measure of administrative decentralization. These were the turning-points of the policy announced at the beginning of the year. The chief debates of the session were those of the Lower House on the reform of the administration in March, and those of the Upper House on the confessional laws. After the Easter holidays the debates turned chiefly on points of economy: the most important were those on railways. Several concessions of new lines were made; and the railway policy of the past was sharply criticised. The commercial treaty with the Zollverein was also approved. Both Houses spent the following months in animated debates on the revenue and expenditure. In May the constitutional laws received some additions,—one to regulate the immediate elections to the Reichsrath; another to abolish the Council of State, which had become meaningless since the establishment of ministerial responsibility; and another to fix the salaries of the ministers, and to regulate the orders of the day in the Reichsrath. The object of the financial debates was a balance between revenue and expenditure—an object which every one knew was unattainable, but towards which all tended with great earnestness. The Finance Minister Brestl, in bringing forward the budget for 1868, avoided the declaration of bankruptcy, which he must have been sorely tempted to make, but did not effect much more. The deputies were not well prepared for the debates; for the budget commission and sub-committee had treated the matter with much confusion, and there were moments when the final decisions seemed like the moves in a desperate game of chance. It is satisfactory that the proposed reduction of

interest by 25 per cent. was abandoned for the 20 per cent. tax on coupons, which has not essentially or continuously affected the foreign credit of the Empire. Important laws were voted for the control of the national debt, for its conversion, for increasing the deductions from lottery-prizes, for a further sale of Crown lands, and for legalizing a floating debt of 25 millions. These measures, with a considerable increase of taxes, great economy in the departments, and a more careful collection of income, reduced the deficit on the Budget of 1868 to 51,000,000 florins, and effected a further estimated reduction of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions on that of 1869.

Since the pilgrimage to Moscow the Czech movement had been growing stronger, and continually giving a more unreasonable expression to its separatist tendencies. The Reichsrath was only so far affected by the matter, that the deputies elected under protest by the Bohemian Parliament refused to take their seats; and they were thereupon declared to have forfeited them. But the Government could not make such short work of the movement whilst it seemed possible to come to a compromise with the Czechs on constitutional principles, or to gain them over to political union with Western Austria. Before Schmerling's administration, they had professed a strong antagonism to the Germans within their territories; and since the February patent they had taken up the narrow idea of a separate Czech right, and a Bohemian crown, which was alleged to have been conceded, in Belcredi's October diploma. Under this banner war was declared against the dualism and against the Reichsrath. Inasmuch as these agitations were directed against modern constitutionalism, they commanded the adherence of the feudalists and clericals; and inasmuch as they attacked the political unity of the Western portion of the Empire, they enlisted the sympathies of the Czech nationalists. Upon these conditions the coalition of the parties is based. There is no truth in the ordinary distinction between the Taborite-democratic and the feudo-clerical parties: the only question for them all is that of opportunity. When the people grew tired of the demonstrations against the Constitution, an occasion to revive them was afforded by the financial measures adopted to lessen the deficit, and the consequent inroad made upon the pocket. The new right of public meeting gave an opening for "Tabors" and "Besedas," or meetings for political stage-plays, significant ecclesiastical solemnities and commemorations, and tumults express-

ly intended to excite the population against the taxes. In some places these efforts were successful. Negotiations carried on by the Chancellor of the Empire in person proved fruitless; for the leaders rejected all concessions which involved any recognition of the constitution. When the Bohemian Parliament assembled, the Czech members who had been elected in 1867 protested against its legality; and the national press and the mob sympathized so strongly with this last interpretation of Bohemian rights, that the Government, with the assent of the constitutionalist liberals, was at last obliged to secure order in the city and province of Prague by suspending the right of public meeting and association. This exceptional condition lasted from the 10th of October 1868 to the 28th of April 1869. But the Czechs have not recovered a sounder mind. Their claims are founded on an excessive passion for nationality. They do not merely demand equal privileges, in which case an arrangement would be easy; but they wish for ascendancy and the power to oppress. It is not out of any respect for their aristocratic and clerical allies that the Bohemian liberals insist on national emancipation. On the other hand, the Germans in Bohemia are necessarily constitutionalists, since they rely exclusively on the Government for protection. A considerable time must elapse before the Czechs will be contented with that large measure of autonomy which the Austrian Constitution grants to the other provinces. But Bohemia can never become a vital question like Hungary. The position of the Czech party lacks both truth and justice. It is a struggle of the lower against the higher civilisation, and of the prejudices of race against the modern idea of the State. It is an alliance with Muscovitism against Western progress, utterly unlike the demand of Hungary for equality in the Austrian commonwealth. Austria is perfectly justified in opposing such intemperate demands. A considerable party in Galicia advances claims similar to those of the Czechs; but its leaders (aware that the Ruthenian majority, on account of the favour shown to the Poles, inclines towards Russia) neither have transgressed nor intend to transgress the bounds of legal opposition to the Constitution. However wild the agitation, the question will be always one of degree—how much autonomy can be granted to the province. The Poles, whose deathless dogma is the revival of the political independence of their country, aim at what, under present circumstances, would be simply a declaration of war against Russia. But this is beyond both the will



and the power of Austria. Thus the question of Galician autonomy becomes one rather of foreign than of home policy, complicated, however, by the impossibility of contenting the Poles, even with large concessions. But then the Poles consider their position only provisional; and, against the coming conflict, they regard Galicia as the most powerful weapon of Austria against Russia, and perhaps also against Prussia, the Czar's faithful ally. This was shown by the fact that, though the Radicals in the Galician Parliament carried a resolution which in strictness would have excluded its deputies from the Reichsrath, nevertheless at the opening of the session they all took their seats.

The last quarter of this long session, which began on the 17th of October 1868, was not so splendid or dramatic as the others. There was no constitution to rebuild, no compromise to fight for, no concordat to review. All this had been done, and was bearing its fruit, although there was a puerile and misdirected zeal which considered that the harvest yielded only straw. But as the mission of the previous quarters had been to lay a foundation of constitutional principles, the Reichsrath had now to give them their practical application. Since the beginning of the year, the Government and the Parliament had been vying with each other in consolidating the constitutional life, in giving it air and freedom, and guarding it against the return of former evils. The equality before the law paralysed the bishops' opposition to the marriage law. The religious equality secured to all dissenters the free exercise of their civil and religious duties. The emancipation of the schools was completed by the appointment of secular inspectors in all the provinces. That Rome had by this time learned the value of the share yet left to the clergy in regulating schools was shown only a few weeks ago, by the permission granted to the clergy to accept a place on the Board of Inspectors whenever the communists elected them. Before the close of 1868, the military law, based upon the liability of all males to serve, and accepted with amendments by Hungary, was in vigour. If the alteration of the penal code, on the principles of publicity and oral examination, could not as yet be effected, at least the press benefited by the establishment of a jury to try its offences—the highest guarantee for the liberty of the press, which in turn is the fundamental condition of the progress of liberal legislation. The parliamentary organization of the Imperial tribunal for preserving the

constitutional rights of citizens, showed its importance in the case of the so-called "competence conflicts" in all the provinces. And thus the Emperor, in the speech with which he closed the Reichsrath on the 15th of May 1869, was justified in declaring that the Constitution was the true ground on which the populations of Austria might come, and ought to come, to a mutual understanding, and in adding his hope that at the next meeting those who had as yet refused to share in the common work would be found in their places. The *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, after the Emperor's speech, admitted that the Czechs could not reasonably hope to overthrow the dualism; and even the Prussian press, though accustomed to bestow its sympathies now on one, now on another, of the Austrian populations, granted that the Empire had made a considerable advance in the way of its regeneration.

It is not necessary to enter into the debates of the Hungarian Diet, or to describe the exciting struggles of the Radicals at the elections last spring, when the Deak party maintained its position, carried its address, and confirmed the Andrassy ministry. It is more profitable to consider what is the present position of the monarchy. Where for centuries the absolutism of the crown and mitre had prevailed, no one could expect to see the sudden and uniform establishment of free principles in every department of Government. Notwithstanding the best intentions, isolated phenomena arising out of former conditions must from time to time occur. Such natural accidents are to be met with in Austria. The development of her political and religious freedom has had to overcome immense obstacles on both sides. Above, there was an Imperial court and a nobility which had for scores of years been accustomed to oppose change, and to regard the spirit of progress with freezing coldness. And below, there was a populace educated exclusively by a clergy inaccessible to the influences of liberal government. It was impossible for any statesmanlike reformer to disregard these elements. To do so would have been to provoke a certain reaction. But Austria, though yet far from her ideal, has, since Sadowa, accomplished wonders. The regeneration of the Empire upon the bold scheme of Beust is progressing with ample strides. And it must not be forgotten that it proceeds upon the natural, historical, and traditional condition of the Empire, vivified by the modern spirit of the age. No other political body of the Continent keeps pace with Austria in the development of its pub-

lic life. She is rapidly making compensation for the errors and negligences of centuries. And in her progress are to be found the germs of the political revival of the nations of central Europe.

#### ART. VII.—LITERATURE OF THE LAND QUESTION IN IRELAND.

It is customary with many persons to discuss the affairs and speculate on the fortunes of Ireland as though it were not a neighbouring island, but some country far removed from us by time or space. In this way much ingenuity has been displayed, and a considerable amount of erudition wasted. Untenable theories, artistically elaborated and eloquently proposed, have succeeded each other, till the Irish question is overlaid by several strata of them, to the great confusion of inquirers. It does not appear to have occurred to those who occupy themselves with propounding these theories, that the Irish Sea is not wide, and that beyond it exists a nation which has both intelligence to perceive, and a voice to declare, its own requirements. Universities, colleges, and schools flourish there; a host of newspapers is spread over the land; books, pamphlets, and ballads leave no section of the population unrepresented. A serious examination of these sources of knowledge would remove the occasion of that bewilderment of mind which impedes the course of sound policy, and finds its expression now in lugubrious extravaganzas and now in melodramatic prophecy. But the characteristic literature of Ireland is little known even to some influential classes in that country itself, and scarcely at all outside it, except amongst the scattered colonies of the Irish nation. It is emphatically the literature of the popular classes; and as such it reveals the wants and wishes of the Irish people, as distinguished on the one hand from the cravings of ascendancy, and on the other from the aspirations of the legion of lawyers.

This literature has arisen like a sea, naturally, from its founts. Two separate currents, the colonial and the extra-colonial, combined to form it. Thus all its Jacobite songs are from the latter source, and were first composed in the Gaelic language; all its Williamite songs are the offspring of the English colony. The bond of union between the two elements, the betrothal gold, is the literature of 1782, when Grat-

tan spoke and Lysaght sang. After that comes the forgotten eloquence of the Emancipation time; and then over its fossil animosities spreads the literature of 1848, which may be regarded as a revival of that of 1782, modified by events, and contributed to by both Catholics and Protestants. This is the literature which has most influenced the rising generation, in so far as they have been influenced by any at all. It has been the parent of minor bards innumerable. It has superseded directly, or by its offspring of verse and prose, the popular chap-books which recounted the exploits of the "Rogues and Rapparees," and which had supplanted or taken a place beside the oral narrations concerning old Celtic heroes and the fantastic feats of Celtic demonology. The "Tales of the Western Highlands" had their counterparts in Ireland; and the peasant of the wild west coast of Donegal or Sligo would recite tales identical with them in almost every particular. Extremes sometimes meet. Tales of the Fenians are beginning to appear, and to spread amongst the same people who in Gaelic called the historical romances of the ancient Celtic heroes the "Fenian Tales." For Finn MacCumhal was generalissimo of the Fenians in old time; his son, Ossian, was their poet-laureate; and his grandson, Oscar, was their champion without reproach. Future or foreign historians might instance this renewed popularity of the name of Fenian as an indication of a purely Celtic revival, if they were not told that the reappearance of the name is due simply to the fact that one of the principal organizers of the republican brotherhood which bears it was a Celtic scholar, and adopted the name from Keating's Gaelic History of Ireland, which he was translating at the time of the foundation of the society. Besides the biographies, tales of adventure, and popular historical works in prose, there is a multitude of songs and ballads. They spring like an abundant harvest from a genial soil; and, as sheaf after sheaf is bound and sent out by the publishers, it is eagerly caught up and converted into mental food by the people. Poetry of passion, of sentiment, and of action, is here in its many phases. With love-ditties, pastoral pieces, boat-songs, fairy-lays, historical chants, dirges, and merry catches, are mingled the exile's plaint and the battle slogan.

Yet, diverse as these productions are in character and in origin, search the earliest and the latest collections of them, and the land-grievance will be seen indicated in all. It is found as early as the year 1556, when

the Irish bard O'Gnive laments that the Gael cannot recognise in the altered country the old nurse of his youth, whilst that nurse doubts, on seeing him, "if that pale wretch be the child of her bosom." It appears again when the Celtic Muse, with hesitating lips, made its first essay in the English tongue. Last century, in the earliest specimens of devotional verse, complaint was made that the "noble gentry" wantonly oppressed the poorer classes, "beggaring them with rents and rates." In the latest compilation published the charge is still the same. The street-ballad telling the tale of shipwreck and loss of the passengers' lives, says that "from racking tyrant landlords they quit their native land," with a hope of living more happily "among strangers far away." In the colonial portion of the literature similar complaints are found from before the time of James I. There is no other country that has so extensive a literature upon a theme so sad; none, probably, that has any considerable section of its letters devoted to such a theme at all.

But essentially the literature which has grown up in Ireland around the land question is one of prose rather than verse. Disquisitions, essays, orations abound. The tenant-right advocates of Ulster, as of Munster, the Catholic priest, the Presbyterian clergyman, and the Episcopalian layman, have all contributed to it. The landlord, the agent, and the Conservative advocate have also added their pamphlets and volumes; but, probably because they looked for a more sympathizing audience elsewhere than at home, they have generally been careful to select an English rather than an Irish market for their wares. Rejoinders and replies to them which appear in Ireland (and it is there, with barely an exception, that they are published), are little heard of in Great Britain, or suffer under the rule which decrees the same destiny to the absent as to the non-existent. But the circumstances of the time require that those who are not resolved to be misled by a fragmentary literature should diverge from the beaten path to seek its complement, so that whatever judgment they may form at last may be formed after they have heard both sides.

Let us try what can be done in a couple of prominent cases. Donegal and Kerry, counties at the extreme north-west and extreme south-west, have both been set before the British public by delineators who have sketched them from one point of view. The landlord and the agent have given their versions. But there is another mode of

viewing the same matter; and this latter is the general mode adopted in Ireland. If the first description is to be accepted, there would be no reason to expect persistent discontent in Ireland: it would be an irrational anomaly. If the second is to be received, there would only be occasion to wonder if discontent were not strong and enduring. As there can be no doubt about the discontent, it is at least interesting to discover the cause alleged for its existence by those who feel it. None like the wearer can know where the shoe pinches.

From the remoteness of its situation, Donegal maintained its Irish customs in their integrity until the flight of its Earl, O'Donel (Earl of Tyrconnell), towards the close of the year 1607. An anonymous letter, opportunely dropped or deposited in the council-chamber of Dublin, charging him and his neighbour, the Earl of Tyrone, with a conspiracy, broke their last hope of holding their possessions, for which the colonizing lords had manifested much hankering. They feared at last to lose both lives and land, and so fled. This anonymous letter brought some half-million of acres theoretically to the Crown, but practically (and soon formally) into the hands of the hankering lords and their friends. In Donegal there had been great encouragement given to Irish literature; the *Annals of the Four Masters* were compiled there. It is a mountainous country, and was at that time shaggy with woods. But the soil of the valleys was fertile, and was found to produce as well cereal crops as hemp and flax; and in the fashioning of the fibres of the latter into textile fabrics the natives were well skilled. With respect to the tenure of the cultivators, Sir John Davis, Attorney-General to James I., rightly remarked that by the grants of Elizabeth there was but one freeholder made in a country, and that was the chief. The cultivators were overlooked; and yet they were co-proprietors of the land. The chief had had but an uncertain tenure of his chieftainship, for he might be deposed, and could not bequeath it; but the clan had no uncertain tenure of their lands, from which no one could evict them. The terms of the Queen's grant did not matter much in this instance. Externally the recipient might be a feudal lord and landholder: esoterically he was still a chief, with neither power nor desire to confiscate the lands of the clan. When, by his flight, the county of Donegal was divided amongst the planters, it was on a scheme approved by Sir John Davis. He had noted the errors of his predecessors; he had marked all the

evils which had arisen from uncertainty of tenure; and it was expressly intended to avoid in this plantation the remissness which left the cultivator at the will of the lord.

The oppression from which it behoved to guard him was of two kinds—Anglo-Irish and native Irish. Coigne and livery were of the first class. The great lords of the colony made war and peace at their will and pleasure; and they inflicted the expense on the cultivators, because no pay came from England, and for several reigns the standing entry in all the Pipe-rolls, between receipt and allowances, was “in Thesauro nihil.” All was spent; but all did not suffice. So “the poore subject” was mulcted for the expense of levies, both ordinary and extraordinary. This was tolerable until Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, chief commander of the army against the Scots in the reign of Edward II., began “that wicked extortion of coigne and livery and pay.” Man’s meat, horse’s meat, and money, were taken from the cultivators at will, without ticket or return. Afterwards this became general. The idle soldiers of the worst disciplined army known “did eat up the people,” destroyed their husbandry, and made them neglect agriculture, since they had no prospect but that a year’s labour might be made away with in one night. The dispersed English colonies had to keep guards upon the borders and marches round about them; and these guards oppressed and impoverished at their will the poor English freeholder. “And because the great English lords and captains had power to impose this charge, when and where they pleased, manie of the poore freeholders were glad to give unto these lords a great part of their lands to hold the rest free from extortion; and manie others not being able to endure that intolerable oppression, did utterly quit their freeholds and return unto England.” Some went to strange lands. The custom was denounced by Statute as damnable; and an ancient writer says that, although it was first invented in hell, yet if it had been practised there as in Ireland, it would have destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub. But, although the cultivators had thus to give up their land in part or altogether, the lord was ready besides to seize it by force; and whilst they grew poor he became rich. In this way, Fitzthomas of Desmond rose from a mean to a mighty estate, “inasmuch that his ancient inheritance being not one thousand markes yearly he became able to dispense every way ten thousand pounds per annum.” The

English lords placed Irish tenants upon the lands: “upon them they levied all Irish exactions.” These tenants naturally were willing to give up the profits of their labour if their lives were only left them. They could not ask for the rights which the English freeholder claimed as a matter of course; and therefore they could live under circumstances which drove the others forth.

Sir John Davis severely denounces these Irish exactions. On the mind of any one not acquainted with the state of the law amongst the Irish at that time, his words would leave the impression that the chief could utterly ruin the cultivator by such means. And yet there are indications which show that he knew there were limiting lines. Those only who are versed in the native or Brehon laws, can understand the full import of his qualifying hints. He believes that the custom of coigne and livery was originally Irish, but candidly adds that when the English learned it, “they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable, for their oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time.” The Irish tax was limited, and was not so much imposed on the people as contributed by their consent, seeing that the Irish chief was only first amongst equals, and had no lordship over them but what they gave him. Indeed, Sir John Davis remarks complainingly that the chieftain had no estate in the land, that his son did not inherit his dignity. But he confesses that the chieftains had a portion of land allotted to them, even when he urges that their mode of support chiefly consisted in “cuttings and cosherings, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure.” He was correct in his statements with respect to the chieftain’s tenure of his chieftainship, and correct also in his statement that land was allotted to him, and that he had in addition a tribute in kind. But he was altogether wrong in saying that the elected chieftain could despoil the electing clansmen at his pleasure. An outsider might naturally be misled on hearing vaguely of tribute in kind; but this tribute was strictly defined and limited by the native laws, as were all other services and duties rendered whatsoever. Imperfectly informed of the relations existing between chief and tenant, Sir John Davis was not even aware that there were definite rents and different kinds of tenants. The food tribute was paid by one kind of tenant, whose farm had been stocked by his chief; and tenants who stocked their own farms paid differently. Service was

rendered for service. If a band of reapers was contributed to reap the corn of the chieftain, and so forth, he, on the other hand, had to preserve the tribe-lands against inroads of enemies, to attend in councils, and to watch over the proper distribution of the proceeds of the reserved land, taking care that the sick got physicians, and the destitute or disabled food and shelter. What the English lords did was to claim service and contribution from their Irish tenants, and give nothing in return—just as they had imposed coigne and livery on English “poore earth-tillers and tenants, without anything doing or paying therefor.”

The words “Irish exactions,” when used by Sir John Davis, must be understood in a sense consistent with these facts, not in the sense which his imperfect knowledge led him to assign to them, and which later commentators have adopted from him without even noticing the qualifying hints we have indicated. Against the state of the tenantry, as he saw it, his soul righteously revolted. He considered their condition worse than that of bond slaves, for “commonly the bond slave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond slave.” To end, destroy, and for ever prevent the several kinds of evils described, the plantation scheme was formally drawn out. It was decreed that “the said undertakers shall not demise any part of their lands at will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for life, in tail or in fee-simple. No uncertain rent shall be reserved by the said undertakers, but the same shall be expressly set down, without reference to the custom of the country, and a proviso shall be inserted in their letters-patent against cuttings, cosheries, and other Irish exactions upon their tenants.”

How comes it then that similar exactions existed till quite lately, and probably still exist in Donegal; that it was left for a landlord of to-day to announce as a new thing, that he had given distinct farms (but not certain estates) to his tenants; and that tenancies-at-will, and uncertain rents, and intolerable exactions, are complained of now, as they were in the days of King James? Part of the fault is chargeable against the plantation scheme, which forbade the establishment of Irish tenants who were not conformable in religion, even on the lands of the servitors and natives, who alone were enabled to accept them as tenants. The English and Scottish undertakers, who were forbidden to alienate to the “meer Irish,” did not, of course, give them any certain tenures, even when they allowed them to remain. They found them

all the more profitable, exactly as the great English lords had found them, because of their unprotected state. But at least, it might be thought, the stipulations would be carried out with respect to the English and Scottish tenants, who had immigrated on the faith of them. As a general rule, however, it was not so. Faith was broken with them; and if those undertakers who did not fulfil the conditions on which they obtained their grants had been expelled, few indeed would have remained. In Pynnar's survey, made in 1619, we find such entries as these with regard to districts in Donegal (similar entries exist for other counties):—“I find divers planted upon this land, but there is not one freeholder; and they who are upon the land have no estates.” “There are not any freeholders; there are twenty-eight families of the British nation, these hold their lands but by promise.” “There is not one freeholder, and but two leaseholders that could show any assurance. There are many Irish.” “He hath made no estates.” Some had erected buildings, and got up villages, but uncertainty of tenure was generally as bad as ever. Almost the same tale may be told of the Cromwellian settlement—of precautions to plant a secured yeomanry being balked, and of the extruded Irish being permitted to exist, because without them it was neither possible to cultivate the soil nor to obtain rack-rents. Then the spirit of religious intolerance was always interfering to prevent their getting leases, or to cause the exaction of higher rents from Irish Catholics than from Protestants. Thus when, in the later days of the penal code, its regulations were so far relaxed as to allow short leases to be granted to the Catholics, a comparatively higher rent was required from them, just as it had been from servitors for those portions of their lands which were planted with Irish, and as it had also been from “natives.” To these last the worst and wildest parts were allocated; and it is a common thing to see the mountain glens to which the natives were driven now fruitful with harvests from their labour. Yet there a lease is unknown. A little way off, in the naturally rich valleys, the descendants of English or Scottish settlers abide, one or two or more of whom (according to the counties) may have a lease of land at a small sum per acre. This ascendancy privilege has in some cases elevated a tenant, in his own estimation, so far above his depreciated neighbours, that he has forgotten to be as industrious as they, and has fallen into debt. This may account for some instances, occasionally referred to, of lease-

holders who do not effect such results as tenants-at-will. The fact that, in the penal days, a higher rent was imposed by law on a Catholic for the privilege of a lease, may afford a means of comprehending other allegations, such as that tenants have not always been eager for leases—for leases, that is, which contained such or similar penal clauses. An ordinary, fair lease no tenant is more anxious for than the Irish, or would more willingly accept, as is manifest from the very enactment of that penal provision.

Here then, in Donegal, there was a large number of Irish tenants left upon the land. They had not certain estates given them at certain rents. They were simply allowed to remain,—to keep by their old ways amongst themselves; and the new landlords, who assumed the place of the expelled chieftain, got rent, and “Irish exactions,” man-service and horse-service, but service in return gave them none. The chief had been checked by the Brehon and the priest; but the new landlord was judge in his own cause, and where he granted a lease required the tenant to do suit and service at the manor-court as well as grind his corn at the manor-mill. As a consequence of the tenants not having certain estates made for them, the clan system of co-tenancies remained, and still remains, although not now to any great extent. Under the Irish system it was held that the land belonged to the people, that the inhabitants of a district had equal rights to a property which belonged to all. The tenant had an occupation-right (which may have been the origin of the present Ulster “custom”), for he could sell his farm to another. On his death his land and chattels were divided equally amongst his children. Sir John Davis imagined that there was a re-adjustment of all the lands when a tenant died. Later writers describe the system under the name of “run-deal” and “rundale,” and are misled by the simulative English of the name to conclude that the occupiers held confusedly in common. But it is clear that the term, as used in Ireland, is derived from two words (*roinn'-diol*) signifying “divided use,” or “separate share.” Describing the rundale system as found existing in 1801, the author of one of the County Statistical Surveys made for the Dublin Society observed that “the cattle graze in common, but the crops are divided by a narrow margin of a foot broad left unploughed.” Such margins may be seen in France at the present day. When the crops were taken off the cultivated ground in harvest, the cattle and sheep were brought

from the mountain commons, and allowed to graze together there till spring. As the population increased, the evils of this system of joint-occupancy became manifest, more especially as there was no longer any head of the clan, or judge, to settle the disputes that arose. The holding of one tenant might be composed of patches of ground scattered asunder, and intercepted by the lands of other tenants. Improvements in agriculture made fences requisite. In 1801, it was declared by the author of the Donegal Survey that “all the farms lately let to tenants have been let to separate individuals; and the tenants themselves have found the vast benefits of separate holdings and are themselves subdividing (squaring) many of the old takes.” This word “takes” seems to be an attempt at rendering into English the term Gavelkind. In the Celtic it is Gavail-cine, which may be translated “takes of the tribe,” or “clan-colonization.” The Irish tenants, it will be observed, were not averse to change when an alteration was proposed which would define their holdings. “All ranks are now clear of the advantages arising from separate tenures, and all are engaged in endeavouring to establish them,” is the statement in the Survey. Mr. Henry Coulter, the author of a work on *The West of Ireland*, published in Dublin in 1862, relates that the lands of the largest proprietor in one county, who owned 176,000 acres, were all in rundale forty years previously. The agent got the tenants of a particular townland to appoint two arbitrators to value their holdings in it; then he divided it into districts equal in number to the number of tenants; these next drew lots to decide their future position; and when that was fixed each got there a farm equal in value to that of his previous lot. After some transitory objections, the agent was “besieged” with applications from the occupants of other townlands to have the new system applied to them also. When the “dividing” or “squaring” or “striping” has not been done in such a manner as to avoid all appearance of unfairness, serious complaints have naturally arisen. But here, as in other matters, it is generally a recent purchaser, and rarely an old proprietor, be his origin or creed what it may, who is accused of inflicting the grievance. A descriptive tour, which was published in Belfast in 1858, by Mr. D. Holland, under the title of *The Landlord in Donegal*, and which rapidly reached a second edition, supplies some illustrative instances. In a book well known in its day, Lord George Hill, a

Donegal landlord, explained what he had done to improve the condition of the people: Mr. Holland disputes the accuracy of his representations, and gives the following version of his dealings with his tenantry:—"In 1838 and subsequent years, he purchased large tracts of land very cheaply in the Guidore district, and straightway he started on a career of improvement and philanthropy. As a commencement he took away considerable quantities of land from the tenants—land which the poor people had more or less reclaimed, and built on it a hotel, a mill, a store, and houses for police and revenue-officers, from which he derives large profit. This he calls improving. In addition to this, he took 10,000 acres of mountain land from the tenantry, which they and their forefathers had used from time immemorial for grazing. He gave no compensation: nay, he raised the rents upon the patches which he left the miserable tenantry to starve upon. These people were in the habit of making their own clothing from the wool of their own sheep. But since the mountain pasturage was taken from them, they cannot feed sheep, they cannot have wool, and they are all in rags." The Tory paper of Londonderry, "hitherto the champion of the landlords," is quoted as declaring that "from the smallest to the largest farm in Guidore, improved by the tenants, who were already paying a high rent, and in many cases a high rate of purchase, his lordship has not only doubled but trebled the rents." The author of *The West of Ireland*, however, who was the commissioner for a Dublin Conservative paper, follows Lord George Hill's narrative of his ameliorations, but unconsciously mars the picture by a touch of his own. "At present," he writes, "there is no cry of extreme distress from Gweedore. Some individuals living along the sea-coast may be in want of food a month or two before the coming in of the next harvest; but the great majority of Lord George's tenants will not suffer severely from distress." To be "in want of food for a month or two," it seems could not seriously hurt Irish tenants. But this writer also has testimony to give about the confiscation of the mountain commons. "Along the shores of Fintragh Bay," he says, "there is an estate, the tenants on which are in a very poor condition. Their land is much more highly rented" than that of the large proprietor, "and they complain that, some four years ago, the mountains on which from time immemorial their ancestors were accustomed to feed sheep and cattle were taken from them, and that

no reduction was made in the rent. This is considered by the people to be a great grievance; it has given rise to much dissatisfaction, and there can be no doubt that it has considerably crippled them in their means. Almost all of them are living at present on meal purchased on credit at a usurious rate of interest. The general aspect of their dwellings and farms is that of extreme poverty." The Belfast author, Mr. Holland, describes a number of such cases, and alleges that the landlords of a large district along the north-west coast simultaneously took away the mountain commons from their tenantry, whilst they did not abate, but even increased the rents. One clergyman of the late Established Church, Mr. Stuart, is extolled as an exception. Of another retired clergyman Mr. Holland writes: "About twelve years ago he came into possession of his property by purchase. At that time the tenants had each a small farm, with a patch of mountain land attached, on which they grazed their few sheep or cows. They had contrived, by their marvellous patient industry, to reclaim a considerable portion of this wild barren mountain. The new landlord took the whole of it from the tenants; for English law—which Judge Pennefather says was made for the landlords and not for the wretched peasants—empowered him to do so; and of course he gave them no compensation whatever. Nay, he continued to charge the full rent upon the portion which he left them, and now they inform me they have received notice that the rent is to be increased immediately. The land here is a mere waste of bog and rock, and it was by means of the few mountain kine and sheep that they were enabled to pay their rents and live. The reverend landlord has taken away from them, I understand, 2400 acres, a considerable portion of which had been made arable by their hard unceasing labour." Another landlord appropriated 2600 acres of mountain common, and, instead of giving compensation, doubled and trebled the rent of the arable land left to the tenants, which they had reclaimed from barrenness. Another, originally a successful attorney, purchased in the famine years a certain property not worth £100 a year, by Government valuation. The selling landlord obtained £150 as rent: the purchaser raised the rent to over £200. In another place, of which he was proprietor, he took from the tenantry 1500 acres of mountain pasturage, at the same time increasing the rent on the arable fractions of their holdings left them. Another had been an agent; and, during his agency, the tenantry fell into

arrears, and were accounted unable to pay. The landlord at last sold the estate; and his agent was the purchaser. From being an indulgent agent, he became a very strict landlord. The arrears were soon collected, and, it was affirmed, equalled the purchase-money in amount. He doubled and trebled the rents. Mr. Coulter found cases similar, and quite as remarkable, in the West of Ireland. "The bailiffs of some landlords," he writes, "practise usury on an extensive scale, and grow wealthy on the gains extracted from the poor farmers. I have heard of persons in this position, common bailiffs, quite uneducated, surprising every one who knew them, by purchasing townlands in the Landed Estates Court, for four, five, and even six thousand pounds. When such persons attain the position of landlords, woe to the unfortunate tenant who holds under them: his land is rack-rented to the utmost, and the rent must be paid with the utmost punctuality." The ex-agent just now mentioned, on becoming a landlord, did not take any mountain-pasturage from his tenantry; for there was none to take. But the tenants had been accustomed to gather sea-weed on that wild Atlantic shore, to prepare kelp with it, and thereby to eke out their rents: their landlord forbade them this, resolving to appropriate the profit directly to himself. And this resolve he would have carried out, if the agent of the proprietor of the royalty had not interfered for the protection of the impoverished tenantry. In another case, the landlord, a new purchaser, compelled half the tenantry to give up their farms and take ship for America, without other compensation than a free passage. Their portion he took to himself, as a farm. He deprived the remaining tenants of the mountain common; and he exacted a tax of one-fifth on the gross produce of the kelp they made. The rental of the whole property, when he bought it, was £200 a year: the rental of the remaining tenants thus mulct-ed he raised to £900 a year. The kind of landlords which the Encumbered Estates Court let in upon the country may be understood from these cases. The mountain pasturage taken in this way from the tenants, the landlords let chiefly to sheep-breeders from other parts; some of it was reserved for reclamation. The mode in which this reclamation was effected deserves attention, because from an eye-witness of the present day we have a narrative which might serve to describe the origin of almost all the reclaimed land in Ireland. With but little change, it would be the history of almost all the arable land of the country

also. In the mountain districts taken from the tenantry, plots were marked out where peasants were invited to settle. One might suppose that humanity had deteriorated since the days of King James; for in his plantation scheme it was provided that English and Scottish undertakers should not pay rent for two years, and even the Irish natives who were to be admitted to have estates in fee-farm were not to pay any rent the first year. The rent for their allotments of sixty acres of the ordinary soil averaged 3s. 6d. an acre. But in fact the landlord's plantation scheme in the present is what the King's scheme would have been theoretically if it had been left to the landlords to draw up, and what it was practically in many districts when it was left to them to execute. The plots on the Donegal mountains were of from four to five acres each. "I inspected several of these plots, on the property of these landlords," says Mr. Holland; "they were square patches of bog, soft and spongy, where the black mould seemed floating in pools of ink. They are colonized in this fashion. A tenant has a strong-limbed son who marries; the married son is not allowed to stay with his father, the landlord will not stand that. He cannot emigrate, for he has no money. What can he do? He takes one of these bog lots from the landlord at from 3s. to 5s. an acre, or even higher. The official valuation is about twopence an acre. He pays one pound 'entrance money.' He thatches up a hut (shed) of peat turf, without chimney or door; and in this hideous place he and his miserable young wife go to live. By something like a miracle they contrive to subsist on sea-weed, turnips, any refuse that can be eaten, and contrive to pay the landlord his pound or 25s. of rent besides. Stone is plentiful enough in this howling wilderness, and the peasant labours at building a cabin of dry-stone masonry beside the turf hut. When this is done he procures a rickety deal table, a stool, an iron pot, and then he settles down in his new dwelling. And of course as he toils on—he and his help-mate—labouring with assiduous industry to raise food from this horrid patch of morass, the benevolent landlord gradually raises the rent. I witnessed this extraordinary system in the different stages I have described. Here the farm was marked out but untenanted; there the 'scraw'-hut erected, and inhabited, with the peasant delving in the squashy bog; and close by the stone cabin built, with the tenant, his wife, and a couple of almost naked children crouching by the fire" (it was December).



The car-driver who drove Mr. Holland through the district had been a tenant on one of these patches or "new cuts," but flung it up on the landlord raising the rent. He was a Protestant. "I'd rather do something to get myself transported at once, than settle down here," he remarked; "I don't know how the creatures stand it. I wouldn't live there if they paid me for it. There they are digging in those bog-holes, and the moment that the cabin is built and the land cleared, they'll have the landlord down on them immediately to raise the rent." He could speak out, for he was independent. Now this is an example which shows how the rentals of many estates have been increased. The system of Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond may have been more rapid, but was not more sure. It was stated, before a Committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Maguire was chairman, that the rental of an estate in Monaghan, in about three or four generations, rose from £260 to £54,800 a year. The agent gave evidence that no money was laid out in improvement by the landlord. The tenants had reclaimed it from a wild waste, and, unaided, brought it to its present value.

Sir John Davis complained that the "Irish exactions" (probably as he saw them practised by the colonial lords), left the lord "an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave:" "cuttings," and "ses-sings," and "spendings," were imposed on the latter at the pleasure of the former. Charges almost identical, directed against the landlords of certain districts of Donegal, are to be found in Mr. Holland's book. Landlords and agents, he says, were magistrates; and upon them there was no check of public opinion which they regarded. "The landlord or the agent is constantly prosecutor, judge, and executioner in his own case." Fines were inflicted, and cattle seized and sold; but the tenant had no means of testing the legality of the judgments, even if, with his precarious tenure, he dared to desire it. Such a state of things is the parent of disaffection to Imperial rule. "Of British law or justice the peasantry know nothing. British rule is exemplified to them by the landlord-judge, absolute in his frown, by the stern agent, by the cunning bullying bailiff, and by the armed policeman, whose bayonet flashes before the cabin door."

With all these uncertain rents and exactions, cuttings and spendings are also to be found. "Duty-days," "duty-work," "duty-fowl," and "duty-money," may be mysterious words in England and Scotland; but in

the remote parts of Ireland they are not unknown. John M'Evoy, author of the Statistical Survey of Tyrone drawn up for the Dublin Society in 1802, thus wrote of one of several objectionable clauses which he found in the leases granted to those favoured tenants who obtain leases at all:—"There is one clause in particular which, in my opinion, should be scouted altogether, at least from the generality of leases. This is the clause which binds the tenant to supply duty-men and horses, and other dues too shameful to mention. Men and horses are always exacted at busy seasons, which must act against the tenant. The loss of a few men or horses in a dormant season might not be much felt; but this is not the object of the landlord, because cutting and drawing home turf, corn, etc., are the works principally laid out to be performed by duty. In some cases the tenants are bound to perform duty upon a different footing from actual day's-work; the landlord must have his works performed by the tenantry in common, according to the rent they pay. The sooner this feudal relic is got rid of, the better." Such exactions have generally become obsolete in Tyrone during the lifetime of the present generation; but in the neighbouring county of Donegal they are more tenacious of existence. They were flourishing in 1858 on some properties; and even recent purchasers did not let them fall into desuetude. On the property of the retired clergyman who confiscated the mountain commons, and largely increased ("quadrupled") the rents on the farms thus diminished, duty-work was enforced besides. "The peasants come at certain times—they say they dare not refuse to come—and dig, and plough, and sow the landlord's own farm, that is to say, the (arable) land he took from them when he purchased the property, and they never receive a shilling of pay." Nor was this confined to him. Even on the property of a neighbouring landlord, not a recent purchaser, and reputedly one of the wealthiest of Irish landlords, the same system was in action. "His tenants complain that not only have they to give their landlord the 'duty-days,' but they are forced to draw turf, not for himself alone, but for his agriculturist, his steward, his gamekeeper, and any other insolent menial that chooses to bully them in the name of the all-powerful landlord." The retired clergyman built a limekiln; and no tenant afterwards could burn lime in his own kiln with impunity. The fee for burning it in the landlord's kiln was half-a-crown; and that fee was exacted all the same if the tenant burned it in his

own more convenient but doubtless ruder kiln. Evictions presented much the same character there as elsewhere. During the life of a late proprietor, Mr. Lavens, a Presbyterian, built the first slated house in the small town of Milford. The landlord praised and encouraged him. Other tenants thereupon followed their neighbour's example, and soon converted the thatched village into a pretty little town. The son of Mr. Lavens, imitating his father, built a house at a cost of £787, in the neighbouring town of Ramelton. When he had completed it, the proprietor evicted him, and refused him a shilling of compensation. His dwelling-house was converted into a police-barrack.

Lessons like this are numerous everywhere in Ireland; and their influence on the people may be learned in the faithful verse of Mr. Allingham. This writer, a Protestant, is a native of Ballyshannon in Donegal, and in his poem, *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*, he paints, with great accuracy, the different types of landlords and tenants, and the social condition of his native county. Take the case of Doran, a tenant. His father, in combat with a barren soil, succeeds after a long struggle in making it comparatively productive. At first his three sons aid him; then one emigrates, another dies of hardship, and the eldest, Jack, labours on with his father, acts as a drover of cattle for others, goes to Scotland and England to mow and reap, and, returning, adds his gains to the farm. No lease can be obtained; the father dies, and the son becomes tenant instead. He is soon taught the lesson—

"'Tis wise to show a miserable face."

A decent hat, a wife's good shawl or gown,  
For higher rent may mark the farmer down.  
Beside your window shun to plant a rose,  
Lest it should draw the prowling bailiff's nose;

Nor deal in whitewash, lest the cottage lie  
A target for the bullet of his eye.  
Rude be your fence and field—if trig and trim

A cottier shows them, all the worse for him.  
To scrape, beyond expenses, if he can,  
A silent, stealthy penny is the plan  
Of him who dares it—a suspected man!  
With tedious, endless, heavy-laden toil,  
Judged to have thieved a pittance from the soil."

Jack's son, an active, energetic young peasant, in whose education he takes pride, wishes, in the ardour of his youth, to give evidence of progress, and works to make their cabin comfortable. The conflict between the instincts of an enterprising na-

ture and the influence of lessons taught by sad experience is thus told. The son was

"On house and field improvement bravely bent,  
'My boy,' said Jack, 'you'll only rise the rent,  
Or get us hunted from too good a place,'  
And backed his fears from many a well-known case.

He praised their added room, but shook his head;  
The small new dairy filled his soul with dread;

To cut a drain might dig their own pit-fall;  
'Twere ostentation to rebuild a wall;  
And did they further dare to stub the whins,  
The Great Folk soon would visit all their sins.  
'We'll buy.'—'But they won't sell.' 'More rent we'll pay.'

'They'll charge three prices or snap all away.'  
What could Neal do?—his parents getting old

Detained him; but his early hopes were cold.  
Improve they must not; if permitted still:  
To merely stay, 'tis at the Agent's will.

They long have struggled, with some poor success;

But well they know, should harder fortune press,

Their slow prosperity is thin and poor,  
And may not even petty rubs endure."

The serf-tenants are "hemmed from the former space of moor and turf;" all privilege and profit from the land is for the "Great Folk," as they are called; and there is no authority that inspires more awe than theirs.

"Mark the great evil of a low estate;  
Not Poverty, but Slavery—one man's fate,  
Too much at mercy of another's will:  
Doran has prospered, but is trembling still.  
Our Agent's lightest word his heart can shake,  
The bailiff's bushy eyebrow bids him quake."

Poverty, however, as well as slavery, they have had in Donegal. The tenantry on the estates, where they had been treated in the manner we have described, soon became the recipients of relief from the humane of the neighbouring districts and counties. In the condition to which they were reduced, a bad harvest was ruin to them. A Protestant journal, commenting on the statement of the condition of the district laid before the Grand Jury, thus pictured it: "Hundreds of families in which there may be half-a-dozen grown females have only one dress among them" (i.e., for each family) "in which any of them can appear in public, and mothers and daughters alternately borrow this common wardrobe when they go out of doors. About 300 families have neither bed nor bed-clothes, but are forced to lie upon the cold damp earth in the rags worn by them

during the day; and there are about 500 families without a second bed—fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, being all huddled together; and yet these people are rack-rented to the highest farthing."

That is only part of the picture; but the description is one which cannot be confined to Donegal. The tenant is regarded by many landlords, especially of the recent purchaser class, as a rent-maker simply. Barely enough to keep him in existence is allowed him. "You might as well cut off my head as treat me in this way," said a tenant, complaining that his rent had reached starvation-point. "I won't cut off your head, my boy, but I'll shave you as close as possible," is said to have been the landlord's reply. It is impossible for the tenantry on such estates to be provident, or lay by for a rainy season. Then they must live on the charity of neighbours; and the landlord feels no compunction at still requiring rent that must come from alms. Mr. Allingham's remedy is the establishment of a peasant-proprietary:—

"Waste and indebted lands  
Being wisely brought into the nation's hands,  
You might thereon create a novel class  
Of Irishmen, to leaven all the mass  
With hope, and industry, and loyalty,  
(My favourite crotchet—well, so let it be)  
Small Owners, namely—north, south, east, and  
west,  
I'd plant them, and they'd surely do their  
best,  
With great and permanent results, if slow."

That, indeed, would be a natural development of the Ulster custom of tenant-right. Under it the tenant can sell his farm to another, or can buy one from another, either privately or at public auction. The landlord does not necessarily receive notice, and occasionally is unaware of the change until the new tenant comes to pay the rent. Usually, however, he is made acquainted with the intended sale, and usually also claims to veto a new purchaser if the one proposed is notoriously unfit. Arrears of rent are a first-charge on the sale-money. Generally the rent is fixed, or only fluctuates with remarkable fluctuations of the market; it would not do for the landlord to have the right of destroying the "custom" by imposing a rack-rent. Neither can he evict, except for non-payment of rent; and even then the tenant can put up his land for sale to the highest bidder, the landlord getting the arrears out of the money obtained for it. Normally, therefore, there is fixity of tenure and of rent under the Ulster custom; but there have been serious breaches made in it through

the rapacity of recent purchasers. The fate that fell on the natives of the west of Donegal aroused less indignation, because they were almost outside the custom, from situation and religion. But since like deeds have begun in Down there is sullen wrath amongst the Presbyterian and Episcopalian cultivators. They made their demands for a legal recognition of their ancient custom known pacifically in 1852; and if they do not speak again, it is only because they are hopeless of redress, and choose to add to the strength of England's enemies in America rather than to pine in Ireland.

From Donegal in the extreme north to Kerry in the extreme south we are invited to pass by many specimens of land literature. In the *Realities of Irish Life*, Mr. Steuart Trench relates his narrative of improvement from his own point of view. His book is known to the British public, for whom, indeed, it appears to have been written. But the Irish have also in print their own version of the matter for home use, not fully comprehending how much they lose by not having their case put before the world as fully as that of the other side. There is not so much of romance in the Irish version as in Mr. Trench's: it is not melodramatic in form or sensational in language. Set forth in calm but pointed phraseology, the facts alleged to have been discovered in the course of an assiduous examination are allowed to produce their own effect. The clear and concise narrative of the examination conducted by Mr. Thomas Crosbie is entitled *The Lansdowne Estates*, and was published at Cork in 1858. This affords the means of hearing both sides. The landlord was an absentee, and Mr. Trench was the active agent of the property. The condition of the tenantry on the Glenarough or Kenmare estate was first investigated. The irresponsible absolutism of the agent at once struck the inquirer's mind. A tenant's cow had strayed into a wood. The tenant was summoned to "the office" to pay ten shillings fine. Not having gone, he the next week received a mandate directing him to pay one pound fine. He remained at his business, supposing probably that the worst was done, and that he could pay the money on a convenient opportunity. The receipt finally given him tell its own tale:—"Received from —, being a fine for malicious and wilful trespass of grass, three pounds eight shillings and ninepence. May 19, 1857. Also received eighteen shillings and ninepence, law costs." The tenant in this case was, no doubt, blameable, but that does not affect the propriety of an agent (who was also

a Justice of the Peace) being free to run up fines and costs to such an extent in a cause in which he was himself a party. This, it appears, was only a sample of several documents of the same nature. Tenants were forbidden to build houses for their labourers; "the consequence is that men and women servants, no matter how great the number, must live under one roof. Did this take place in any other country, the injury to morality would be dreadful, and even here grave consequences have arisen, that cannot be too much deplored." The rules of the estate, of which this is one, were stringently carried out. Thus a marriage took place between the children of tenants, and the bridegroom and bride came to live at the house of the former's father. A mandate was sent to this tenant when the fact became known, directing him to turn them out. The young married pair sought shelter in the bride's father's home; the mandate followed them. They had to go to America, where the young man died. But this was not all. "The two fathers-in-law were not merely warned, they were punished for harbouring their son and daughter, by a fine of a gale of rent." It was a rule of the estate that there should be no hospitality, "that no stranger is to be lodged or harboured in any house upon the estate, lest he become sick or idle, or in some way chargeable upon the poor-rates of the town-land. I have the names of several tenants who were warned and punished in a similar way for giving lodgings to a brother-in-law, a daughter, a stranger," etc. No weakness for the ties of blood, or feelings of affection, or kindness to others, was to be tolerated. Hospitality was barred out. Marriages could not take place without permission from the agent. This was another rule of the estate. "A poor widow whose cabin I entered had the temerity to get her daughter married without the necessary permission from 'the office.' An ejectment notice was the immediate consequence, withdrawn only on the payment of three gales of rent, raised by a sacrifice of the little produce at her disposal." The *Times* Commissioner was charged by an Irish landlord with slander, when he stated that in a midland county an ecclesiastical dispensation for a clandestine marriage was given because of the ban of "the office." Apparently some landlords know little how the estates of their neighbours are managed.

A number of cases similar to that quoted, and of a yet more serious character, are given in this Cork publication. Take the following:—"An old man, Peter Shea,

of Ardea, lived to the age of eighty-eight years as a tenant on the estate. He was one of those persons whom philosophers would call benefactors to mankind, for he made many a blade of grass grow where none ever grew before. In his young days he entered upon a barren waste, built a house with two out-houses, subsoiled a great part of the land, erected a thousand perches of double fence, and made such other improvements as his skill enabled him on that patch of mountain. During his lifetime he did well, but he lived too long. For at the advanced age I have mentioned he violated the matrimonial regulations by allowing his son to marry a widow possessed of some means. The obnoxious couple were satisfied to emigrate to America, and did in fact go, like the rest of the expatriated, at the expense of the estate. But the poor old man of eighty-eight, with his wife, eighty years of age, was ejected from his little holding." Another case of a peculiar nature follows. A tenant, Timothy Sullivan, of Derrynabrack, occasionally gave lodging to his sister-in-law, whilst her husband was seeking for work. He was afraid to lodge both or either; "but the poor woman was in low fever, and approaching her confinement. Even under such circumstances his terror was so great that he removed her to a temporary shed on Jeremiah Sullivan's land, where she gave birth to a child. She remained there for some time. When 'the officer' heard of it, Jeremiah Sullivan was sent for and compelled to pay a gale of rent (as fine), and to throw down the shed. Thus driven out, and with every tenant on the estate afraid to afford her refuge, the miserable woman went about two miles up the mountain, and, sick as she was, and so situated, took shelter in a dry cavern, in which she lived for several days. But her presence even there was a crime, and a mulct of another gale of rent was levied off Jeremiah Sullivan. Thus, within three weeks he was compelled to pay two gales of £3, 2s. 6d. each. It was declared also that the mountain being the joint property of Jeremiah Sullivan, Timothy Sullivan, and Thady Sullivan, Timothy Sullivan was a participator in the crime, and should be fined a gale of rent. The third, it appears, escaped." Such a case as this would appear utterly improbable were it not that an instance came before the law courts, in which a servile adherence to the rule of the estate resulted in manslaughter. S. G. O. narrated the case in the *Times*, at the period of its occurrence, in 1851. Abridged, it runs thus:—"An order had gone forth on the

estate (a common order in Ireland) that no tenant is to admit any lodger into his house. This was a general order. It appears, however, that sometimes special orders are given; and one was promulgated that Denis Shea should not be harboured. This boy had no father living. He had lived with a grandmother, who had been turned out of her holding for harbouring him. He had stolen a shilling, a hen, done such things as a neglected twelve-year-old famishing child will do. One night he came to his aunt Donoghue, who lodged with Casey. The latter told the aunt and uncle not to allow him into the house, as the agent's drivers had given orders about him. The aunt beat him away with a pitchfork, the uncle tied his hands with cord behind his back. The poor child crawls to the door of a neighbour, and tries to get in. The uncle is called to take him away, and he does so. He yet returns with hands still tied behind, having been severely beaten. The child seeks refuge in other cabins; but all were forbidden to shelter him. He is brought back by some neighbours in the night, who try to force the sinking child in upon his relation. There is a struggle at the door. The child was heard asking some one to put him upright. In the morning there is blood upon the threshold. The child is stiff dead—a corpse, with its arms tied; around it every mark of a last fearful struggle for shelter—food—the common rights of humanity. The rule of the estate was pleaded on behalf of the Donoghues; and the judge in sentencing them characterized it in severe terms. But seven years after, it is found in existence still; and at the present moment it possibly yet stands between the Irish peasant and the promptings of his higher nature. It is unnecessary to do more than indicate the usual complaints of rent being raised on the tenant who made improvements in land or house. The rule against labourers' houses told against progress also.

On the western estate, that of Cahirciveen, there was some difference in the rules. If a son or daughter married, the father was obliged to retire with an allowance of "a cow's grass" or grazing for his support. "Only the newly married person will be left on the land, or any portion of it, even though the farm should contain 100 acres, or even though there should be two farms. This arbitrary regulation operates injuriously in point of morality, and keeps the land uncultivated. The people have to go to Nedeen, a distance of some forty or fifty miles, to get leave to marry." So wrote the parish clergymen; and Mr. Crosbie

gives corroborative instances. "Uncertain rents," which Sir John Davis denounced, were never better exemplified than here. Tenants would be under the impression that they held their farms at a stipulated rent, the same as they had been paying, and would prepare for the next payment under that belief. But that would turn out to be a mistake. Notice of an increase of rent would be given a few days previous to rent-day, and the tenants informed that they were to pay this increased rent, not merely for the time to come, but for the time elapsed since last pay-day. Fines were always inflicted for unpunctuality; yet the exact increase was not always known beforehand. "The notice was exceedingly simple." The local "driver" told such of the tenants as he saw that they had better bring a good deal of money, as he thought it likely there would be a rise in the rent. Those who heard the intimation told their neighbours; and accordingly—knowing the penalties—most of them were prepared. Some from a remote district had not a sufficient amount with them. They were obliged to return with the balance next day, although they had a journey of sixteen miles to make between their houses and the office. The sea-weed and sand of the strand are used for manure. The former agent allowed the tenants to take them at a valuation; under Mr. Trench they were given to the highest bidder. Other proprietors, whose estates were bounded by longer lines of strand, left it free to their tenantry.

On the Drummond estates certain circumstances occurred in connection with the granting of leases, which teach us why leases are not in every instance very welcome. The narration of one case will suffice to show the nature of the stumbling-block: "My farm," said a tenant, "is between fourteen and fifteen acres, and my rent is £14 a year. I gave Mr. Quill, the agent, three pounds to pay for my lease, and he gave me back two shillings. I then went to Mrs. Quill, his wife, and I gave her three pounds for pin-money. She told me that was not enough; that I should give two pounds more. The six pounds I had borrowed, so I had to sell my cow to raise the other two pounds, and I gave it to the lady." Thus a sum equivalent to a half-year's rent went in costs and pin-money. There was considerable stir made on this occasion, and the "pin-money" was returned by the agent, who declared himself unaware of its exaction. However, it was asserted by his friends that it was a general custom throughout the country for the agent's wife to receive a present of pin-money on the

tenant's obtaining a lease. Both Mr. Trench and Mr. Quill were magistrates. During the past few weeks a Wexford newspaper, *The People*, has published a series of letters dealing with the management of Lord Ely's Wexford estate, and adducing a number of cases illustrative of the irresponsible power of the agent, the insecurity of the tenure, and the uncertainty of the rents.


Thus it appears that the complaints in every province are essentially identical, although the details of the cases present characteristic differences. Opinions may vary as to points of policy suggested by the popular writers, and as to the gravity or bearing of particular statements; but it is clear that a thorough understanding of the Irish question cannot be obtained without a knowledge of the existence of this literature, and a careful study of it. To co-operate with others perfectly, it is necessary to enter into their minds, recognise their feelings, and perceive the direction of their thoughts. The case of "improving" landlords has been so frequently and so favourably put forward, that many have been disposed to accept it as an exact and complete statement, and to wonder that such labours have not succeeded in pacifying Ireland. The work of the really good landlords is less heard of. Enjoying popularity at home, they have not needed to seek sympathy elsewhere.



#### ART. VIII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.


1. *Chrestomatie Egyptienne*. Par M. le Vicomte de Rougé. Abrégé grammatical. Deuxième fascicule. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
2. *Traduction comparée des Hymnes au Soleil composant le XV<sup>e</sup> chapitre du Rituel Funéraire Egyptien*. Par Eugène Lefébure. (Paris: Franck.)
3. *Hymne au Nil publié et traduit d'après les Deux Textes du Musée Britannique*. Par G. Maspero. (Paris: Franck.)
4. *Assyrian Dictionary; intended to further the Study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*. By Edwin Norris. Part I. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
5. *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*. By P. W. Joyce, A.M., M.R.I.A. (Dublin: M'Glashan and Gill.)
6. *Sokrates. Ein Versuch über ihn nach den Quellen*. Von Dr. E. Alberti. (Göttingen: Dieterich.)
7. *Le Poème de Lucrèce: Morale, Religion, Science*. Par G. Martha. (Paris: Hachette.)
8. *Saint Paul*. Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Michel Levy frères.)
9. *Geschichte Roms*. Von Carl Pöter. Vol. III. Part 2. (Halle: Waisenhauss.)
10. *Liber Diurnus ou Recueil des Formules usitées par la Chancellerie Pontificale du V<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, publié d'après le Manuscrit des Archives du Vatican avec les Notes et Dissertations du P. Garnier et le Commentaire inédit de Baluze*. Par Eugène de Rozière, Inspecteur-Général des Archives. (Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel.)
11. *Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I. bis Gregor VII.* Dargestellt von Rudolf Baxmann. (Elberfeld: Friderichs.)
12. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. Edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
13. *Officium et Miracula Sancti Willigisi*. Nach einer Handschrift des XII. Jahrhunderts herausgegeben von W. Guerrier, Prof. der Geschichte an der Universität Moskau. (Moscow: Deubner.)
14. *Anno II. der Heilige, Erzbischof von Köln, 1056-1075*. Von Dr. Theodor Lindner, Dozent der Geschichte an der Universität zu Breslau. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
15. *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*. Edidit Philippus Jaffé. Tomus Quintus, Monumenta Bambergensia. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
16. *Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum*. Vols. I. II. III. Edited by Sir F. Madden. (London: Longman and Co.)
17. *Annales Monastici*. Vols. IV. V. Edited by H. R. Luard, M.A. (London: Longman and Co.)
18. *The History of the Life and Times of Edward III.* By William Longman. (London: Longmans and Co.)
19. *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*. Vol. III. Edited by E. A. Bond. (London: Longman and Co.)
20. *Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Christophe Colomb*. Par Paul Gaffarel. (Paris: Thorin.)
21. *Les Dépêches de Giovanni Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre, pendant les années de 1554 à 1557. Déchiffrées et publiées, d'après les documents conservés aux Archives Nationales de Venise*. Par Paul Friedmann. (Venise: Imprimerie du Commerce.)
22. *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*. By James Spedding. Vols. III. and IV. (London: Longman and Co.)
23. *Les Mariages Espagnols, 1602-1615*. Par F. P. Perrens. (Paris: Didier.)
24. *The Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi*. By Arabella Georgina Campbell. From Original MSS. (London: Molini and Green.)
25. *Zur Deutschen Geschichte vom Religionsfrieden bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg*. Von L. von Ranke. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
26. *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, 1617-1623: a Chapter of English History*. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)
27. *Adrian van Ostade. Sein Leben und seine Kunst*. Von Theodor Gaedertz. (Lübeck: Rohden.)


28. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury*. By Folkestone Williams. (London: Allen.)
29. *Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel De Foe*. By William Lee. (London: Hotten.)
30. *Notes on Venetian Ceramics*. By William Richard Drake, F.S.A. (London: Murray.)
31. *La France sous Louis xv.* Par M. Alphonse Jobez. Tome v. 1757 à 1763. (Paris: Didier.)
32. *Geschichte des Bairischen Erbfolgekrieges*. Von E. Reimann. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
33. *Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland—Ihr Briefwechsel*. Herausgegeben von A. von Arneth. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
34. *Geschichte des Preussischen Staates und Volkes unter den Aohenzollern'schen Fürsten*. Von E. Von Cosel. I. II. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
35. *Le Chevalier de Sapinaud et les Chefs Vendéens du Centre*. Par le Comte de la Bouteillère. (Paris: Académie des Bibliophiles.)
36. *Thugut, Clerfayt, und Wurms*. Von Dr. A. von Vivenot. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
37. *Die Politik der Deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege*. Von K. Hüffer. (Münster: Aschendorff.)
38. *Der Rastatter Gesandtenmord*. Von Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. (Heidelberg: Basermann.)
39. *Histoire des deux Concordats*. Par Augustin Theiner. (Bar-le-duc: Guérin.)
40. *Bonaparte, le Concordat de 1801, et le Cardinal Consalvi*. Par J. Créteineau-Joly. (Paris: Plon.)
41. *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, second Earl of Liverpool*. By Charles Duke Yonge. (London: Macmillan.)
42. *Wellington*. Ein Versuch von Max Büdinger. (Leipzig: Teubner.)
43. *Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte*. Von K. A. Varnhagen von Ense. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
44. *Recollections of a Busy Life*. By Horace Greeley. (New York: Ford.)
45. *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener October-Aufstandes, 1848*. Von G. von S——n. (Prague: Tempsky.)
46. *The Life of Rossini*. By H. Sutherland Edwards. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)
47. *Democracy in the United States*. By Ransom H. Gillett. (New York: Appleton.)
48. *Die innern Kämpfe der Nordamerikanischen Union bis zur Präsidentenwahl von 1868*. Von Heinrich Blankenburg. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
49. *Die zwei Wege in Deutschland*. Von H. Ewald. (Stuttgart: Grüninger.)
50. *Eine Ferienreise nach Spanien und Portugal*. Von W. Wattenbach. (Berlin: Hertz.)
51. *Les Pays Bas. Impressions de Voyage et d'Art*. Par Émile Montégut. (Paris: Baillière.)
52. *Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays Bas*. Par H. Tayne. (Paris: Germer Baillière.)
53. *Hiatus: The Void in Modern Education, its Cause and Antidote*. By Outis. (London: Macmillan.)
54. *Italian Sculptors: being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy*. By Charles C. Perkins. With Etchings by the Author, and Engravings on Wood from Original Drawings and Photographs. (London: Longman and Co.)
55. *Materials for a History of Oil-Painting*. By Sir C. L. Eastlake, P.R.A. Second volume. (London: Longman and Co.)
56. *A History of Pottery and Porcelain, Mediæval and Modern*. By Joseph Marryat. Third edition, revised and augmented. (London: Murray.)
57. *Miscellaneous Poems*. By the Rev. J. Keble, M.A. (Oxford: Parker.)
58. *Poems and Romances*. By George Augustus Simcox. (London: Strahan.)
59. *Idylls and Epigrams*. Chiefly from the Greek Anthology. By Richard Garnett. (London: Macmillan.)
60. *Homer's Iliad in English Rhymed Verse*. By Charles Merivale, B.D., D.O.L. (London: Strahan.)
61. *The Poems of Ludwig Uhland translated into English Verse, with a Short Biographical Memoir of the Poet*. By William Collett Sandars. (London: Ridgway.)
62. *A Treatise on Counterpoint, Canon, and Fugue, based upon that of Cherubini*. By the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, Bart., Mus. Doc., Professor of Music in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
63. *Nouvelles Etudes de Littérature et de Morale*. Par M. Albert de Broglie, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Didier.)
64. *Select Writings, Political, Scientific, Typographical, and Miscellaneous, of the late Charles Maclaren, F.R.S.E.* With a Memoir and Photograph. Edited by Robert Cox, F.S.A. Scot., and James Nicol, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
65. *Essays, Philosophical and Theological*. By James Martineau. Vol. II. (London: Trübner.)
66. *Immortality*. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1868. By J. J. Stewart Perowne, B.D. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.)
67. *De l'Impôt sur les Valeurs mobilières*. Par L. Foubert. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
68. *Statistique de l'Enseignement supérieur*. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
69. *Die Bronzen und Kupferlegirungen der alten und ältesten Völker, mit Rücksichtnahme auf jene der Neuzeit*. Von Ernst Freiherrn von Bibra. (Erlangen: Enke.)
70. *Vesuvius*. By John Phillips, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
71. *How Crops Grow; A Treatise on the Chemical Composition, Structure, and Life of the Plant, for Agricultural Students*. By Samuel W. Johnson, M.A. Revised, with numerous Additions, and adapted for English Use. By A. H. Church, M.A., and Wm. T. Thiselton Dyer, B.A. (London: Macmillan.)


1. The second part of M. de Rougé's *Chrestomathie Egyptienne* treats of the substantive, the adjective, and the pronoun, and ends with a valuable summary of the elements of metrology and the notation of time. In completeness and accuracy, in severity of method and soberness of speculation, M. de Rougé is surpassed by no philologist. And, considering the very recent growth of a branch of philology cultivated by men differing in so many respects as the Egyptologists of France, England, Germany, and other countries, the slow and often tentative process by which alone true results can be obtained, and the fresh and important discoveries which are made from time to time, it is in the highest degree satisfactory to think that in the present book there is probably not a single grammatical form described about which scholars can be said to differ practically. There may be, as among classical scholars, a speculative difference of opinion with regard to the origin and history of this or that particular form; but when the form is found in a text there are not two ways of translating it. A different theory, for instance, is perhaps preferable to that of M. de Rougé about the forms

; but both theories lead to exactly the same result when an Egyptian text has to be rendered into a modern language.


One of the principal points upon which M. de Rougé's view is open to objection concerns the feminine termination . His doubts as to the phonetic nature of this ending seem hardly necessary. The loss of the ending in Coptic appears to be the result of phonetic decay; and there are traces of both the masculine and feminine  in the final C, to which M. de

Rougé gives another origin. 


*chaibet*,  *t'et*, may be recognised under *gawsec* and *xice*.

The pronominal form , *peten*, seems to be not only plural but feminine. The only known instance which appears to oppose this

view is  (in the inscrip-


tion of Una), which M. de Rougé translates *ces soldats*. This translation is no doubt sufficient for the sense of the passage; but the word for a body of soldiers may have been feminine. Collective nouns in Egyptian, as in Hebrew, are feminine. In Hebrew the idea of collectives is expressed by the feminine ending. From *דג*, *a fish*, we have *דגים*, *pisicium genus*. It would appear that in the oldest Egyptian inscriptions  is constantly used in the sense

of , in such formulas as 



. In like manner, a dis-

inction may be made, perhaps, between the








of the Pianchi inscription and the of the Una inscription: the former of these groups representing an individual and the latter a collection of individuals. But, whether this view be tenable or not, there is no doubt that collective plurals like !

and even such as , when referring exclusively to male individuals (see *Todt.* 18, 18), are feminine.



M. de Rougé identifies  and , and considers these groups as a plural article or demonstrative pronoun. In *Todt.* 8, 2, the former, and in 22, 2, the latter of these groups agrees with a singular antecedent. See also

*Todt.* 17, 80,  *this is the abyss of heaven*.

It seems probable that  and  are two completely distinct pronominal forms. They are identical in meaning; but the former is an inseparable affix at the end of a word, whereas the latter is separable, and may come either before or after a verb. M. de Rougé identifies them absolutely. He says that the former "peut remplacer seul un substantif et servir de sujet à un verbe." Are there any examples of this? The examples given by M. de Rougé are only available for the latter.




The ideographic  is surely identical with  in the sense of *countenance*. The analogy of the Hebrew פנים will most exactly explain the pronominal use of the Egyptian .




The Greek transcriptions of royal names are in general so very unlike the Egyptian spelling that it is quite illusory to appeal to such evidence on a question like the present. There does not seem to be any reason why those who made *Mendes* out of *Ba neb Tattu* should not also have made *Mencheres* out of *Men cheft Râ*, especially if it is remembered that a sound like *cheft* would be sure to lose its last two letters on being Hellenized. As important evidence upon the nature of the group in question, reference may be made to those innumerable monuments on which the *royal effigy* is sur-



mounted by the explanation . The identification of this group, in the "base period," with the notion of *name* may have arisen from a confusion between  and the half of a royal ring or cartouche, which was used ideographically for *name*.




As regards the transcription of Egyptian signs or groups, there are but one or two other points upon which M. de Rougé's view is ques-









tionable. Is it quite certain that we must recognise a feminine termination in ? This sign appears in certain cases to have been copied by mistake for the Hieratic ; ,


for instance, instead of . Generally, in Hieratic writing, as in Hieroglyphic transcriptions from it, the sign , placed beneath a horizontal character which comes either alone or between two tall ones, seems to be used like the Hieroglyphic  merely for the purpose of squaring the group. At all events, if there be such a word as *neteri*, it is masculine

as well as feminine: e.g.   *divine essence* (*Denk.* iii. pl. 199).

Is the sign  phonetic in ? Probably not. It appears to be merely ideographic of the sound *ket*. It is very frequently found as a determinative of sound in .



Compare the Coptic *KOT*, *circulus*.

There can be no doubt that  or , when used as an interrogative, has the same phonetic value as when it appears as a verb. Now as to its value when a verb there is very positive and unmistakable evidence. There is a formula which occurs on a great many tablets of the Old Empire,    .

where the first group is written indifferently , (*Sharpe, Inscriptions*, i. 86; *De Rougé,*



*Album Photographique*, No. 146),  

(*Sharpe*, ii. 95),   (*Ib.* i. 78), or



  (*Ib.* ii. 86). *Mes* or *Mās* is therefore


certainly the sound of the interrogative in question. It has elsewhere been pointed out

that the verb  has the sense of the Coptic


  *potiri, superare*. This is its meaning in the very first chapter of the *Book of the*




*Dead*, line 3,      

  *senāu-nā her-ek, mās-nā her ren-*



*ek*, "I have striven for thee; I have conquered for thy name." The full reading, not yet satisfactorily pointed out, of  is most

probably    of which a parti-

cipial form in  occurs in *Denk.* iii. pl. 78.

Compare the Coptic . No doubt the groups  and  should be transcribed *ames* not *as*.




3. THE fifteenth chapter of the *Book of the Dead* consists of a series of hymns to the Sun. It is, in fact, the most poetical part of the Egyptian Ritual, and, next to the 125th chapter (which gives an idea of the religious ethics of the Egyptians), the portion which is most likely to interest modern readers. The Litany which it contains for the departed is the most ancient composition of this kind which is known. It is probably not less than four thousand years old. The great difficulty in translating this and every other chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, arises from the extreme corruption of the text. A collation of MSS. is the necessary preliminary step to translation. M. Lefébure has accomplished this task as far as the papyri of the Louvre permitted. He describes eighteen of these authorities. Most of them are unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition, one of them, for instance, only containing the 28rd line and the beginning of the 24th. He gives the different readings in his notes; but he has scrupulously adhered, as far as possible, to the text of the *Todtenbuch*, or Turin Ritual, published by Lepsius, "n'admettant même pas, lorsqu'il donne un sens correct, une variante fournie par tous les autres papyrus." Egyptologists must rejoice to find in M. Lefébure a most valuable accession to their ranks. His introduction and his notes show a very considerable knowledge of the contents of the Ritual, and will be read with interest and profit by the most advanced scholars. The Hieroglyphic text of these hymns is perhaps easier to understand than most other parts of the Ritual; but they are by no means free from difficulties which only a sagacious translator can grapple with successfully. Some hard passages are probably destined for a long time to baffle every effort. M. Lefébure has performed this part of his task most creditably.

The book gives occasion for one or two observations, which are made for their own sake rather than for the purpose of finding any fault with M. Lefébure. At page 95 he is disposed to think "que le not  admettait le genre masculin et le genre féminin." The word in question is *always* masculine. It is quite true, as he observes, that it is followed in a passage of the *Todtenbuch* (72, 2) by the feminine pronoun ; but this is a blunder of the MS.

On referring to the Cadet papyrus, or any other copy of the same text, he will find that the


true reading is  or , which is

grammatically connected with the following group. The solitary variant *Totuin*, the name of a God (*Todt.* 64, 10), instead of the

extremely common form,   





often be a difficulty, as to the proper place of a word in the Dictionary. This difficulty Mr. Norris has well met, by entering characters under their earliest initials, irrespective of their sound in the different words. Thus all words

commencing with  are entered under DN, although the sound may be either *dan*, *kal*, *idlu*, *lab*, *rib*, *gurus*, or *agru*. In arrangement, Mr. Norris has adopted the order of the Hebrew alphabet, which is the most natural for the purpose, since the Assyrian language is Semitic. The language of the inscriptions was essentially the same through the whole valley of the Euphrates; but there were slight differences between the Assyrian and Babylonian dialects, one of which was in the use of mimmat, which was very common in Babylonian, but is found very seldom in Assyrian.


The presence in Semitic inscriptions of a large number of Accadian words is another difficulty; for in many cases both pronunciation and meaning are unknown. These Accadian words belong to the language which was spoken in the valley of the Euphrates before the Semitic race conquered the country. The Accad was a dead language in the time of the great Assyrian empire; but a large part of the literature of the country, together with the syllabary and most of the mythology, was borrowed from it. The Assyrians have left hundreds of bilingual inscriptions which were for the purpose of teaching the Accad to their own people; and these serve to give us an insight into this older language. The meanings of many Accadian words are well known; but the pronunciation is at present uncertain, because the rules of the grammar have not been made out. The Accad is considered to be a Turanian language; and Mr. Norris notices the Turanian affinities of some of the words.





Excellent as the present work is, there are several points in which it requires correction: this could hardly fail to be the case in the present condition of the study. The Syllabary which Mr. Norris has placed at the beginning of the book is very imperfect. Although all the more common characters are present, there are over one hundred signs omitted; and, as a general rule, not more than half the phonetic values are given. This fault extends through the volume, the author appearing not to recognise several phonetic values of the signs.

, the determinative of beasts of burden, is throughout confounded with .




the syllable *tu* or *tum*; whereas in the inscriptions they are always distinct.


In page 8 we have the word *abub*, which Mr. Norris translates corn, connecting it with the Hebrew *אֲבִיב*. But the word does not occur on any of the contract tablets in which the sale of corn is mentioned; and the translation does not suit the texts in which the word occurs. The meaning of the word *abub* is the whirlwind; and it is connected with the Arabic *هَبُوب*, *habub*. The first example, *abub tam-hai*, is whirlwind of battle; and the third one (which should be divided as stated in the note,

*rakip abubi*, not *kip abubi*) means rider on the whirlwind; the value of , in connection with *abubi*, is not well ascertained.




In p. 30 occurs the word  , which Mr. Norris reads *akin*, the true pronunciation being *amir*; but the meaning given, a messenger, is correct. In p. 36 we have a variant of this word,  : and here the author, while getting the phonetic reading correct, misses the meaning, calling it a master; all the cases should be read messenger or envoy.

The examples given under *ani*, in p. 39, will serve to show the difference between the Accadian and Assyrian languages; and the nature of some of the Accad words can be illustrated by the word *son*; which in Accad is written





 , and consists of two parts—the first  meaning small or a child, and the second


 a male; thus the word is literally the male child.

In p. 42 the author gives an example under

  , which he says he does not understand.

A comparison of this passage with some of the plates in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. II, will give the required explanation; the passage reads *itti asi kalbi sukhi usseb-sunuti*, i. e., with asi, dogs and deer I placed them. In p. 58 we have the geographical name *Tel-assurri*, evidently the Telassar of Isaiah xxxvii, v. 12, for its inhabitants are called *Atan*, the Eden of Isaiah. In the word

    Mr. Norris does not recognise the sound *a* for the first character, and thus calls the name *pitan*, instead of *atanu*.

The sound of *a* for  is given in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, II, 8, No. 562, and quoted in p. 2 of the Dictionary, and again in p. 69. The passage in which the names of Telassar and Eden occur is as follows:—

*Dais Barna nakru*

Trampler on the Barna

*azgu asibuti Tel-assurri sa*

extremo rebels, dwelling in Tel-assar, who

*ina pi nisi Mikhranu Atanu*

in the speech of the people of Mikhran, Eden,

*inambu zikarsun;*

their name is called; i. e., whose name, in the

speech of the people of Mikhran, is called

Eden.

In p. 70 Mr. Norris says that probably the word *Babil* may sometimes mean the country of Babylonia, and not the city. No doubt this is correct; and a good instance of it occurs in the following extract from a hymn to Nebo:—

*Itti bit-ka bit-Zida bitu ul issannan*

With thy house bit-Zida, a house unrivalled;

*itti ali-ka Barsip ailu ul issannan*

with thy city Borsippa, a city unrivalled;

*itti ikli-ka Babilu iklu ul issannan.*


with thy land Babylonia, a land unrivalled.



228  which Mr. Norris translates rising sun, the meaning is clearly, sea of the setting sun.

There is a variant for this passage in Mr. Layard's *Inscriptions*, p. 88, l. 27, which gives




*tanti sa salmi eamei*, sea of the setting sun. Mr. Norris gives this passage on the previous page without recognising that it is the duplicate of the one which follows.  is equivalent

in this inscription to *salam*, to set. 

is rightly translated wife, in the two cases mentioned by Mr. Norris in p. 238; but this sign meant either husband or wife, and sometimes only relative. In Sir H. Rawlinson's *Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 10, lines 2, 4, 9, and 10, it is sometimes translated into Semitic *mut*, husband, and sometimes *assat*, wife.


In p. 319, by accident apparently, Mr. Norris gives at the bottom of the page a curious translation of two passages in the annals of Eshaddon, which he reads *akkisa ziqqat-su*, I cut off his retreat, or I destroyed his hiding places. The reading of each passage is *akkisa qagqad-su*, I cut off his head; and the heads of the two kings, we are told, were taken to Nineveh. In p. 109 Mr. Norris rightly gives *qagqad*, the head.



In p. 337 the word *zahuru* is probably an error for *zariru*. Its meaning is obscure. The character which Mr. Norris calls unknown,

 is the monogram for the word *russu*,



beaten. *Zariru* is an epithet of gold, and probably means shining (*Zendzairi*, golden): this passage may mean beaten gold.

Some of the errors we have pointed out appear to arise from the desire, which Mr. Norris expresses in the preface, to find cognate words in other Semitic languages. Cognate words are a valuable help; and the student could scarcely do anything without them. But the cognate words are not always those the sound of which is nearest to the Assyrian. Thus the

Assyrian word for an ass is 

*imir*; but it is not connected with the Hebrew , but with . In the same manner the name of the Tigris mentioned in p. 128

commences with  I, while the Hebrew

name, Hiddekel, commences with  h or kh. And in the case of the word *zakiki*, which Mr. Norris translates pure or purity, he gives an exactly corresponding Hebrew root in 

but the identification is by no means satisfactory. These difficulties with which Mr. Norris has had to contend have affected the published translations of other students; but almost all well-known words would be translated in the same way by different scholars, and the progress of investigation gradually reduces the number of doubtful ones. In cases where the meanings of words are doubtful, Mr. Norris

brings together in this Dictionary every example he can find of the use of the words in question, and thus affords the means for other students to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, even in cases which he has not been able to solve himself. In this First Part, he has given over one thousand Assyrian words, and their meanings, with translations of a multitude of passages in which they occur. On the present scale, it will require at least three more Parts, of the same size as this, to finish the work. The defects which are found here and there in the present publication will, no doubt, be corrected as the work advances.

5. THERE is perhaps no country in Europe which has so systematic a topographical nomenclature, or possesses such ample means of investigating the meaning and origin of the names of its places as Ireland; and they have found in Mr. Joyce an explorer who has an enthusiasm for his subject, and many qualities to fit him for the task. An immense mass of materials lay ready to his hand in the manuscript letters and field-name books of the Ordnance Survey, chiefly the work of the late Dr. O'Donovan, in the notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters* of the same scholar, and to the various works published by the Irish Archaeological Society. Mr. Joyce divides his *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* into four parts. In the first he explains the plan he has followed in ascertaining the meanings of names, the changes which have taken place in process of time, in Anglicizing them, etc.; in the second he discusses the names of historical and legendary origin; in the third, the names commemorating artificial structures; and in the fourth, the names descriptive of physical features, and animal and vegetable life. Nothing could be better than this plan; and, considering the difficulty of connecting the modern corrupted or Anglicized forms of names with the older forms, it has been very well worked out.

The first part, though of necessity the introduction to the others, is in reality the result of the investigations embraced in them. The value of the author's inductions depends therefore upon the accuracy of his analysis of the names. Analysis of this kind requires for its perfection, in the first place, a thorough knowledge of the modern spoken and of the old or obsolete Irish, of the legendary lore both historical and mythological connected with each place, of the physical characters of the localities, and of the methods and practice of modern scientific linguistic analysis. Of these qualifications the last is the one which can be best dispensed with in the earlier essays in the subject. Scientific analysis cannot create facts: it can only test them when gathered. Hence philologists who endeavour to work out the meanings of local names without reference to the history and legends of the places are much more likely to go astray than one who, like Mr. Joyce, works almost exclusively by means of such history and legends, a knowledge of modern Irish, and an acquaintance of a more limited kind with ancient forms. As might be

expected from the nature of his subject, the author has fallen into errors, some of which are important. Yet compared with the ground gone over they are not many; and notwithstanding them the book is full of interest, and is a real contribution to Irish, and also to Scottish, topographical nomenclature.

It would have been well if Mr. Joyce had given the simple root-words of each compound, and always used the singular nominative form of proper names, at least wherever he could make it out, so that it might be seen how the words grew from each other, and were modified by the case-endings. His forms are more generally based on the genitives singular and plural, and the dative singular, than on the nominatives; and yet he invariably translates as if the words were all in the nominative singular. At p. 57 he says that *nd* was used very generally for *nn*, implying thereby that the latter ending was more ancient than the former, and that a change from *n* to *d* took place. In support of this view he says that Zeuss gives the form *Cenn*, a head, from an old Irish ms. of the eighth century, while in middle Irish the form *Cend* occurs. Now both forms occur in the oldest mss., often within a few lines of each other; and this merely proves that the *d* began to pass away at a very early period. The name of the river Boyne is spelt, apparently in an oblique form, *Boind* and *Boinn* (whence the modern name), in what Mr. Joyce calls, after Mr. Whitley Stokes, middle Irish. But many of the mss. included under that term contain tracts written in Irish as archaic as some of the mss. used by Zeuss, while the name, as given in his book from Ptolemy, in whose time the Irish was certainly old enough, is *Bououindia*—a clear proof that such an exceptional change as that from *d* to *n* did not take place, but the natural or converse one.

Mr. Joyce translates the word *lis* in every case where it occurs, simple or in combination, by *fort*. One of the difficulties which a scholar has to contend with in Irish is the absence of fixed orthography; but, even if this were not so, the analogy of form and sound would easily lead to the confusion of words so much alike as *lios*, a fort, and *lias*, an ear of corn, whence *Rath na leise*, or the rath of the ears of corn. Again, we have *lis*, or in another and apparently more modern form, *lias*, a cattle-pen, or enclosed space for live stock of any kind, whence has come *airlis*, a special fence or wall surrounding the house of a nobleman, and marking the extent of his sanctuary. This word in modern times has been almost invariably translated "upon a fort," as if *air* were a preposition; when the supposed preposition was dropped, all the paddocks and cattle enclosures became forts. And again we have the word *les* and *leis*, a fire or light of any kind. If we put these words in a table, with their genitives and diminutives, it will be at once seen how easily they might have been confounded.

	Genitive.	Diminutive.	Genitive.
<i>Lis, Lios, a fort,</i>	<i>leas</i>	<i>leatin</i>	<i>leatin</i>
<i>Lis or Lias, a pen, or</i>			
<i>enclosure.</i>	<i>leas or leat</i>	<i>leatin</i>	<i>leatin</i>
<i>Lias, an ear of corn,</i>	<i>leat, leois</i>		
<i>Les or Léis, a fire,</i>	<i>léis</i>	<i>léatin</i>	<i>léatin</i>

All appear to belong to the same declension, though a closer analysis may give a different result. Now, the last form *les*, a fire, demands special attention, because in ancient times every man who had a *forus*, that is, whose house served as a place of assembly for legal or other purposes, etc. (cf. Latin Forum), was entitled to a lawn or *Faithche*, upon which he was bound to keep a *lesan faithche* or lawn light, that is, a signal light, for travellers on dark nights; and there can be no doubt that many of the places in the names of which *lis* occurs are derived, not from *lis*, a fort, but from *les*, a fire. For example, Drumlish is not the ridge of the fort, but in some places, beyond doubt, the ridge of the beacon light. So many, if not all, of the names, Lissaun, Lisseen, Lissen, Lissan, etc., which Mr. Joyce (pp. 251, 252) derives from the diminutives *lios* and *lissin*, or little fort, are derived from the genitive *leisain*, of a little beacon light or fire. At p. 251 he gives the genitive of *lios* or *lis*, a fort, correctly, but says it is pronounced *lana*; this cannot be so, except when the language is very corrupt.

He derives all the words in *law*, such as Portlaw, Luggelaw, Clonderelaw, etc., from a supposed word *lagh*, a hill, cognate with the word *law* in names of Anglo-Saxon origin (p. 356). This derivation is probably not correct in any case, but certainly not in that of Clonderelaw, which was originally written *Cluain idir-da-bhla*, or the plain between the two *blais*. A *bla* was a legal fence or meering, of which the laws mention at least twelve kinds.

Under *Tulach*, a hill, Mr. Joyce has placed names which are probably derived from three different words,—*tulla*, a green or common, *taiglach*, a residence or home of a chief and family, and *teallach*, a possession or settlement. Indeed, he proves this where he says that *tulach* is sometimes spelled *tealach*. There is direct evidence that Tully, the name of a parish in the neighbourhood of Kingstown, near Dublin, which he writes, after O'Curry, *Tulach-na-nespuc*, the hill of the bishops, was written *Tealach na n-espuc*, that is, the home or residence of the bishops. He also mentions (p. 356) Tallow Anierin, or, as it would be written in Irish, *Tealach an Iarainn*, in the county of Waterford, as the hill of the iron, but it really means the place of the iron, i. e. the iron mine. In connection with this last name, it may be mentioned that *tealach* and its genitive *telaighe*, sometimes, under the influence of an obscuration of certain letters, called by Irish grammarians eclipse, become *tealach* and *tealaighe*, the latter of which is Anglicized Shallee; at one place of this name, in the county of Tipperary, are rich argentiferous lead and copper mines, which appear to have been worked in very ancient times.

Mr. Joyce connects the places Inan, Inane, and the rivers Inagh, Eany, etc., with *eideann* or the diminutive *eidhneann*, ivy (pp. 460, 461). As to Inagh, in the county of Clare, he would be certainly wrong, as it got its name from the Glas Aigneachs who cleared the forest and built the ancient church of Inagh. Some of the places may, no doubt, have derived their

names from that of the common ivy or from that of the ground ivy, a well-known popular medicinal plant; but ivy is not a characteristic of rivers, and marshy places are not special habitats of the plant. It is more probably connected with *en*, *ena*, *eanan*, genitive *enach* and *enaigh*, plural *enaigh*, pieces of water, such as lakes, enclosed estuaries, rivers, etc. It is sometimes written *ean*, genitive *eanagh*, plural *enaigh*, exactly as we find it in *Gleann Eanaigh*, the glen of the lakes, an old name for *Gleann-da-loch*, the glen of the two lakes, or Glendalough in the county of Wicklow. It is also written *ana*, genitive *anaig*, dative *anach*, one of the ordinary forms of the word for river.

At p. 326 is an instance which shows the necessity of studying very closely the legendary history of places, in order to determine correctly the true forms of ancient names. Mr. Joyce here says that Ballyleague, the port of the town of Lanesborough, on the west bank of the Shannon, was called *Ath-liag-finn*, the ford of the white stone; but the word *finn* is not the adjective white, but the proper name Finn, that is, the celebrated Find MacCumhaill. It should be properly translated the Ford of Find's flat stone; about this there is a beautiful legend in the curious ancient tract called the Dindsenchas.

At p. 362, Mr. Joyce says that *cor*, as a topographical name, has several meanings, the most common being a round hill. Now *cor*, *coira*, *coirin*, never, so far as we know, have any other meaning than river passes, bars, or weirs, etc. He gives as an example Correenfeeradda, near Knockainy in the county of Limerick, which he says is in Irish, *Coirin-feir fhada*, the round hill of the long grass. Now *coirin* is the genitive of *cora*, a weir; and the place is properly *Cora Fir E*, or the weir of Fer Fi, a half mythological personage, whose father, Eogabhail, a Tuath Dé Danann chieftain, was slain by the celebrated Munster king, Oilioll Olum. There is a curious legend about this Fer Fi in the ancient ms. known as the Book of Leinster, in connection with the causes that led to a battle, celebrated in Irish story, fought at Magh Muchrume.

*Fert* or *Fert*, plural *Ferta*, and all its forms and compounds, are always translated grave by Mr. Joyce. But this very important word has many meanings, e.g.:—1. a weir or bar upon a river, in which it is equivalent to *fertais*, and to Mr. Joyce's *fearsad* and *forsets* (p. 381); 2. a mound, as *Fearla na n-ningean*, or the mound of the maidens at Tara, *Fert Muigin no' Aonaig*, the mound of the sanctuary or Fair; in both these cases it is true the mound may have been raised over the dead; 3. a wall or rampart, as *Ardfert*, i.e., the hill of the rampart, and not, as Mr. Joyce has it, the height of the grave (p. 138); we are told in the ancient laws that "Oilioll Olum then settled on Magh Locha with his hosts, and he dug up a *Fert* of yellow sods around his people, and hence it is called *Ard-Ferta* to this day;" 4. an axle-tree of a chariot, plural *Feirtse*, as *Ath na feirtse*, the ford of the axle-trees, in Meath, mentioned in the ancient heroic tale of the

Cattle Spoil of Cooley (*Táin Bó Chuailgne*); 5. an exploit, e.g., *Moyarta* in Clare, called in Irish *Mugh Fearú ui Bricin*, or the plain of the miracles of Bricin, the patron saint of the parish, and not the plain of the grave, as Mr. Joyce explains it (p. 318).

At p. 418, *Maethail* (recte *Maothal*) is stated to mean soft spongy land. Mr. Joyce correctly derives *Muhill* in the county of Leitrim from it. There are also several other places the names of which may be traced to this word, e.g., Cahermoyle in the county of Limerick. *Maothal*, however, means a refectory or meal composed of meal, originally, it would appear, of nut-meal (a circumstance which carries us back to the time when acorns were the food of men), milk and cheese or curd.

There are a great many other things worthy of remark in this very interesting book. The weakest chapter is that on the "Sub-divisions and Measures of Land." Among the terms in this chapter which Mr. Joyce has failed to explain correctly, are the very important ones of *Tate* or *Tath*, and *Ballybo* (recte *Bullyboe*). Following Dr. Reeves, one of the best living authorities, he assumes the former to be English; and the latter he translates cowland upon the same authority, and misled by the common form of the name.

6. It is long since the striking paradox of Forchhammer made the character of Socrates the topic of a controversy which has not yet ceased to be popular. One of his disciples, Dr. Alberti, of Kiel, has published a life of Socrates, in which he endeavors to clear away the mist of fable that obscures it, and to ascertain exactly what reports can be relied on. He begins by accepting only those facts which are to be found both in Plato and in Xenophon, and declines the testimony of either of them alone. But he afterwards modifies the rigour of his canon in favour of Plato. "Platonischen Zeugnissen von ihrem Gewichte zu nehmen ist man nicht berechtigt" (40). His argument is, first, the strictly historical character of the *Apologia*; and next, the fuller and exacter knowledge which Plato shows of those sophists with whom Xenophon also relates that Socrates had intercourse. Whatever merit the book possesses lies in the case which is made out for the superior authority of Plato, not as a reporter of facts, but as a faithful expositor of the circle of ideas and motives in which Socrates lived and thought and spoke. There is justice in this view; for the influence of Socrates on mankind is not due to his doctrines so much as to his method, which can only be understood by its application to the surrounding opinions. Dr. Alberti is also to be commended for the consistency with which he rejects the whole of the later, legendary, history of Socrates. The result is a less detailed and finished picture; but the ideal character of the man is shown in greater purity and grandeur by his contemporaries than by later tradition. The attempts to explain that marvellous life degraded it gradually to a vulgar level. It is unfortunate that Dr. Alberti's way of writing would confuse the clearest results of sound critical principles.

There is a well-known story that Plato's lecture was so dull on one occasion that the whole audience melted away, and the end was heard by Aristotle alone. The author has the bad taste to suggest that the composition which dispersed the assembly was the sublime and dramatic *Phædo*.

7. THERE is a class of French literature which it is sometimes difficult to estimate in a satisfactory manner. The author gets up his subject; he expounds its obvious bearings with sufficient accuracy, and a facility and fluency which are almost tedious; he flavours the whole with some reflections that hover on the verge of originality; and then he retires in the apparent belief that he has made a substantial contribution to science. Of this class M. Martha's *Poème de Lucrèce* is decidedly a favourable specimen. It brings out very clearly that the system of Lucretius was distinctly superior, both morally and intellectually, to the popular prejudices which he assailed, and that he was not in conscious antagonism either with Stoical morality, or, still less, with Platonic spiritualism, which, as the author points out, had disappeared almost entirely by the first century B.C. Nor is M. Martha blind to the defects of Epicureanism because he recognises with Seneca its real austerity. He condemns it on intellectual grounds, not as a system of rationalism, but as a system of misology; he condemns it on moral grounds, not as a system of self-indulgence, but as a system of quietism. In fact, he regards it as liable to the same objection as Stoicism—that in suppressing passion it suppresses life. He has some exceedingly good remarks on the difference between Lucretius's view of the shortness of life and the *carpe diem* philosophy of Horace, and on the parallels to be found in Pascal and Bossuet to the meditations of Lucretius on human littleness. Copious extracts are given, generally in verse, which retain a good deal of the massive fervour of the original. Of course the details have to be sacrificed; but M. Martha has generally saved all that could be saved. There is a somewhat exaggerated estimate of what Epicurus did to bind his successors, by bequeathing his gardens to the head of his school: in this he seems only to have resembled all the founders of philosophical sects.

8. M. RENAN'S *Saint Paul*, although a continuation of his *Vie de Jésus* and *Les Apôtres*, and written with exactly the same views, is far less open to objection than its predecessors. Its value is in every way incomparably greater. The limits of the subject give no opportunity for the expression of his ideas upon the Person of Christ; nor do they allow him to indulge freely in those faults of historical method which make his *Vie de Jésus* a mere "sacrilegious novel," as it has been called by critics who are as little disposed as himself to admit the Divine origin of Christianity. The Gospel history is full of supernatural events, which are either true or purely legendary; and M. Renan, who considers them as absolutely impossible, nevertheless picks, chooses, interprets, and combines details

inextricably bound up with them, regardless of any other check than what his own imagination imposes upon him. But the narrative of the new book is chiefly based upon authorities which, from their nature, admit only to a very limited extent of that manipulation to which he has subjected the Gospel history. "La part de divination et de conjecture" is not at all forgotten; but is obliged to play a very subordinate part. The conjecture that St. Paul was married to Lydia can only excite a smile; but ridiculous details like this only occur either when M. Renan has no evidence at all, or when he believes that before him to be mixed with fable. He writes very differently when dealing with evidence which not only he but every one else considers trustworthy. No other book gives so admirable an account as this of the topography of St. Paul's history. The author has himself travelled over all the ground described, except Galatia. In no other book is so much important light brought to bear upon the contemporary history of the different places visited by St. Paul, and the ideas then current, whether among heathens or Jews. M. Renan has not only studied with minute accuracy every passage in sacred and profane literature which has the least reference to his subject, but has availed himself, with a success not heretofore attained, of the aid of coins, medals, and inscriptions. The propagation of Christianity, and its first introduction into Galatia, Macedonia, Corinth, Ephesus, Phrygia, and (above all) Rome, have never before been described with so much learning and eloquence.

M. Renan, who admits as indisputable the genuineness of the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, considers the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Philippians as certainly genuine, and those to the Colossians and Philemon as probably so. He doubts however, the genuineness of that to the Ephesians; and he holds those to Timothy and Titus to be certainly spurious. The arguments against these Epistles are not new; but they certainly had never yet been presented with so much force and clearness. On this literary question M. Renan, with all his acuteness, is open to refutation: the state of the controversy leaves it possible that arguments more powerful than his may still be discovered in behalf of the Pastoral Epistles. But on the great dominant fact in the history of St. Paul's teaching, the old illusions cannot recover their former power. There was no such doctrinal uniformity in the Apostolic Church as used to be imagined. The day of Pentecost did not put the Apostles in possession of a dogmatic system even of the most elementary kind. The theology of St. Paul was at variance with that of St. James; and there was no living oracle to decide between them. On a most vital question of religious practice St. Paul resisted St. Peter to the face. It is not M. Renan who has discovered all this; but his book gives a most lively description of the independent course pursued by St. Paul, and of the opposition which he met with from the Mother Church of Jerusalem. The author is often wrong in details; he is harsh and prejudiced against the party of St.



James; and his conjectures are generally baseless. But the main course of his narrative is thoroughly borne out by the express authority of the Great Apostle himself, and the contemporary evidence of the last chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

9. DR. PETER has completed his Roman history by a volume which extends from the death of Nero to the death of Marcus Aurelius. Writing many years ago on the method of historical study, he advised students to avoid Gibbon, because he is frivolous and rhetorical; and the first impression in reading his own work is that he has succeeded admirably in escaping those defects. He has grown grey in the schools, and he writes for students, that is to say, simply, and always with the object of giving results, definite, clear, and certain. There is no art of composition, and little discussion of authorities, except where he defends the veracity both of Tacitus and of Josephus against Mr. Merivale. He prefers facts to ideas; and the rise of Christianity and of the Roman law, the two things which make the empire memorable, scarcely occupy one page each. He is a decided opponent of Mommsen's view of Roman history, and of the belief that the military monarchy was the legitimate and proper result of the democratic government. Even in the age of the Antonines he points out the symptoms of decline. In his former volumes, and especially in an essay on the Machiavellism of Rome, after the second Punic war, which is printed in his critique of Mommsen, he has painted the Roman character in the blackest colours. Yet he attributes to that national character, and to its faults themselves, the greatness and power of Rome. When the degenerate citizens lost the energy by which they had ruled the world, men who were free from the polluting influences of the capital, men fresh from the provinces, became masters of the State, and brought with them that marked improvement in society and government which, if we except the reign of Domitian, endured for a century. The vigorous life of the provinces reacted on the exhausted city. The administration was far better than under the Republic; a great system of public charity was introduced; Stoicism refined the ideas of right and mitigated the evils of slavery; great part of the population was converted to Christianity; and the contact of purer doctrines caused the reform of Paganism. Dr. Peter, who anticipates somewhat, and overestimates the action of Christianity at the time, sees in all this new elements of decline. The specific narrow qualities which were the strength of the Roman people were diluted by the admixture of better things. There is something crude in this view, which the author would have avoided if he had sought the real history of the time less in public transactions and affairs of State, and more in the silent uprising of ideas which were to outlive the twelve centuries of Romulus and govern a world unknown to Rome.

10. As printed forms are now used for a

great number of business writings, so in the middle ages every great Government Office had its book of forms, by the aid of which deeds and letters were composed. Cassiodorus, in his *Varia*, left a collection of models for the Chanceries of the Ostrogothic kings. They can only have been in use for a very short time; but they are a most important source of our knowledge of the Gothic kingdom. For the business of the Papal Court the time of Gregory the Great forms an epoch. He introduced order into the administration, reformed the finances, and exercised the closest supervision over the bishops and abbots under his immediate jurisdiction. At the same time, he was the most learned man of his time, the last of the great Doctors of the Church, and a complete master of the ecclesiastical language, which had not yet succumbed to barbarism. From the laboured and affected style of Cassiodorus or Ennodius he is entirely free; and it is no wonder that his letters were carefully collected and preserved in transcripts, or that his successors followed his models, and as much as possible made use of his forms. Accordingly, in the book which, on account of the daily use made of it, was called *Liber Diurnus*, many of the letters are those of Gregory I. Others perhaps belong to an earlier time; and many were added later. Mention is made of the sixth Council (681), and of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, who ascended the throne in 685. The book contains all the documents used on the occasion of a vacancy in the Papal chair—letters to the Emperor, the Exarch, and the Archbishop of Ravenna, the Pope's confession of faith, and the form for his enthronization. There is also the whole correspondence arising out of the various relations of the bishoprics, the monasteries, and the great estates of the Roman Church.

The confusion resulting from the Iconoclast controversy, followed by the conquest of the Franks, deprived the *Liber Diurnus* of much of its practical value; but it seems to have been still used as far as the altered circumstances would allow, till a wholly new state of things arose in the eleventh century. From that time it fell into oblivion; and isolated passages from it are only found in Gratian and other canonists. At last, in 1644, Lucas Holstenius discovered the old manuscript, and at once began to print it. The edition was almost ready, when the Papal censor interposed, and prohibited the publication. Why this sensitiveness should have been shown at a time when men were zealously engaged at Rome on the history of the Church, is a question which the learned editor treats at large in his very interesting and instructive Introduction, where he also fully explains the origin and contents of the book. The point at which offence was taken at Rome was the confession of faith to be made by the Pope-elect, because in this formula a preceding Pope, Honorius, was branded as heretical. This did not harmonize with the view of infallibility maintained at Rome. But it was all the more welcome on that account to the scholars of the Gallican Church. The passage was not unknown to them. They had

already a general acquaintance with the book; and the prohibition of its publication naturally excited attention. The French Jesuits had an old manuscript of it in their college of Clermont; and in 1680 Father Garnier published this with an air of the utmost unconcern, as if he had never heard of the Roman prohibition and the learned controversy it had occasioned. Later on, Benedict xiii. allowed the edition of Holstenius to see the light; and Mabillon furnished Garnier's edition with supplements from the Roman manuscript. There have also been reprints by Hoffmann at Leipzig, and Kiegger at Vienna. But the use of the book by modern scholars has been seriously restricted by the want of a really critical edition. This want has now been supplied by M. de Rozière, who has already earned great merit by his *Recueil Général des Formules*. He found in Paris the edition of the *Liber Diurnus* which Baluze had prepared but left incomplete; and he received from the *Académie des Inscriptions* the careful collation of the Roman ms. which had been made for the Academy by M. Daremberg and M. Renan. Both the old manuscripts formerly existing in France have unfortunately disappeared. M. de Rozière has therefore given an exact reprint of the Roman ms., with all its errors. These may be corrected by the different readings of the earlier editions, and the notes, especially where the letters of Gregory i. furnished a guide. For the rest, the writing of the eighth century is so bad that it is impossible to tell which errors are due to the copyist, and which to the original draughtsman; and the book, just as it is, affords a glimpse of the condition of the Papal Chancery at the time. The notes of Baluze, like everything that emanated from him, are proofs of comprehensive learning and acuteness. M. de Rozière's painstaking work has increased his own high reputation, and has helped to revive the ancient fame of true French scholarship.

11. It is no ordinary undertaking to trace the policy of the Popes from Gregory i., who laid the strong foundations of the Papal power, to Gregory vii., who claimed for the successors of St. Peter an absolute supremacy over all sovereigns and nations, and who, although he did not reach his aim, yet pointed out the way which his successors pursued. It is the passage from a well-established and self-conscious spiritual power, unavoidably concerned in worldly affairs, and confronting the powers of the world without fear, to the attempt to establish a real theocracy, and to transform the princes of Christendom into vassals of the Church—an attempt which Gregory vii. was the first to make by means of external force. The period that lies between them is one of very complicated events and deep moral decline. Much has been done for its elucidation within the last ten years; and Herr Baxmann in particular devoted to the subject an immense amount of reading. He so far mastered it that there is scarcely one single document worthy of note that can be said to have escaped his attention; almost every passage of his book is supported by proof; and in his notes he care-

fully weighs the respective value of conflicting opinions. He is free from all narrow prejudice, and endeavours to judge the characters of his history impartially according to the ideas that prevailed at the time, and the surrounding circumstances. But he has not succeeded in penetrating to the heart of his subject; and he fails to paint a vivid picture, or to fascinate his readers by the clearness of his logical exposition. The book is only adapted for scholars who may be occupied with the questions it concerns. And for this purpose it is admirably suited, by the conscientious citation of all the ancient sources, manuscripts, and modern books, which come under consideration at every passage. The author died soon after his book was finished.

12. The first volume of the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* is none the less welcome for having been long waited for. Mr. Haddan, who is thus far the sole editor, gives the best justification of the delay by the careful and full execution of his work. We now have all the available materials for a history of the early British Church, of the Welsh Church down to the time when Wales practically became part of England, and of the short-lived Cornish see. The only desirable addition would be a volume of Lives of the Early Welsh Saints. Unhistorical as they are, they contain some materials which Church annalists will always need to take into account; and they are practically buried at present in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, or in the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Mr. Haddan, however, supplies a useful list of such among them as have been printed; and the whole have been admirably described in Sir Thomas Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue. We can therefore endure to wait till they find an editor.

Mr. Haddan probably goes as far as learning and judgment will permit any one to go in supporting the time-honoured views of Parker and Usher as to an early and independent British Church. But the result is of course very meagre. He can find no better authority for the martyrdom of St. Alban than a local tradition within 125 years of the last persecution. He accepts the very suspicious list which gives among the bishops of Gaul present at the Council of Arles an Eborius, Bishop of Eboracum, and two bishops, one from London and the other from Colonia Londinensium (surely Lincoln rather than Caerleon), adding a priest, "Sacerdos," and a (? German) deacon "Arminius." Considering the composite character of the list, it does not seem impossible that Crabbe's version, which refers two of these prelates to the province of Byzacena, in Africa, is the more trustworthy; and that Britain, if it had any representative, had only one, from either London or York. It is at least curious that the presence of British bishops, eleven years later, at Nicæa, cannot be certainly proved; and that the fame of their participation in Sardica (347) rests only on some vague expressions of Athanasius, and is contradicted by the extant lists. It seems more certain that they were present

at Ariminum (359), and consented to Arianism. Anyhow, we may probably refer the organization of a Christian Church in Britain to the beginning of the fourth century at least, though tradition and the evidence of monuments alike show that it was not for some time wealthy or powerful. Mr. Haddan gives a careful list of such remains as may be presumed to be Christian in Roman Britain. It adds rather in the number of instances than in real weight to those quoted by Mr. Merivale in his acknowledged article in the *Quarterly Review*. Generally the cross or monogram is found intermixed with Pagan symbols; and of the many monuments scattered along the line of the Roman Wall not one shows any traces of Christianity. It may be added that, if we except a doubtful painting at Ilkley, a silver cup at Corbridge, and some pottery at Catterick, which might easily have been carried up from the south, there seems to be no real evidence that Christianity was established north of the Humber. Yet this province in Roman times was seemingly second to none in population and wealth. Eborius, for any evidence to the contrary, may have been the only Christian in his diocese.

In dealing with the British Church during the period of the Saxon conquest, Mr. Haddan brings fresh evidence to prove that its difference on the subject of Easter was derived from the Western, not from the Eastern Church. The Britons in fact "still acted upon the cycle which the Church of Rome had used, with some changes, up to 458;" and there is thus incidental confirmation that our early histories are not far wrong in assigning the Saxon invasion, and the consequent suspension of British intercourse with Rome, to about the middle of the fifth century. For this and for the succeeding period down to the end of the schism the materials are of course very scanty; but Mr. Haddan has added a list of sepulchral Christian inscriptions, and the Penitential of Gildas, which had not appeared previously in an English edition. There are also some decrees of the early Welsh Councils, one of which contains an interesting witness to the importance of the struggle against the Saxons. Any man acting as guide "to the barbarians" is to do penance for thirteen years, though no bloodshed shall have resulted; but if Christians have been killed or carried away, he is to spend the rest of his life in penance. In a valuable Appendix Mr. Haddan adduces evidence for believing that the British Church had a Latin Bible of its own. The history of the Saxon period consists chiefly of the Laws of Howell Dda; but Mr. Haddan adds some extracts from the Book of Llandaff. With the Norman period we come of course to some thing like continuous history. Mr. Haddan prefixes a striking extract from a letter of the Welsh Princes to Pope Innocent III., complaining that the Archbishops of Canterbury invariably supported the English arms by spiritual censures on the whole province. There is ample and very amusing evidence of this. Within two months, Llewellyn, the last sovereign of North Wales, was excommunicated for declaring war, and

the Bishop of St. Asaph was cautioned not to proceed against the Englishmen who had burned down his cathedral, "intending to put down the public enemy according to the common fashion of the country."

The next volume of the work, Mr. Haddan says, will comprise the early Scottish and Irish documents. The third, in which Professor Stubbs is to edit the documents of the Saxon Church, will give for the first time the genuine Penitentials of Theodore, Bede, and Egbert, and will exclude several works that have been improperly issued under their names. It is not very creditable to English scholarship that such work should have been left to the present generation: it is satisfactory to find that it is now in competent hands.

13. A contribution from Moscow to the history of the German middle ages is a phenomenon which demands attention. The book is the *Officium et Miracula Sancti Willigisi*, from a ms. of the twelfth century. It is beautifully printed, and contains a facsimile of the manuscript, with the musical notation of the time, and two well-executed chromo-lithographs, which show the ecclesiastical vestments with great clearness. But it does not elucidate the history of Willigis. He was one of the most distinguished prelates of the middle ages, and was Archbishop of Mentz from 975 to 1011. He founded a monastery in honour of St. Stephen at Mentz, which a century and a half later was raised to new splendour by its Provost, Hartmann; and, in the year 1147, one of the monks conceived a wish to procure the canonization of the founder. Stories of miracles were not wanting; and accordingly he compiled this manuscript. At the beginning of it are two letters purporting to be from the deceased Archbishop himself, to the Archbishop and to the Provost, in which he asks for the translation of his remains, and for a public cultus. The zealous monk had already composed the requisite office. But in the year 1153 Archbishop Henry was deposed, and succeeded by the Chancellor Arnold, the reputed author of his fall. The citizens of Mentz had a passionate hatred for Arnold; and in 1160 they burned him, together with the monastery of St. James, in which he had taken refuge. The leader of his enemies was Hartmann, at that time Provost both of the Cathedral and of St. Stephen's. It is clear therefore why the ingenious plan did not succeed. The manuscript, being now of no use, remained unnoticed till the dissolution of the monastery in 1802, when it came into the hands of an antiquary, who transferred it to Moscow. There it fortunately fell in the way of Professor Guerrier, who had studied in Germany. He has edited its contents admirably, provided it with a learned introduction, and dedicated the whole work to his former preceptor, Professor Jaffé of Berlin.

14. BEFORE the outbreak of the great struggle between Church and State, which has continued to the present time, the ecclesiastical principalities were almost the only States in

which a higher culture existed. Intimately connected with Italy, they promoted the better cultivation of the soil; and with the advancement of scientific education they combined artistic and commercial activity. The ecclesiastical immunities afforded a promise of comparative security; and it was in the Episcopal cities especially that merchants collected and the citizens flourished. Kings and emperors increased the power and wealth of the ecclesiastical princes, not from piety alone, but also because they found in them their best advisers, and a counterpoise against their turbulent and ambitious vassals. To the German Emperors this policy appeared all the more congruous because they exercised the greatest influence on the nomination of the Popes. Henry III. had caused the right of appointing them to be formally transferred to himself. But he also promoted that hierarchical tendency which led to the destruction of this state of things; and the monastery of Goslar, which he highly favoured, was a nursery of ecclesiastical zealots. From this place, and not, like the majority of the earlier bishops, from the Imperial Chancery, came Archbishop Anno of Cologne, a man of great energy of will, with a burning zeal for the Church, and an austere life, but without either feeling or perception for the needs of the Empire. After the death of Henry III. (1056), he succeeded by craft and violence in making himself Regent, and master of the King, who was a minor; but he only employed these advantages, at the expense of the realm, to silence his colleagues, and to aggrandize the church of Cologne, by continual donations. For this purpose he did not shrink from acts of positive injustice. He endeavoured to subjugate the free monasteries of the Empire; but in this project he was thwarted by the tenacious opposition of the monks. He founded new convents with a stricter rule; and these, especially Siegburg, he nursed with the most devoted care. In these foundations his memory continued to be held in great veneration; and it was by them that his canonization was brought about. But in his city of Cologne, he was very differently esteemed. He was a harsh superior, refusing to recognise any rights on the part of the aspiring and prosperous citizens as against their lord; and when they rose in insurrection against him, his revenge was so bloody and barbarous that the city was for a long time made desolate. Towards the Papal See his attitude was not one of compliance. He desired to maintain the dependence of the Church on the Empire, as it had existed under Henry III. But he was no match for an opponent like Hildebrand, and was obliged to give way.

To work out the picture of such a character would be a difficult, though an attractive, task. The information which has come down to us about Anno is not so abundant as might be desired; and many questions remain unsolved. But still it would be possible to sketch a vigorous outline; and the relations between Church and State, the great and powerful Archbishop-elect of Cologne, the conventual life of the time, the growing self-reliance of the burghers,

are the elements which should compose the background. Dr. Lindner does not attain this end; nor does he appear to have even proposed it to himself. But his book on the subject is executed with industry and care. He endeavours to do justice to his hero, without concealing his weaknesses; and his researches will be valuable to historical students.

15. THE famous collection of Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* has been of the highest service to students; and every new volume of the work continues to supply most useful matter in the way of chronicles and biographies. But the collection is so comprehensive that it necessarily proceeds at a very slow pace; and of the different divisions it is to comprise one very important one—that of letters—has not yet been even begun. Thousands of letters have come down from the middle ages—sometimes in collections, and sometimes copied singly on the blank leaves of manuscripts, or in the original. These letters are, for the most part, written by persons of importance, who have taken an active part in the politics of the time; and accordingly they constitute the most valuable evidence, for the understanding of events and characters. This has led Herr Jaffé to arrange the plan of his *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* so that every volume contains a large number of letters with other kindred documents annexed. This great work, which he edits without assistance, and of which the fifth volume has recently appeared, reflects the highest credit on its projector. The documents are given in full; and the texts are excellent throughout. The notes, indeed, are rather too short, but they generally contain what the reader wants.

The imposing position which the Emperor occupied in the early middle ages, makes it obvious that the importance of these collections is not in any way confined to Germany. The earlier volumes, containing letters from Boniface, Gregory VII., and Eginhard, and letters from and to Charlemagne, are of universal interest. The present volume gives the so-called *Codex Udalrici*, a collection which was composed in the year 1125, by a Bamberg ecclesiastic, as a model for the Chancery of the Bishop of Würzburg. The investiture controversy was then just closed; and there are many letters relating to it from Gregory VII. and the Antipope Clement, from Henry IV., and from many bishops. The important document is also given in which Siebert, the learned monk of Gembloux, protests, in the name of the Church of Liège, against the injunction of Urban II. to Count Robert of Flanders, to attack it by armed force, and generally against the new despotic policy of the Roman Court, introduced by Gregory VII., with its reliance on material force. It is a writing worthy of notice, for the nature of its contents, as well as for its high literary merits. All these letters had been already printed; but they had not before been critically examined, arranged chronologically, and illustrated. It is now for the first time possible to read them with ease and real profit. The volume in-

cludes a choice collection of other letters, some of which are printed for the first time. Amongst these, one of the Emperor Henry iv. to the Romans, calling upon them to aid him against Gregory vii., is given from a manuscript in the Lambeth Library.

Many of the letters either emanated from Bishop Ocho of Bamberg, or are addressed to him. Otho was a man of remarkable character. Though extremely pious, he adhered to the King when under sentence of excommunication. He understood how, in the midst of the struggle, to avoid a breach with either party; and, as became a good ruler, his first care was always for his bishopric. Nevertheless, he found time to convert the heathen Pomeranians, a mission which he accomplished with extraordinary skill; and he combined the greatest zeal for the Church, and even the desire for a martyr's death, with that worldly knowledge and prudence which in such cases are too often lacking. It fortunately happens that we have ample information on the subject in two biographies of the Bishop, which were composed, not long after his death, by Ebo and Herbord, two monks of Bamberg. Herr Jaffé has given a critical revision of the text of these works, and severely tested their credibility.

16. SIR FREDERICK MADDEN's researches have added so much to our knowledge of Matthew Paris, perhaps the best known among English chroniclers, that it is now, for the first time, possible to appreciate what his real services to English history were. Hitherto the general belief, not indeed among professed scholars, but among ordinary students of history, has been that we possess two independent histories of the reign of Henry iii., or its greater part—one by Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, and another by a Matthew of Westminster, whose date was assigned by Bale to the fourteenth century. The late Mr. Buckle, who must certainly be regarded as a person of more than average historical culture, refers to Matthew Paris accordingly as "the most eminent historian during the thirteenth century," and to Matthew of Westminster as, "after Froissart, the most celebrated historian of the fourteenth century." The first of these statements need not be disputed; and it is not matter of very great importance if some of Mr. Buckle's quotations from Matthew Paris are in fact derived from Wendover, whose History Paris incorporated with some additions in his own. Mr. Coxe first established the extent and importance of Wendover's History, which goes down to the year 1285. From that year, Matthew Paris continued it down to the year of his death (1259), writing first what is now known as the *Historia Major*. Probably this work was found practically to be too diffuse for general perusal or reproduction; and Matthew Paris accordingly abridged it down to the year 1249, giving his compilation the name of *Flores Historiarum*. This more popular manual was continued by other hands down to the year 1307, and through some mistake of a copyist was described in two manuscripts as the work of an imaginary Matthew of West-

minster. Mr. Buckle improved upon this error by giving the unreal author a celebrity of which it would be hard to find any evidence, and by quoting him as authority for three legendary stories, of which two are interpolations in the manuscript, and the third in Parker's text. Better evidence could scarcely be needed how important it is for English history that even printed works should be edited again, if the first texts followed were corrupt or the first editors slovenly. Sir Frederick Madden proves the printed text of the *Historia Major* to be absolutely untrustworthy. Archbishop Parker seems to have thought that an elegant Latin style was more important than the reproduction of his author's words or sense, and classicalized the mediæval Latin pitilessly. He also objected to gaps in the text; and in one instance inserted eleven lines, altered from the *Flores Historiarum*.

As the rules of the Record Commission forbid the republication of printed books, except when these have become as rare as manuscripts, Sir Frederick Madden probably had no alternative but to edit the *Historia Anglorum*, instead of preparing a correct text of the *Historia Major*. On the whole, the necessity need not be regretted, though the two works are of very different value. The *Historia Anglorum*, often called the *Historia Minor*, seems to have been written for presentation to Henry iii., and accordingly omits or modifies many passages in which the royal family or the Papal exactions were attacked. That these suppressions were sorely against the grain cannot be doubted. Sometimes a whole paragraph has required a second toning down. Thus a passage in the *Historia Major* attacks the friars for receiving vows to go on a crusade from women and old men, whom they afterwards absolved for money, and adds that Earl Richard profited by their gains. In the first reproduction of this passage, Matthew Paris contented himself with omitting the allusion to Earl Richard. But he gradually became more cautious, and substituted a brief statement, with perhaps a touch of irony, that the friars had reaped fruit of various kinds, accepting the will for the deed, and mercifully ransoming many people. Of course these alterations affect the credit of the author. Yet it may be said in his behalf, that he sins only by suppression, not by suggestion; and if no one would guess from the *Historia Anglorum* that he was the bitter foe of the Mendicant Orders, no one would set him down as their cordial friend. Moreover, the fact that he has softened down so much makes the testimony he still bears—as to John's treachery and violence—doubly valuable. The King whose craft, folly, and fury were openly censured in a book destined for his son's eyes must have been infamous in no ordinary degree.

An interesting passage in Sir Frederick Madden's Preface to the third volume describes a series of maps by Matthew Paris: one of the World, one of Britain, one of the Roman roads in Britain, and one an Itinerary for pilgrims going from London to Jerusalem. He observes justly that "it would be very desirable to have

the whole of the maps relating to Britain photographed by the zincographic process of Sir Henry James, from the earliest period to the end of the fifteenth century."

17. MR. LUARD has established a reputation as a careful and competent editor; and the present volumes of his *Annales Monastici* will add to it. The first of them (the fourth of the work) contains the Chronicle of Osney, now printed for the first time, and curiously completing the well-known Chronicle of Wykes, which probably issued from the same monastery, and which Mr. Luard gives with a correct text. The Annals of Worcester, which make up the volume, were already partially known by the extracts printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*; but these were somewhat capriciously made, and the book is now rather scarce. There was good reason, therefore, why they should be printed in full. Mr. Luard has thus pretty well accomplished the task which he proposed to himself, of collecting the most important chronicles written during the thirteenth century. Yet having done so much so well, he might usefully go on and employ himself on the Lanercost Chronicle, and some of the smaller monastic annals which he alludes to. That a book has been printed for the Bannatyne or Maitland or for the Roxburghe series ought not to be considered any bar to publication.

It is now known pretty well that no great discoveries are to be made from the new chronicles brought to light. The main facts of history found their way naturally into one or other of those more popular versions from which the histories of a century past were derived. Roughly, too, it may be said that the ordinary way in which a monastic chronicle was formed was by insertions in the text of some current authority, with perhaps an original portion during a few years of a single monk's life. Thus Mr. Luard finds it difficult to decide whether Wykes was enlarged from Osney or Osney from Wykes, the early portions in both showing marked correspondence. But during the important twenty years (1258-1278) which embraced the Barons' War, the two writers take opposite sides; and Wykes, writing at greatest length, is perhaps our best authority for the history of the times. The different views which the inmates of the same convent might hold are of course of peculiar interest. To Wykes, De Montfort is an ambitious self-seeking rebel, whose chief associates are young men moulded like wax in his hands. To the other annalist of Osney, De Montfort is the servant of God, "who shed his blood for the honour of God's name and the laws of his fatherland." As in this way the temper of the times can only be learned by a comparison of different chronicles, so there is often reason for trusting one in particular above others. Two cases of heresy were brought before the Council of Oxford in 1222, which have a peculiar interest, as they ought to illustrate the law of England on the subject. One was of a deacon who had apostatized to Judaism, the other of an impostor or madman, who asserted

himself to be Christ, and exhibited the signs of the Passion. Unhappily, the accounts of the sentences given differ materially in different chronicles. Matthew Paris, in the *Historia Minor*, tells with great detail how the deacon was put out of the Church and murdered by Fawkes de Bréaute: Bracton and Wykes say he was burned by the secular power. Similarly in the case of the pseudo-Christ, Paris says he was condemned, but does not say to what: the Chronicle of Meaux, a late authority, says he was crucified at Abberbury: Wykes says he was imprisoned for the rest of his life on bread and water. Now the testimony of Wykes acquires very great additional value since Mr. Luard has shown that he lived at Osney, and would therefore be well acquainted with the local history of Oxford. The case of the deacon is very difficult to explain; but it is possible that he was handed over to the secular arm as Bracton states, and was irregularly cut down by Fawkes de Bréaute. His body may afterwards have been burned, lest it should seem that he had escaped the full sentence. Anyhow, there appears to be no doubt that heresy was a capital offence in England during the thirteenth century, though we do not remember any other instance in which the penalty was incurred. On the other point, Wykes's testimony may now be regarded as conclusive. The mistake in the Chronicle of Meaux probably arose from the annalist's misunderstanding of a charge against the offender, who had gone, it seems, through the ceremony of a mock crucifixion.

Mr. Luard's fifth volume contains a very full and apparently very careful index. It may be worth noticing that the Gurtibo which Professor Stubbs identifies, we think rightly, with Quilleboeuf (it is called Guitebo in Rigordus), was not the well-known Quilleboeuf in the mouth of the Seine, but a village between Evreux and Le Neubourg. Suffield Firth is probably to be looked for near Sheffield. The castles of Haldesham in Yorkshire, and of Horrestan near Derby (i. p. 458), ought perhaps to have found a place in the index. These trifles, however, do not detract from the sterling value of the book, which is the more creditable to Mr. Luard, as the indexes were the worst feature in the early volumes of the Record series.

18. MR. LONGMAN'S work on *The Life and Times of Edward III.* is a careful and sound digest of the materials at present available for the political history of the reign. That it does not add much to our actual knowledge is attributable mainly to the fact that recent publications in England and France have not seriously increased our store; and that Froissart and Rymer are still the great sources of information. Nevertheless it is a great gain to literature that the additions and rectifications of those who have written since Lingard and Pauli should be presented in a compact form by a writer of sound judgment; and Mr. Longman's style is fluent and clear. The chapters on foreign policy and campaigns are perhaps the best in the book; the weakest parts are

those which relate to the general causes of Edward's wars, or to the social condition of England under him. Yet even in his weakest parts Mr. Longman does not so much fall below the level of his predecessors as below that which it was now possible to attain. He has wanted sound guidance in the comparatively unexplored tracts of history.

Take, for instance, the causes and real significance of the great war with France. It was partly a question of the relations between vassal and lord-paramount, partly a dynastic question of succession; and to both these determining causes Mr. Longman does justice. But it was also something more. During an almost unbroken peace with England of more than a century, and under the rule of wise and vigorous kings, France had become not only the first power in Christendom, but a power that threatened the independence of every other nation. Her population, by the lowest current estimate, was nearly four times that of England; and England was the only power that could confront it. Germany, Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, were all more or less paralysed by internal divisions. The turbulent chivalry of the Templars had been absolutely swept away; the liberties of the Flemish towns had received a crushing blow at Cassel; and the Pope was rather a powerful vassal than an independent ally. The obvious policy of the Crown of France was first to consolidate its internal power by reducing its great feudatories to real subjection, and then to advance to the conquest of all Europe. There seemed no reason to apprehend danger from England. The prestige of her soldiery had been tarnished at Baunockburn, and almost ruined by the Northumbrian campaign in Edward's first year. Men whom the French regarded as mere savages had been able to insult England at pleasure; and the English victories of later years at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill were only the doubtful triumphs of civil war. French statesmen might easily believe that they could occupy England on the side of Scotland, and add Aquitaine to the royal domain almost without a blow. That English statesmen, knowing the odds against them, should deliberately accept a challenge which it was possible to evade without dishonour, seems scarcely less wonderful than that the issue should have been what it was. Edward's martial ardour was, no doubt, among the chief determining causes. But it is also probable that more reflective men than the king believed that a war with France could only be deferred, thought it wise to attack while the French power was not yet fully consolidated, expected the support of foreign alliances, conceived that Scotland would be best conquered in France, and held that it was safer to invade than to await invasion. The experience of English history went far to prove that fortune favoured the assailant.

The first years of the war showed a strength in England, a latent weakness in France, which seems to have escaped the calculations of statesmen on both sides. Foreign alliances did little for Edward; and he found it neces-

sary to secure Calais as a starting-point for his operations, instead of making the Flemish towns his base. But it presently appeared that the fighting strength of the two nations was more even than had been thought. The French knights far outnumbered the English; and the French armies were accompanied by vast hosts of peasants, equipped merely with knives or sticks, to whom the English forces had no counterpart. But to the English bowmen Philip was forced at Crécy to oppose Genoese; and everywhere throughout the campaigns the battles were fought by troops supported by artillery against men comparatively without artillery, and helpless except at close quarters. Now this difference was not merely one of strategy. To be an archer required the training of years; and commonly implied that the man was more than a mere serf, and lived in a country where the people at large could be safely trusted with arms. Precisely these conditions were present in England and wanting in the greater part of France. During a century and a half at least, the tendency in England had been to substitute laws for arbitrary power, and a modified personal freedom for modified bondage. The great earls who had once kept the Crown in check had almost died out of the land; and the baronage had long been powerless against any competent king. In France the very reverse of all this was the case. The kings had won half their provinces by foreign conquest and alliances with revolted nobles. The very extent of the country was against that concentration of authority which all statesmen saw to be desirable, and which those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were at last able to carry out. The feudal system had worked well in its day; but it was powerless against the vigour and elasticity which England had derived from constitutional liberty. It was a war of freemen against serfs, of commercial wealth against feudal service; and it is significant that the best military intelligence, strategy, engineering, and artillery, even to the use of cannon, were all found on the side of the commercial people.

Where England broke down, fortunately for herself and for the world, was in the attempt to wage war as a speculation. The invasion of Spain was only prompted by one honest motive—the conservative sentiment for a legitimate prince. Its real reason must be found in the fact that English imagination had been demoralized by the successes achieved in France, and had come to regard war as the most profitable of adventures. What good work England could do had by this time been done. The danger of one too powerful State was at an end; and even policy should have dictated the consolidation of the conquests from France, or should have sought fresh annexations within the four seas only. Unhappily for both countries, the English success had been too great, and the secret of it was not yet understood. England was doomed to renew the fatal blood-feud with fresh glory at Agincourt: France required the discipline of fresh defeats before her nobles could be reduced un-



der the needful power of the Crown. It probably will not be given to this generation to work out adequately and fully that social history of the two countries, without which an exact measurement of these differences is impossible. If Mr. Longman's work scarcely attempts to supply the deficiency, neither does it misstate or mislead. Like all books that deal honestly with facts, it even suggests the problem, and partly, though undesignedly, indicates the solution.

19. MR. BOND has at last concluded the interesting Chronicle of Meaux Abbey. In many respects the third volume is the most attractive and important. It deals with the latter portion of the fourteenth century, the time in which the chronicler lived, and one for which our sources of history are rather meagre. Here and there valuable notices of contemporary events occur. Thus we learn that "the ford across the river Seine between St. Valery and Crotoy was betrayed to Edward by an Englishman," born in a part of Yorkshire where the convent of Meaux had estates. Incidentally, too, we have a full and trustworthy record of the ravages made by the sea on the convent property near Hull. The whole town of Ravenserodd, once the most important fishing settlement on the coast, was swept by successive inundations into the sea (1356-1367). Still more valuable for the historian are the notices of the great social movement which ended in the emancipation of the serfs. It is evident that many of the English bondsmen had gradually acquired the position of a substantial yeomanry, were extremely well off, and disposed to assert their independence in every possible way. At this time serfdom to the Crown was apparently the least onerous form of servitude; and the villeins of a whole estate succeeded in inducing the royal escheator to claim them. The movement might easily have become general; and the Abbot of Meaux was compelled to strain every nerve, even traveling to London, and bribing largely, before his legal rights could be vindicated. It seems that his claim was undeniably good; but the feeling of the country and of the royal council was very generally against him. Even the Court that gave a verdict in his favour recommended that the bondsmen should not be punished for their proceedings. It is necessary to assume either a strong feeling against the great Church proprietors, or paramount reasons of justice and policy on the side of self-emancipation, to explain this current of feeling among the classes most interested in enforcing the strict rights of property.

Meaux Convent was no exception to the rule that monastic rentals declined during the century and a half preceding the Reformation. The depreciation was not very startling, amounting only to about four per cent. (£603 against £626); but it is not easy to see why lands comprising 20,000 acres should have been worth less in 1588 than in 1399. Had the wars of the Roses been more permanently ruinous to posterity than the French wars, the black death, and the misgovernment of Richard II. ? Or is

it to be assumed that monasteries in the fifteenth century were worse ordered than in earlier times, and abbots afraid to raise their tenants' rents? Probably the latter reason is the truer. There is no necessity to suppose any criminal mismanagement. Every generation of men might see the fortunes of the house frittered away by a wasteful or incompetent superior; and in this respect the twelfth century was no better than the fifteenth. But in the twelfth century the monks had many advantages over their lay neighbours, which were lost in more orderly times. They were more essentially farmers and traders, the barons and gentry more essentially soldiers. Taxation fell lighter on the Church when monasticism was yet a power than when it declined. Besides, in the epoch of the Crusades, men of wealth constantly took monastic vows in old age, and endowed the monastery they entered. It is probable, therefore, that in any case many small monasteries would gradually have been extinguished by this time. But assuming the others to have remained untouched, and supposing England to have reached anything like her present position in manufactures and commerce, the wealth of the great corporations that survived would make them virtually masters of the kingdom. Meaux only derived rather more than half its income from the rents of its lands. Twenty thousand acres, with woods and commons, and the tithes of many rich benefices, would now represent the fortune of a large landed proprietor. Yet there were many first-class abbeys in Yorkshire besides Meaux.

Mr. Bond adds a sufficient index, and gives a very valuable catalogue of the Meaux library in an appendix. His preface is an excellent digest of the scheme; and it is only to be regretted that he has not given references to the pages referred to. The matter is a small one; but nothing that assists the student should be omitted in such a series as the present.

20. M. GAFFAREL has passed in review whatever is known or has been conjectured about America before Christopher Columbus. His book on the subject is divided into three parts, which deal respectively with myths, tradition, and history. In the first part he speaks of the Atlantis and the Atlantines mentioned by Plato in the *Timæus* and the *Critias*,—a subject on which Solon, and Plato himself after him, attempted a poem which remained unfinished, and of which only a few insignificant fragments attributed to Solon have been preserved. He cites Meropis, the mysterious region which, according to Theopompus, as reported by Ælian, was revealed by Silenus to King Midas, and also the Cronian continent mentioned by Plutarch in his treatise *De facie in orbe luna*. In the second part, after maintaining the general possibility of relations between America and the ancient continent, he treats of these relations with reference to the Jews, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans. He then comes to the Middle Ages, and enumerates the Christian legends of the earthly Paradise, the travels of St. Brendan, the isles of the



seven cities, Antilia, etc. (which would have been better placed in the mythical part of the work), and the national traditions of the Celts, Germans, Africans, Arabs, Basques, etc. In the historical period he mentions the discoveries of the Northmen, and the voyage of the brothers Zeni, and ends with the immediate precursors of Christopher Columbus, whether men of science or simple travellers.

The author has treated his subject in its whole extent; and none of his matter is irrelevant, since myths and traditions have their natural places before history begins. But when stories are classed as myths, their mythical character should be respected; and purely gratuitous suppositions should not be given as traditions. Plato has spoken of the Atlantis as a great island in the west, swallowed up 9000 years before his time by the wrath of the gods; and modern science has perceived in the Antilles the possible remains of some submerged land. But it does not follow that the Atlantis is the land of which the Antilles are the remains. Such an inference is sufficiently refuted by the Atlantines themselves: they were the inhabitants of an island submerged 9000 years before Plato, and were conquered by the Athenians. Plato dreamed of the Atlantis: only modern visionaries have been able to see the reality of his dream in facts which could not become the object of a positive notion till our own time. The same may be said of all other lands imagined by the ancients beyond the ocean: what they placed beyond the ocean they might have placed in the moon, if they had thought it large enough for the purpose.

The authors own notions of the Atlantines and their place amongst the races of antiquity need not be examined. He considers that Berbers, Basques, Sicilians, Sicilians, Etruscans, and Egyptians, are all of American race. For his proof in the case of the Egyptians he alleges the representations where the colour of the men is red and that of the women yellow. If the race is to be inferred from the colour the inference ought to hold with regard to women as well as men. It would be a remarkable people in which the children of the same father belonged to two different races—the boys to the red race, and the girls to the yellow one. The author's discourse on the possible emigration of the Canaanites to America after Joshua's invasion of Palestine, and the similar emigration of the Jews after the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar, may be relegated from the department of tradition to that of myths, or rather of fables, and fables of the worst kind—those which spring from the lucubrations of the learned, and not from popular imagination. As to the Phœnicians, if any of them, driven by tempests or drawn on by the equatorial current, were cast upon the shores of America, it is pretty certain that no one ever returned, and that consequently nothing is known of them. If any philologist should undertake to trace them by the clue of language, it may be hoped that he will adduce some more convincing, if not more complete, analogy than that between the words "cannibal" and "Hannibal." The author's error is, that after he has justly

characterized certain stories as myths, he has sought in them a basis of truth, and has pushed the hypothesis over the threshold of absurdity. His collection, however, is full of interest; and so also is his account of the authentic discoveries connected with the American continent before Columbus. These discoveries in no way detract from the merit of Columbus himself. Others before him went to America without intending it, and without knowing it. He himself discovered the New World without knowing it, for he supposed himself to have landed on the shores of Asia. But his glory is the deliberateness of his purpose. He had set his face to the ocean, and resolved that he would pass beyond it.

21. THE description of England under Mary Tudor by the Venetian ambassador Michiel was long known to our historians, while his despatches, being partly in cipher, remained inaccessible. Photographs were sent to England in vain. The key had not been found, when Mr. Friedmann arrived at Venice. He had employed himself for several years in investigating the history of Philip and Mary, and had brought together a rich collection of materials. Having resided at Simancas in the company of the late Mr. Bergenroth, he had acquired skill in the art of reading ciphers of that date; and he succeeded, after much labour, in discovering the key that was used by Michiel. He has now published the despatches, in a volume disfigured by many misprints, but full of curious details for the two years 1555 and 1556. He has written an Introduction in French, briefly describing the contents of the documents, from a continental or international point of view. He thinks poorly of Cardinal Pole, and attributes the enmity of the Caraffas to his political blundering. "Paul IV., dont le sentiment de rectitude était extrêmement fort, ne pouvait voir sans chagrin ces cumuls honteux, qui avaient permis aux représentants du Saint-Siège de devenir les ministres d'un autre souverain." Mr. Friedmann's indignation is misdirected. Caraffa and Pole were divided by deeper and earlier differences. During the last years of Paul III. the Roman prelates formed two distinct and hostile groups. The severity of the contest with the Reformation, and the greatness of the danger, had banished the carnal and worldly habits of the age of Leo; and the earnest desire of a moral regeneration prevailed in the Church. There were some who thought the breach might yet be repaired, and advised the maximum of concession and conciliation. They were the most virtuous men of their time; but they were not always clear in the choice of objects, or vigorous in the use of means. They were outstripped, thrust aside, and stigmatized as heretics, by passionate men, who kept distinctly in view the ideal of the Church, such as it had been designed by mediæval pontiffs, and sought to realize it by unscrupulous means. In three conclaves Pole was the candidate of the moderate party. Caraffa was the foremost of the zealots; and, having succeeded in excluding Pole, he became Pope himself in 1555. It was the victory of

the Mountain over the Gironde. The resolute and consistent fanatic triumphed over the weak, vague, and well-intentioned reformer. Violence and falsehood became the accepted weapons for the defence of the Church. Paul IV. published a Bull for the express purpose of excluding from ecclesiastical power men like Pole and Morone. He sent Morone before the Inquisition; and Pius V. afterwards declared that he accepted his election to the Papacy solely because Morone would otherwise have been Pope. Pole, if he had returned to Rome, would have been in the same position.

Mr. Friedmann explains the remarkable fact that the Spanish divines did not encourage the cruelties which dishonoured Mary's reign, by assuming that Philip did not learn till long after to be a persecutor: "Celui-ci n'était pas à cette époque, le bigot intolérant, tel que nous le dépeignent les historiens de la seconde partie de son règne, entouré d'hommes de la trempe des Carranza, des Cazalla, des Cano, des Soto et autres." It is quite true that there is a marked difference between the general policy of Philip during the first and second half of his reign. He became, as he grew older, less moderate, and more enterprising and despotic. But it would be hard to show that he became more intolerant; and it was certainly not by the influence of the men whom Mr. Friedmann names. Cano died in 1560. Carranza was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1559. Soto died in 1568. None of them could influence the later part of Philip's reign; and two of them, Carranza and Soto, were in England under Mary.

Mr. Friedmann points out and explains a strange coincidence between many of Michiel's despatches and those of the French ambassador, Noailles. Noailles had bribed the secretary of Michiel for sixty crowns a month. The fact that he made so much use of the despatches shows the estimation in which the Venetian was held; but it somewhat diminishes their novelty at the present time. The information they supply about the parliamentary session in the autumn of 1555 is curious; but the ambassador's attention is chiefly directed to foreign affairs. He has an immense esteem for Gardiner, and describes Pole as averse from business. He mentions Philip's idea of eventually marrying Elizabeth as early as April 1555, only nine months after his marriage with her sister; and he thinks that the idea of sending Elizabeth to Spain, which was spoken of in the spring of 1556, was seriously entertained. Touching the persecution, we only learn that Mary was not duped by the recantations of Cranmer.

22. THE last instalment of Mr. Spedding's *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* treats of a period which is of the utmost importance to those who wish to form an accurate judgment of Bacon's moral character and political position. As a biographer, Mr. Spedding is no doubt in the right in refusing to pass a final judgment till he has the whole case before him. Yet, even as the matter stands at present, it is no inconsiderable gain to have learnt that, what-

ever may be thought of Bacon's cringing to the great, it is not to be accounted for by Macanlay's hasty theory that his intellectual perceptions were dulled by moral weakness. The private memoranda, now printed for the first time, in which he sought to jog his memory, lest he should forget to pay sufficient court to men whom he despised, "do no doubt imply a deliberate intention to do those things, and a conclusion of the judgment that it is fit under the circumstances to do them." Nor do these volumes fail to supply information as to the limits which he placed upon his conduct in this matter. To Salisbury, of whose objects he approved, though he thought his methods ruinous to the State, he wrote in the highest strain of compliment. But, in the midst of the wildest expressions of personal devotion, he never allowed a word to slip in which would express the slightest approbation of the Lord Treasurer's political blunders. His coolness towards Somerset is still more striking; and when we remember what was the language with which he subsequently addressed Buckingham, it can only be accounted for on the ground that he saw injury to the King and the nation in the predominance of the favourite, who had allied himself with the party of the Howards, which was by this time making itself conspicuous for its advice to James to look to the King of Spain rather than to his own people for the supply of his necessities.

For it is evident that the key-note of Bacon's political aims is to be found in his efforts to counteract those forces which were introducing disunion between the Crown and the House of Commons. All through the various scenes of James's first Parliament, which have not been fully represented till the appearance of Mr. Spedding's book, he never ceased to urge the Commons to refrain from irritating the King, whilst he never ceased to show his opinion that it was an absolute necessity for the King to place himself in harmony with the feeling of the Commons. It is, however, in the bold advice which he gave to the Crown after Salisbury's death that his prescience culminates. At a time when most men considered the embarrassments of the Exchequer as hopeless, he actually recommended James to meet his Parliament without saying a word about his financial difficulties, and, assuming a confidence in the future, which he could hardly feel, to trust to the beneficial legislation in which he was to take the lead, as a means of winning a voluntary grant of supplies from the grateful Commons. He had thus anticipated, by two centuries, the saying of Baron Louis: "Give me a good policy, and I will give you good finances." Even Mr. Spedding seems hardly to do justice to this advice of Bacon's, the character of which has been so misapprehended by former writers. For he is evidently under the impression that the King's position was worse than it really was; and his readers will be apt to think that Bacon was recommending James to play a game of brag, which might have resulted in utter failure if the Commons had proved recalcitrant for more than one or two sessions. The cause of the King's difficul-

ties, he says, "was simple enough. Large estates are costly to manage. The nation had increased greatly in wealth and population; the business and cost of government had increased along with it; but the fund out of which the cost was to be defrayed was comparatively stationary." No doubt it is true that the subsidies were steadily decreasing; but, as Mr. Spedding has pointed out, it was not out of the subsidies that the regular cost of the government was met. And so far as was the regular income of the Crown from being stationary that, whilst it reached about £815,000 in 1607, it expanded, even if Salisbury's new impositions be omitted from the calculation, to £377,000 in 1614, to £400,000 in 1616, and to £430,000 in 1619. And it is an undoubted fact that, during the last six years of his reign, James managed to pay his way, as far as his ordinary expenditure was concerned, without the help of Parliament.

The cause of Bacon's failure, therefore, was not that his advice was in any degree faulty, but that he characteristically expected too much from James. Not indeed that there was the gulf between the two men which is usually supposed to have existed. As far as mere opinion went they were, for the most part, bound together by the "idem sentire de re publica." For Mr. Spedding is right in holding that whenever the King "was at variance with the popular judgment of his own time, it was by being in advance of it." If there had been nothing else to unite James to his Solicitor-General than the memory of the days in which they had stood shoulder to shoulder in combating the popular prejudice on the subject of the Scottish Union, it would have been sufficient to make Bacon very reluctant to remove his standard to the ranks of the opposition. It was James's sluggishness whenever action was required, and his intemperate haste when speech could be made to take the place of action, which was the bane of his government and policy. Bacon has paid dearly in public estimation for his imperfect recognition of his sovereign's weakness. The present generation is beginning to learn, under Mr. Spedding's guidance, that the mistake, so far as it was one, had its root in the nobler, and not in the baser, parts of his own character.

23. WHEN the wars of religion had been terminated by the reconciliation of Henry IV. and the peace of Vervins, it became the object of the Catholic party to consolidate an alliance between the two great powers, France and Spain. For this object a double marriage between the two royal families was proposed, as soon as their children were born. Henry, who was revolving schemes of war, allowed the plan to be pursued without any definite result. His widow, unable to obtain the support of a strong national opinion in a country threatened with religious tumult and feudal anarchy, sank under the influence of Spain, until the advent of Richelieu to power; and the Spanish marriages were concluded with the vain hope that they would confirm the authority of the crown. M. Perrens, who is

best known as one of the many biographers of Savonarola, has published an ample history of these negotiations, founded on the papers of Ubaldini, the nuncio, of De Brèves, the French ambassador at Rome, and of several agents of France at Madrid. Copious extracts from these unpublished sources give a solid value to the book. The newest and most curious are those which are taken from the Madrid correspondence. The papers of De Brèves have been largely used by Goujet, by Gaillard, and others. The manuscript of Ubaldini consulted by M. Perrens is incomplete. Besides a hiatus during the first seven months of 1608, which occurs in other copies, there is a defect at the beginning. M. Perrens says that a despatch, dated Christmas Day 1607, is the earliest of the embassy. Ubaldini arrived at Paris on the 17th of November; and there is a series of important despatches written during the five weeks following, which do not, however, give any particulars upon the match with Spain. It is a drawback to the pleasure of reading M. Perrens's book, to remember how much more interest there is in other topics spoken of in these manuscripts. Much of the matter which he gives is not very significant: but he has succeeded in presenting a tolerably accurate picture of the diplomatic situation among the powers that were engaged in that protracted negotiation. It entered prominently into the more important question of the truce between Spain and the Low Countries; and M. Perrens would have found some papers belonging to his subject in the *Gedenkstukken van Oldenbarnevelt*. There are also clear indications of the ideas under which French statesmen acted, in the letters found by M. de la Ferrière in Russia, and described by him in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes* for 1864. M. Perrens has pointed out the active part taken by the Catholic clergy, and especially by the Jesuits, in promoting the marriage; and he has shown that the celebrated Father Cotton, Henry's confessor, was zealous in its favour. A circumstance has escaped him which Cardinal Borghese related to Ubaldini in a letter of the 5th of January 1610:—"Il Padre Cottone scrive qua ad un amico suo che se il Rè di Spagna vuole offerire la Navarra in dote d'una delle sue figlie, massime della maggiore, il Delfino la pigliarà, e che il secondogenito di S. M. Cattolica avrà quella delle figlie di Francia che essa vorrà, quando sia destinato dal Padre successore della Fiandra."

24. ALTHOUGH few men are equal to the task of writing the life of Sarpi, it is hardly possible to read the book of his new biographer without disappointment. It is written by a lady who has enjoyed good opportunities of clearing up points that are still obscure, who has examined at leisure the twenty-nine folios which contain the literary remains of the great historian, and who has had access to documents consulted by no previous writer. Of these the most considerable are the despatches of Francesco Contarini, who was ambassador at Rome in 1607, at the time of the attempted murder of Sarpi. They are of so grave an import, and

contradict so emphatically the account given by Cantù (the most diligent of those who have treated this question lately) in his *History of the Italian Heretics*, that it is seriously to be regretted that they have been so imperfectly used. Some of the most important of the despatches have been overlooked; and the extracts are translated so incorrectly that the author can scarcely have seen the translations of that excellent Venetian scholar, Mr. Rawdon Brown, which are spoken of in the Preface. An adventurer, described by Contarini, as "Alfiero già in Cattaro," is called "late ancient Cattaro." The ambassador writes, literally, that when the ancient and the captain were released from prison at Rovigo, the captain was sent with his company to Padua." Sarpi's biographer says: "After that, the ancient and the captain were released from prison, Rovigo, the captain, was sent with his company to Padua." The words, "Si saprà anco per altre vie la verità del fatto," are translated: "The truth of the fact, moreover, would not be known through other channels." Bellarmine complained that a false report had been spread (*divulgato*). The translator makes him say that it was *divulged*. "Non vidi nelle lettere altro particolare; mostravano di haver scritto per avanti," which means that the writers had been corresponding before, is done into English thus: "I saw no other detail in the letters; they appeared to have been written previously." There is a puzzling description of two men with "black beards, chestnut-brown, and thin," where it appears that *castagne* has been read for *corte giù*. The writer has not even read the whole of Contarini's correspondence. Her contemptuous description of Cardinal Duperron would have been rebuked by the ambassador's account of him: "Mi rincresce grandemente della partenza di questo Prelato, perchè, oltre la sua ottima disposizione, è solo nella corte che possa parlar liberamente a sua Santità."

The book claims notice only by reason of these unprinted materials. Other sources of information are neglected; and the estimate of the position and character of the hero is entirely false. "Sarpi felt that he could not conscientiously leave the Church of Rome; he believed, and said with all her defects, she was like the Church of Corinth, a Church of Christ" (p. 226). Diodati, who visited him in the autumn of 1608, reports as follows:—"Le père Paolo allègue trois raisons pour se couvrir en ce qu'il condamne lui-même, n'ayant plusieurs fois protesté avec larmes qu'il se trompait lui-même, mais que la nécessité l'y forçait . . . qu'il faut procéder froidement et à la longue, agir en secret . . . travailler enfin par dessous terre, en attendant quelque guerre et publique rupture." Sarpi himself says of the Synod of Dort: "Christiana ista Synodus apostolicam sententiam a carnali discrevit, et hac damnata illam pie amplexa est." Probably this passage would present no difficulty to a writer who believes that the "best informed and wisest members" of the Church of Rome still hold the Lutheran doctrine of Justification (p. 29). We have still to wait for an adequate

biography of a man whose real character continues to be one of the chief problems of history, whom his bitterest censor, Passionei, pronounces to have been "dottissimo però oltre ogni espressione," and whom the Nuncio himself declared to be revered as an oracle even among the partisans of Rome: "E tenuto come per un oracolo non solo da mal'affetti, ma anco da quelli che per altro non hanno mala volontà."

25. ABOUT a third of the seventh volume of Professor Ranke's collected works consists of his well-known essay upon Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., the remainder, now published for the first time, being a sketch of the working of the Imperial institutions under Rudolph II. and his brother. Even if the author had not been able to refer to hitherto unused materials in the unpublished reports of the Brandenburg representatives in the Diet, an account from him of the demands put forward by the two parties before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War could not fail to be of the highest value, especially as he lays stress upon the legal and political considerations which are frequently passed over by those who look upon the quarrel from a too exclusively religious point of view. As is well known, the failure of the Diet to exercise a pacificatory influence was consummated by the open breach between the two parties at the meeting of 1608 and 1613, and by the doctrine set up by the leading Calvinists, that the decisions of the majority in matters relating to religion were not binding upon the minority. The enunciation of this opinion has been dwelt upon by Catholic writers as evidence that those who gave vent to it were, without provocation, driving straight towards anarchy, and were bent upon making all Government of the Empire, as a political unity, impossible. To some extent this view must undergo modification from the story, now fully told by Professor Ranke, of the attempt of the Administrator of Magdeburg to obtain a seat and vote in the Diet. The compromise of the Peace of Augsburg had been vaguely worded when it touched upon matters upon which no real agreement had been come to. It was stipulated by the Ecclesiastical Reservation that an ecclesiastical prince who changed his religion must at the same time relinquish his position. But nothing was said about the case of a Protestant distinctly elected as such to a Bishopric or Abbey, and exercising the rights of his predecessors as far as a layman could. After a prolonged struggle the case was decided by the Catholic majority against the claim to a seat in the Diet. It was a decision which, as Professor Ranke shows, was certain to render the position of the Protestants increasingly insecure. In the first place, if the lay Bishops were not fit to hold a seat in the Diet, it would be difficult to maintain that they were fit to retain their sees. In the second place, their exclusion left the Protestant populations of the North without adequate representation; and the majority of the Catholics in the College of Princes was liable to be regarded as fictitious. Such an opinion would naturally give rise to

the doctrine of the limitation of the powers of the majority—a doctrine which, nevertheless, extending as it did to a denial of the right of the Diet to impose obligatory taxation, would certainly go far to reduce the Empire to a mere alliance between independent States.

No doubt such arguments do not quit that political and constitutional ground on which the author's strength lies; and he does not even attempt to meet the charge that the aims of the Calvinist leaders were directed at something more than the maintenance of the existing state of things. Yet Professor Gindely, in his *Rudolf II. und seine Zeit*, has quoted (i. 159) the instructions of the Elector Palatine to his representative at the Diet of 1608, from which it would seem that he directed him to refuse every compromise which did not include the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Reservation in favour of the Protestants, and the concession "dasz auch fernerhin jeder evangelische Reichsstand seinen jetzigen Besitz oder was ihm künftigh durch Erbschaft oder auf einem andern Weg, zufallen konnte, reformiren, d. i. die Klöster und Stifter darin aufheben und die Einwohner zu seiner Religion nöthigen dürfe." It is to be hoped that Dr. Ritter will publish the exact words of this remarkable document in a future volume of his *Geschichte der Deutschen Union*. But, as the matter stands, the fact that Professor Ranke, though he has referred in other places to the book which contains the charge, has nevertheless taken no notice of it, is not without its use. The completeness of his work in its own range might otherwise lead men to forget that it is intended to be rather a map of the surface than a plummet to sound the depths of the great controversy with which it deals.

26. MR. GARDINER'S volumes on *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage* are in reality a full history of the reign of James I., between the year 1617 and 1623. The election of the Palgrave to the throne of Bohemia forced his father-in-law to take a reluctant part in the movement of continental affairs; and the scheme for recovering the Palatinate by the marriage of Prince Charles with an Infanta of Spain, became the pivot of English politics. Mr. Gardiner has gone abroad for his materials, and has laboured not only in the heavy folios of Khevenhiller and Aitzema, but in the Spanish and Venetian archives. The narrative moves slowly under the produce of his industry. The changes wrought by the progress of events are not well defined. There is much sameness in the situations, and too much anxiety that there should be no mistake as to the personal opinions of the author. He condemns the plotters who kindled the Thirty Years' War; and in the Bohemian insurrection he is on the side of the Emperor. But when the Catholic armies invade the hereditary dominions of the Elector Palatine, he becomes zealous for the Protestant cause. In each case his sympathy is given to the constituted authority, though both Emperor and Elector were tyrants over conscience. He thoroughly condemns wars of religion, and considers those statesmen to have been right

who promoted the Spanish alliance, and sought, by policy, to reconcile nations divided by religion. This is the idea which was faintly grasped and fitfully carried out by James I.; and Digby, its ablest advocate, is the undisguised hero of Mr. Gardiner's history. His just admiration for that eminent man has once led him into error. The charge against Digby that, returning from his embassy to Vienna, he levied war against Ferdinand, and gave money to Mansfeld, whilst James was negotiating for peace at Brussels, rests, whether true or false, on better authority than "an unguarded expression of Lingard" (ii. 112). It is positively brought forward by Sir George Chaworth, the very man who was pursuing the negotiation at Brussels, and who declares that Digby's conduct justified the Emperor in breaking it off. (Kempe's *Loseley Manuscripts*, 466).

Both politically and morally, Mr. Gardiner prefers the Catholic party. He "cannot do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was in the main supported" (i. 252), and thinks that, "as far as the leaders were concerned, moral superiority was not on the Protestant side. It would be an insult to Ferdinand, to Maximilian, and to Tilly, to compare them for an instant with Frederick, with James, or with Mansfeld" (ii. 461). This sharp and simple division of Christendom into Protestants and Catholics throws a dangerously false light on the struggle in Germany, and on the position of James. The rising of 1618, with which the Thirty Years' War began, proceeded, not from the Protestants generally, but from the Calvinists alone; and the Calvinists, in the eyes of both Lutherans and Arminians, were more hateful than the Catholics. Barclay, who understood the age he lived in better than almost any of his contemporaries, does not exaggerate the truth when he says:—"In Lutheranis est rarus (et hoc sumus experti) qui non ad Papisticam fidem, ut vocant, quam Calvinianam malit accedere" (*Parænesis ad Sectarios*, 27). Mr. Gardiner is aware of this; for he speaks of the Lutherans fearing "lest the Antichrist of Rome should only be de-throned to make way for the worse Antichrist of Geneva." But he clings to the notion that the Protestants were bound together by closer links than existed between any party among them and the Catholics; and he is consequently irresolute and perplexed when he speaks of the religious attitude of James. He quotes with amazement a despatch in which Gondomar announces that James was ready to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals; and he agrees with the Spaniard that it meant nothing. But there is a long chain of consistent evidence to the same effect. The aversion of James I. for Geneva was dogmatic; for Rome, political. The idea of Protestant unity, embracing all sects on the sole ground of hostility to Catholicism, was as inconceivable to him as to the Lutherans who had extirpated Calvinism in Northern Germany, or to the Arminians whom it had proscribed in Holland. Believing that the Gallican system was nearly akin to his own ecclesiastical ideal, he readily

took Frenchmen into his confidence; and, if Mr. Gardiner were not a little indisposed to rely on French authorities, he would remember much to confirm the startling assertion of Gondomar. On the 20th of June 1606, James said to La Boderie, "Que si le Pape se vouloit contenter d'être le chef et le premier des Evêques, il ne feroit point difficulté de le reconnoître pour tel; mais que de se vouloir faire par-dessus les Rois, il n'y en avoit un seul qui le dût souffrir." On the 22d of July 1609, the French Secreary, Puysieux, writes to Rome:—"Jaques consent à reconnoître le Pape pour le premier des Evêques, s'il pouvoit renoncer à son prétendu pouvoir d'interdire les Rois." The King used the same language to Beaumont immediately after his accession, and to the Archbishop of Embrun towards the end of his life. In that remarkable letter to Duperron which was drawn up by him in conjunction with Casaubon and Andrewes, the idea of essential and fundamental union with Rome constantly recurs:—"Credit vero Rex simpliciter, sine fuco et fallaciis, unicam esse Ecclesiam Dei, et re et nomine Catholicam, sive universalem, toto diffusam mundo; extra quam ipse quoque nullam salutem debere sperari affirmat . . . unica enim salutaris doctrina, unica in cœlos via . . . nullam spem salutis superesse iis, qui a fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, aut ab ejusdem Communione discesserint. . . . Ecclesia Catholica non desiit illa quidem esse, erit enim semper, neque portæ inferorum prævalituræ unquam sunt adversus ipsam, in Christo vera petra, et fide Petri cæterorumque apostolorum fundatam. . . . Magnum se quidem crimen judicare, defectionem ab Ecclesia; sed huic crimini affinem se esse aut Ecclesiam suam, penitus pernegat. Non enim fugimus, aiebat ejus Majestas, sed fugamur." It was the authority claimed by the Pope over princes which repelled and frightened James. Even auricular confession seemed to him objectionable chiefly on that account:—"Tandem igitur eo processit hæc doctrina, ut jam Reges occidere, aut sinere occidi, ne peccatum quidem esse videatur, præut si quis Confessionis sigillum rumperet." His feelings towards the Church of Rome were those which Casaubon expresses in his *Ephemerides* (807):—"Jam apud me prisce Ecclesiæ tuæ, Christe Jesu, plurimum valet vel ipsum nomen, atque adeo persuasum habeo quod illa probaverit et in quo consenserit neque ullo pacto sacræ Scripturæ tuæ repugnaverit, haud temere illud posse aut rejici aut mutari. Sed me rursus terret Romani Episcopi aperta et prorsus Antichristiana hæc tyrannis." Doubtless, if these men had worked out the thought that was in them, the dogmatic differences would have proved deeper than they supposed; but Mr. Gardiner has not appreciated the attraction which drew them towards Rome, nor the force which drove them back. He says that there was something not very unreasonable in the distrust with which Catholics were regarded, because "they were part of a huge organization of which the chief was a foreign potentate; and that potentate had, in very recent times, been able to dispose of the armies of the King of Spain to

carry out his designs." This fact, however, would not make the distrust more reasonable. The support of their own brethren in foreign countries was not peculiar to the Catholics, or due to the organization of Catholicism. In the German war which was then raging, five foreign Protestant Governments took up arms against the Empire. The real objection to the Catholics was their doubtful allegiance, and the danger of assassination, which was connected with the deposing power. Paul v. declared that power essentially necessary for the preservation of the Church. He refused to abandon it even as the price of the reconciliation of James. It would be heresy, he said, to do so. And his biographer denounces the doctrines touching the Papal power which were circulated at that time by the Venetian divines as *omnium perniciosissima hæresis*. One of the most celebrated of these divines, De Dominis, sought refuge in England: and the story of his fate occupies a place in Mr. Gardiner's pages. "That Gondomar had anything to do with the Archbishop's return to Rome," he says, "is very doubtful" (ii. 174). On the contrary, it is very certain that Gondomar mediated between the Archbishop and the Court of Rome. On the 9th of October 1621, De Dominis wrote to Gregory xv.: "L'Eccellente Signor Conte de Gondomare ambasciatore della Maestà Catholica in questo Regno, m'invita da parte di vostra Santi à e della Maestà del suo Signore a ritornar col corpo là di dove con lo spirito non mi sono giamai partito." The Pope's answer reached him through Gondomar; and, on the 9th of February 1622, De Dominis applies for Gondomar's assistance to enable him to get to Brussels.

Mr. Gardiner's love for the established order has led him to adopt doctrines concerning toleration which jar with the grave and elevated tone of his writings. The principle that the civil authority may control and alter at will the faith of the people appears to him to have been a symptom of progress; and he hails as a precious discovery of the seventeenth century the notion that religious error should be put down because it is dangerous to the commonwealth. He speaks of toleration as an anachronism in those days, and thinks that persecution, which combined "the satisfaction of martyrdom and the sweets of popularity" (i. 246), was not hard to bear. But the cry that religious unity must be upheld for the safety of the State, rather than for the sake of truth, is as old as the Middle Ages. The persecutor, originally, was not the Catholic and Universal Church, but the established Church, bound up and identified with the particular State. The Church herself, in her central and supreme authority, apart from the several political communities, retained the spirit of toleration when it was banished from the civil government of many countries; and it did not penetrate her canon law until it had long prevailed in secular legislation. Later on, in altered times, the trace of what had been survived in the fiction that the Church assigned no punishment, but delivered over the culprit to the secular arm. Mediæval persecution took

its rise not in mere fanaticism, but in that poverty of resource which disabled the State from governing and influencing men who rejected the ecclesiastical system from which it derived many of its enactments, and almost all the awfulness of its authority. The idea that the nation should have a sovereign of its own faith, and should determine the religious character of the State—an idea which was latent in the theory of the deposing power, and directed the settlement of the British crown—is, in spite of all dangers, a nobler and better idea than the maxim *Cujus regio ejus religio*. That maxim was the canonization of despotism. Where it is admitted that the most sacred of all duties is protected by no rights, that the best of man's possessions may be taken from him by the State, there is no security for inferior things, and no place for freedom. Mr. Gardiner's error seems due to the belief that the Reformation was a popular movement overruling the princes, while the Catholic reaction was got up in courts, and carried out by violence. He describes it as a defect of all Catholic schemes at that time, that they dealt only with the wrongs of the Princes, and forgot the wrongs of the people, and that the voluntary conversion of a Prince carried with it the forcible conversion of his subjects (ii. 110). Either he forgets that the reign of craft and terror by which the restoration of Catholicism was effected at the time of which he writes had served during the previous age to establish Protestantism, or he thinks that the excuse for persecution is to be sought in the doctrines it is made to serve. Ferdinand is not to invade the Palatinate on account of the people, "whose rights were infinitely more precious than those for which the rival kings of Bohemia were doing battle" (i. 341). This must mean the rights of conscience; and Mr. Gardiner appears to imagine that they were respected by the Palatine House. Among the subjects of Frederick v. there were still men living who had been compelled by his predecessors four times to change their religion. They had adopted the Lutheran doctrines under Frederick II. in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1563 Frederick III. introduced the Heidelberg Catechism. They were made Lutherans again by Lewis VI. in 1576. They were made Calvinists again by Casimir in 1583. When Mr. Gardiner affirms that "there was no longer to be found in Europe any considerable body of Catholics who were the subjects of a Protestant sovereign," and follows this up by saying that in Holland Calvinism "was still cherished with excessive devotion by the vast majority of the population," his facts seem to flow from the general principle that persecution was a Catholic weapon. The French minister, Buzanval, wrote on the 9th of October 1599, that, in the United Provinces, the majority of the population was Catholic. Sir Henry Wotton records, on the 21st of February, 1617, that Barneveldt had assured him that the Protestant part was not a third of the inhabitants. "He sayde the strongest, la plus saine et plus riche parti de leur contray were papists." A quarter of a century later,

Grotius describes the Calvinists as a small minority. "Multo enim maxima pars in illis locis a Calvino dissentit."—(*Opp. Theol.* iv. 680.)

Mr. Gardiner has given an ample and minute account of Charles's journey to Spain, with the aid of Venetian despatches, and especially of a narrative of the whole negotiation, which was drawn up by one of the divines engaged in it, and presented by him to James. This work, which Mr. Gardiner has edited for the Camden Society, contains the best statement of the Spanish case, and includes documents of great value. Like most men who rely on new materials, and are able to appreciate their use, Mr. Gardiner is rather remiss in collecting information to which others before him have had access. In describing the Prince's reception at Madrid, he notices neither the Belgian account, which is printed in Gachard's *Analectes Historiques*, nor the more curious narrative which was sent to Rome by the Nuncio's secretary, and which is to be found in the *Saggiatore*. He does not seem to know that the *Fragmentos Historicos* of Count de la Roca are printed in the *Semanario Erudito*. His most important omission has been to explain the policy of France during the progress of a negotiation which aimed at an alliance between its two chief rivals. It was France that had most to fear from its conclusion, and that profited immediately by its failure. The fragment of Richelieu's memoirs which was discovered by Ranke, and the history of Francisco de Jesus, relate how the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria was proposed to Mary of Medici by an unknown and mysterious friar after the breach with Spain. Buckingham informed Tillières that the same friar had appeared at Madrid during the Prince's stay there, and, after speaking of his conversion, had ended by making overtures for the match with France. It would appear that the French Government did not believe that the Spanish marriage was seriously intended, or ever likely to succeed, as they knew the difficulties that opposed it both in England and in Spain. The Councillors of the Elector Palatine declared that it was an artifice of the Spaniards to neutralize the influence of England in Germany. Camerarius writes in July 1619:—"Der Spanier ist dem Engländer vil zu schlauch, wird ihne mit guten Worten lactiren, biss Ferdinandus in allem Vorhaben seinen scopum erlangt." And this opinion is confirmed by the fact mentioned by Tillières, that letters reached Charles, threatening that the marriage would be broken off if he did not go to Spain. Mr. Gardiner has bestowed greater attention on the policy of the Holy See in this matter; but he has overlooked the information he might have found in Siri, and especially in the important letters of Cardinal de Marquemont, printed in Aubery's *Mémoires de Richelieu*. Paul v. was entirely opposed to the match, as he had been to the earlier scheme for marrying the Prince of Wales to a Princess of France, Savoy, or Tuscany. His successor, Gregory xv., took the opposite view. He was not only anxious that the failure should not be laid at his door, but positively favourable to the match. Ludovisi



writes to the nuncio in Spain, that there is hope that God is about to show his mercy to England, as the marriage project "va addolcendo gl'animi, e disponendo le cose ad alcuna speranza di salute." He did not look for entire liberty of conscience. He believed that the remission of the penalties would enable those who were Catholics at heart to declare themselves; and there were symptoms which gave a basis to his hopes, and justified the liberal policy adopted since the death of Paul. The missionaries became suddenly so numerous that the English Catholics were unable to support them. The Venetian ambassador writes that, during the absence of the prince in Spain, about seven hundred families have openly professed the faith. In the same week Camerarius writes: "Me vero hic quoque metus cruciat, ne Rex Angliæ et Princeps Walliæ tandem ad Papatum prorsus deficient, et nos quoque eo trahere paulatim velint." Urban VIII. would have required further guarantees; but he held the same opinion as his predecessor. The instructions to the nuncio were, "Quanto al parentado d'Inghilterra viene sommamente desiderato da Nostro Signore."

The omissions we have noted detract but little from the substantial merit of Mr. Gardiner's volumes. It would be hard to name any English writer who has illustrated our history from so many foreign sources, or who has traced with so much care the action of continental affairs and home politics upon each other. He does not write under all the restraint men should submit to who discourse of an age filled and distracted with controversies that are not yet closed. But though his opinions are sometimes obtruded, and are not always right, they touch the superficial colour, not the outlines or the design; and every page bears testimony to the entire sincerity of the author in the pursuit of truth. His facts are not strung on very great ideas, but they have been explored with uncommon patience and energy, and add materially to our knowledge of the times of James I.

27. WITHIN the last few years the Germans have produced several important monographs on their more celebrated artists. Cranach and Albert Dürer especially have engaged their attention; and a new and greatly augmented edition of Herr Eye's excellent work on the latter of these two great painters was issued a few months ago. Herr Gaedertz has added to this literature a volume on the life and works of Adrian van Ostade. In common with former biographers who have concerned themselves with the brothers Ostade, he has followed Houbraken in regarding them as natives of Lübeck. He appears to be unacquainted with Van der Willigen's *Geschiedkundige aantekeningen over Haarlemsche Schilders*, published in 1866, full of new matter with regard to the painters who have been born at Haarlem, or have lived in that town. He would have learned from this work that Adrian's name appears in 1636 on the roll of the civic guard of Haarlem; that about the same time took place in that town the marriage of a certain Jean van

Ostade, a baker; that two years later, on the 28th of July 1638, Adrian's first marriage was celebrated there; and that both he and his wife on this occasion were described as natives of Haarlem. The same author alleges several other arguments to refute the opinion that the Ostades were natives of Lübeck; and there is not much force in the statement of Herr Gaedertz, that at a short distance from Uelzen, a small town on the Elbe, and not far from Lübeck, there is a village called Ostedt, formerly Ostede, from which he believes the name of the family to be derived. An acquaintance with Van der Willigen's work would also have enabled him to dispense with another circumstance, which he repeats on the authority of Houbraken, viz., that Adrian, fearing the approach of the French, left Haarlem for Amsterdam in 1662, and died at the latter place in 1685. The date given for his death is correct; but the event took place at Haarlem, which he does not appear to have quitted. The author is less open to criticism in the artistic portion of his book. He has devoted a chapter to the analysis of those works of Adrian van Ostade which bear a date; and this, together with a list of his pictures in the different galleries of Europe, is the best part of the book. The list, however, is far from complete, nor must its contents be blindly accepted. One of the omissions is a masterpiece of the artist's, dated 1655, which is now in the Arenberg gallery at Brussels, and is fully described in Burger's volume on that rich collection.

28. THE title-page of Mr. Folkestone Williams's *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury* promises more than the book performs. Two rather thick volumes contain merely a selection from Atterbury's correspondence, and are nothing more than a biography, with illustrative passages from letters. To the historian seeking material, and requiring to sift for himself, Mr. Williams's labours will be almost valueless. For others the book is at once too long and too short,—too long, because it is largely padded with notices of Atterbury's contemporaries, and too short because the chief passages of Atterbury's own life are starved or omitted altogether. Atterbury was not a man of such calibre as to deserve a colossal monument. He was neither the centre of London literary society, as Mr. Williams represents him (p. ix.), nor a great statesman; nor was he, in the opinion of those who knew him, a man who, for honesty, consistency, and disinterestedness, ought to be considered the marvel of a corrupt age. The acts by which he is best remembered are of doubtful integrity. He supplied his pupil Boyle with the design, and with the greater part, of his attack upon Bentley. To assail under a mask is never honourable; and, if Atterbury was persuaded of the truth of his own criticisms, he must bear the discredit of having been hopelessly wrong. But a man who can render services of this stamp is certain never to want preferment; and if Boyle was ungrateful, Atterbury was not slow to discover a more powerful patron. He was a popular



preacher, and flattered adroitly. King William was deaf to his charmings, but Queen Anne was more impressible; and a sermon on her "amiable characteristics," followed by a funeral oration on Prince George of Denmark, which "brought out his unassuming virtues in high relief," recommended the rising man to royal patronage. With the accession to office of Harley's ministry, he passed rapidly through various preferments, and, in 1718, became Bishop of Rochester. The Queen's death was a blow to all his hopes. He is said to have offered to proclaim James III. at Charing Cross in his episcopal robes; but Bolingbroke was afraid to consent, and the Bishop declared with an oath that the best cause in Europe was lost for want of a little boldness. Of this story, told by Dean Lockier, and accepted by Lord Stanhope and Rémusat, Mr. Williams appears to know nothing; though if it be untrue it deserved the honour of a disproof. Nor is it conclusive evidence of the Bishop's loyalty that he offered the throne and canopy, his perquisites at the coronation, to the new sovereign. As little is it consistent with the spirit of this offer, that he at once went into opposition when he found his overtures rejected, and proved a dangerous enemy to the new Government. For a long time he was not molested. The statesmen of that period had learned a wholesome lesson from Sacheverel's trial, and were careful not to meddle needlessly with the gown. Prior, who had then quarrelled with him, insinuates that Atterbury was negotiating with the Court in 1721 for the betrayal of his party. This accusation seems to be quite groundless. The Bishop was really in active correspondence with the Pretender, and was arrested two years later on a charge of high treason. Mr. Williams thinks he was innocent (p. 418), on the singular ground that a volume of treasonable letters is in existence, composed of transcripts from the Bishop's correspondence, and that, as these could only have been obtained by gross domestic treachery, it suggests the idea that compromising letters may have been forged. Yet it is difficult to understand why James should have offered to give Atterbury "a rank superior to all the rest," if he did not count upon him for substantial service. But if, as an English bishop, Atterbury was too important to be neglected, there is reason to think that he was not fully trusted; and the weakness of the case for the prosecution is not in the want of proof that he corresponded with the Continent, but in the failure to bring home any definite position or plans to him. Substantial justice seems to have been done by the verdict that banished him from England. The best that can be said for him during the years of exile in France is that he did not renounce his religion. Considering how little he would have gained by the step, and how much he would have lost in the respect of his friends, and in political power, it is difficult to give his virtue much credit. In the political world he seems to have been wholly unscrupulous. The Pretender, having an intrigue with Mrs. Hay, made her brother, Lord Dunbar, tutor to his son. His wife nat-

urally remonstrated, and at last retired to a convent in indignation. The Pope was induced to interfere in her behalf. Common decency, it might be thought, should have led an English clergyman to side with the injured wife, or at least not to take part against her. Atterbury was cast in another mould. He saw that political capital could be made out of the situation, and represented the Pretender as the victim of Popish prejudice, because he had given his son a Protestant tutor. Mr. Williams thinks this conduct magnanimous. The second volume of the *Memoirs* is largely taken up with trifles of this kind, showing the infinite pettiness of the Jacobin agents. It may be added that, for a man of high position and real talent, Atterbury was very unfortunate in his friends. He had many acquaintances; but, except Pope, no really eminent man seems to have cared for him. But Sacheverel left him a legacy; and the worthless Duke of Wharton wrote an ode commemorating his god-like zeal. Mr. Williams has been unfortunate in the choice of a hero; and the Bishop not very happy in his historian. The *Memoirs* are more indebted to the scissors than to the pen.

29. STUDENTS of the literature of Queen Anne's time have always found it a little difficult to understand De Foe's position. He was an able political partisan, the master of a good literary style, and possessed of genuine originality, second only to Swift in creative genius, and superior even to Swift in the mastery of detail. Yet he was not in the literary society of his day, is never alluded to by Steele or Addison, and is only mentioned with contempt by those who alluded to him—by Swift as "the fellow who was pilloried," by Gay as "a fellow whose wits would endure but one skinning," by Pope as notorious for "front." His social position will not account for this; for he was as well born as Prior and Gay, and down to the time of his second bankruptcy held the place of a London merchant, backed by the powerful dissenting interest. Nor can it be said that he was ruined by the pillory and a political imprisonment. On the contrary, public opinion was with him at the time of his sentence; and it may be said to mark the zenith of his reputation. Mr. Lee's volumes of his *Life and Newly Discovered Writings* explain the secret of his terrible decline, why he was compelled to be "silent under infinite clamours and reproaches," why men of his own party shrank from him with contempt, and why he dared not after a time put his name to any political writing. The man who began life as an enthusiast, serving in Monmouth's army, who was scrupulously honest in the discharge of commercial debts, who risked imprisonment to deliver the Kentish petition, and endured the pillory for his defence of religious liberty, broke down under the trial of ruined fortunes and a prison, and bought his liberty at the price of becoming a hack writer to successive ministries. He was a Whig under Godolphin, a Tory under Harley. When the critical period arrived in which Anne's successor was to be determined, he was unjustly accused of having

turned Jacobite; and the public believed everything against the political Vicar of Bray. Thus much was known already; and it was commonly believed that De Foe had been overborne by clamour, and had ceased to write politics. It was therefore possible to explain his venal services to Godolphin and Harley as the result of gratitude to patrons, and to believe that he had only changed sides with half the nation. The letters which Mr. Lee quotes in his Preface go far to make this theory untenable, as they show that De Foe, during the latter years of his life, was prepared to purchase employment by the basest offices. It seems that, being prosecuted by the new Government, cast for libel, and, it may be added, unjustly condemned—for the writings which brought him into trouble were clearly ironical,—he made terms by entering their secret service as a spy. He was now used as a professed Tory to write for the Tory organ, *Mist's Journal*, use his influence to suppress dangerous matter, and keep his employers informed of the communications that were received. He pursued this infamous trade during a period of twelve years; and it is pitiable to read the letters in which he describes his services, and complains that "I am obliged to hear traitorous expressions and outrageous words against his Majesty's person and government, and smile at it all as if I approved it." After some years, *Mist*, who had been several times imprisoned, seems to have discovered his partner's treachery, drew his sword on him, loaded him with abuse, and of course excluded him thenceforth from the *Journal*. Mr. Lee characterizes this conduct as "a strange instance of ungrateful violence." But De Foe had struck out into a new line of authorship, more profitable and safer than the secret service. Having been ostentatiously a religious man, and having now a wife and daughters, whom it might have been thought he would respect, if he did not respect his own grey hairs (he was fifty-seven), he began pandering to the public appetite for impurity by a series of novels on the lives of harlots and thieves. Mr. Lee shows that he was not driven upon this manufacture by poverty, and concludes that he wrote "from motives justified by his own enlightened conscience." He also takes leave to notice in every instance how virtuous reflections are copiously interspersed among the impure scenes—a fact which, to some readers, will only seem to aggravate the offence. Nor is it easy to understand the criticism which speaks of De Foe's "mission as a teacher of the highest morality, the truth as it is in Jesus," in the very chapter which gives an account of the book on *Conjugal Lewdness*.

Mr. Lee's judicial estimate of De Foe cannot be accepted. No amount of theory as to a man's possible motives will outweigh the facts that he was Whig and Tory by turns as suited his interest, that he was for years a Government spy, and that he wrote *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*. For the sake of historical truth, it is well that we should be able to gauge the man accurately; but the best service that can now be rendered to his memory is to ask mercy

and forbearance for one who was sorely tempted before he first fell, and whose moral infirmities have not blemished that one work of genius which is his real apology to the world. Mr. Lee's biography is a little cumbersome, and overloaded with special pleading; but it seems to be honest and good work by an enthusiast who has grudged no toil in performing a labour of love. How far he has succeeded in detecting De Foe's anonymous articles by internal evidence is a question that can only be decided by special labours in the same field; but his method appears to be trustworthy. Anyhow, the papers have a value of their own, as good specimens of periodical literature during the reign of George I.

30. SIR WILLIAM DRAKE'S *Notes on Venetian Ceramics* is a short monograph of thirty-six pages, with an appendix of thirty-four. It is very complete as far as it goes, and gives the facts in the first division and the documents in the second, relating to a manufacture of earthenware (*majolica*) and porcelain, hitherto known only by specimens and conjecture. Neither of these manufactures attained a very high degree of excellence; but they possessed certain peculiarities, giving them interest to the amateur. At one period plates and dishes were produced having the ornament raised by modelling, and coloured with feeble tints; at another, landscapes were the decorations, principally ruins, in a degree resembling the taste of Salvator Rosa, painted in blue, yellow, and brown. Some little had been written on the subject in the South Kensington Museum Loan Exhibition Catalogue (1868), and in the Catalogue of the Correr Museum at Venice, by Cavaliere Lazari (*Notizia delle Opere d'Arte e d'Antichità della Raccolta Correr di Venezia*, 1859); and in an earlier time the *majolica* had been mentioned by Piccolpasso, who visited Venice in 1550, and whose *ms.*, copiously illustrated by pen-and-ink sketches, may now be seen in the Library at the South Kensington Museum. But it remained for Sir William Drake, under the direction of Mr. Rawdon Brown, who had become acquainted with the original authorities during his researches among Venetian State-papers, to clear up this little dark corner in the history of art. The documents are given *in extenso*, and have an interest beyond their immediate subject, as illustrating the careful supervision and regulation by the State of everything relating to trade within the dominions of the Signiory.

As early as the fourteenth century, there existed a guild of *Boccaleri* (pitcher makers) and *Scudeleri* (plate and dish makers) in Venice. These made terra-cotta utensils, and must have been very inferior workmen to the contemporary glass makers, as it appears that fine ware was imported, particularly "majolica of Valencia." This mention of *majolica* from Valencia, one of the principal seats of the production of Hispano-Moresque, is perhaps the most important fact brought to light in the inquiry. The commerce by Moorish ships from Spain and Majorca must have supplied the Mediterranean with earthenware at this time.

Decrees of the Senate against the introduction of any foreign earthenware in 1487 and 1455, make exceptions in favour of crucibles (Correzoli) and majolica of Valencia. This, however, is much anterior to the earliest of Sir William Drake's documents, which is a petition of the Boccaleri, dated December 22, 1664, referring to these early decrees, and praying for the re-enactment of protective measures. The Pregadi issue the decree required in 1665, still making an exception of majolica of Valencia. In the papers that follow, the Pregadi sometimes refer the matter to the "Cinque Savij alla Mercanzia," and this Board makes its report. The documents are thirty-three in number, reaching down to September 1765, and, on the whole, show the manufacture to have been far from prosperous. Of course a monograph like the present cannot be expected to do more than furnish a few bricks towards the building of some future history of Italian faience.

81. THE volume in which M. Jobez relates the history of the reign of Lewis xv. during the Seven Years' War is hardly equal to its predecessors. The diaries of D'Argenson and Luyne fail him at the moment when he approaches events of universal importance and interest; and he has not made up by industry for the absence of leading authorities. His account of that far-reaching struggle in which France lost her Canadian dominion, and her prospect of an Indian empire, is very inadequate, because he has omitted to seek information from the writers of the other countries that were engaged in it. He complains that he has not been permitted to examine the correspondence of Bernis with Choiseul at the Foreign Office at Paris. Yet this correspondence is accessible to everybody in a copy at the French Archives, and another in the Imperial Library; and portions of it were printed in 1844 by Stühr, and more recently by Schäfer, in their works on the Seven Years' War. M. Jobez is a sound Liberal. His aversion for centralization makes him admire England, and even the East India Company; and he denounces despotism impartially, whether practised by a Bourbon, by Bonaparte, or by Robespierre. His admiration for Frederick II. is not quite consistent with these sentiments. He not only fills whole pages with the King's verses, but magnifies his exploits in a way which would distress a Prussian reader. He makes Frederick beat the Austrians at Prague with a force inferior by 10,000 men: in fact, it was slightly superior. According to the Prussian writers, Frederick captured 116 guns, and 51 stand of colours, at Lenthén, with a loss of 6300 men: M. Jobez says, 134 guns, 59 stand of colours, and 3000 men. He has seen neither the military correspondence of Frederick, published by Schöning, nor the only good edition of his works, or he would not be indebted to a casual number of the *Journal des Débats* for the instructions to Finkenstein. He is so conspicuously free from the intolerant patriotism of his countrymen, that the injustice he commits in speaking of the Convention of

Closter Zeven can be attributed to nothing worse than carelessness. He says that Denmark mediated at the request of George II., and that the English Government rejected the convention on the pretext that it was not ratified by France until the tide of fortune had turned at Rossbach. But in Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, vi. 94, he would have found that the French commander, Richelieu, applied for the interposition of Denmark on his own account, and without knowing of the action of his enemy. The English Government is not to blame for refusing to ratify the convention; for its resolution was taken on the 10th of October, and the battle of Rossbach was fought on the 5th of November; and the French were the first to break it. The Count de Gisors wrote to his father, the Marshal de Belle-Isle, on the 9th of November: "Les Hanovriens paroissent réellement vouloir ne plus tenir une convention à laquelle nous avons manqué les premiers" (Rousset, *Le Comte de Gisors*, p. 317). M. Jobez's account of the peace of 1762 is very characteristic. Besenval relates that there was a hitch; that the Duke of Bedford told a story which put Choiseul into a rage at first, but that at the end they fell into each other's arms, and made peace. The correspondence between the English negotiator and his Government may be found in the Bedford Papers. M. Jobez ignores its existence, and contents himself with the irrelevant but dramatic incident described by Besenval.

32. HERR REIMANN, who is already very favourably known by his researches in connection with the sixteenth century, has published a *History of the War of the Bavarian Succession*. The subject is not at first sight a very attractive one, as the results of the conflict were quite out of proportion to the expectation of contemporaries. During two successive campaigns, hundreds of thousands of veteran soldiers, fully equipped, often stood face to face within the distance of a cannon-shot, on fields of traditional renown, without coming to a battle. At the head of one army was the greatest general of the time: at the head of the other an impetuous young prince, thirsting for honour and distinction. Vast sums were squandered; the populations were heavily burdened; troops were marched backwards and forwards in all directions; numbers of brave soldiers fell a prey to fatigue, exposure, inaction, and camp-fever. And at last a truce rather than a peace was concluded. To superficial observers all this might seem only like a bad play, though the parts were sustained by great actors. But Herr Reimann has appreciated the real significance of the conflict he narrates, and has endeavoured to assign to it its proper place in that traditional antagonism between Austria and Prussia, which is the impulse to the political development of modern Germany.

The extinction of the male line of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in 1777 threatened a European crisis similar to that caused by the extinction of the male line of the Habsburgs in 1740. And now it was the son of the Habsburg heirless, Joseph II., who, in defiance of hereditary

right, endeavoured to seize the inheritance of the descendants of Otho. The Austrian claims on Bavaria were sufficiently doubtful. Kaunitz, the Austrian minister, described them as obscure, and somewhat obsolete; and accordingly the policy of Vienna was to heap together a number of small pretensions, of which some at least might in the end be sustained. But the Emperor's policy had a larger scope. Had he succeeded, Austria would have become more intimately connected with the rest of Germany; and the acquisition of territory by various methods might have enabled it to develop a unity similar to that of France. Prince Eugene, the first real statesman of modern Austria, had already contemplated her aggrandizement at the expense of Bavaria. By the 18th Article of the Peace of Rastatt in 1714, he reserved to the house of Bavaria the right of exchanging any of its territories with another power. In these few words, which Herr Reimann strangely overlooks, lay the germ of those continual plans of exchange and partition which went on through nearly a century. But whilst Austria thus strengthened herself in the south of Germany, and endeavoured to convert the Imperial dignity into a position of real supremacy, she ignored the claims of Prussia, shutting out the Northern Power from the part it had always been anxious to play. This danger did not escape the penetration of Frederick. The unconstitutional violence of Joseph gave a welcome opportunity to the Prussian monarch, who suddenly put himself forward as the representative and champion of the Empire. In a remarkable letter to his sister Amelia, which Herr Reimann does not mention, he writes:—"Je vais faire le Don Quixote, ma chère sœur, et me battre pour soutenir les droits du Corps Germanique comme le Chevalier de la Manche se battoit pour sa Dulcinée de Toboso. Il est nécessaire pour ma gloire et pour ma tranquillité que je descende encore dans l'arène contre ces Autrichiens pour leur prouver que j'existe." His expressions to Prince Henry, which are given by Herr Reimann (pp. 35, 65), also show that it was not devotion to the Empire, but a consideration of the interests of Prussia, which guided Frederick's conduct. Herr Reimann says he was disinterested out of self-interest. The phrase is ingenious, but not convincing; and it would have been better to say plainly that his course was determined by the same motives which prompted the partition of Poland.

For the rest, the work deserves high commendation. It supplies the deficiencies of former books, such as Dohm's *Denkwürdigkeiten*. In tracing the diplomatic complications, as well as the intricate domestic disputes concerned, the author shows the same delicate tact which he formerly employed in treating the religious wars of the sixteenth century at the time of Ferdinand and Maximilian II. He has used with discernment, and to good purpose, the printed Prussian sources, the correspondence of Frederick, and the Austrian correspondence recently published by Arneth. But he has not noticed the Memoirs of the

Landgrave Charles of Hesse, nor the very rare Life by Weber of the Electress Mary Antonia Walpurgis of Saxony, nor yet Hornayr's *Anemonen*. With regard to several diplomatic transactions, and especially those with Charles Theodore and the Duke of Deux-Ponts, we find things still unexplained which wait for the assistance of unprinted sources. To which side Herr Reimann inclines is not left in the slightest doubt. The severity with which he criticises Joseph II., Kaunitz, and even Maria Theresa, is in striking contrast with the lenity of his judgment on Frederick. For the absence of brilliant victories, or indeed one might say the failure of the Prussian plans of operation, he casts the blame on Prince Henry, without reflecting that this will not explain Frederick's inactivity. To the Austrians and their youthful leader it was really a great negative advantage, considering their unfavourable position, not to have been well beaten; and the responsibility for the slowness of the success obtained against them must rest, according to his own admission, on Frederick himself. There was truth in Napoleon's saying, that a man should not remain a general after the age of forty.

33. THERE is a peculiar and almost melancholy interest in the *Correspondence between Joseph II. and Catherine of Russia*, which has been lately published by Herr von Arneth. It presents a picture of vast schemes acutely planned, appealing to lofty passions, warranted by the possession of immense material strength, and ending in nothing. The agreement between the two Sovereigns was concluded in the form of private letters on the 21st and 24th of May 1781, and aimed at nothing less than the overthrow of the existing European system. They guaranteed one another's territories, and entered into an eight years' alliance, the main strength of which was to be turned against Turkey and Poland. The claims of both parties, in view of their anticipated successes, were set forth in the following year in private letters: by Catherine in one of the 18th of September, and by Joseph in one of the 19th of November. Catherine required for Russia the town of Orzakow, the enlargement of her territory from the Bug to the Dniester, the erection of a Dacian kingdom consisting of Moldavia, the greater part of Wallachia, and Bessarabia, and the establishment of a Greek empire at Constantinople, which she intended to confer on her grandson Constantine. Joseph stipulated for Servia, Bosnia, the continental possessions of Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, Wallachia as far as the Aluta, and the town of Khotim. The Venetians were to be compensated by the Morea, Cyprus, and Crete. But before these gigantic schemes could take effect the Emperor fell ill and died.

34. THE history of Prussia has a character peculiar to itself. It is not the history of a nation or a country; for the population is only a fragment of the German nation, with some admixture of Slavonic elements, and the territory was at first only an agglomeration of atoms without geographical unity. Neither is it the history of institutions which have grown

from internal germs; for since the days of the great Elector, with whom the modern Prussian State begins, there has scarcely existed any real political right for the nation, but only a body of administrative and military regulations. Nor, again, is it the organic development of an antecedent state of things, but rather a string of results from the gradual dissolution of the German Empire, and of the neighbouring kingdom of Poland. It was out of these ruins that modern Prussia was formed; and her history, for the most part, is only that of her Kings, with their officials and their army, the image of a complete absolutism in which the political constitution is a Government machine, and the people a passive material for the levy of soldiers and taxes. It is an instructive inquiry how the Prussian monarchs succeeded, with such scanty means, in establishing a really great Power, and what consequences have followed, both as regards Germany and the whole European system. To elucidate these questions would be the task of Prussian historiography; but it is one which has not yet been accomplished. Even the works of Stenzel and Ranke fail in this respect; and as they come down no later than the middle of the last century, they leave the most important and difficult part of the work untouched. Herr Droysen, in his voluminous and still incomplete *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, fantastically derives the origin and progress of the Prussian monarchy from the internal necessity of the German national development, the kernel of which he finds in the Mark of Brandenburg,—a country originally Slavonic, and only Germanized in later times. He adroitly weaves the affairs of Prussia into the web of an apparently national German history; but his ingenious combinations dissolve when they are brought to the touchstone of fact. The void thus left by former writers has not been filled by Herr Cosel in his *History of Prussia under the Hohenzollerns*. The book exhibits no independent study of authentic sources, except, perhaps, with regard to the battles, where the author has consulted the military archives. He relates the lives and exploits of Electors and Kings, but says little or nothing of the people, except a word now and then about the great misery and the oppressive taxes. Nor does he even consider in any detail the administrative mechanism. Thus he gives an elaborate account of the Seven Years' War, full of marches and battles, but does not attempt to show how the people were governed meanwhile, and how it was possible that a country by no means rich, and constantly traversed by the enemy, should have held on so long, and effected so much as it did. After his account of the war, indeed, he gives a chapter on the administration; but it is only an episode of nine pages in the story of conquests and battles. Yet the state of the country, he confesses, was horrible; "the whole of Brandenburg and Pomerania were little else than a desert, and the condition of the other provinces was not much better." The war itself he thinks was not brought on by the Hohenzollern policy of aggrandizement, but was "a war of the German

nation, awakened to political consciousness, for its most sacred rights, for its spiritual liberty." Yet, in point of fact, the consequence of it was that Germany declined more and more, till, a generation later, she succumbed to the French dominion. The spirit which Frederick kindled amongst his people is judged by the result. Twenty years after his death political life had become so stagnant and corrupt that a single battle was enough to overthrow the whole system. The moral energy of the Prussian people was indeed awakened in 1813, and the effect was marvellous; but the ideas to which that great movement owed its origin were totally different from those by which the materialistic absolutism of Frederick was inspired.

35. THE indistinct and half-forgotten figure of the elder Sapinaud gains little in clearness from the researches of his biographer, the Count de la Boutetière. He died in the fifth month of the Vendean war, before it had acquired all the grandeur and the terror which have magnified beyond their merits the names of the leaders who survived him. But the book, being compiled entirely from original documents, and not from Memoirs of dazzled or excited men, contains curious particulars of the earlier motives of the struggle. Although the outbreak was immediately provoked by the conscription of 1793, the real cause was the proscription of the nonconforming clergy. Out of 700 priests, 550 had refused the oath, and were pursued and harassed by the local authorities in a way which the Minister of the Interior pronounced illegal. Scarcely one hundred were left in the country. M. de la Boutetière gives two documents of the 14th of March, in both of which the chief point is that the people shall be free to have priests who have refused or retracted the oath: "Chacun paiera son ministre, et sera maître de le choisir." The insurgents further demand that there shall be no conscription, that all trades and professions shall be thrown open, that the friends of émigrés shall not be molested, and that fraternity, liberty, and equality shall be made to prevail. The spirit of these manifestoes is not to be mistaken. These men are not the defenders of the old order against the new, but of the new order against those who would corrupt or betray it. They not only accept the Revolution, but they contend for its integrity. They have given up the aristocracy, the monarchy, the privileges of the clergy; but they refuse to surrender the liberty of religious worship. At first they were as sanguinary as the democracy of Paris and Marseilles. They began by murdering every priest faithful to the constitution who fell into their hands. At Machecoul they set up a counterpart of the revolutionary tribunal, by whose sentences four hundred prisoners were condemned and shot between March 10 and April 22. In the same month of April, several republican prisoners publicly acknowledged the courteous treatment they had received from the Vendean officers. By degrees the gentry got the control of the insurrection, and entirely changed its character. At the end of May they proclaimed them-

selves an army of Royalists, fighting for the restoration of the throne. They even attempted to abolish the parish boards which had organized the rising, on the characteristic ground "que dans plusieurs endroits ces conseils se sont formés par des élections populaires incompatibles avec les vrais principes du gouvernement monarchique" (p. 39). The contrast is flagrant. The heroism of the Royalist army has thrown into shade the ideas and the ferocity which distinguished the movement in its popular and spontaneous stage. The significant parallel has been forgotten between the acts to which an ignorant zeal for religion drove the Catholic peasants of Vendée, and those of the atheist mob of Paris. Sapinaud, a scoffer in religion, did not share the fervour of his brothers-in-arms; but his constitutional opinions fitted him to be a leader of men who defended the liberties of 1789 against the tyranny of 1793.

36. According to the notion which prevailed till lately, the history of all European countries except France made a sort of pause during the French Revolution, so that the history of France for the time being became the history of Europe. Recent German investigations have divested the French Revolution of this supernatural character, and have explained it in connection with the other events of the time. Especially they have shown the influence which distant occurrences—the last struggle of Poland and the Eastern crisis—exercised on the West. The difficulties of the Polish and Oriental questions paralysed the action of the great Powers against the Revolution; and it was the jealousies and disunion of the Eastern Powers, and not the reign of terror, that saved France in 1794 from the fate that befell her in 1815. This enlarged and deeper conception of the French Revolution arises from the study of the policy of the other Courts. But a serious obstacle to this study was found in the traditional silence of the Vienna archives, and the refusal of former Austrian Governments to give publicity to their modern documents. Historians were consequently obliged to be content with what was supplied from Prussian and Russian archives, and for the rest to take refuge in conjectures. These conjectures were naturally unfavourable to Austria, since, in such cases, silence gives rise to the presumption of an uneasy conscience. Grave reproaches against the Austrian policy accumulated, and found ready credence. The present Austrian Government, however, has adopted a wiser policy, and has liberally granted to various writers the use of the Imperial archives.

Drawing from these sources of information, Dr. A. von Vivenot, a military man, whose services in 1866 were acknowledged on the Prussian side, as well as on his own, has recently sought to place the Austrian policy in a clearer light. In a work of three volumes, which appeared four years ago, he endeavoured to clear Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen from the blame of the campaign of 1792, and criticised the Prussian policy which led to the peace of Basil; but his impetuosity and the violence of

his language laid him open in many points to the attack of his opponents. He has now published a series of despatches and important documents, with an introductory dissertation on Thugut, which does justice to the difficulties of the Austrian statesman, and moderates the reproaches of which he has been the object. The author paints Thugut as a thorough patriot, a determined enemy of France, and also of Prussia, since he perceived that Prussia had relaxed her efforts in the great struggle against the Revolution, and was secretly intriguing against Austria in the East. He exhibits him surrounded and served by incapable worn-out generals like Lasey and Clerfayt, deprived in decisive moments of faithful ones like Mercy, and thwarted by events impossible to be reckoned on, like the death of Catherine just when she had promised her active support to Austria. It is certainly not to be wondered at that Thugut's strength of mind should have gradually given way under the continual frustration of his well-considered plans, and that from 1797 especially he should have shown himself a weaker man than before. Dr. Vivenot energetically repudiates the accusation that he voluntarily abandoned Belgium, and shows that he never thought of negotiating secretly with France, and that he indignantly rejected the idea of any peace involving treachery to the allies or the surrender of the left bank of the Rhine. He also proves that the separate agreement between Austria and Russia, the secret declaration of the 3d of January 1795, which Professor Sybel calls the most important political act of Thugut's life, was not Thugut's work at all, but was arranged without his knowledge and against his will by Cobenzl, on his own responsibility. Authentic evidence of this kind will help to settle Thugut's character, and his place in history.

37. The policy of the German Powers during the revolutionary war has lately furnished materials for a bitter literary controversy. The polite superiority with which Professor Hüffer, in his *Oesterreich und Preussen gegenüber der Revolution*, sits in judgment on Professors Sybel and Häusser, taking up the position of an unbiassed authority against these two passionate and partial historians, provoked the former of them to a violent reply in his *Oesterreich und Deutschland im Revolutionskrieg*. In this book he denies his critic's competence to decide the issue, and treats him as a mere historical dilettante, whose serious study of documents has been confined to the short period from April to October 1797. Professor Hüffer has not been silent under the attack, but has published in answer *Die Politik der Deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege*. The book is written in a tone of sharp recrimination, very different from the author's usual calm and dignified manner; and he charges his opponent with a long series of errors and misrepresentations. The personalities of the discussion, however, past or future, are less interesting than the additions it may make to our exact knowledge of the period of the Revolution. The evacuation of Belgium by

the Austrians in the summer of 1794 forms the main point of difference. Professor Sybel is of opinion that the evacuation was a voluntary one. He very properly takes into account the great influence of the Eastern difficulties, especially of the Polish question, on all the more important steps of the Austrian Government. But from this he endeavours to draw the conclusion that Thugut had always regarded Belgium as an encumbrance, and that he wished to get rid of it by any means, in order to utilize the Austrian troops against Prussia in Poland. This conclusion had already been disputed by Dr. Vivenot; and his view is sustained by Professor Hüffer, who considers that the evacuation was due to strategical motives. He supports his statements by the account of the proceedings at Tourcoing sent in by the Archduke Charles. Referring to the decisive event, the Archduke says that he came too late into the field, and was not able to bring assistance to the hard-pressed army of the English and Dutch, and that thus the battle was lost; but there was not the slightest ground for believing the Emperor to have suddenly suspended it, under the influence of unfavourable news from Poland. If, however, on the one side, Professor Hüffer's position with regard to the events of Tourcoing must now be accepted, it cannot be denied, on the other side, that the Austrians in point of fact defended Belgium with much less energy than they have lately displayed on the line of the Mincio and at Mantua, and that the Polish movement greatly contributed to the sudden departure of the Emperor Francis. The problem will be explained if we follow Professor Sybel's suggestion, upon the authority of the documents published by Gentz, and then with Gentz and De Pradt suppose that there were at the time two different currents of opinion, which influenced the policy of Austria in the matter,—the one in favour of the Emperor's leaving Belgium, and the other in favour of the continued occupation of the country. To the first belonged Lasey, Mack, and probably also Waldeck, in spite of what he said to the Duke of York (to whom Professor Hüffer refers); to the second belonged Mercy and Thugut, the last of whom, at any rate, must not have given up Belgium without a proper compensation. The Emperor wavered between the two parties. At last the defeat in the field, the hostility of the Belgian population, and the tidings from Poland, decided the question. The 24th of May 1794 is assigned by Professor Sybel, upon the authority of Gentz and De Pradt, as the date of this decision; but this seems too early, and it is doubtful whether there was really any formal act of the kind, or any prepared plan of evacuation. With regard to the scheme of indemnification which Austria proposed to herself during the war of the Revolution, the author is at issue with Professor Sybel. The latter, as well as Professor Häusser, is too much disposed to trace in the policy of Austria and of Thugut an element of restless covetousness. Thugut is said to have glanced at times in the direction of Poland, and at times also towards Turkey and Bavaria. The truth is that he always

meditated a compensation for Austria in the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine; and, as the events of the war did not permit the reunion of these provinces to Germany, he fixed his thoughts on Venice. This peculiar bent of the Austrian policy showed itself clearly in the Partition Convention of Poland and the secret declaration of January 1795. The opinion of Professor Sybel, that the Partition Convention also influenced the peace of Basil, and that the coolness of both the Imperial Courts led Prussia to make advances to France, has some degree of probability; but it must not be exaggerated so far as to attribute to the secret declaration any decisive influence on the succeeding events, or on the measures adopted by Prussia. This secret declaration, which Cobenzl signed on his own responsibility, "*sub spe rati*," and which contemplated a complete overthrow of the existing order of States in Europe, the solution of the Oriental question by the establishment of a Greek empire, and the predominance of Austria and Russia over the rest of Europe, was utterly unknown both at Berlin and everywhere else, until it was published by Miliutin in the year 1852. It could not possibly, therefore, have influenced the peace of Basil. Nor can a motive for that peace be found in any secret negotiation between Austria and the French Republic. Professor Sybel supposed such a negotiation to have taken place through the medium of the Tuscan envoy Carletti, the annexation of Bavaria being proposed in return for the left bank of the Rhine. The Austrian Government officially denounced the whole story as a foolish and childish invention, and Carletti himself as an impostor. Frenchmen, such as Merlin de Douay, allow that the Emperor did not advance a step towards any sort of negotiation; and the Prussian Lucchesini declared on the 25th October 1795, that no secret negotiation betwixt the Court of Vienna and France, either with regard to peace or the exchange of Bavaria, had at that time taken place. This evidence had led Professor Sybel to modify his former views; and he now maintains only that Carletti, though perhaps he did not negotiate, sounded France privately. But he fails to show that Carletti received any communication to that effect from Thugut. The whole bearing of Austria at the time is one of stubborn resistance. In the summer of 1796 the idea of a separate peace with France was still scouted at Vienna; and the sudden turn of Campoformio only became possible when every hope of assistance from England, and of the carrying on of the war, had perished. The policy of Thugut does not appear to have been so thoughtless and reprehensible as Sybel and Häusser have supposed; but it was far from being a model either of profound statesmanship or of genuine patriotism.

38. PROFESSOR MENDELSSOHN is distinguished from other writers of the Heidelberg school by the tone in which he speaks of Austria. Several of his works on the diplomatic history of this century have caused the policy of the Court of Vienna to appear in a more favourable light;



and he has just attempted to clear up one of the darkest transactions with which it has ever been connected. The war of 1799 opened with hostilities on the Upper Rhine, while negotiations were still pending at Rastatt. The Congress was dissolved; and the Archduke Charles, four weeks after his victory at Stockach, sent orders that the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic should immediately depart. The order reached them on the 28th of April; and at the same moment the gates were occupied by Austrian soldiers. The envoys wished to start at once; but the commanding officer detained them until late at night, and then refused an escort. Their wives were anxious to remain; for it was dark and stormy, and there was a very general sense of impending mischief. But the frontier of France was only a few miles off, and the Frenchmen thought their dignity required that they should not wait till daylight. They were scarcely out of the town when they were stopped by a body of about fifty Austrian hussars, who murdered two and left the third for dead. Nobody else was injured. The alarm was given before the work of plunder was completed; but the papers had disappeared. When the news reached Rastatt, the commanding officer at once began to excuse himself and to palliate the act, and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to send a patrol to the scene of murder. The Archduke Charles ordered an investigation; but it was soon after quashed. The guilt of the hussars was admitted at Vienna. They were left unpunished; and the facts brought to light by the inquiry were never given to the world. After some delay, the stolen papers were restored. It has been almost universally believed that the Austrian Government had caused the French diplomatists to be murdered. Professor Mendelssohn believes that the assassins were Austrian hussars, acting with the connivance of their superior officer; but he denies the complicity of the Government, and shows that the prevailing opinion has never been sustained by proof. His arguments are not all equally strong. He urges, for instance, that Napoleon never raised a claim for compensation, or used the story to throw discredit on Austria. But the opinion of Napoleon carries weight only on the supposition that he knew the truth; and it appears that he did not know the truth, for he believed that the French Directory had destroyed its own agents. The point of the book is the author's endeavour to transfer the blame from the Austrian Government to the Emigrés. Baden was full of them; and their feelings were under so little control that they would have poisoned the Republican prisoners who were at Rastatt in 1795, if the doctor had not himself attended to the making up of their medicines. On the 11th of April one of these Emigrés wrote that a great event would shortly startle the world; and about the same time he received a sum of 6000 francs. The murderers called out some words in French. Professor Mendelssohn concludes that the 6000 francs were used to bribe the captain and his men, and that the murder was committed by French Royalists disguised as hussars. At one moment this opinion was countenanced by the

Archduke himself. The author compares the event to the murder of Dorislaus in 1649 (who, however, was killed at the Hague, and not at Madrid, as we read at p. 61). He has certainly made it clear that there is nothing which amounts to proof against Austria; but the proofs against the Emigrés are no stronger. The old suspicion will continue to rest upon the Court of Vienna until some stronger reasons are discovered to cast it on the French Royalists. It is possible that Professor Mendelssohn may be able to produce the missing evidence in the volume of documentary matter which he is about to publish. The question would be settled by the production of the report of the inquiry. The very incompleteness of this vindication should be a powerful appeal to the Austrian Government to make known its secret information.

39. THE Memoirs of Cardinal Consalvi, and the work of M. d'Haussonville on the relations between Napoleon I. and the Court of Rome, contain much that is injurious to the memory of the Emperor, and unwelcome to the Second Empire. An unexpected defender has arisen in the person of Father Theiner, who has published two volumes on the Concordat and the Coronation, including 330 pages of original documents, which are taken, not from the Vatican archives in his own keeping, but from those of Paris. Among these are the very important despatches of Consalvi, written during the negotiations with the Consular Government. They present matters in a different light from his Memoirs; and they consequently contradict the narrative of M. d'Haussonville. Consalvi wrote his Memoirs on these events long after they occurred, and when there was an open breach between the Papacy and the Empire. According to Father Theiner, they are partial, unjust, and inaccurate. He speaks of "the bad faith of their author" (i. 233), and disputes their authenticity (ii. 281), calling them "pretended memoirs." In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. d'Haussonville himself had questioned their integrity; but he renounced his doubt before publishing his two first volumes. It is not clear how much fault Father Theiner assigns to the forgetfulness and irritation of the Cardinal, and how much to the infirmity of his translator. But, as he sometimes cites the Memoirs as an authority, his real opinion appears to be unfavourable to Consalvi himself. The points of difference in the despatches from the statement in the Memoirs are generally in Bonaparte's favour. Father Theiner, who thinks that the French people made him Emperor both out of legitimate gratitude and in obedience to their irresistible impulse towards monarchy, proclaims him a new Constantine. He even discovers in the Emperor's refusal to restore the pontifical territories the signs of a visible regret that he could not grant the request. At St. Helena, Napoleon explained the Concordat by his desire to reconcile the clergy with the new order, and to deprive the Bourbons of their most powerful ally in France. He told Las Casas that he had conceived the hope of obtaining the control of Pius VII., so



that he might rule the religious as well as the political world. The Archbishop of Mechlin heard him say that it was the greatest fault of his reign. Father Theiner thinks it the most glorious of his works. But Pius VII. said to Niebuhr that nothing caused him so much grief as the treatment to which he had subjected the French Bishops in his Concordat with Napoleon.

40. CONSALVI relates in his Memoirs that, when he was about to sign the Concordat of 1801, an attempt was made to substitute a false copy for the authentic text agreed upon. The statement is supported by no other evidence, and is not confirmed by the Cardinal's own correspondence. While the original text of his Memoirs was kept out of sight there was room for suspicion. As soon therefore as the first of Father Theiner's volumes revealed the discrepancy between Consalvi's language at the time and ten years later, his editor and translator, M. Crétineau-Joly, published a reply, not only offering to show Consalvi's manuscript to all who chose to see it, but giving a facsimile of the pages which contain the startling tale. He has thereby vindicated himself, and transferred the suspicion of literary profligacy to the Cardinal. It must be assumed that the errors in the Memoirs are the errors not of the translator but of the author. The glaring contradiction remains between the tone of the Memoirs and that of the despatches. M. Crétineau-Joly suggests that the ciphers were known, and the letters exposed to the inspection of the French Government; and that the Cardinal therefore avoided all offensive matter, and afterwards composed his Memoirs to make up for the deficiency. It is a desperate hypothesis, and quite insufficient to span the mysterious chasm between the two irreconcilable accounts. When a very able minister is carrying on a negotiation at a distance from home, it is quite conceivable that he will not mention all particulars to his Government. Consalvi relied on himself, and expected scant aid from the men who were administering his own offices at Rome. There were secrets which it was unnecessary to divulge, and which it might be advisable to keep to himself, as Secretary of State. Before he wrote his Memoirs, the Pope was a prisoner, and he himself an exile. The cool, placid temper with which he had confronted the First Consul was changed into the bitterest animosity. There is the strongest reason to expect an altered tone, many new and unfavourable particulars, a hostile interpretation, and some exaggeration. But, on every principle of sound criticism, the original despatches must be preferred to the vindictive Memoirs.

41. MR. YONGE's life of Lord Liverpool makes known so many interesting papers that it will always hold its place among the best biographies of English statesmen. He describes his hero as the last Premier who carried out his own policy, and did not hold office to follow the lead of opposition. The cause of freedom, he says, had no more resolute advocate; and he thinks Lord Liverpool a great man and an

excellent minister. This is not only a mistake, but a mistake which spoils the point. The life of Lord Liverpool repays attentive study, not because he was an able man, but for exactly the opposite reason. He himself is an object of very moderate interest; but that such a man should so long have occupied such a place is one of the most curious and characteristic facts in English history. He was honourable, moderate, and patient, gifted with great experience of many public offices, and a mind impervious to thought. "Experience proves that property and trade will adapt themselves, in time, even to mistaken and defective laws; but constant fluctuations in our legislation on such subjects can only be productive of disorder and ruin." These words are not taken from the Noodle's Oration, but from a speech of Lord Liverpool in 1820; and they are perfectly characteristic. There is something quite as good in a memorandum on Reform. "I should then say that the giving the right of election to the populous manufacturing towns was the worst remedy which could be applied. In the first place, it would be the greatest evil conferred on those towns; it would subject the population to a perpetual factious canvass, which would divert, more or less, the people from their industrious habits, and keep alive a permanent spirit of turbulence and disaffection amongst them. Against such a measure all the most respectable inhabitants of those towns would, I am convinced, protest." The same Boëtian atmosphere pervades the whole book. The Duke of York has only one remark to make on the Corn-laws; he points out "how adverse the whole agricultural interests of the country are to the new measure proposed, and more especially those great landholders who form the principal support of the administration." In another place we learn "how little the Irish really had to complain of, and as a corollary to the fact thus established, how compatible among an impulsive, and unreasoning, and easily-led population is the existence of vehement and even general discontent with an almost total absence of grievances, except such as are brought at times on all nations, by the unavoidable operation of causes beyond human control." But this comes not from Lord Liverpool, but from his biographer.

Lord Liverpool governed England in the greatest crisis of the war, and for twelve troubled years of peace, chosen, not by the nation, but by the owners of the land. The English gentry were well content with an order of things by which, for a century and a quarter, they had enjoyed so much prosperity and power. Desiring no change, they wished for no ideas. They sympathized with the complacent respectability of Lord Liverpool's character, and knew how to value the safe sterility of his mind. He distanced statesmen like Grenville, Wellesley, and Canning, not in spite of his inferiority, but by reason of it. His mediocrity was his merit. The secret of his policy was that he had none. For six years his administration outdid the Holy Alliance: for five years it led the liberal movement throughout the world. The Prime Minister

hardly knew the difference. He it was who forced Canning on the King. In the same spirit, he wished his Government to include men who were in favour of the Catholic claims and men who were opposed to them. His career exemplifies, not the accidental combination, but the natural affinity, between the love of conservatism and the fear of ideas.

42. PROFESSOR BÜDINGER of Zürich undertakes to set right the judgment of his countrymen on the character of Wellington. In Prussia especially, it is a common opinion that he was not in the first rank of generals, and was stiff, proud, selfish, and ungenerous. The Prussians believed that his influence had been fatal to their schemes of aggrandizement, at Vienna, and at Paris after Waterloo. According to Müffling, Gneisenau accused him of being more deceitful than an Indian. Müffling is not always to be trusted when he speaks of Gneisenau, for they were not friends. Varnhagen von Ense relates that on one occasion in 1813, Müffling he-itated to state his opinion, when Gneisenau exclaimed, "Don't be afraid to give your advice; there is no danger of its being followed." But there can be no doubt that the campaign of 1815 did not leave on Wellington's mind a very good impression of the Prussians, and did not make him popular amongst them. Gneisenau in his celebrated report says that they fought against odds on the 16th of June, "vainly longing for succour;" and he attributes the defeat of Ligny to the absence of the English, and the victory of Waterloo to the presence of the Prussians. The belief in Germany was that Wellington had done less than his duty on the 16th, and owed his own triumph to the allies whom he had forsaken. Patriotic motives sustained this opinion; but the real controversy is reduced to very narrow dimensions. The question now turns on the value of Ziethen's attack at the decisive moment of the battle of Waterloo. Wellington says, "As Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack." It was not Blücher, but Ziethen. According to the best German narrative of the campaign, in Bernhardi's *History of Russia*, Ziethen pushed forward his troops so far that they came between the English position and the retreating French, so that when the English line advanced they had no enemy before them. It follows that Wellington gave the word to advance for no tactical object, but only to establish his own claim to the victory. Büdinger proves that the truth lies between this exaggerated estimate of Ziethen's part in the battle, and that of Wellington himself, who, in his notes on Clausewitz, written in 1842, makes no mention of Ziethen. It is certain that a Prussian battery placed at right angles with the English line, and in a very advanced position, opened fire on the flank of the guard during the final struggle. There can be no doubt that the effect was great; and the merit belongs to Reiche, the chief of Ziethen's staff. It was acknowledged by Wellington in very flattering terms, when Ziethen was intro-

duced to him at Paris. Before he ordered his own men to advance, he sent to stop the fire of the Prussian battery. Whether these guns assisted and hastened the repulse of the French attack, or only opened fire when the guard had given way, and threw them into disorder, is hard to say. The author adopts the latter opinion. But Reiche distinctly says that he took on himself the responsibility of firing on the French when they were so mixed up with the English, that both were likely to suffer; and the Brunswickers state that they saw with surprise the enemy vanish down the hill at a moment when the fight was not going decidedly against them. As Professor Büdinger wishes to raise the estimate of Wellington in Germany, he is right in saying little about his political career. He insists on the honesty, the moderation, the practical sagacity and sense of official duty, which helped to compensate for want of foresight, of sympathy, and of resource, in the statesmanship of the great soldier. If he had read the Duke's correspondence with Liverpool he would have avoided the pleasing fiction that he never asked favours for himself or others.

43. VARNHAGEN VON ENSE was a clever writer, and a literary wit, but destitute of all deep thought, and without any real political culture. He has produced nothing which deserves a close study; but his biographical writings are worthy of being read. This is more than can be said in strictness of his *Literary Testament*, which his representatives, however, appear determined not to leave unexhausted. Besides some volumes of letters, it has already yielded a diary of six volumes, stored with amusing anecdotes, and pungent criticisms of individuals. The book made a considerable sensation, which was increased when the Prussian Government prohibited its circulation; and it has now been succeeded by five other volumes, under the title of *Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte*. These also are, in point of fact, a diary, in which Prussian affairs and other European events of the time find a place. The author's person is always the central figure; and as the objects pass before him, he lets them reflect his own image, and illustrate his excellence and superior wisdom. He makes a universal medley of political, literary, and social gossip, and kneads it together by the sarcastic expression of his opinions. The volumes embrace the years from 1819 to 1830. At that time Prussia, notwithstanding the want of a free constitution, was a fairly governed country, advancing in culture and general prosperity, with educational, administrative, and military institutions of acknowledged efficiency. According to Varnhagen, however, the monarchy was in a condition of progressive dissolution and decay, and the Government weak, stupid, and a sink of corruption. "Die ganze Intelligenz der jetzigen preussischen Regierung lässt sich auf ein Quartblatt schreiben." He speaks several times of a catastrophe being imminent. How he deals with persons may be seen by his remarks on Niebuhr, at that time Prussian envoy at Rome: "Seine Depeschen

sind ein schreckliches Gemisch von Albernheit, Unschicklichkeit, Gleissnerei, Bosheit und Galle."

The bitterness and exasperation shown by such judgments as these was due in part to personal causes, and in part to the condition of public affairs. Varnhagen had served in the War of Independence; he had also been in the Prussian diplomatic service, and was now on the retired list. With a high opinion of his own political capacity, he found himself excluded from any active participation in politics; and his sarcasms bore witness to his sense of the neglect for which they took vengeance. In Prussia the War of Independence had created a great ferment in the minds of all classes, filling them with immoderate hopes, desires, and pretensions. Men fancied that nothing was beyond their scope, and imagined new changes of which they were to be the creators. But after the war came the period of reaction over the whole continent. The incontestable need of peace was opposed to the vast projects of innovation; and the Governments endeavoured with all their might to allay the prevailing excitement. Hence the disgust of those who had taken a prominent part in the struggle, or who had sympathized with the agitation of the time. They felt not only personally disappointed and neglected, but also politically fettered and oppressed.

The character of Frederick William III. gave a peculiar tone to Prussian affairs. He was a just and kind-hearted man; but it was only by the war that he had been raised to a sphere of great actions and ideas; and as soon as Prussia was safe, he fell back on his former narrow range of life. Varnhagen satirizes his personal tastes, and records the gossip and the epigrams that he finds current in society about them. The King is fond of the theatre, especially the ballet—he is even on familiar terms with several *danseuses*; but this is all with the strictest propriety, and he himself does not fail to exhort them to a moral conduct. The ballet is called *das tugendhafte Sérail des Königs*. At other times he appears as a Father of the Church, and busies himself about the new Liturgy, which he is anxious, at every cost, to introduce. The Pietists invade the Court, assisted both by the King and the Crown Prince, and much hypocrisy of course prevails. Even military men are anxious to obtain promotion by their piety; and people say that there is to be "a regiment of tartuffe dragoons." Under an absolute government such as that of Prussia had been since the seventeenth century, influence at court was necessarily the only way to public advancement; and there was a general struggle for this influence. "People complain," says the author, "of the want of independent men in Prussia, and especially in Berlin. But what caused most dissatisfaction was that feebleness of policy which formed so strange a contrast to the brilliant victories of 1813-1815. Prussia did not exercise any influence in Europe; and men accordingly complained of the incapacity of her diplomatists: 'Our envoys are the most wretched in all Europe.' There was also great dis-

content at the influence of the nobles. During the war they had been pushed aside by the democracy; but they soon rallied, and prevailed at the court. Nevertheless, they remained without any culture, any character, or any political capacity. Alexander von Humboldt said "that in all Europe there was no country where the nobility was so rude and ignorant, and even persisted in being so." The most intemperate reaction had its representatives amongst them. They sympathized with Don Miguel, and detested all liberal statesmen. When the news of Canning's death arrived at Berlin, it was received with transport: "Nun ist ein schlechter Kerl weniger auf der Welt," said the minister Schuckmann. The Royal Princes took part with the reaction. After the July revolution, the Crown Prince wished to enter France with some 50,000 men; and at a royal hunting party a toast was proposed, "auf einen baldigen Krieg, auf den Sieg der guten Sache, und den Untergang Belgiens." The strict aristocratic party looked with contempt upon the citizens. "Was so ein Käsekrämer noch alles werden will," said Prince Charles when Lafitte had become a minister in France: he little thought that even in Berlin he would see a time when the popularity of such ministers would be a protection to the throne. The dependence of the Prussian policy, and its submission to the lead of Austria, was attributed to the influence of the court nobility. This increased the disgust of the old Prussianism, which had inherited from the days of Frederick the Great an invincible aversion for Austria. To put up with Austrian influence was regarded by the Liberals of Prussia as an absolute degradation. They rather inclined towards Russia; and Varnhagen constantly speaks in favour of Russia as against Austria. Indeed, even to the present day, the Liberalism of Berlin remains half Russian.

44. THE ordinary idea of American peasant life must be a good deal modified to make it fit in with Mr. Greeley's account of his childhood. He gives no pictures of rude plenty and unclouded prospects. Except that he found it easier to strike out a different line for himself than it might have been in England, the opening chapters of his *Recollections of a Busy Life* might have been written by the son of an English labourer. His father was originally a small and struggling farmer in New Hampshire, burdened with debt incurred in buying his land, and with the difficulty of getting paying crops off it. In 1820, sickness and bad luck had left him nearly £250 in debt, "which all we had in the world," says Mr. Greeley, "would not at current prices pay. In fact, I do not know how much property would have paid \$1000 in New Hampshire in 1820, when almost every one was hopelessly involved, every third farm was in the sheriff's hands, and every poor man leaving for 'the West' who could raise the money requisite for getting away." The law of debtor and creditor did not err on the side of leniency. There was neither writ, nor trial, nor judgment; only the sheriff with two or three principal creditors

appeared on the farm, demanded payment of their claims, and then seized the stock and household goods. After they had been deprived in this way of their farm in New Hampshire, the Greeleys went to Vermont. The father and sons worked chiefly at clearing forest land, but in the third year took to farming again "with very meagre results." A wet spring and a dry summer ruined the crops; and then with the autumn came fever and ague. The result was that in the following spring the family were driven back to wood clearing. Still this American poverty was neither "beggary nor dependence." "We never needed, nor ran into debt for anything; never were without meal, meat, and wood, and very rarely without money." In 1826 they moved into Western Pennsylvania; and it was at this time that Mr. Greeley started, at the age of fifteen, to seek his own fortune. He became an apprentice in a country printing-office, and so began that connection with journalism which has left him editor of one of the most influential papers in the United States. A better technical education, he thinks, might have kept him a farmer. His remarks on this subject have a point which is applicable beyond the limits of his own country. "During the whole period [of his boyish experiences of farming], though an eager and omnivorous reader, I never saw a book that treated of agriculture and the natural sciences auxiliary thereto. . . . I know I had the stuff in me for an efficient and successful farmer; but such training as I received at home would never have brought it out. And the moral I would deduce from my experience is this: our farmers' sons escape from their father's callings whenever they can, because it is made a mindless, monotonous drudgery, instead of an ennobling, liberalizing, intellectual pursuit. Could I have known in my youth what a business farming sometimes is, always may be, and yet generally shall be, I would never have sought nor chosen any other." The *Recollections* become less interesting when they enter on that arena of partisan warfare in which most of the writer's life has been passed. Mr. Greeley on farming is more instructive than Mr. Greeley on politics.

45. An author who writes under the designation of G. von S. . . . n, and in whom it is easy to recognise a well-informed officer of high rank in the Austrian army, has lately published the first volume of a History of Austria from the year 1848. He takes up boldly the defence of the Imperial generals of that time, and of the Austrian army, and aims many hard blows at the popular movement and its leaders. He paints with a certain complacency the thoughtlessness and unpatriotic conduct of the republicans of Vienna, at a period when high-sounding words were all-powerful, and the Government was without dignity or vigour—when an Imperial minister boasted before the national assembly of being on good terms with the students, and when, in fact, the authority of the students was the only established and respected one. Among the defenders of Vienna he justly gives the foremost place to the Polish

General Bem, with Fenner von Fenneberg. He exposes the boastful incompetency of Messenhauser, the head of the national guard, and characterizes with amusing irony the flight of Kossuth from the field of Schwechat. On the background of all this anarchy and incapacity, the martial figures of the Imperial camp are presented in bold relief. The author has the merit of being the first who has explained clearly and intelligibly the fight of October 1848 before Vienna. His account of it is based on some official documents at his disposal, and on the *ordre de Bataille* of the 28th of October. The narrative of the attack and defence of both is lively and truthful, and it is obvious that he was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. The horrors of a civil war, the excesses committed on both sides, the violation of the rights of life and property in the case of inoffensive citizens, inspire him in the abstract with humane disgust; but in dealing with the actual circumstances he is guilty of a systematic partiality. He carefully collects a number of wild sayings of the republican leaders, such as that attributed variously to Robert Blum and to Bem,—“Some two hundred more ought still to be hanged on a lamp-post,”—and on the strength of such inconsiderate words condemns the whole democratic party; but he justifies or excuses the cruelty of the Croats, and makes light of the brutality of the Austrian generals. From his accurate and intelligent account of the operations between the 24th and 29th of October, the military incapacity of Windischgrätz is apparent. It was in the power of the Imperial commander to enter the city on the first assault of the 24th, and with a comparatively small sacrifice of life to crush the revolt. But he chose to give his ardent troops the stupid order to “advance only on the defensive;” and, contenting himself with now and then taking a barricade or occupying a hostile position, he thought it necessary to employ no less than two whole days in reconnoitering his enemy. By this useless and culpable delay he sacrificed the peaceable population of Vienna to the lawless rule of the mob, and enabled the Hungarians to come up to the assistance of their friends. In the end he owed his wretched victory only to the incapacity and disorganization of the republican army.

46. If Mr. Edwards had not been in haste to anticipate rival biographers, he might have made his *Life of Rossini* a better memoir, and a more valuable contribution to the history of art. He duly chronicles the outward movements both of the human and artistic life of his hero, but gives us little insight into the inner nature of the man, or the inner life of the artist. He thinks that the life of the man has little interest, and that such as it has it derives from the reforms which Rossini introduced into music. Accordingly, he catalogues with care these reforms—the elevation of the basso into a chief character in opera, the revolution in singing brought about by the composer's writing his own ornaments to his airs, instead of leaving them to be embroidered by the singer, the introduction of various wind-instruments into

the orchestra, and of a military band on the stage, the bringing forward of the chorus, and making it take part in the action, the shortening of the recitatives, the suppression of the piano-forte on which they were accompanied, and the symphonic and orchestral treatment of them. With these reforms, Rossini, at the end of his career, in 1829, had brought the Italian opera exactly up to the point where Mozart had left the German opera in 1787, five years before he was born. If there were no more to be said about Rossini than a historical sketch of these adaptations, his life would not be worth writing. But a very considerable interest attaches both to the character and to the artistic work of this very successful, and, in some respects, great musician. A perfect biography should show what sort of man it was from whom so many excellent operas exuded like a gum, how he worked, in what light he regarded his art, how he looked upon life and the chief interests of humanity, what, in fact, was his character personally, socially, and as an artist. His half-Falstaffian nature, his humour, his irony, his satisfied self-depreciation, his perfect content with himself, his witticisms, have been matter of occasional talk for many years past. A life of him ought to contain most of these anecdotes; but Mr. Edwards gives us scarcely any of them. Nor is he more complete on matters of art. He does not even mention Rossini's musical contribution to the Exhibition of 1867, nor his criticism upon it, that it was neither Bach nor Offenbach. He does indeed collect most of what Rossini said to explain his cessation from work after producing his *William Tell*, and evidently inclines to that which appears to be the true conclusion—that the rapid productivity of previous years had nearly exhausted the creative powers of the artist, though it left unabated his artistic power of dealing with the rare ideas which came to him, or even heightened it by the greater leisure he had for thinking. In his youth, Rossini wrote much and well; in his age he wrote very little, but better. He was not like Handel or Haydn or Bach, who retained both the energy and the judgment of the artist to extreme age, nor like Mozart or Mendelssohn or Beethoven, who allowed their artistic sensibilities and energies to worry them out of the world prematurely; but he shared a youthful energy of productivity with the latter class, and a mature vigour of judgment with the former. And doubtless he obeyed the hints of his organization, and consulted for his own longevity and health, when he laid aside his pen in the very vigour of his days. Judgment was one of his strong points. He knew himself and his place in the history of art. He never imagined that he was an absolute advance of music because he innovated upon Italian traditions, and grafted upon them much that he had learned from Mozart. Hence he did not regard his calling as anything very grand or sacred; he had little notion of the dignity of art, and none at all of his own dignity as artist. Whatever would please his audience satisfied him. Nothing is recorded of him similar to Mozart's saying, that he wrote his *Don Juan*

for the people of Prague, for a few friends, but above all for himself; or to Beethoven's, that he wrote for minds, not merchants. Rossini took it easily when his music did not please: he seemed to think that there was no accounting for, or disputing with, tastes, and tried the condemned tunes in new combinations. He had no idea that music had any definite meaning. Where Beethoven would write three overtures to one opera before he could satisfy himself, Rossini would make one overture serve for three operas—two serious and one comic. Music was to him little more than the movement of a dance; if it did not govern an actual ballet, it governed at least the movement of the humours, the beating of the heart, the pulsations of the blood. There it stopped; it had nothing to say to the brain. In his mood of mind, his delicious melodies might serve equally well for love songs, drinking couplets, or movements for a solemn high mass. About the wholeness and unity of a series of movements, such as a symphony, or the second act of *Fidelio*, he seems to have had no idea. Pieces of music might be taken out of one opera and used in another, might be shuffled about in any way, provided only that sameness and tediousness were avoided, and that the march of the whole was kept going. Mr. Edwards argues in favour of this non-intellectual character of music. The theory may be true; but it is also true that those who have been the greatest creators in the art thought otherwise of its aims. They considered that it appealed to brain as well as heart, that it had a definite meaning that there was such a thing as musical truth and falsehood, dignity and baseness. Mendelssohn and the sentimental word-painting critics of music, like Berlioz, have carried this kind of theorizing to a ridiculous excess. But there is probably some truth in the theory which they fail to explain intelligibly; for it is precisely those who by their compositions show that they understand music best, and can advance the art beyond what it had before attained, who have generally professed to perceive the logical sequence of music, and, where others could only hear a mechanical movement or a pulsation adapted to any excitement of sentiment, have professed to see the movement of special thoughts and feelings.

Mr. Edwards has noted the relationship of Rossini with Mozart and Haydn, and his plagiarisms from himself. But he has not said anything about the influence which Beethoven exercised over his later operas, in imparting to them a new unity and breadth. Perhaps the great characteristics of Beethoven's music are its rhythm, powerful as the rush of a great river, and above all its unity. The whole series of movements which constitute a symphony or sonata seem to belong to one another, and to arrange themselves in their own order by some shadowy logical force. Transposition, or omission, or isolation of a single movement, is at once seen to be detrimental to the effect of the whole, and of each part. Rossini gains somewhat of this power in *William Tell*; and the overture shows, beyond all controversy, whence he derived it. The storm growing out of a

pastoral movement, and ending in the song for the shepherd's pipe, is simply a recasting of Beethoven's pastoral symphony. The Italian song may be more melodious than the German: but the difference is that, whereas Beethoven's song lends itself to every possible symphonic contrivance, is lopped into fragments, heard now in the highest, now in the lowest, now in the middle parts, is varied, and hurried into a stormy succession of notes, in which form it becomes the subject for a fugue, Rossini's melody can only be repeated, and then must give way to a totally different subject in order that the composer may finish his overture with sufficient animation. There is not the same unity as in Beethoven's great work; but it is a meritorious and marvellously successful attempt to imitate that transcendent unity in a lower level of art, to translate it into a more popular language, to give its general outline, without its complication and richness of detail. In other parts of his opera, Rossini is under equal obligations to the *Sinfonia Eroica*.

Mr. Edwards divides Rossini's artistic life into three portions. The first ends with his engagement at Naples in 1815. During this period he wandered about Italy, and composed twelve operas for different theatres. Of these works the most remarkable is *Tancredi*, in which he for the first time succeeded in establishing German improvements in Italy. The second period lasts from 1819 to 1821, during which time he was at the head of the Neapolitan school, and brought out his four great serious Italian operas—*Otello*, *Cenerentola*, *La Gazza Ladra*, *La Donna del Lago*, and his greatest work, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, which was produced at Rome in 1816, besides numerous others, which are either forgotten or live in their subsequent French adaptations. After 1821 he settled at Paris and adopted his third or French style, in which his two masterpieces are *Moïse* (a reproduction of a Neapolitan opera) and *Guillaume Tell*, which he produced in 1829. After that date he wrote no new opera, and only two pieces of music that have made any solid impression—his *Stabat Mater* in 1842, and his *Petite Messe solennelle* in 1868. Mr. Edwards seems to know very little of this mass, and indeed passes over the whole of Rossini's last quarantain of life with the very slightest notice. And yet to this date belong all those pithy sayings which, if collected, would form a very instructive book of anecdotes, and all those stories which are so characteristic of the Epicurean artist who had already gained his laurels and his gold. But Mr. Edwards had reason for lengthening and reason for shortening his memoirs. For Rossini's two creative periods he had guides in abundance, whereas the memoirs of the last half of his life have yet to be written. Of course it was not in the power of a stranger and foreigner to supply the omissions of friends and familiars.

47. THE title of Mr. Gillett's *Democracy in the United States* promises a manual of party history, but really introduces an overgrown party pamphlet. All the laudatory epithets

the writer can lay hands on seem to have been distributed at random over the prominent party names from Madison to Seymour. There is no intelligent criticism, and no attempt to show how the same principles have appeared and disappeared in the United States under different, and even contradictory, names. However material a fact may be to the author's subject, he omits it without scruple if it is not calculated to answer his immediate purpose. Thus, in order not to identify the Democrats with the Secessionists, the prominent part played down to 1860 by the Southern wing of the party, including several of the politicians afterwards most active in the cause of the Confederacy, is passed over as lightly as possible. There is a like silence on the relation of the democratic party to the war, and the intimate connection between approved democratic doctrines and secession. In these respects, however, Mr. Gillett is by no means worse than other partisans on his side. The modern Democrat is powerless to give any certain utterances on these points, because, while he is unwilling to incur the charge of indifference to the preservation of the Union, it is extremely difficult on any recognised democratic principle to justify the coercion of the South. The result of this hesitation is that in democratic narratives the civil war usually appears as a sort of freak of nature, an event without a cause, an interlude in American history, which having been happily disposed of, everything may go on as before.

48. A HISTORY of the war in the United States, and of the political struggles that accompanied it, has been published by Heinrich Blankenburg, whose work on the campaign of 1866 has been widely read. Though the author was formerly on the Prussian staff, he has paid more attention to the political than to the military portion of his subject. He takes a very distant bird's-eye view of the operations, and seems to have made larger use of the German newspapers than of the voluminous documentary publications of the United States. He divides General Joseph Johnston into two, and pronounces one half the most excellent officer in America. Like all his countrymen, he is a partisan of the North; but his military sympathies are on the other side. He reminds his German readers that the men whom they execrated as leaders of Secession were the same who made the Union what it was, and governed it during those years when it won the admiration of Liberal Europe. He rejoices in the victory, but condemns the policy of the Republicans, who, after fighting for the Constitution, proceeded themselves to overthrow it. In attributing English sympathy for the South to nothing but lust of cotton, he misses that strange combination of opposite motives which made extreme Tories and the most consistent Liberals unite in the same opinion. The first hoped that democracy would be ruined and exploded by the war of Secession. The others believed that it would be purified and redeemed by the independence of the South. They admired the Constitution of the Confeder-

ates, because it provided remedies for those defects which have made the arbitrary democracy of America so dangerous an example for European liberty. No doubt, after the stupendous collapse of their hopes, they have not been anxious that they should be remembered against them. There have been, perforce, retractions and professions of oblivion. But the war of Secession produced a memorable and instructive phase in English Liberalism, which the impartial historians of the Continent would do well to preserve.

49. PROFESSOR EWALD is not only well known in the field of Oriental scholarship, but he has also long been regarded in Germany as a political personage. He was among the seven Professors of Göttingen who protested against the revocation of the Hanoverian constitution in 1837, and in consequence lost their appointments; and after his reinstatement his opposition to the arbitrary measures of the Government nearly cost him his professorship again. Nevertheless, at the crisis of 1866 he adhered to the King; and when the Prussian Government required the Göttingen Professors to take the new oath of allegiance he stood alone in his refusal. Thereupon he lost his place, though the Government left him his salary. He gave an account of this second dismissal in a pamphlet which sharply criticised the Prussian annexation. The Emperor Napoleon, he observed, after the *coup d'état*, dispensed with the oath of allegiance from Arago, so that, "in Prussia, German science is not held in that honour which French science enjoys in modern Paris." For a subsequent pamphlet, *Lob des Königs und des Volkes*,—the King being, of course, King George,—he was prosecuted by the Prussian Government. But the charge was dismissed in the first and second Courts; and the Government did not venture to carry the prosecution further. His present publication, *Die zwei Wege in Deutschland*, exhibits the antagonism between the principle of conquest and the free organic development of nations, and condemns the Prussian annexations as a wrong way to the unification of Germany. Proceeding from a moral standpoint, it tests the events of 1866 by the rights of the German nation, and also by the principles of Christianity. The generous indignation of the author's tone is combined with a profound insight into the spiritual elements of popular life; and his appeal to the national conscience against a policy of naked might has met with a reception which recalls, in some respects, the memory of the writings of Fichte.

50. PROFESSOR WATTENBACH of Heidelberg, having spent a vacation in Spain, has written an account of his journey, which anybody might read without discovering that the writer is one of the most consummate masters of mediæval criticism now living. A more plain and unpretending book of travels does not exist. The author has not encumbered himself with an equipage of learning, but describes what he has seen with the freshness of an undergraduate. The only special taste he shows

is in horticulture. The Spanish gardens obtain more than their due share of his attention. The prospects of dinner are never far from the thoughts of an enterprising traveller; and in Spain it is always something of an adventure. Professor Wattenbach commemorates his experience on this point with a relish calculated to yield comfort to all who are disposed to follow his footsteps. The sentiment, "Bei allen ästhetischen Genüssen wird nun einmal der Mensch endlich hungrig" (page 98), often suggests itself. Here and there the historian stands confessed, as when he speculates on the Moorish origin of all physical culture in the Peninsula. He inclines rather to deprive the Moors of the claim, and to transfer it to the Celtiberian race the Romans found in Spain; and he believes that the Spanish people originate nothing but desolation. Yet he has seen the peasants working as hard as men can do in other countries; and he attributes the poverty of the soil to the want of great works of irrigation, requiring public aid. The rivers are still almost unused for purposes of agriculture. In other respects he discerns many signs of material improvement and social progress. Schools, especially, have begun to be plentiful.

The true historical temper pervades the book. No moralizing slurs the purity of fact; there is no tempting generalization and no prophecy. Professor Wattenbach suggests that the bull-fights, being often connected with hospitals, are kept up partly for the sake of charitable objects; and that the intolerant laws were retained so long for the purpose of protecting the national lethargy against foreign competition. The old religious fervour of Spain seemed to him extinct. He saw no images of saints, and hardly ever a crucifix, out of doors. The priests appeared powerless; and he thinks there is nothing about which popular feeling might be more easily roused than the attempt to revive the religious orders. But on these points, having visited only the southern half of Spain, he avoids speaking confidently. In countries where education is so backward, it is hard to tell from the movement on the surface what lies in the unfathomed depth, or how violent the storm must be that stirs it.

51. THE series of travellers in the Netherlands and Belgium who have made art the chief subject of their published observations is not a long one, though it comprises several noteworthy names. The seventeenth century gives *Les Voyages de M. de Monconys en Angleterre et aux Pays Bas* in 1663; and in the eighteenth century we have *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant* by T. B. Dechamps (1762), *Voyage d'un Amateur des Arts [de la Roche] en Flandre, dans les Pays Bas*, etc. (1775), Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Journey to Flanders and Holland* (1781), Derival's *Voyageur dans les Pays Bas Autrichiens* (1782-8), and Forster's *Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant*, etc. (1792). M. Montégut has added to the list a volume of *Impressions de Voyage et d'Art*, which contains a certain amount of information, as well as criticism, with regard to pictures and statues, inter-



spersed with biographical notices of several Dutch and Flemish artists. He does not deal with the subject in any chronological order, nor does his book contain a methodical account of the art-treasures in different galleries and museums. He only journeys on from one place to another, recording his impressions as they arise. Some fine paintings by G. de Crayer at the Brussels museum afford him the opportunity of expatiating on the merits of this little appreciated painter; and he discusses J. Steen on the occasion of falling in with a masterpiece by him at the Arenberg gallery. In the chapter on Wiertz, he says justly that the museum which contains his paintings "is curious and instructive chiefly as teaching what ought to be avoided rather than imitated." He is an enthusiastic admirer of Rubens, and has really studied him, and endeavoured to penetrate to the inner thought of his works. Jordaeus he judges fairly, acknowledging his merits as a colourist, where he sometimes rivals Rubens, but denying him the possession of any high artistic ideal. "Il pense comme un plébéien, il sent comme un plébéien." After speaking of Quentin Matsys, Van Eyck, and Memlinck, the author passes on to Holland, where the landscapes in the neighbourhood of Dordrecht remind him of the pictures of Albert Cuyp and Van der Meer, and the bustling activity of Rotterdam seems to him very much like London. There are some interesting remarks on Paul Potter, on the House in the Wood at the Hague, and on Holbein. Ruysdael he thinks is the only painter who has succeeded in giving expression to that individuality which natural objects assume on the wide plain of Holland—a characteristic which gives powerful originality to his works. The genius of this master's art is summarized in a happy phrase—"Il a surpris l'âme pensive de la nature de son pays." Later on he mentions F. Hals, whose remarkable portraits are grouped together in the interesting little museum recently established at Haarlem, as well as Van der Helst and Rembrandt. M. Montégut has not discovered anything really new; but he has brought out a fresh aspect in several works of the Flemish and Dutch artists.

52. M. TAINÉ'S *Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays Bas* applies to the Low Countries his well-known developments of Comte's idea of the genesis of art, as the necessary expression of national character in all its varying phases. The author has the skill of varying the harsh uniformity of his pedantic generalizations with a liveliness and vigour of writing and describing, which, if they do not add much to our real knowledge, add a great deal to our imaginary acquaintance with a subject. Art criticism should open out the artist's manner of thinking and working, so as to help students either to become like him or to have some criterion by which to know his works. M. Taine does not seem to afford the slightest assistance either to a man who wishes to become a Rembrandt, or to one who wishes to form a judgment upon the authenticity of a picture attributed to Rembrandt. He does not write for the artist or

critic. He affects the colours of the novelist, and makes his book a conglomerate of historical outlines, social and biographical sketches, and picturesque descriptions of climate, scenery, life, and character, which is not only very amusing, but also leaves on the mind a feeling of having acquired knowledge by generalizing previously disjointed notions. He succeeds in combining the topographical, political, social, and artistic life of a nation into one picture; and the idea itself is so taking, so apparently philosophical, that the parts are apt to be lost sight of in the seeming totality and completeness of the system. But when the details are examined many of them turn out to be gross exaggerations, conventional statements, or obvious commonplaces. There is much truth, for instance, in M. Taine's contrasts between the German and Latin characters, and between those of the various Germanic races. But, among the characteristics, he mentions the English gluttony, which he contrasts with the invalid appetites of the French, and the savage militant impatient spirit of the English, formed under the overlying weight of three strata of conquerors—Saxon, Danish, and Norman,—and therefore incapable of the quiescent pleasures of painting. The religious differences between Holland and Belgium, and the plain temples of one faith compared with the gorgeous churches of the other, furnish an *idée mère* to account for artistic differences, which M. Taine has largely developed. Indeed, the whole plan of his work is the development of an *idée mère*. Its problem is so to describe the vital history of a nation on one side, and its successive schools of art on the other, that the two descriptions shall be found to coincide as far as possible, having regard to their different subject matters.

53. PECULIARITY in a title may be of two kinds—the stimulative and the discouraging. The anonymous author of *Hiatus*, with his Greek appellative and Latin catchword, enclosing a suggestive but not very enlightening phrase of English, has adopted the latter kind: a less polyglot and more expository title would have proved more conducive to perusal. But he has produced a remarkable book—indeed a peculiar one; and so far the peculiarity of his title is apposite. His argument is lofty; and he rises well to the height of it, writing with a quite uncommon degree of earnestness and conviction, founded upon a large and precise knowledge of his subject-matter, active powers of reasoning, a genuine desire to serve a good cause, and a great capacity for being indignant at other people's opinions. "Outis" is essentially a zealot, a man who thinks things are going considerably wrong, so long as the ideas which possess his own mind do not overrule other minds as well. Luckily he is not also—what so many zealots are—a sciolist.

The thesis of *Hiatus* is briefly this.—Human faculties are partly emotional, partly intellectual; at the present day the latter are assiduously cultivated in many men, and are regarded as, in all, the proper subject of cultivation, while the former—the emotional facul-



ties—receive no distinct or heedful training. This is “the void in modern education;” hence the materialistic spirit of the age, with its mammon-worship, positivism, want of faith or of a true psychology, want of beauty and propriety in the aspects of life. The same thing is evidenced in the neglect of fine art as a portion of general, indeed national, education. No adequate stress is laid on *any* teaching in art; and the teaching actually supplied, that of the ordinary drawing-masters, is farcically inexact and inept. Something, then, is wanted by way of emotional training; and not only to train the emotions, but to *co-ordinate* their training with that of the intellect. (This last point is expounded with especial vigour and ability.) Now, how can the emotions be most readily and universally trained? By the genuine, not suppositions, study of fine art, giving the pupil a personal perception of and interest in the beauty of nature, and opening a thousand sources of delight to him through the eye. But this must not be in any way loose or haphazard teaching, but strictly proveable, like the structure of Latin verses. It must be teaching of form, severe elementary form to begin with—not of colour—form being thus proveable in a far superior degree, and also more available for the co-ordinating process above referred to. Emotional training can be made much more general than intellectual training, which must ever, in its fuller range, remain the privilege of the few. The object of the art-instruction here advocated, and along with this the primary aim of the book itself, is of course not the educating of artists, nor even the direct promotion of the fine arts, but the right eliciting and guiding of the emotions of all classes, and, in a minor degree, the creation of sound observers much rather and more numerous than of artistic workers. The question, where to get the art instructors, may be asked; but the author answers it simply, and perhaps without being much out of his reckoning, by saying that ordinary tutors, well-informed studious men, can without difficulty acquire and impart a knowledge of form of the strict *proveable* kind which is here in question.

The argument deserves all possible attention, and is urged with great cogency and persuasive effect. It may readily be inferred that Outis has at his fingers' ends the most directly teachable parts of art—perspective, anatomy, etc.; and, beyond such matters as these, his work covers a wide range of positive and speculative study. For dissent as well as assent he gives his readers ample scope. He may, for instance, be rather over-eager in convicting Darwinism out of its own mouth. His hits at the belief in spirit-rapping and the like, as characteristic of untrained emotions in an age of rationalism, seem hardly borne out when it is remembered how far *more* numerous and arbitrary were the assumptions concerning spiritual agency, witchcraft, etc., in the emotional times of antiquity and the middle ages. His contempt of the current theory that the Greeks had little sympathy with landscape-beauty is expressed in terms which indicate no consciousness of the fact that the eminently emotional

Mr. Ruskin was the protagonist of this theory. And his own counter-argument—that the Greeks proved their intense sympathy with trees and plants by informing them with the personalities of Dryads or Nymphs, and with legends of human interest—might be held to tell in the opposite direction; for to sympathize with a tree *because* it implies a Dryad is really to sympathize with quasi-human nature in the Dryad, not with the actual vegetable organism of the tree. The surmise is fair, that the tree itself was *not* an intensely sympathetic object to the Greek; had it been so, he would not have needed to invent the Dryad as the true centre of interest.

54. MR. PERKINS is entitled to look with great complacency upon his labours in the wide field of Italian mediæval sculpture, completed by the remarkably handsome volume of *Italian Sculptors*, following upon the one which treated of the Tuscan school in especial. The thing was thoroughly worth doing; it had never been done before in English; and it is here well performed. Mr. Perkins shows a knowledge of his theme at once extensive and precise; he is ready at any moment to go into the details, and to justify his statements from documents and authorities. Another uncommon merit, in an author having so good a right to regard his subject-matter as peculiarly his own by priority and by research, is that Mr. Perkins does not allow it to run away with him: he does not grow enthusiastic over every semi-known artist, or every sculpture of disputable deservings, that he has occasion to bring to light. Indeed, it may rather be said that, in this second volume—having already in the first volume had to dispose of the major masters of the Italian sculptural art—he finds less to excite vigorous and hearty admiration than a student of wide sympathy in style would be ready to expect. Of course, however, it should be remembered that, dealing as he now does with the Neapolitan, Roman, Lombardic, Venetian, Bolognese, Modenese, Genoese, and adjacent regions, he confines his attention to the works of the native schools of these several districts; and that the latter have to show, among their principal masterpieces, various examples of Tuscan artists, which had accordingly been duly appraised in the preceding volume. But for this consideration, the account of sculpture in Naples would read as a singularly spare and grudging estimate of the lavish endowments of that city in the way of mediæval monumental sculpture—in which, indeed, Naples stands considerably ahead of any Italian capital, not excepting either Venice or Florence itself.

The author writes with great simplicity, and with a manifest aim at filling his book with facts and relevant comments, rather than high-soaring generalities or eloquent embellishments. There is perhaps not one passage of fine writing in the volume; there is little exordium, and no word of peroration. After surveying the leading sculptural race of modern Europe, through the whole extent of the Italian peninsula, and for the entire period of their growth and maturity in the art, up to the palpable symptoms of its decadence, Mr. Perkins is content to end

with a curt matter-of-fact sentence recording the death of one of the less distinguished among his sculptural troupe, the Carrarese Danese Cattaneo. He also deals very little in abstract aesthetics. The book is essentially a critical and historical view of sculpture in Italy, in the dark and middle ages, and during the Renaissance; thus naturally including a large number of facts coming within the region of history on the one side, but hardly making, on the other, any excursion into the realm of art-theory.

A book of this sort, crammed with names and dates, and other special details, must, in respect of minute accuracy, be to a considerable extent taken on trust by those who do not set to work to verify its statements *seriatim*. It appears, however, to be marked by genuine and substantial accuracy, although here and there some slip is to be observed, more particularly in matters of quotation. A false construction in Latin does not seem to catch Mr. Perkins's eye readily: he has "laudibus non parvus" (for "parcis"); "hic est locus Marini Faletro decapitato pro criminibus;" "Mophetica Mephicta, stercore pleno et maledicta." Not "Armadigi," but "Amadigi," is the name of Bernardo Tasso's poem: the sonnet by Danese Cattaneo at p. 274 is anything but correctly printed. At p. 26, Tasso is cited as speaking of the crusader Bohemond's "cupido ingegno;" but the fact is that this term is applied by the poet to Baldwin, and a very different reference is made to Bohemond in the same stanza. The phrase "Erasmus, Stephano, and Francesco da Narni" is provokingly non-systematic in its form of nomenclature. This Erasmo da Narni was the celebrated soldier nicknamed Gattamelata. Mr. Perkins explains this nickname ("honeyed cat"), "on account of his cunning, and the feline rapidity of his movements in war;" but he seems to overlook its obvious inversion of Francesco's mother's name, Melania Gattelli, and is perhaps not quite right in saying that Gattamelata "adopted" the cat as his crest, for one might very naturally surmise the cat to have been the true crest of a family named Gattelli. A sculpture on the Cathedral of Troja is described as showing a lion "seized by a sort of tiger-cat, which has mounted on his back, and fixed his teeth in his flank." But, if the print is correct, there is no such fixing of teeth, and the "tiger-cat" would rather appear to be a lion-cub playfully rampant upon the paternal hindquarters. The statement that Filippo Calendario, the illustrious builder of the ducal palace in Venice, was hanged as a fellow-conspirator with Marin Falier, is put forward by Mr. Perkins as if it were both quasi-novel and indisputable; whereas in fact even so accessible an authority as Murray's *Handbook* mentions the story, and at the same time confutes it, so far as the identity of the hanged with the architectural Calendario is concerned. Mr. Perkins may possibly be able to throw some new light on the matter; but his text gives no reason for inferring this, or for regarding his statement as other than the revival of an exploded misconception. One of the most interesting critical points in his vol-

ume is the discussion of the respective shares of Verrocchio and Leopardi in the bronze statue of Bartolomeo Coleoni in Venice; and he shows fair reason for thinking that Leopardi is entitled to a very material portion of the honour which is due to the author of so great a work, and of which Englishmen, following in the wake of Mr. Ruskin, have not tended to be liberal to that artist of late years.

55. THE life of Sir Charles Eastlake—a life of full average length—produced comparatively little residual work; but that little is choice in character. Choice, in no mean degree, are his pictures—such of them as fairly deserve to live at all; and choice is his chief contribution to literature—the work of which a first volume was published many years before his death, and which is now completed, so far as it ever can approach the state of completion. But a great part of the life of this accomplished artist and writer went in bywork such as is proper to the connoisseur—official positions in connection with the profession of art, and catering, in a way for which future generations will mainly be grateful to him, for the supply of the National Gallery. The *Materials for a History of Oil-Painting* is so manifestly a work of labour—of conscientious research and painstaking verification—and so much of the author's life and predilection must have clustered round it, that one would fain find it, though in part a posthumous, at least a perfected performance: but this is far from being the case. The review reaches onwards to the Venetian Schools, and then stops short.

Lady Eastlake has acted as editor, and has deemed it expedient to withdraw a portion of the first chapter of this second volume, as it stood in the original ms., on the ground of its not being in harmony with recent investigations of Signor Cavalcaselle, which were actively promoted by Sir Charles Eastlake himself: in other respects the ms. has been exactly adhered to. The reader of the first volume will recollect from that (if not aware of it from other sources) that the "history of oil-painting" needs to be re-written in some very essential particulars, and that the collection of "materials" for it is a process highly requisite: this second volume amply confirms these deductions, and abounds in well-tested and well-presented items; which do much towards furthering the necessary work. In fact, the author's modest title of *Materials* falls rather below the deserts of his book, which, so far as it is carried, might almost claim to be the postulated History itself.

The general facts brought out as to the use of oil in painting are these. Oil had been much employed as a vehicle in wall-painting prior to and irrespectively of the process which is distinctively termed oil-painting. It was generally adopted for ordinary purposes before 1400, though not for the most delicate kinds of work. Hubert (not John) van Eyck was the original inventor of the new method of oil-painting, a fact now no longer contested: John, who died in 1441, co-operated with him in the practice. The essence of the change introduced

by these illustrious artists was that they employed amber-varnish and white-varnish (preparations already in familiar use) in the very act of painting, instead of as a mere ultimate protection to the surface of the painted work, as theretofore; they also made a great improvement in the drying property of the varnish. Domenico Veneziano and Andrea del Castagno are shown not to have acted as links in the nationalization of oil-painting in Italy; and Andrea is relieved of the age-long load of obloquy heaped upon him as murderer of Domenico. The Italian painters in general did not at first take kindly to oil-painting. Pollaiuolo was one of the earliest to do so; then Leonardo da Vinci, and (probably through him) Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi. The oil-painting of Leonardo is distinguished from the Flemish system by its solidity, resulting from frequent re-paintings. Later on, in the Venetian School, the great novelty was the passing (or "scumbling") of light colours over dark—a method unknown even to the practice of the Bellini: the Flemings had no dark under-surface at all, and so of course could not thus manipulate their works. Sir Charles Eastlake characterizes the process of scumbling and of glazing (painting dark over light) as the "dynamic method" of painting, and offers some valuable remarks on this matter just as his book comes to a truncated conclusion.

The volume includes also various separate technical essays or memoranda, which Sir Charles Eastlake had written with a view to eventual publication. Practical students may no doubt consult them with advantage; and the critical or speculative sections show fair powers of observation and analysis, although some want of grasp or boldness of mind may at times be felt. The remarks on Correggio (though more enthusiastic than to suit some tastes of the time) are able and well put; especially the estimate of his style as uniting the actual quality of beauty with the emotional impression of beauty—beauty in the object of sight, and indistinctness or fusion in the method of representation, corresponding to the perception of beauty in the quickly sensitive beholder. These remarks may be compared with some made by Schlegel on the same subject, and will, perhaps, more than stand the comparison.

56. THE appearance of Mr. Marryat's *History of Pottery and Porcelain* in a third edition, is an evidence of the increased public interest in the matter. The work was originally very well done, and the book remarkably well illustrated. Some of the divisions of the subject were even then fully treated, and with more knowledge than any similar work had previously shown. Mr. Marryat mentions in his new preface that his history has been translated into French, with notes by the most competent hands, and a preface by M. Riocreux, Director of the Musée Céramique at Sèvres, who styles it "pour le présent le livre français le plus complet que l'amateur puisse consulter." The French have gone even faster in the taste for pottery than the English have done, and published a good deal more of late years.

The additions which the author has been able to make in the present edition are very considerable. Originally compiled as part of a comprehensive history of pottery in all ages and countries, an undertaking planned by the late Mr. Bandinel, Mr. Marryat's work was limited to the survey of the art from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries inclusive. Mr. Birch's book on Etruria and its pottery, published a few years ago, also originated in this scheme. The other divisions—Dr. Wellesley was to have undertaken Italian majolica, and Mr. Albert Way British earthenware—having been abandoned, Mr. Marryat has extended the scope of his survey, mainly in the direction of Majolica and its forerunners. The chapters on Chinese fayence he has also improved historically; and indeed all the field of art in earthenware is now treated by him, except the fruitful and most important one of ancient pottery, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

One kind of ware, the history of which has been almost brought to light since the first edition, and one of the most interesting artistically, is that commenced by the Moors in Spain, now called Hispano-Moresque. This ware is now certainly known to have led the way to the lustre-ware in Italy, and to have had a superb development and extensive trade at a very early time. A monograph on it was published in Paris in 1861, by M. J. C. Davillier; and Mr. Marryat now begins his book with an entirely new section, "Spanish Pottery," embodying the latest knowledge on the subject, with several new figures. The origin of the curiously ornate ware, called by the name of Henri II. or Fayence D'Oiron, has been also very ingeniously determined of late; and the author has rewritten this section, and indeed the entire chapter (VI.) on French Pottery. In the notice of Spanish ware, reference is very properly made to the splendid examples of Moresque in the South Kensington Museum; but in the review of the Fayence D'Oiron, where the principal pieces are mentioned, and some of them engraved, there is no reference to this collection, although the Department of Science and Art has given higher prices for that ware than for any other, and has succeeded in obtaining a whole case of choice specimens. The mention of this Henri II. ware suggests an inquiry different from that of scientific development or methods of manufacture, viz., the value of the object under consideration as to intrinsic excellence in art. In this point of view some of the gems of Sèvres and Dresden, now valued at twenty times their weight in gold, would take a very different place. The pair of vases for example, 14½ inches high including the ormolu stand, for which £1942, 10s. was given at the Bernal sale, are in a sadly rococo taste, and are weak in form. Another inquiry, more practicable and more generally interesting, might have furnished Mr. Marryat with a short chapter—the History of Public Taste and the art of Collecting. In Hogarth's time gabelled chimney-pieces were made with shelves for single cups like corbie-steps; china was exclusively valued;

and that painter, in his designs called "Taste in High Life," satirizes this peculiarity. Now, taste is eclectic, but the dealers know how capricious public patronage is. The number of maker's marks given at the end of the volume is greatly increased, while the table of Sèvres painters' marks is now incorporated in the article on that locality, which seems altogether re-composed. The list of Collections, however, requires consideration. When this third edition was published, possibly the best collection of Wedgwood was that of Mr. Barlow, whose name does not appear. One of the largest of miscellaneous Oriental, though not one of the most select, is that of Sir W. C. Trevelyan. Mr. D. G. Rossetti's collection of ancient Nankin blue ought also to have been entered.

57. EVEN to a generation born too late to feel the full influence of the author of *The Christian Year*, his *Miscellaneous Poems* will have their value. It is true that Keble was not a writer to provoke the common hyperbole that the dust of his writings was gold; but his literary rank was quite sufficient to make it worth while to study him even in his imperfections. To discover the limits of a writer's power is a long step towards discovering its roots. If it should prove that the influence of Keble depended on the coincidence of a passing mood in an individual with a passing mood in society, the historical importance of *The Christian Year* would not be destroyed because its importance was only historical. Certainly the present volume, in which almost all the verses are, as they should be, dated, shows that poetry was a very small part of Keble's life. He published one collection, which made his reputation, in his thirty-fifth year, and another, which did not increase it, in his fifty-third. Before, between, after, he wrote little or nothing that has any literary value, except as it is his. The *Miscellaneous Poems* open with an official ode for the installation of the Duke of Wellington, which recalls the patriotic dithyrambs of Wordsworth, though the imitation is not servile; and in the transitions there are traces of an intelligent study of Pindar. Of Keble's contributions to the *Lyra Apostolica*, which are placed next, very few are poetry, unless this name is to be stretched to include all excellent and telling writing in verse. Even the best, like "The African Church," and the singularly lofty verses on Julian, hover on the verge of rhetoric. The most truly intense and poetical of all, which is headed "Resignation," concludes with a characteristic warning that intense feeling cannot be trusted to last. Many pieces, such as "The Churchman to his Lamp," anticipate the manner of the *Lyra Innocentium*, where it approaches as near affectation as is possible without insincerity. Others, like the conclusion of "Elijah and the Messengers of Ahaziah," embody anticipations not destined to be realized. The lines,

"One hermit, strong in faith and prayer,  
Shall gird his sackcloth on, and scare  
Whate'er the vain earth boasts,"

are really an outburst of English Romanticism, rather than of theological reaction. The next part of the volume is the least interesting. It consists of some hymns written apparently by request, and no better or worse than other hymns, and of numerous translations from the Latin, which are nothing short of failures. Good Latin hymns have three characteristics—simplicity, profundity, and sonority, of which the last is the most unfailing. Now Keble's translations, like most others, are more involved than average English, while the originals are less involved than average Latin; and in cadence the translator seems to have felt no duty to his authors. The remainder of the volume reveals, for the first time, the author of *The Christian Year*: most of its contents are due to the first four or five years after his degree. Few even of these rise above the highest level of album verses: for the most part they are musical and delicate descriptions of external nature, often thrown into the form of illegitimate sonnets, with an edifying reflection in the concluding couplet, rather too suggestive of the moral of a fable. The poems which were inspired by shy and delicate affection belong to a higher order. Nothing in Keble's writings is more beautiful than the poem on the day of his sister Sarah's death; and the poem to his sister Elizabeth is not very far inferior. "Early Visions" is another which deserves to be remembered; for, though it does not rise to a very high level of emotion or thought, it is singularly bright, elegant, and complete. Two other poems, "When is Communion nearest," and "When in her hour of still decay," are worth noticing for their metrical felicity, especially the first. As an artist, Keble certainly did not improve. His early verses given here, though the matter is often comparatively commonplace, are far freer and clearer in expression than *The Christian Year* or the *Lyra Innocentium*, in which delicacy or ingenuity are too often purchased by tolerating not merely rudeness, but perplexity, by accepting an expression not merely inelegant, but inadequate and inexact; and the thought in consequence is mutilated, not unadorned. The fact is that Keble, under a sense of conscientious obligation, chose to be an amateur and not an artist. Of course it is an open question whether religion gained more than literature lost; but it is certain that the want of literary finish cannot be excused in this case by the paramount claims of literary veracity.

58. MR. SIMCOX is a poet of such promise that his too numerous faults become a calamity. His volume of *Poems and Romances* is the work of a man who has thoroughly assimilated that dramatico-lyric method which makes him, in pouring out his feelings, at the same time tell his story—which makes the feelings themselves, by their form and their order, give manifest evidence of the circumstances which formed them. A good example of this is the little poem called "A Love-match," of which the following are a few stanzas. The bride is, of course, speaking to an old friend:—

"I am happy; I do not show it  
You say, but I have my will  
At last, and if we two know it,  
It is better to be quite still.

Once I set my face as a flint,  
Once I sharpened my tongue like a sword;  
Then I battled, and did not stint:  
Now, now I have my reward

In the peace that has nothing to tell,  
In the life that has only to live:  
We know one another so well,  
The rest we know too, and forgive.

What is it you wish us to say  
Or to do? Is it rapture you miss?  
Should we always be fainting away  
In your sight, in an exquisite kiss?

Do not think we have secrets to hide,  
Or a treasure we fear will be spent;  
I have all when I sit by his side,  
There is no more love to invent."

But the most characteristic piece in the volume is "The Farewell of Ganore;" it is the parting of Queen Guinevere first from Lancelot and then from the Nuns. In spite of a few very prosaic lines which intrude themselves here and there, like

"Also I know that this is not the worst,"

the passages where the Queen tells her tale, and expresses at once her remorse for her relations with Lancelot, her regret for having lost him, and her love for Arthur, testify to a dramatico-lyric subtlety of a very high psychological order, and to a charming sympathy for poetic harmony and rhythm. But if the poem contains these excellent elements it contains also some very futile ones. The latter part of it exemplifies the author's taste for allegory and emblem, which, utterly unlike the pellucid apologue of Bunyan or the mechanical riddling of Quarles, transcends the most far-fetched and mystical of the mediæval romancists. It is not, as with Chaucer, a mere taste for allegory, which leads Mr. Simcox into these trackless paths. It is a kind of belief, or sentiment, or rather a disbelief in all things real and solid, which gives him such delight in phantoms that no one can doubt to be unsubstantial, and shadows whose clearest character is unreality. When a man regards all this solid universe as a dream, a vague interference of forces that are no forces, phenomena which most loudly proclaim their own unreality become his truest realities, because they jump with his fancies and his sentiments. Mr. Simcox is not so universal a sceptic as he might be; with Berkeley he seems to admit the spiritual side of things, while he rejects the material side. But he does not admit the value of spiritual action. With him the impressivity of the spirit is all in all; and whatever enhances this impressivity purifies the spirit, because it abases it more completely beneath the Divine Impressor. This philosophy overflows out of ethics into æsthetics. In a poem on Music Mr. Simcox seems to arrange the arts in a novel hierarchy, exalting each in proportion to its inarticulateness.

Hence he puts painting lowest in the scale, as most rudimentary, then sculpture, then poetry, the art of thought, and then, in the highest place, music, wherein the spirit of thought

Is changed to a sound,  
Vague, shapeless, without any speech;  
It is gone forth, being unbound,  
Blind, aimless, of infinite reach,

That the age of our spirits might melt,  
And the noise of our strife be at one  
In the raptures that never were felt  
At the deeds that have never been done.

This culmination of art in mere negation is a kind of æsthetic Buddhism. That great system makes the end of man consist in an imitation of the absolute quiescence; it exhorts him to renounce all prudence, all intelligence, all intellectual and moral activity, and to be merely passive, or as one text says, intellectually female. The state of mind thus encouraged reacts on its objects, and gives its own moral tinge both to its theology and its æsthetic imaginations. The quietist divinity becomes humble, quiet, gentle, without desires; it takes concrete form as the Infinite rest, the absolute reason, exempt from all motion, whether of desire or consciousness, and describable only by a universal negation of all attributes. The highest state of spiritual existence is accordingly an abstraction from all sensible existence, wherein man finds his only real felicity and supreme end, and which is the normal condition of real being. Thus in his cosmogony, where a school's ideal of art is usually to be found, the Buddhist entirely neglects the formation of worlds, and concentrates his attention on their annihilation. His progress is from the accursed activity of motion and definition to the blessed quietude of the vague and the non-existent.

Mr. Simcox does not carry out his theory to its logical limits. In the imagery of poetry the non-existent is best represented by the impossible, and the impossible by the absurd. But his imagery comes dangerously near the fatal border. He is only too successful in his endeavours to speak and say nothing, to flash forth colour without a form, feeling without a ground, thought without definite meaning. In poetry this is bad enough; but it is clear that in Mr. Simcox the heresy is not merely poetical. His constant dwelling on silence and stillness and rest, doing nothing, saying nothing, only being receptive of the influences of the Infinite vague, shows that his words are the result of a philosophic system. His *Eloise* expresses the scepticism of this philosophy when she says to Abelard—

So I have loved you, and you were a dream,  
And you loved knowledge, and it was a lie;  
Now were it better to lie down and die,  
Or strive to think that things are as they seem  
Once more.

The theory even undermines morality. A limp acquiescence in all that happens, a helpless fall into temptation, becomes better than the curse of strife against it, and is not only

tolerable but excellent, because it puts man more completely into the hands of the Infinite. Mr. Simcox makes both Cassandra and Eloise reveal this mystery. It is the sense he puts into the text, *Si descendero in infernum, ades.*

The happiness of having been forgiven  
Is worth ten thousand thousand years of heaven.  
The brightest Seraph might forswear his crown,  
To lie, and tremble, and to be cast down,  
And fall, and fall, and fall, and find God there,  
And find Him still too beautiful to bear.

This is the unwholesome philosophy which infects Mr. Simcox's poetry. The extraordinary vividness with which he expresses this dreamy and dreary theory, shows how high a level he might reach if he advanced along a clearer course of thought.

59. MR. GARNETT, in his *Idylls and Epigrams*, has generally attained the grace of his models, their neatness, and their unforced pointedness: he has not always attained their fluency and ease. His couplets sometimes seem clumsy compared to their elegiacs, though now and then this clumsiness recalls the quaintness of Herrick and Donne. The following "On one who died in a Tomb," is a specimen:—

"Worn with old age and penury, nor thence  
Rescued by any man's beneficence,  
Into this tomb with tottering steps I past,  
And hardly here found leave to rest at last.  
Usage for most doth after death provide  
Interment, I was buried ere I died."

Many of these little poems are original; many are paraphrases; still more are translations. In each case the fact is marked in the table of authors; and this was certainly necessary, for Mr. Garnett's own compositions might easily be mistaken for antiques. Here is a quotation which might be two thousand years old:

"Hither, dear Muse, I pray, and with thee  
bear  
A madrigal for Melite the fair,  
Evil with good repaying, for 'tis she  
Who tempts me to oblivion of thee."

Nor would internal evidence justify the suspicion that the following was an original composition of a "barbarian" author:

"My fair barbarian speaks no Greek, of  
course,  
Nor knows divinest Sappho from a horse;  
Yet all the charms that Grecian bards extol  
Are hers, save those pertaining to the soul.  
What then in this dilemma shall I do  
Who have not, certes, Greek enough for  
two?  
I'll tolerate the fault I can't remove,  
And deem that Beauty is the Greek of Love."

The following is not the worse for a franker modernism:—

"Fired with the the thirst of Fame, thus  
honest Sam,  
'I will arise and write an epigram.'

An epic, Sam, more glorious still would be,  
And much more easily achieved by thee."

It is curious that Mr. Garnett should have succeeded least with the best epigrams, that have tempted all translators; perhaps they are his first attempts. Some of the paraphrases are harsh and obscure, compared with the originals. No one would suspect the following of being suggested by a pretty poem where the author says he would like to be as rich as Cræsus, but as he knows the undertaker will put him in his money-box, he spends his money on merry-making:

"Our undertaker with his acid phiz,  
A grim, austere, sardonic fellow is,  
And, save for 'business' sake, was never  
heard  
By any mortal man to breathe a word,  
Yet Bacchus, Venus, and the Graces three,  
Have no such potent advocate as he."

Besides the gracelessness of the whole, it is difficult to make out the last couplet without referring to the note; and "the Graces three" are clearly put in for the metre. Here is an inexcusable couplet:

"Tyre brought me up, who born in thee had  
been  
Assyrian Athens, city Gadarene;"

And the following four lines not much better:

"My funeral shaft, and marble shapes that  
dwell  
Beside it, and sad urn receptacle  
Of all I am, salute who seek my tomb,  
If from my own or other cities come."

The metre is crabbed, and the syntax elliptical; the fourth line is unmeaning, or, if it means anything, it imposes a negatory condition. It would be easy to multiply examples which show that Mr. Garnett has much less feeling for English metre and idiom than for Greek sentiment. When he translates literally it is simply because he has not cared to invent another form for the thought; for he allows himself in all sorts of trivial interpolations for the sake of rhyme. Sometimes this carelessness extends to the sense, and sometimes to the diction: a gnat cannot be called a "mimic minstrel" because it is asked to wake a lady by its hum; and gout may be said to have a cultivated but not a "cultured taste." The book is a curious and agreeable specimen of the success which is possible to a translator who possesses the one great qualification of sympathy with his original, though he is either negligent or deficient with regard to most others.

60. HOMERIO translations fall naturally into three classes. Some take independent literary rank as English classics; others conform acceptably to the prevailing traditions of literature and scholarship; and others are experiments of able men who set aside old precedents, without creating new. Below the

last come simple failures which it is not necessary to classify. It would be difficult to give a better example of the first class than Pope's *Iliad*, of the second than Lord Derby's, of the third than Dr. Merivale's. It must be added that Dr. Merivale's work does not bely his motto. His *Iliad* is a long narrative rather loosely put together, but still undeniably interesting in its incidents, and told in a very clear, lively, readable way. There are felicities of the translator to reward a careful inspection; but the felicities of the poet for the most part disappear. On the other hand, the clumsiness, the perversities, the inequalities are not many. The labour has been a labour of love; and the translator seldom nods. There is plenty of vigour and diligence; but Dr. Merivale's English prose and Latin verse had justified an expectation of delicacy and grace.

A great part of the result may probably be attributed to the metre selected, which is a sort of cross between Chapman and Lord Macaulay. Most of the lines run from thirteen to fifteen syllables; but every now and then comes a half line or two of eight syllables, rhyming with the middle of the next. *A priori*, such a metre might seem attractive on the grounds of rapidity and variety; and the average number of syllables to a line is about the same as Homers. But, after all, Homer's hexameters are smoother and sweeter than most English metres, even in the hands of great masters of versification; and Dr. Merivale's iambics are harsh and rough compared with those of almost any good writer since the days of Cowley and Donne. It is easy for author and reader to tolerate half-a-dozen couplets like this:

"So then both of Greek and Trojan one to another cried,  
But Pallas took a Trojan's shape, and midst the throng she hied;"

or even like this:

"She took the form and semblance of one  
Laodorus,  
Son of Antenor, sturdy chief; and sought she  
Pandaros."

But two or three pages of this kind of metre produce a longing, we will not say for the majestic and equable finish of Pope, but even for the rapid neatness and fluency of translators far inferior to Dr. Merivale. This is really important; because every long poem must contain immense tracts of this sort of narrative, and the rank of the poem depends in great measure upon the ease and elevation which can be given to such matter by style and diction. Sometimes, indeed, Dr. Merivale rises to the level of Homer's ordinary flight. The following lines, for instance, are perhaps a trifle more emphatic than the original, but they are not less swift and vigorous:—

"He clutch'd the string, and drew it; the  
notch he let not go;  
Right to his breast he brought the string, the  
iron to the bow:  
And when the orb was rounded, deep drawn  
with all his might,

The string it sung, the lithe bow rung,  
Leapt the keen shaft the hosts among, impatient to alight."

Here is a still more favourable example, which is the finest passage that Dr. Merivale has translated well:

"And when they heard Achilles that brazen  
uproar raise,  
The hearts of all were struck with dread,  
The crested horses turned and fled, foreboding  
evil days;  
And daunted were their drivers to see that  
radiance flare  
High on the head of Peleus' son,  
The dreadful flames that burned and shone,  
by Pallas kindled there.  
And thrice divine Achilles loud shouted from  
the mound;  
And thrice the Trojans and allies turned,  
routed at the sound;  
And twelve of them, their bravest, were  
strew'd upon the plain;  
And lustily the Greeks at last bore off their  
hero slain."

But the rendering of the celebrated passages is almost always disappointing. For instance, in the scene between Hector and Andromache there is nothing beyond lines of this order:

"But thou to me art father, Hector, and  
mother dear;  
Brother art thou and husband;—then in  
mercy bide thou here.  
Bide here upon the rampart aloft, nor join  
the strife,  
Lest sireless thou thy infant make, and husbandless  
thy wife."

Homer's delicacy and his intensity evaporate alike in a metre incapable of anything beyond rhetorical excellence, and lending itself easily to sheer vulgarity in this line from Helen's exquisite lamentation over Hector's body—

"Such was thy bland persuasiveness, so gentle  
was thy strain,"

which can only be explained in accordance with the worst traditions of eighteenth century pastoral.

Among the felicities of the book is the suggestion of "folkherd" as a possible translation of *ποιμένα λαών*; and the dedication, though stiff, is an elegant contribution to literature.

61. CHAMISSE described Uhland's poems as excellent specimens of the class which every one reads and no one writes; and it would be difficult to characterize more accurately their essentially popular qualities. But a poet whose works suggest the idea that he ought only to have written anonymous ballads is not the most promising subject for a memoir; and poems which are familiar and almost hackneyed in their original form need exceptionally felicitous translation. Mr. Sandars has brought to his task a rather solemn conception of its importance. But to the biographical portion

of it he has brought little else; and he has not succeeded in reproducing even tolerably the simple form and naïve sentiment of "Der Wirthin Töchterlein" or "Der gute Kamerad," poems which are nothing if not easy and popular, and would certainly never have attained popularity in the present version. Mr. Sandars's translation is very far from a complete one; and no intelligible principle seems to have been followed in the omissions. If the responsibility of selection had been thrown on the inspired *vox populi* of Germany, "The Ring" and "The Nun" would have been included. If the translator was to be guided by the limits of his own power of reproducing the familiar lyrics in a foreign language, he should not have attempted "The three Songs" with the refrain which he curiously renders in this fashion:—

"Thou must battle with me for life and for death,  
And—well—must battle for life and for death."

Still more dangerous than an idiom without a precise equivalent are lines that can be rendered literally, at the expense of English and the context, and seduce all but the most conscientious translators into stanzas like these:—

"'Ye have seduced my people, dare ye entice  
my spouse?'  
Shrieks the rage-trembling monarch, and  
fierce revenge he vows;  
He draws his sword, which, flashing, pierces  
the stripling's breast:  
The life-stream gushes upward, the melody's  
at rest."

The poem in the volume which has suffered least is perhaps the pretty ballad, "Klein Roland;" but it is easy to render German verse into some sort of English, and not difficult to render it into better English verse than Mr. Sandars has constructed.

62. SIR FREDERICK OUSELEY'S *Treatise on Counterpoint*, like his former book on Harmony, is creditable to his scientific earnestness. No art offers so many temptations to the mere dilettante as music: in none is scientific study more uncommon or more meritorious. The Oxford Professor founds his grammar of counterpoint upon Cherubini, who was a consummate practitioner of the art, but left the grammar of it much where he found it. The modern Italians are not theoretical reformers. Sir Frederick Ouseley is aware of the deficiencies of this grammar, but still adheres to them. The old writers, he says, imposed very strict and rigid rules as to the employment of intervals, many of which rules were derived from the incomplete notions of harmony prevalent at the time, while others had their origin in the imperfect scales in which ecclesiastical melodies had been composed before the introduction of harmony. He might have added that the introduction of the temperament into our scales, by which alone the complete round of modulations has been made possible, has converted some of the old distinctions between

notes into mere distinctions without difference. Another reason which he gives is, that the severe counterpoint being meant for vocal performance, only the easiest intervals are admitted. Reasons of this kind have ceased to be reasons at all. Whatever the ear is thoroughly accustomed to is easy, within its range, for the voice. Again, the interval of a semitone in our present scales remains the same, whatever name it is called by; it is therefore futile to forbid it as a diminished second, and to allow it as a minor second, especially when the prohibition is soon forgotten, and the use of the interval prescribed as the right means of avoiding false relations. So, the minor third is the same interval as the forbidden augmented second. These distinctions have become altogether arbitrary in the scales to which our ears have become thoroughly familiarized. Again, it is mere superstition to call the fourth a discord. Beethoven said his ear failed to find in it the slightest jangle; and he placed it midway between the perfect or unalterable concords (the fifth and eighth) and the imperfect or alterable ones (the third and sixth). "It could only be pedants and worshippers of the antique," he said, "who would rank it with dissonances." The natural laws of harmony, as determined by the numbers and ratio of vibrations, fully bear out his perception. Another arbitrary exclusion is the harmony of the false fifth. "I should like to make an exception," Beethoven remarks with some disdain, "in favour of the natural fourth note of the scale, over the sensible note, which I prefer to the sharpened fourth, though this does give a perfect fifth." Sir Frederick Ouseley characteristically (p. 19) rejects the well-known "Fuchsische Wechselnote," as the Germans call it, and herein follows Cherubini, who made this sacrifice of melody to pedantry. It would be easy to go on indefinitely noting the stiff way in which the Oxford Professor rejects "the license," as the contrapuntists persist in calling them, which are required by the modern ear. But it would be more profitable to inquire how it is that the only available treatises on counterpoint adhere to this method. An exception may perhaps be made in favour of Reicha's works on composition, and of Beethoven's *Studien*, compiled from his papers by Seyfried. But as a treatise the *Studien* is imperfect. Both in the examples he gives, and in the remarks he makes, Beethoven shows his contempt for the scholastic rules, made, he says, when the art was in its infancy, and at best only adapted for music intended to be sung in vast halls by great bodies of voices, but utterly incapable of bringing out the resources of the modern orchestra, or of the chamber concert. Yet he himself in his latter days was stung with the ambition of proving himself a contrapuntist, and produced some great works, which are great because the lamp of the school is soon eclipsed by the sunlight of his genius. Spohr was another writer who in his later life wished to add the lore of the contrapuntist to his skill in the practice of modern music. There is a vitality in these old rules, partly, no



doubt, depending on the conventionality of the ear, and the ease with which it may be educated to relish imperfect or unnatural scales, but chiefly due to the great mass of truth which they embody, and which is embodied nowhere else. Their faults are rather faults of omission than of commission. Yet it would not be unjust to suggest that, if the principle on which they were founded were carried out in other arts, we should make our young versifiers produce poems containing no A or no B, or from which the verb "to be" in all moods and tenses was excluded, or which should form altars, or wings, or columns. No doubt great scholars have learned their rudiments from the Eton Latin Grammar. But it is no longer thought proper to include in the rudimentary teaching of language principles or propositions which must be unlearned afterwards. The young composer must begin with the simplest combinations; but there is no reason why an arbitrary line should be drawn within which strict art must confine itself, while all beyond is regarded as mere license and irregularity.

63. M. ALBERT DE BROGLIE, though an academician, is more a politician who uses literature as his engine for acting upon public opinion than a literary man. There is not one of his *Nouvelles études*, he says, that does not owe its existence to some of the moral, political, or social consequences of the Revolution of 1789, or does not, directly or indirectly, indicate the one only remedy for the agitation which is the legacy of revolution. The long discord may be healed, he thinks, not by authority, but only by liberty. "La paix par la liberté; la paix entre les croyances par la liberté de conscience et de discussion mutuellement respectée; la paix entre les partis par l'observation commune des règles de la liberté légale; la paix entre les classes par la liberté complète de la propriété, du capital, et du travail." M. de Broglie inherits the traditions of that political writing which arose when France was a despotism tempered by epigrams; and he tries to apply it to a despotism tempered by the material interests of the masses. In old days epigram reacted upon the Government, because it acted on the persons by whom the Government was surrounded. But M. de Broglie's art is too refined and academic to act on universal suffrage. There is a native quickness and intelligence in the French peasant; but he has not yet been educated to comprehend the fine points of allusion, or to appreciate the subtleties, of M. de Broglie's tempered liberalism esoterically taught in essays upon Schiller, Madame Swetchine, Lacordaire, Ampère, De Serre, or Villèle. More than this, a politician who would deny to Italy what he claims for France, and would abridge the freedom of foreigners in order to maintain that of his own countrymen in a higher theoretical temperature, is from the nature of the case debarred from any broad or intelligible exposition of principles, and from the advocacy of any very decided or trenchant measures. Hesitating, as his system must seem to do, between the contradictory propositions of rival schools,

it cannot plead for any present or probable settlement, but only for moderation, equity, and an interim of delay in which liberty may have time to bear fruit. And this seems to be the position taken by M. de Broglie in the later portion of his book. It is a position that gives to his essays an ephemeral character which all the beauty and refinement of their language and thought can scarcely conceal.

64. Two friends of the late Mr. Charles Maclaren have collected and republished some of his papers, consisting mainly of contributions to the *Scotsman*, of which he was the founder, and for thirty years the editor. These *Select Writings* are of a very miscellaneous character, but may be roughly thrown into three groups—political and social articles, scientific papers, and notes of travel. The collection comprehends subjects so diverse as the Maynooth Grant and the traces of glacial action in Scotland, the Reform Bill and the topography of Troy. In most cases so wide a range of interests would imply superficial treatment. This, however, was not the case with Mr. Maclaren. Whatever subject he approached, he brought to it the same careful and conscientious observation of facts, the same superiority to sentiment and prejudice, the same dislike of relying on second-hand authority. Vigorous and lucid, without being brilliant, his style is a faithful index of the character of his mind.

His political opinions underwent little change during his life. With a fearless and unswerving attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, he combined a clear insight into political and economical principles, and a desire that the government of the country should, above all things, rest on a rational and scientific basis. It required great moral courage to set on foot a Liberal journal, alone and unaided by aristocratic influence, at a time (1817) when the Liberal cause seemed to have reached its nadir in Great Britain; it is still a greater tribute to Mr. Maclaren's character that he conducted his paper with such uniform moderation and sobriety as to render powerless the vehement and malignant opposition with which, in its early days, the *Scotsman* was assailed. In point of style and thought, the political papers which have been reprinted in these volumes stand considerably above the level of ordinary political articles. They embody the reflections of a sagacious and high-minded observer of passing events. But their author's claim to the remembrance of posterity—and it is considerable—will rest not so much on his collected writings as on the high tone which, as a newspaper editor and contributor, he endeavoured to give to the treatment of political questions, and on his unabating and successful efforts to enlist the interest of his readers in scientific subjects. From the first, physical science presented to him an attraction equal with that of politics; and in his later years it is probable that the latter was subordinate to the former. He never had leisure to devote himself wholly to his favourite studies, and his function through life was that of an interpreter rather than a discoverer of scientific ideas. But he was very

far removed from those representatives of popular science who content themselves with dressing up in finer words the thoughts and discoveries of others. He was never content without verifying his conclusions by personal and laborious investigation. Hammer in hand, he would wander amongst the Scottish and Swiss hills; and the results of his holiday ramble would appear in the columns of the *Scotsman*, where a series of lucid and well-digested articles would embody the thoughts and observations of many months. Geology was his favourite subject; and his keen interest in the new science enabled him to keep abreast of its latest phases of speculation and discovery. The frequent and suggestive papers which are reprinted in the present collection were probably the first which succeeded in directing public attention to the numerous traces of glacial action that are to be found in the north of Scotland and the English lakes. But geological speculation did not monopolize his attention; and by far the most remarkable illustration of the sagacity, almost amounting to prevision, with which he welcomed and appreciated the importance of new discoveries, is to be found in his remarkable articles on railways, in the years 1824 and 1825. In these papers, speculations which now appear like truisms are put forward and supported by careful and minute calculations. But at the time of their appearance they created a profound sensation; and their boldness and significance can only be appreciated by reference to the date at which they were written, and by comparison with the tone of incredulity with which Stephenson's experiments and promises were received even in the best educated circles of society. In his later years, Mr. Maclaren found leisure for travelling on the Continent, especially in France, Italy, and Greece. Wherever he went he kept his eyes open, and allowed no peculiarities of men and manners, no phenomena of geological or antiquarian interest, to escape the range of his acute and accurate observation. His notes of travel were published from time to time in his journal; and the immediate purpose for which they were written is apparent in his constant references, for the purpose of explanation, to home standards—for instance, in the comparison of the Roman Forum in point of size to the Edinburgh Grass-market.

The interest of the present volumes is mainly historical and biographical, and consists in the picture which they supply of the workings, during half a century, of a mind distinguished by no ordinary sagacity and width of intellectual sympathies. But the papers also derive a value of their own from their clear and forcible style, the shrewd observations with which they abound, and their lucid exposition and copious illustration of abstruse scientific problems.

65. THE first volume of Mr. Martineau's *Essays* was published in 1866, by an American editor, who was so much a stranger to the author that he included an essay by another hand in the volume. The selection, however,

was made with so much aptness that Mr. Martineau adopted it, with the necessary modification, and republished it in England the next year. The second volume is another selection by the same American editor, consisting of essays, generally of an earlier date than those in the first volume. The inferior interest of the present volume, which is but a gleanings after the harvest, bears witness to the competency of the judgment which compiled the former one. The two first essays are a quarter of a century old, and deal with books which have long been dead—Dr. Whewell on *Morals*. They expose that official philosopher's well-known method of supporting a Church and State system of morals with the prop of *a priori* afterthoughts and cunningly contrived axioms. Mr. Martineau, in different essays, seems alternately to defend the metaphysical basis of faith and morals, and to propose adopting a new Baconian basis, assimilated to that of the physical sciences; but the apparent inconsistency may be reconciled if we understand him to mean only that he desires the moral sciences to be conducted more upon the method of the exact sciences—an aspiration which has been in great measure fulfilled since he wrote. Even when the special subjects on which he treats are out of date, Mr. Martineau's style and thoughts continue fresh; and the present volume affords more evidence than the first of his prescience and power of anticipating the course of thought—a great test of a thinker's power.

66. MR. PEROWNE'S Hulsean lectures on *Immortality* are everywhere well meant, and in many parts well executed. His four lectures are thus divided—1. The future life, in which he reviews the modern theories of Materialism, Pantheism, and Spiritualism, and their bearing on the doctrine he is treating; 2. The hope of the Gentile, where he reviews the Egyptian, the Greek, and what he calls the Oriental theories on a future life; 3. The hope of the Jew, where he discusses the various texts adduced to prove the prevalence of the doctrine among the Hebrews; 4. The hope of the Christian, where he maintains, with considerable confusion, that the doctrine rests upon the historical Resurrection of Christ, and the inner life of the Spirit. He uses the analogy of nature as Butler uses it, not to sustain a positive argument, but only to undermine objections.

His reviews of the Egyptian doctrine of a future life is very good as far as it goes; and his criticisms of the Hebrew texts are scholar-like and sober. Indeed, he shows not a little independence of mind in his treatment of the famous text, Job xix, 24-26, where the Hebrew, instead of having "in my flesh I shall see God," has *בשרי, ex carne*, out of the flesh. Of course this is a doubtful expression. To say, "I shall see an object from or out of a castle or a place" may either mean that I shall be out of or away from the place when I see it, or that, being within the place, I shall see the object from it. Accordingly, interpreters are sorely tempted to import their previous opinions into the text.

Professor Ewald gives it a Platonic meaning, and translates it "frei vom Leibe werd' ich schauen Gott;" and M. Renan, "Privé de ma chair je verrai Dieu." On the other hand, Dr. Pusey considers such a translation most uncritical. Mr. Perowne thinks that Job only means, "After my skin has been thus pierced through [with leprosy] yet from my flesh I shall behold God,"—without any distinct reference to any doctrine of resurrection, but with full confidence of living in God.

In his generalizations, Mr. Perowne is less happy than in his special remarks. Two instances will suffice. One is his uncritical notion of "Orientalism" as a definite form of thought; and another is his desire to transplant this bodily, and to fuse it with European thought, instead of being contented to trace the analogies and correspondences of the distant and unconnected systems. To say that Alexandria was a common reservoir of "Oriental" and European thought, in which they became fused, and through whose teachers "the dogmas of the Brahmins were erected under a different form in the country of Homer and Plato," is to repeat in a somewhat mitigated manner an exploded error. Again, it argues a considerable misunderstanding of the status of the materialistic controversy to found a charge of materialism upon the passages which Mr. Perowne quotes from Professor Huxley. Mr. Huxley says that "matter may be regarded as a form of thought, or thought may be regarded as a property of matter,—each statement has a certain relative truth." And whether material and psychological phenomena are alike regarded as molecular effects, according to the materialist, or acts of pure force, according to Faraday, at any rate, Mr. Huxley considers that all natural effects proceed by law, ascertainable in the long-run by human faculties, and capable of being expressed quantitatively. But besides these natural phenomena, reducible to law, he also admits, nay, enjoins, one other belief,—the power of volition to introduce new conditions into the course of events. Volition is a species of force which he sets apart from all other forces, and to which he assigns an extra-scientific, accidental agency, in the course of events. However closely he may have connected himself with materialists, yet, while he holds this distinction, he will be *toto calo* distinguished from them, as holding the ground-work, if not the superstructure, of a belief in spirit and in God. There is much less real materialism in Mr. Huxley's writings, ill expressed and unphilosophical as they often are in their metaphysical portions, than there is in the last page of the concluding chapter of Professor Owen's great work on Vertebrates. But then Professor Owen loudly professes his belief in a resurrection, with which his theory is almost incompatible, and Mr. Huxley is silent on the matter. Mr. Perowne is not quite judicious in his selection of his antagonist.

67. THE fair distribution of taxation is a hard problem of economical science. Many of its points still remain matters of controversy, requiring careful induction before they can be

cleared up; and M. Foubert's book, *De l'Impôt sur les Valeurs mobilières*, is a clever and successful contribution to this end. In France, as elsewhere, public opinion demands that taxation should be proportionate to the income of the taxpayer. But the mode of ascertaining his income is a further question. If the sincerity of his own statement cannot be trusted, and the investigation of authority is regarded as too inquisitorial to be admitted, it remains that a man must be taxed in proportion to his evident means, in proportion to the outward signs of wealth which he exhibits. Such are his lands, houses, shops, dwelling-house, and the like. By determining a man's liability on such grounds a near approach is made to a right estimate of his income. Notwithstanding the isolated errors of any general system founded on average, the French method must be considered to have attained very symmetrical, logical, and brilliant results. But among the agricultural classes in France an opinion exists that the land is taxed too highly in comparison with personal property, especially such sources of income as the funds, shares, policies, debentures, and other commercial or public sources of income. M. Foubert shows that this opinion is not borne out by facts, and in doing so sets out with great clearness the relations between the different taxes in France. He naturally speaks at greater length on personal than on other taxable property; and on this subject he takes occasion to give details which are not to be found elsewhere.

68. M. DURUY, a little while before he withdrew from the office of Minister of Public Instruction in France, supplemented his various publications on French primary and secondary education by a blue book containing the *Statistics of superior education*. The subject-matter of this education in France is comprised in the five faculties of theology, law, medicine, literature, and sciences, and is imparted in a limited number of special schools. These five faculties do not in France, as elsewhere, combine together to form a University, the "Université de France" being simply a name for the total number of scholastic institutions dependent on the State. It is rare to find more than two faculties established in the same town. Only in Paris and Strasburg can all five be found; and even there the faculties and schools have no mutual connection. Hence each faculty has its own number of establishments. Theology has five Catholic and two Protestant establishments, law eleven, medicine three, sciences sixteen, and literature sixteen. Besides these there are three superior schools of chemistry, twenty-two preparatory schools of medicine and chemistry, and five preparatory schools for the higher branches of science and literature. These various institutions contain 12,949 "enrolled" pupils, and 6199 "auditors." The enrolled pupils are those who intend to take a degree, and to enjoy the advantages and privileges to which it opens the way. For them the courses are not gratuitous; they are obliged to put down their names every three months, and to pay certain fees, varying accord-

ing to circumstances. When a pupil has put down his name a certain number of times—a minimum being fixed by the regulations—he may present himself to be examined for the degree of licentiate or of doctor. There are separate examination fees. The auditors are learners who are admitted to the lectures without fees, but not admitted to take degrees. M. Duruy's *Statistique* gives the correct number of enrolled pupils, but only an estimate, probably exaggerated, of the auditors. The funds for the maintenance of the faculties are chiefly furnished by the emoluments, the Government making good the deficiency; but all payments are made through the Government. In 1835, 1836, and 1837 the receipts exceeded the expenditure; but since 1838 the expenditure has been increasing and the receipts diminishing. At that date both sides of the account showed a total of about two millions of francs. Now the sum exceeds three millions and a half—the account being in 1865, receipts 3,597,529 francs, expenditure 3,777,487 francs; but the surplus of expenditure varies greatly in different years. Besides the faculties, there are other establishments of superior education, such as the Collège de France, the Museum of Natural History, and others which are entirely supported by the State. The statistics of the faculty of medicine are curious. Between 1847 and 1866 the number of Doctors in Medicine increased from 10,643 to 11,265. On the other side the numbers of "officiers de santé," doctors who have studied only three years instead of five, diminished from 7456 to 5,624. This gives a total of 18,099 doctors in 1847, and only of 17,340 in 1866, including those in the annexed departments. If there is more medical education, there are fewer practitioners. It would be worth while to investigate the reason of this.

69. In 1843, Professor Göbel drew attention to two important conclusions which he thought himself entitled to draw from the chemical analysis of certain antiquities, namely: (1.) that the metallic antiquities found in the Baltic Provinces are of Roman origin, or, at all events, that the metallurgic knowledge of the Esthonians and other Baltic peoples is derived from Roman sources; and (2.) that there is a very curious agreement in composition between the alloys of the Chinese, the ancient Tsudic peoples of Siberia, who worked in metals, chiefly about the Altai or copper mountains, and the Greeks. It remains to be seen whether these ethnologically interesting conclusions will be verified in other ways; but so far they show the value of chemical analysis as an instrument in historical research. The analyses of antiquities hitherto made, however, are, for the most part, of little value for this purpose. They have been made generally for some immediate object, such as to determine the presence of zinc, or the relative proportions of tin and copper. With some important exceptions, as in the case of Mallet, Fellenberg, Wibel, etc., the presence of other metals, such as nickel, cobalt, etc., either has not been noticed at all, or, if it has been recorded, the quantities of

each present have not been determined. And yet these accidental metals would no doubt afford in many cases evidence of the source of the ores, just as the amount of the sulphur, silicon, etc., would help us to judge of the character of the metallurgic processes. Then, too, the description of the objects has been generally very unsatisfactory, being confined in many cases to such information as "bronze sword," "bronze celt," etc. To be of real use analyses should be made in considerable numbers of each type of sword, spear, mace, etc.; for there can be no doubt that some of the types found in museums, though they may have been found together, have come from very different sources, and belong to different epochs. The processes of analysis should be accurately described, so as to insure uniformity of results. When this has been done, it may become possible to determine the metallurgic centres of the ancient world, and the routes of the commerce of metals. As this must be a work of time, the existing analyses may be of some use; and Dr. von Bibra has accordingly done good service in bringing together all the analyses hitherto made,—the work of no less than eighty-one chemists. To these he has added a very large number of his own, especially of Roman and Greek coins, very carefully made, and with full description of his processes of analysis. Out of a total of 520 analyses of Greek and Roman coins and other bronze antiquities, the results of which are given, 341 are by the author.

The completeness of his collection will be seen from a summary of the localities of the objects analysed:—Roman coins, the greater part dating however from the Empire, Roman weapons, ornaments, statuettes, etc.; Greek, Macedonian, Sicilian, and Carthaginian coins; Greek statuettes; bronze antiquities from Egypt and Nineveh; pre-Christian antiquities from graves in the Crimea, and from graves at ancient Olbia, Nikopol, and Alexandropol on the Borysthenes or Dnieper, from the ruins of ancient Tanais, from Tsudic graves on the Yenisei, from graves of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Russian Government of Wladimir, from the Baltic Provinces; ancient bronze weapons, tools, etc., of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Great Britain and Ireland; articles of mediæval, renaissance and rococo workmanship; coins, gongs, cannon, etc., from China and Cochin China; and lastly, modern alloys. The author has summarized the chief characters of each of these classes of alloys, and has prefixed to the whole an account of the knowledge of the ancients concerning the several metals and alloys. This, however, contains nothing new, and has a material defect in not giving the references to the ancient authors he mentions. It is to be wished that a collection were made of Chinese copper alloys of different ages, especially of the very ancient ones, portions of which might be analysed with the view of testing the conclusion of Professor Göbel above mentioned.

70. STUDENTS of Geology who are interested in igneous and metamorphic phenomena have

felt the want of a monograph of some volcano with a history, like Vesuvius or Etna—a monograph which should embrace not only an account of the present state of the volcano, but, as far as possible, a good summary of its history. This want has been supplied by Mr. Phillips, who has published the lectures on Vesuvius which he gave at Oxford, in 1868, after his return from a visit to that mountain. The chronological account of it which he has gathered together is very complete and interesting. Out of the historic narrative he has constructed a sketch of the general characteristic phenomena of eruptions from their beginning to their end. This is followed by a well condensed account of the form and structure of the mountain. Then comes a notice of the Phlegrean Fields, without which no description of Vesuvius could be complete. The author next discusses the character of the volcanic energy as shown by the nature and extent of its effects. The remainder of the book is occupied by an account of the minerals of Vesuvius, the character and composition of Vesuvian lava and ashes; and, lastly, some general views on the theory of volcanic action.

The Chemical, that is the mineralogical, part of the book is the least satisfactory portion. The list of minerals is so nearly complete that it was hardly worth while to refer the reader to the British Museum for the remainder. Mineralogy still suffers from having been once looked upon as part of what was called "Natural History." Every specimen was looked upon as a distinct entity, not connected with the rock in which it was found, but with a number of other entities of a like character to itself. Hence collections of Vesuvian minerals are usually objects of curiosity rather than of science, the specimens themselves, and not the conditions under which they were found, being the points of interest. The consequence is that, although the list of Vesuvian minerals is long, and the analyses of a great many of them well made, the mineralogy of Vesuvius is still in a very imperfect condition. What we want to know is not that a mineral occurs in lava, but the circumstances under which it occurs. What, for instance, is the relative age of the lava? If the mineral is found in an ejected block, is that block a fragment of an unaltered aqueous rock, or a previously fused lava? Did the mineral pre-exist in it, or is it the result of the volcanic action? Professor Phillips could not be expected to create the whole of the chemical geology of Vesuvius in a few weeks, and was obliged to take the work as he found it to his hand. He might, however, with advantage have brought the facts more abreast with our present knowledge. Thus, for example, at page 211, he gives, in the following note, Dr. Daubeny's explanation of the action of the vapours of the Solfatara upon the trachytic rocks by which sulphur and various sulphates are formed:—"By union of the sulphuretted hydrogen with the bases of the earths and alkalis in these trachytes, hydrosulphurets would be formed. Compounds of this class when exposed to air and moisture in

presence of carbonic acid undergo decomposition; the bases are oxidated and combine with the acid; the sulphuretted hydrogen is resolved into its elements; sulphur is partly separated and partly converted into hypo-sulphurous acid, and water is formed by the hydrogen uniting with atmospheric air. Hypo-sulphuric salts also appear, but are not permanent; so that finally sulphur and sulphuric salts remain, as we find to be the case." Whatever this explanation may have been in 1825, it certainly does not express our present knowledge. There is no proof that sulphuretted hydrogen could combine with the alkaline bases of the silicates of the trachyte; and it may be considered perfectly certain that it does not combine with aluminium under such conditions. The decomposition of trachyte, accompanied by the formation of sulphates, and the deposition of sulphur, is a very complicated phenomenon; in some cases, at all events, the decomposition has been due to sulphurous acid, some of which coming in contact with sulphuretted hydrogen formed water and pentathionic acid; this acting on trachyte, etc., decomposed into free sulphur, which is sometimes beautifully stratified, and sulphuric acid, which combining with the bases of the trachyte formed aluminite, and other sulphates. Sulphuretted hydrogen in the presence of air and watery vapour also oxidizes into sulphur acids with the separation of sulphur; sometimes, too, sulphuretted hydrogen and sulphurous acid only produce by their mutual action water and free sulphur. All these changes may be seen at the Phlegrean Fields, at Canale near Civita Vecchia, and everywhere else where volcanic fumes containing sulphur are evolved in any quantity. But in no place do the changes described in the note in Professor Phillips's book take place. In connection with this subject it may be observed that in the list of gaseous products evolved at Vesuvius, given at page 301, sulphurous acid is not mentioned. Perhaps sulphuric acid, which is given, is a misprint for it; for it may be doubted whether any sulphuric acid is ever produced there except by secondary action.

71. Those branches of physical science which not only deal with phenomena, but have to describe and classify objects, undergo a species of metamorphosis in successive stages, separated by long intervals. During such an interval new experiments and observations are recorded day by day; new bodies in chemistry, and new species in natural history are discovered. But the language, nomenclature, and fundamental ideas remain more or less unaffected by the growth of facts. The applied sciences which depend upon them, as mineralogy upon chemistry, and agriculture upon chemistry and biology, are generally in harmony with them in ideas and language. But a time comes when the accumulation of facts so far outgrows the nomenclature and theoretic framework, that the whole structure has to be remodelled, and a new language created. There is always danger of the dependent sciences lagging behind while the revolutionary

crisis affects the fundamental sciences; for it frequently happens that the writers on the practical branches are not in such close intercourse with those on the fundamental ones as to feel continually the onward current of ideas. When this happens the former become conservative, and resist the adoption of the new language and new ideas, the value of which to their special subject they are not in a position to appreciate. Now chemistry is passing, or rather has almost passed, through one of these crises; and biology may be said to be entering one. Hence agriculturists who imagine that they have laid up a store of science for the rest of their lives will have to unlearn much and to turn to study again. *How Crops grow*, by Professor Johnson of Yale College, is an excellent text-book for this purpose, as well as for agricultural students generally. It is known and appreciated in America, and has just been issued in England, in a revised and augmented form, under the care of a chemist and a biologist, who were qualified to bring it up to the level of their respective sciences. The book is divided into three parts. The first, compris-

ing three chapters, is chemical, being devoted to the chemical composition of the volatile and fixed parts of the plant, the quantitative relations among its ingredients, and the influence of the stage of growth upon both; the second, in four chapters, treats of the structure of the plant and the offices of its organs, and is purely biological; and the third is devoted to the life of the plant, embracing physical, chemical, and biological phenomena. It would have made the work more complete if a chapter had been added on the influence of form on the chemical composition and life of plants, a subject of the greatest interest to agriculturists. The book is, of course, a strictly scientific, and in no way a practical book on agriculture, as that term would be commonly understood. The best way to apply science to the improvement of agriculture is to teach the science thoroughly, letting each man use his knowledge as a light to his experience, and not to give shreds of science patched together for practical use—a course which only leads to blunders and consequent loss of money by experimental farmers, and to prejudice against real science.

THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CII.

FOR JANUARY, 1870.

ART. I.—BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN  
LIBRARIES.

THE valley of the Euphrates was the seat of a very early civilization, and the birth-place of many of the arts and sciences known to the classical nations of antiquity. Babylonia was inhabited at an early period by a race of people entirely different from the Semitic population known in historic times. This people had an abundant literature; and they were the inventors of a system of writing which was at first hieroglyphic, but gradually changed into what is called the cuneiform or arrow-headed character. This character had its origin from the practice of writing on clay tablets, each line of the figures being separately pressed into the clay with a square instrument, which, going deeper into the tablet at one end than at the other, produced the arrow-head shape of the lines. Specimens of this writing are preserved in various stages, from the simple form to the decided cuneiform. The cuneiform characters were written from left to right; and the shape of the clay tablets used for this purpose was like that of rather flat pincushions. Where the writing is divided into two or more columns, the order of the columns is from left to right on the obverse, but from right to left on the reverse. Of the people who invented this system of writing very little is known with certainty; and even their name is a matter of doubt. In the early Semitic period we find Babylonia inhabited by two races who were called the *Sumiri* or *Kassi*, and the *Akkadi*. The *Sumiri* or *Kassi* were a foreign tribe, called by the Babylonians *lisan-kalbi* \* or the dog-tongued, probably in

allusion to their strange language. They were most probably a branch of the tribes called Cossaii, Cussii, and Cissii, by classical writers.\* These tribes lived to the east of Babylonia; and their dominion in that country is probably alluded to in the Book of Genesis, x. 8–12. As the *Sumiri* appear to have been foreigners, it is natural to suppose that the other tribe, the *Akkadi*, represents the original inhabitants of Babylonia; and we find that in early inscriptions the country is called *kingi-akkad* and *mat-akkad*, “the country of Akkad.”

The language of the *Akkadi*, who originally used the cuneiform signs, was different from any known to have existed in the country in historic times. As a rule those particles (prepositions) which, with us, precede the words they govern, followed them in the Akkad. Plurals and emphatic forms were often expressed by doubling the root form. In the verbs the root remains unaltered, and is doubled, or has prefixes to denote the various forms. Another peculiarity is, that when a word consisted of two characters any other word indicating a part or quality of it might be inserted between the two characters. These and similar peculiarities in its structure mark the Akkad as decidedly different from any Semitic tongue.

The earliest cuneiform texts are written in the Akkad language, and well exhibit the peculiarities of its vocabulary and grammar. Probably the most ancient inscriptions are those printed in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, the title of the cuneiform publications of the British Museum (hereafter referred to in this article as C. I.). The first inscription in the book is translated as follows: “Uruk, king of Ur, who Bit-Nannur built.” The king whose name is doubtfully read as Uruk is the earliest

\* *Lisan-kalbu* is only the Semitic translation; how the Akkad people pronounced the words, when they gave this name to the *Sumir*, is quite unknown.

\* Herod. iii. 91, v. 49; Strabo xi. p. 744; Diod. xvii. 111; Pliny vi. 27, s. 81.

known monarch of the country; the city of Ur (now Mugheir) was the capital; and Nannur was the ancient name of the Moon God. This inscription, and many similar ones of Uruk and his successors were stamped on bricks used in erecting the various temples of Babylonia. But the bulk of the Akkad literature consists of a large number of inscriptions, chiefly mythological, which were originally preserved in the libraries of Babylonia, and afterwards copied in Assyria, and accompanied by interlinear translations to explain the Akkad to the Assyrians. Their subject-matter, as a general rule, consists of lists of gods, with their various titles and attributes, legends of the gods, hymns and prayers to the gods, accounts of the influence of various evil spirits to whom diseases were attributed, and prayers against them.

The tablets were preserved in collections or libraries, in the various temples and palaces of Babylonia, and afterwards in Assyria; and it was the custom, from time to time, for those in charge of these literary treasures to have fresh copies made from the originals. The tablets were numbered in different series, according to their places in the libraries; and, for the purpose of identifying the position of each, the following plan was adopted. First, every series was named from the words or sentence which headed its first tablet: thus, the first tablet on evil spirits commenced with "the evil spirits;" and each tablet of the series had its proper number, followed by this extract, as "18th tablet of the evil spirits." And secondly, a line was drawn at the end of the inscription on each tablet, and the first line of the tablet next in the series was written after it. Each new paragraph in these early Akkad texts was headed by a sign signifying the lips or speech, and indicating that the paragraphs were to be chanted or spoken; but in translating from the Akkad the Assyrians always passed this character over, probably deeming it to be unnecessary. Each paragraph was followed by a word which was equivalent to the Assyrian *aiman*, or *amanu*, and our Amen. It is probable that these chants and legends were in existence in the country long before they were committed to writing. Among the hymns may be noticed the following address to the Sun:—\*

O Shamas, in the expanse of heaven thou  
shinest;  
And the bright locks of heaven thou  
openest;  
The gate of heaven thou openest.

\* British Museum, No. K, 3843.

O Shamas, to the world, thy face thou  
directest;  
O Shamas, with the brightness of heaven  
the earth thou coverest.

The rest of this legend is too imperfect to translate. The following is from a hymn to the Fire God:—\*

God of Fire, with thy bright fire,  
In the house of darkness, light thou  
establishest;  
Another name, Nabu, gloriously thou  
establishest;  
Of iron and lead the melter art thou;  
Of gold and silver the purifier art thou;  
The *tabbu* of *Ninkasi*† art thou;  
To the wicked in the night the causes of  
trembling art thou;  
The works of the man, the child of his  
God, do thou purify;  
Like the heaven do thou brighten [them];  
Like the earth do thou purify [them];  
Like the midst of heaven do thou make  
[them] shine.

From an address to a Goddess we have the following:—

The powerful rebel bows like a single  
reed.  
My will I am not taking, myself I am not  
honouring;  
Like a flower, day and night I am fading;  
I thy servant cling to thee.

The tablet from which this is an extract is valuable as giving two clear instances of the permansive form of verbs, first pointed out by Dr. Hincks.† It is a grave defect in the French school of cuneiform enquiry that its leading men ignore the existence of this verbal form. The two examples in this tablet are the verbs in the second line of this extract. Both are preceded by negatives.

Many of the legends of the gods are curious; but they are all fragmentary. One of them§ describes the symptoms of a man who was suffering from some illness, and represents the god Maruduk as unable to cure it, and going to the god Hea, his father, for advice. Hea tells Maruduk how, by purifying some water, and applying it to the patient, he can effect the cure. Many tablets relate to the demonology. Several classes of spirits, both good and evil, are specified

\* British Museum, No. K. 44.

† This expression is obscure. It may mean "the emanation of Nin-kasi." Ninkasi appears to be a goddess.

‡ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. II., part 2, p. 484.

§ British Museum, No. K, 2862.



on them; but the evil certainly predominate. There are the *Asakku* who were concerned with the head, the *Vadukku* with the neck and shoulders, the *Alu* with the breast, the *Ekimmu* with the inside of the body, the *Gallu* with the hand, the *Smtaru* with the life. So numerous were the supernatural beings that one tablet gives 50 great gods of heaven and earth, 7 magnificent gods, 300 spirits of the heavens, and 600 spirits of the earth. A good specimen of an invocation against evil spirits is printed in C.I., Vol. II, pp. 17 and 18. The paragraph on p. 17, lines 30 to 34, prays for deliverance from the supposed operation of some of these beings. It runs thus: "From the maker of evil, from the robber, from an evil face, from an evil eye, from an evil mouth, from an evil tongue, from evil lips, from an evil death, may heaven preserve, may earth preserve." Real historical matter is very scarce in these early tablets; but we have part of an inscription of one early Babylonian king, with an Assyrian translation.

Such is the character of the earliest literary collections of Babylonia; and the Akkad language, in which they were written, probably continued in use in that country down to the close of the sixteenth century B.C. and, for some official documents, even to a much later period. At some time anterior to the nineteenth century B.C. the valley of the Euphrates was conquered by a Semitic race. Of the origin of this race we at present know nothing; it is possible they may have been the same as the Sumiri or Kassî, at one time the leading tribe in Babylonia. The passage in C.I., Vol. II, p. 65, l. 8—12, relates how this people, having on one occasion revolted, slew the King of Babylonia, and placed another man on the throne. The Semitic conquerors, whoever they were, gradually imposed their own language on the country; but, on the other hand, they borrowed the system of writing in use there. From the time of the Semitic conquest the decline of the Akkad language began, and a period of mixed texts (part Akkad and part Semitic) commenced. It is rarely that we find a text of any length purely Semitic. It was usual at all times to use the Akkad for the following words: 1. Names and titles of gods. These are very seldom written in Semitic; and hence their pronunciation is very uncertain. The gods Assur and Nabu are those oftenest written in Semitic. 2. Names of material substances generally, such as woods, metals, stones; but in these cases the Assyrian side or column on bilingual (Akkad and Semitic) tablets often gives the Semitic name. 3. Names of trees, and plants, and animals.

Speaking generally, indeed, it may be said that after the rise of the Semitic power nouns were written in Akkad,\* and verbs in Semitic; but there are occasional exceptions to both these rules.

To the period following the Semitic conquest some of the larger literary works of the ancient Babylonians belong. First among these comes the great work on astronomy and astrology, a branch of ancient learning for which the Chaldeans have always been famous. This work covered at least seventy tablets. Beginning with the supposed influences of the appearance and motions of the moon, it proceeds to eclipses, and then gives the portents from the various positions and appearances of the sun; these are followed by accounts of cloud, rain, wind, &c.; and the work ends with the motions of the planets. Most of the positions and appearances are supposed to shadow forth future events; and on each tablet there are generally about 100 predictions. The following are some of them: "When on the 14th day of the month, the Moon and Sun with each other [*i.e.* at the same time] are seen, the face shall be right, the heart of the country shall be good, the Gods of Akkad [Babylonia] to give blessings shall incline, joy shall be in the hearts of the people, the heart of the king shall be right, and the cattle of Akkad in the desert in safety shall lie down." The next is a weather prediction, "When the aspect of the moon is very cloudy, great floods shall come." Notes are sometimes added by way of explanation. Thus, after the mention of some of the names of Jupiter, we are told: "The star of Maruduk [Jupiter] at its rising [*is* called] the star Dunaupaddu; when it reaches 5 kaspu,† the star Sakmisa; when it is in the middle of heaven [*southing*] the star Nibiru." There are rules for calculating eclipses; but, as they depend on the appearance of the moon, they are of no value. Most of the predictions from the heavens relate to the fortunes of kings and countries. This astrological work could not have been composed later than the 16th century B.C., and may be much older; for, although it contains numerous geographical notices, it has not a single reference to Assyria. The kingdoms

\* Foreign names are almost always written phonetically.

† The Babylonians divided the heavens into 12 parts, and the day likewise. These divisions are called *kaspu*: thus on the equinox tablets the formula is, "The day and night are balancing (*i.e.* are equal), 6 kaspu the day 6 kaspu the night." The position here called 'Maruduk reaching 5 kaspu' probably indicates the position of Jupiter about a month before it souths at 12 p.m.

of Akkad (Babylonia), Gutium (the Goim), Subarti,\* Anduan, Nituk or Asmun (on the Persian Gulf), Martu (Syria), and the Khatti (Hittites), and Elam (Susiana) are all mentioned; but Assyria probably had not yet risen to the rank of a kingdom. The geographical notices scattered through the work are one of its most interesting features. Many of the principal towns of Babylonia are mentioned; and predictions respecting them are given.

There was a companion work, comprising more than 100 tablets, which gave a large number of portents from terrestrial occurrences and objects—from trees, animals, streams, dreams, births both human and animal, and many other things. The portents derived from these were not supposed to affect the fate of kings and countries, but related, as a rule, to minor matters, such as the life or death of a man or his wife, his child, or even his slave. These works on omens, celestial and terrestrial, mention in several places the name of Sargina, an ancient king of Babylonia, who, according to the tablet printed in C.I., Vol. II, p. 65, reigned a little before the time of Khammurabi. The passages in which Sargon is mentioned are not at present sufficiently perfect to enable us to say whether the word was used as a proper name, or whether it was the title of a race of kings who claimed descent from Sargon. If the word is used as a proper name, it would be probable that these works were composed in the reign of Sargon. We know that the period of the Babylonian king Sargon was considered an important one; for amongst the Babylonian treasures which were copied and preserved in the Nineveh library was a tablet of his which commenced with the words "I am Sargina King of Agani." Agani was one of the principal cities of Babylonia, and was celebrated for a temple of the goddess Anunitu.

Beside the works already mentioned, there was one on the Mythology, which consisted of over 110 tablets. It is now very much mutilated, and has not yet been thoroughly examined. The Babylonian collections also contained many minor works; in fact this store of literature was so rich that the greater part of the Assyrian writing consists of copies from it. The great centre of learning in these early times was the city of Ur, famous as the birthplace of

Abraham, and now represented by the ruins of Mugheir. Ur remained the nominal capital of the country until Khammurabi (probably in the 18th century B.C.) fixed the seat of government at Babylon.

In the flourishing days of the early Babylonian monarchy, Assyria was colonised from that country; and the earliest rulers of Assyria were governors subject to Babylonia. Their title was *Patesi*; and their office included the functions of high priest and governor. The seat of government was at the city of Assur (now Keleh Shergat); and the territory reached at least as far north as Nineveh, where a temple to one of the goddesses was founded in the 19th century B.C. Afterwards, under Bilkipkapi, Assyria became independent, and the city of Assur became an important place. It was the capital of Assyria for about 1,000 years, and the seat of the first Assyrian library. Little, however, is known of this collection, for the extensive ruins of the city have never been properly explored; but several valuable inscriptions have been found there, ranging from B.C. 1850 to B.C. 830.\* It was during this period that the translations of the early Akkad works were made. That these translations were made in Assyria, and not in Babylonia, we gather from the fact that, in cases of words which differ in the two countries, the documents have the Assyrian and not the Babylonian forms. Shalmaneser I, king of Assyria, B.C. 1300, had founded a city near the junction of the Upper Zab with the Tigris, and called it Kalakh. It was rebuilt by Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 885; and here an important collection of inscriptions was made. The earliest tablets from this place belong to the 9th century B.C., and include a copy of the great Chaldean work on Astrology. Various other copies of this and other works were made from time to time; and our information about the libraries becomes by degrees more definite. The keepers of these literary treasures bore the title of *Nisu-duppisatri*, "man of the written tablets." The title was originally an Akkad one; and the first man known to have borne it was a Babylonian named Amil-anu, who lived in the reign of Emuq-sin, king of Babylonia, about 1,000 years before the date of the librarians of Kalakh and Nineveh. The signet cylinder of Amil-anu has the following inscription: "Emuq-sin the powerful hero, the king of

\* The countries of Akkad, Elam, Gutu, Martu, and Subarti are the only ones mentioned on the majority of these tablets. But one tablet gives the additional geographical names; and this (No. 2 in the series) is possibly of later date than the body of the work.

\* One of the most beautiful and perfect of these is the inscription on the four cylinders of Tiglath Pileser I, cir. B.C. 1120. Translations of this inscription by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert were published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857.

Ur, king of the four regions, Amil-anu the tablet keeper, son of Gantu, his servant." The principal part of the Kalakh (Nimrod) collection, was written under the care of a librarian named Nabu-zuqud-gina, who had charge of the collection from the 6th year of Sargon, B.C. 716, to the 22nd year of Sennacherib, B.C. 684. Many of the tablets written under his direction are interesting not only from their contents, but from the fact that they are dated with the name of the yearly eponym, the regnal year of the king, and the month and day when they were written. These dates are valuable for comparison with the Assyrian Canon of Eponyms. Translations of all the dates referring to the reign of Sargon, B.C. 722—705, were given in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, in July, 1869; but the Sennacherib dates have not yet been published.

The first work known to have been executed under Nabu-zuqub-gina was a copy of the great Chaldean work on astrology, made in B.C. 716. The following is the statement at the close of one of these tablets: "When in the month of Tasritu [Tisri] and the first day, the sun is \* . . . . Tablet number 36 of the *Inu Anu Bil* [Astrological series] written according to the documents and old tablets of Babylon; tablet of Nabu-zuqub-gina, son of Maruduk-mubagar the librarian, grandson of Gabbu-ilanikamis the great librarian. City of Kalakh, month Sivanu, day 29, eponym Tabu-zilli-zira prefect of Assur, 6th year of Sarukin-arku, [Sargon] king of Assyria." By this time there had arisen two versions of the work on astrology, one of them omitting a tablet which is found in the other. The word here translated "document," indicates some other material for writing on than clay; it is probably parchment or papyrus, though which is intended is uncertain. Another copy of the astrological work was written three years later, and in the eleventh year of Sargon one of the works on terrestrial portents. In this case the copy gives the name of the writer of the tablets copied from, who probably lived in the 12th century B.C. In some instances, owing to the length of time since a tablet had been written, parts had become illegible; and wherever this was the case the copyists inserted the word *khibi* "defaced" or "lost."

Various copies of standard works were executed at Kalakh in the 6th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th years of Sargon, and in the 1st, 4th, 6th, 7th, 11th,

19th and 22nd years of Sennacherib; all of them are however copies of works already described or extracts made from them for specific purposes. Sennacherib at the beginning of his reign made Nineveh his residence, and set to work to rebuild the palace, which he gradually enlarged and adorned till it reached an unprecedented magnificence. In this and other buildings at Nineveh, chambers were set apart for the records, and large numbers of tablets were collected. The site of Nineveh furnishes by far the greater number of our Assyrian tablets and fragments; and the Nineveh literature exhibits a superior variety.

Besides copies of the works already referred to there are other inscriptions of interest.

1. There is a history of the transactions between Assyria and Babylonia.\* This work even in its present fragmentary condition is valuable. Its substance may be briefly described as follows. It opens with an explanatory statement of its contents, now imperfect, but appearing to indicate that it gave the events of forty reigns. Where it again becomes legible it relates the conclusion of a treaty between Karaindas king of Babylon, and Assur-bil-nisi-su, king of Assyria, about some border land, cir. B.C. 1480. Then there is a treaty about the same provinces, between Burna-buryas of Babylon and Buzur-assur of Assyria, cir. B.C. 1450. Then it gives the marriage of Serua-mupal-litat, daughter of Assur-upallit, king of Assyria, to the king of Babylon, the revolt of the tribe of Kassei against her son Karakhardas, his murder, and the accession of a usurper, Nazibugas. This is followed by an invasion of Babylonia by the Assyrians, who kill the usurper and place a son of Burna-buryas on the throne of Babylon, cir. B.C. 1420. The narrative here breaks off again, several reigns being lost. Afterwards we are told of the death of Bil-kudur-uzur, king of Assyria, and the accession of Ninip-palzira, cir. B.C. 1200, in whose time the king of Babylon invaded Assyria; to him succeeded Assur-dayan, who invaded Babylonia in the reign of Zamama-sum-iddina, king of Babylon. Here a reign is lost; and then we have two invasions of Assyria by Nabu-kudur-uzur I (Nebuchadnezzar) king of Babylon, who was defeated by Assur-risilim, king of Assyria. Next we have Babylonia invaded by Tiglath-pileser I, King of Assyria, in the time of Maruduk-iddina-akhi, king of Babylon (this was the famous war which Sennacherib states was 418 years before his own

\* This is the heading of the next tablet. See former remarks on this point.

\* This inscription was first published by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Athenaeum*, No. 1869.

capture of Babylon), cir. B.C. 1120. Then come the friendship between Assur-bil-kala, king of Assyria, and Maruduk-sapik-zira, king of Babylon, the death of the Babylonian king, and another invasion of Babylonia. Again there is a break; and then we have the defeat of a Babylonian monarch named Nabu-sum-iskun by an Assyrian king whose name is lost. This is followed by an account of the friendship between Shalmaneser II of Assyria and Nabul-bal-iddina of Babylon, the war of succession between the two sons of Nabu-bal-iddina, and the intervention of Shalmaneser. The rest of the historical matter is lost; but the tablet is important for historical studies, and a full translation of the fragments should be published. It is written in an early style, and probably was composed about B.C. 800; its history covered a space of about 700 years.

2. Perhaps the most important work in the Assyrian library was the Canon of Eponymes.\* The earliest copies of this work now known to us were written in the reign of Sennacherib, cir. B.C. 700, and the latest cir. B.C. 640 in the reign of Assur-bani-pal. Although we have seven copies of this work, not one of them is perfect, and some of them are mere fragments; but, from a comparison of the various copies, the chronology of the Assyrian empire from B.C. 892 to 666 is ascertained without the loss of a single year. This Canon gave a list of the annual officers, after whom the years were successively named, and is similar to the list of the Roman Consuls. Most of the public and private documents in Assyria were dated in the current Eponymies; and, so far as the seven copies are preserved, the agreement between them is perfect. Three copies gave not only the names and titles of the yearly Eponymes, but the principal events which happened during their terms of office. This Canon has caused more discussion than any other Assyrian inscription, on account of the alterations it makes in the chronology of the period.

3. In addition to these tablets there are others giving the annals of particular reigns, and two on the history of foreign relations. One of these is an account of affairs between Assyria and Arabia, commencing with the capture of Edom by Sennacherib, and relating the embassy of Khazail, king of Arabia, to Esarhaddon, to ask for his gods, which had been carried off by Sennacherib; it closes with the revolt of Arabia and its conquest by Assur-bani-pal. The other is a history of transactions between Assyria and Elam.

\* First published by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Athenæum*, No. 1805.

When the Babylonians or Assyrians founded or repaired a building, they deposited in receptacles, at the four corners, cylinders with the name and titles of the builder, accompanied in some cases by a history of his reign. Cylinders of this kind were deposited in the libraries ready for use. Fragments of a great number of them belonging to the reign of Assur-bani-pal have been discovered at Nineveh; and the libraries of Nineveh and Kalakh possessed tablets giving the history of Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 884-859, Shalmaneser B.C. 859-824, Tiglath-pileser B.C. 745-727, Sargon B.C. 722-705, Sennacherib B.C. 705-681, Esarhaddon B.C. 681-668, and Assur-bani-pal B.C. 668-627. All these records are in the same style, magnifying the kings who wrote them, but ascribing all their successes to superhuman aid. The annals of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal are rather more poetical than the others. The following translation of part of Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah will serve as an example of the historical writing; the text is printed in C.I. 38: "The priests, nobles and people of Ekron, Padi their king, who was faithful to Assyria, in bonds of iron had placed, and to Hezekiah king of Judah had given him to be killed; he sought my protection. Their hearts feared; and the kings of Egypt, and the warriors, archers, chariots, and horses of the king of Ethiopia, gathered and came to their aid. In the vicinity of the city of Altaqu against me their battle array they were setting; and they extended their troops. In the service of Assur my lord with them I fought; and their overthrow I accomplished. The charioteers and sons of the king of Egypt, and the charioteers of the king of Ethiopia, alive in the midst of the battle my hands captured; the cities of Altaqu and Tamna I invested and captured; I carried off their spoil. Into Ekron I entered: the priests and nobles who had caused the defection I slew, in the . . . . and city I threw down their dead bodies. The young men of Ekron and the evil disposed I distributed as spoil; and the rest of them, who did no sin and violence, and who their party had not joined, their uprightness I proclaimed. Padi their king from the midst of Jerusalem I brought, and in the throne of dominion over them I seated; and the tribute of my dominion upon them I fixed."

The Assyrians had settled laws and a regular administration of them; but we have only one tablet with part of their code upon it. This tablet is from one of the Nineveh libraries, and is now in the British Museum. It has been referred to and partially translated by several Assyrian students. The

spirit of the enactments will be seen by the following extract, being the law of husband and wife: "If a wife to her husband is unfaithful, and shall say 'Thou art not my husband,' into the river they shall throw her. If a husband to his wife shall say, 'Thou art not my wife,' one half maneh of silver he shall pay [to her]." These laws are written in Semitic and Akkad, in parallel columns; but the statement at the close is to the effect that they were copied from Assyrian tablets, so that it is uncertain whether they extended to Babylonia.

In the time of Assur-bani-pal we meet with a number of tablets which have been termed syllabaries and bilingual explanations of cuneiform signs. They come from Nineveh, and were intended to explain the phonetic value and meaning of the various signs, the characters on the left of the signs giving the Akkad value, and those on the right the equivalent Assyrian one.

Tablets of this kind were intended to teach the Assyrians the rudiments of the Akkad vocabulary; others were written to show the conjugation of the verbs; and others again gave short sentences in Akkad and Assyrian, as examples of construction.

There were also various lists of names of woods, stones, animals, &c., in the two languages. The names are very obscure; but many can still be recognised.

We possess also geographical lists giving the cities of the then known world, lists of rivers, of countries and their productions, of seats of the worship of different gods, and various other matters. Our present copies of tablets of this kind were generally made during the reign of Assur-bani-pal (B.C. 668-627), who was a great patron of literature. From their nature it is evident that they were meant for educational purposes; but the fact that they were intended for the people is distinctly stated on several of the colophons attached to the tablets of this reign. Those deposited in the record chambers at Nineveh\* read as follows:—Form 1. *Assur-bani-pal saru rabu saru dannu Assur-bani-pal, the great king, the powerful saru kissati saru mati Assur pal king, king of nations, king of Assyria, son Assur-akh-iddina saru mati Assur pal of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sanakhi-irba saru mati Assur va ki Sennacherib, king of Assyria; according to pi duppi izihusi udppi gabri mati Assuri* the documents and old tablets of Assyria,

*mati Sumiri va Akkadi duppu suati ina and Sumiri and Akkadi, this tablet in the tapkharti duppani astur azniq collection of tablets I wrote, I studied [?], I abre va ana tamarti saruti-explained, and, for the inspection of my ya kirib hekal ya ukin sa kingdom, within my palace I placed. Whosumu satri ipassitu sum su ever my written records defaces, and his isaddaru Nabu duppi satri own records shall write, may Nabu all the gimri sum su lipsit. written tablets of his records deface.*

Form 2. *Hekal Assur-bani-pal saru Palace of Assur-bani-pal, king of kissati saru mati Assur sa ana Assur nations, king of Assyria, who to Assur and va Assuritu taklu sa Nabu va Urmitu Assurita trusts, to whom Nabu and Urmit uzni rapastu isrukus ikhuzu attentive ears have given, and imparted eni namirtu nisik sharp sighted eyes, the characters of the duppi satri sa ina sarrani alik written tablets, which among the kings my makhri-ya nin miri suatu la ikhuzzu predecessors none their value appreciated, nimiki Nabu tikipsan taksi the wisdom of Nabu inspired me entirely [?] mala bassam ina duppani astur all there was [i.e. everything] on tablets I azniq abre va ana tamarti wrote, I studied, [?], I explained, and for the sitassi-ya kirib hekali-ya ukin inspection of my people within my palace I ebitu liha [?] nur sari placed. Lord of glory [?], light of the king ili Assur mannu sa itabbalu of the gods, Assur. Whoever this destroys, va sumi su kima sumi-ya issaddaru and his record like my record shall write, Assur va Assuritu aggis may Assur and Assuritu violently and izzis liskipu su va sum su forcibly overthrow him, and his name and siri su ma mati likhaliqu.*

his race in the land may they destroy. At the close of the tablets which were deposited in the library of the temple of Nebo, at Nineveh, there was a more devotional inscription of the same sort. It read thus:—"To Nabu, the great lord, his lord, Assur-bani-pal, the prince beloved by Assur, Bel and Nabu, the guardian of the sanctuaries of the great gods, the grand lord of their priests [?], son of Esarhaddon, king of nations, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of nations, king of Assyria, for the saving of his life, for the prolonging of his days, for peace to his seed, and for the stability of the power of the throne of his

\* Mr. Layard, who discovered these record chambers, describes them as filled with tablets to the height of a foot or more from the floor. See *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 845.

kingdom, hear his prayer and receive his supplication," &c. This is followed by much the same inscription as the others, substituting the temple of Nabu for the palace.

We have one beautiful legend, which may be termed the descent of the goddess.\* It relates how one of the goddesses descended from heaven to a region indicated by a sign, the phonetic reading of which is unknown. She passes through seven gates on her passage; and at each gate the gate-keeper takes off some of her ornaments. On her passing through the first gate, he takes off her great crown, at the second gate the earrings from her ears, at the third gate her necklace, at the fourth gate her ornament worn on the breast, at the fifth her girdle, at the sixth her ornaments worn on the hands and feet, and at the seventh the covering for the back. Afterwards Shamas relates to the god Hea why the goddess has gone; and ultimately a spirit is commanded to bring her back. He does so; and at each of the celestial gates he restores to her the ornament taken from her at that place.

Another class of tablets contains forms of prayer for the use of private persons. One peculiarity of these is the employment of a sign meaning such a one, or so and so. The worshipper was intended to use his own name in this place. Belonging to the libraries which contained these miscellaneous collections, some fragments of catalogues have been found. They give the headings of the tablets, and in some cases the number of lines on them. One catalogue gives a list of 25 tablets, which it says contain the knowledge of heaven and earth. Of these, 14 are enumerated as containing the knowledge of the earth, and 11 the knowledge of the heavens; among the latter there is a tablet on the planet Venus (No. 3), another on the planets (No. 4), two on the Moon (Nos. 5 and 6), and one on Comets called "the star which proceeding from its head has a tail after it" (No. 8).

In connection with the libraries, observatories were established, and the reports of the astronomers were preserved. There were observatories at Assur, Nineveh, and Arba-il (Arbela). The astronomical reports were on the equinoxes, the eclipses of the sun and moon, the position of planets, and the date when the moon was first seen at the beginning of each month. These reports were addressed to the king; and about 12 of them from the Nineveh libraries are now in the British Museum. If an astronomical event occurred which was supposed to be

unfavourable to the king, it was the duty of the astrologers to find some reason either for its not applying to their own monarch, or for its meaning something different from what was supposed. Eclipses were generally thought to be evil omens; but on some of the tablets there are ingenious explanations to the effect that particular eclipses were good omens for the king. When any event of particular importance took place, or when the king went on a foreign expedition, the astrologers had to examine various portents to see if they were favourable to the king; and the date of the rebellion of Saul-mugina, the brother of Assur-bani-pal and the king of Elam, one of the most formidable revolts which happened during the Assyrian empire, is known from the dates on a number of portent tablets, which Assur-bani-pal had made, to see if they were favourable to him on that occasion. This rebellion broke out in the year B.C. 652, and was suppressed in B.C. 648.

The only foreign works known to have been kept at Nineveh were treaties and letters from foreign monarchs. Among the latter is a letter from *Umman-aldasi* king of Elam, to Assur-bani-pal, on the following matter. Nabu-bil-sumi, a grandson of Merodachbaladan, having joined in a revolt, had incurred the displeasure of Assur-bani-pal; and he escaped into the land of Elam. Some diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assyria and Elam, Assur-bani-pal threatening to invade Elam again unless Nabu-bil-sumi was given up. A revolt then took place in Elam; and Umman-aldasi ascended the throne. Nabu-bil-sumi, fearing that the new king would yield to the demand of Assur-bani-pal, committed suicide in company with his armour bearer; and his body was then delivered to the envoy of Assur-bani-pal, with the letter, a copy of which was kept in the archives of Nineveh.

With the reign of the son of Assur-bani-pal the Assyrian power came to an end, and the empire passed to Babylon. Under Nabukudur-uzur II (Nebuchadnezzar) the Babylonian dominion was as great as that of Assyria in its palmiest days. Documents were again collected, and tablets written; but of this later literature we have few specimens, owing to the want of excavations in Babylonia, a region richer in treasures of ancient literature than Assyria. We have, however, one astrological portent tablet, which was written when Nebuchadnezzar made an expedition into Elam. The annals of Nebuchadnezzar have never been recovered from Babylon; and this is a solitary reference to an expedition otherwise quite unknown. Most of the inscriptions of this period relate to the temples, palaces, and fortifications, of

\* British Museum, No. K. 162. This tablet was first noticed by Mr. Fox Talbot, from a photograph.

the cities of Babylonia, which were repaired by Nebuchadnezzar, Nergal-sar-uzur (Nergalissar), and Nabu-nahid (Nabonidus), who incidentally mentions his eldest son *Bel-sar-uzur* (Belshazzar) the prince who was slain on the night of the impious feast. Sale tablets, with names of witnesses attached, have been found, dated in the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and even of the Greek kings who succeeded Alexander; but no trace of any of the later libraries has been discovered, though we know that they existed in the third century B.C., when Berosus wrote his history of Chaldaea.

Such are some of the materials gathered from the Euphrates valley, and now in the British Museum. Together with the tablets from the libraries, there are many fine cylinders containing the annals of various kings, besides inscribed bricks, votive dishes, &c., which are valuable for the genealogy and succession of the monarchs. The collections came to the British Museum, broken into more than 20,000 fragments. But all these have been carefully examined; and considerable progress has been made in joining together the different parts of the tablets. Many of them have been copied; and three volumes of inscriptions have been published, which contain most of the historical monuments, and an interesting collection of bilingual fragments. Another volume is nearly ready, which will contain the annals of Assur-bani-pal, the inscription on which Ahab is mentioned, most of the remaining historical fragments, a more perfect copy of the Assyrian Eponyme Canon, and various sale tablets, birth portents, and mythological and astrological fragments. With a view to future work, the Assyrian collection has been divided into sections according to the subjects of the tablets, one section comprising the historical tablets and cylinders, another the bilingual, another the mythological, another the astrological, &c. It has been found that most of the tablets are incomplete; and some are mere fragments. But the best preserved and most important tablets are exhibited to the public; and students have ample facilities for inspecting the remainder.

Whenever it becomes practicable to recommence excavations in the valley of the Euphrates, more important results even than those already obtained may be anticipated. The progress of knowledge has enabled us to determine the most likely spots in which to seek particular information. Nineveh, the capital of Sennacherib, has already yielded his annals, and the account of his expedition against Hezekiah; and there is no reason to

doubt that from Babylon, which was the capital of Nebuchadnezzar, it would be possible to obtain the annals of that monarch, and his account of the captivity of the Jews.

## ART. II.—SWIFT.

AFTER the lapse of nearly a century and a half, Swift still retains his place as the greatest of English prose satirists. Junius is the one writer who has, in a measure, achieved proportionate success; and Junius, it can hardly be doubted, owed much of his popularity at the time to the transcendent interest of the events on which he commented, and to the mystery which still shrouds his personality. Swift's most brilliant performances were on matters for which the public cared little, till he forced them into notice. The pamphlets by which he sustained Harley's ministry are cleverly argued and nervously written; but the world would willingly have let them die if the author had produced nothing of less perishable stuff. The satire of the *Tale of a Tub* and of *Gulliver's Travels* addresses itself to broad differences of thought, and to questions concerning the whole structure of society, just the matters on which men believe that nothing new can be written till the something new appears. The *Drapier's Letters* and the tracts on Ireland deal with the minute interests of an oppressed province, which statesmen scarcely regarded in their calculations. Swift himself cared so little for the first, and not the least, of these masterpieces that he left it eight years unpublished, and suffered it to appear at last with interpolations by a strange hand. But the world has estimated his works at their true value; and precisely those imaginative flights in which he rises above the petty turmoils of the day, those touches of cynical sympathy in which he scathes English misrule with none but the most general political purpose, are the passages which have embalmed his memory. Often, unconsciously to himself, he was aiming beyond the abuse at which he struck.

Swift's personal character has been less favourably judged than his works. To a certain extent the low estimate is a just one. A man whose relations with women have been conspicuously unfortunate through his own fault, a clergyman who writes profanely and filthily, a politician who begins life as a Whig, changes apparently for interest, and is unscrupulous in invective against his old

patrons, is below the common standard of society in some matters which it can ill afford to disregard. Thackeray, whose heart was with Steele and Fielding, has brought other charges against Swift in a singularly unappreciative criticism, treats his irony upon Irish distress as "Rabelaisian," and imagines that throughout life he was "strangled in his bands"—haunted by the remembrance of vows which he had taken, could not believe, and would not renounce. Add these touches to the picture, and Swift is indeed irredeemably bad and base. Fortunately for mankind, the complete depravity of a whole life is seldom witnessed in any man, and is rare, perhaps unexampled, in men of genius. No one who has studied Swift conscientiously will acquit him of many weaknesses and much selfishness; no one who has followed him through the unguarded confidences of his writings will pass sentence upon him as dishonest or hard.

His failings, in fact, were as much those of an impulsive as of a calculating temperament; and so evenly was he poised between opposite influences that the course of his life seems to have been determined by accident. He had the vanity of a child; but it was combined with a strong will, which perpetually raised it into self-assertion and principle. As a boy, he bought a knacker's horse for the sake of a day's triumph over his school-fellows; and as a man he treated ministers and peers with such petulance as a royal mistress might have shown. He separated from the Whigs on a question of personal slight. But he lost the first preference that came in his way, by declining to purchase it with a bribe; and, in a time of general venality, he never bartered his good offices for money. He was constitutionally cold, and for ever philandering. His satires on the infidelity of his times are caustic and earnest to the last degree, and express the profoundest scorn for fashionable scepticism. But the faith that was proof against all argument yielded without effort to the opportunity of an epigram; and there is scarcely a mystery of Christianity, scarcely a current tenet of faith, on which Swift has not jested. No man felt more strongly on the subject of clerical decency, and no man is more notorious for his flagrant offences against good taste. The only virtue to which he was never false was his kindness, and even his love of money did not interfere with it. He lent money to Gay, gave it to Harrison, supported his sister, spent freely during his lifetime to improve his living of Laracor, and bequeathed almost all his property to public uses. During his short political reign he scattered good offices on all who had any

claim on him, and especially upon men of letters. The man of established reputation and the rising genius—Congreve and Steele, Harrison and Parnell—were in turn befriended or pushed without thought of rivalry, and without superciliousness. The world forgives a good deal to a man of active and expansive good-nature; and Swift, who often complains of coldness and ingratitude, probably owed more than he knew to the general character he had earned for benevolence. The most caustic of satirists, he escaped with gentler retribution than Pope, or Dryden, or De Foe.

But Swift's character has, in fact, been sketched by himself; and, imperfect as the outlines are, they will serve to correct two or three general misconceptions. Take first a rather remarkable letter which he wrote to a friend in February 1691, being then about twenty-four years old, and already quartered with Sir William Temple as an amanuensis. His correspondent, Mr. Kendall, had heard some gossip from Leicester, where Swift's mother resided, of her son's entanglement with a young woman of the place, and writes to remonstrate with him lest he ruin his prospects in life. Swift answers at length:—"My own cold temper and unconfined humour is a much greater hindrance than any fear of that which is the subject of your letter. The very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the University, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which, I am sure, will not be in some years, and, even then itself, I am so hard to please that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world. A person of great honour in Ireland used to tell me that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I would not give it employment. It is this humour which makes me so busy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and since it commonly ends in talk, whether it be love or common conversation it is all alike. This is so common that I could remember twenty women in my life to whom I have behaved myself just the same way, and I profess without any other design than that of entertaining myself when I am very idle, or when something goes amiss in my affairs." He goes on to say that he has heard reports against Miss Jones's character, and that if there is the smallest warrant for them, as is likely, that in itself would be a sufficient cause for him to hate any woman. He proceeds to say:—"I confess I have known one or two men of sense enough, who, inclined to frolics, have married and ruined themselves out of a maggot; but a thousand household



thoughts, which always drive matrimony out of my mind whenever it chances to come there, will, I am sure, fright me from that; besides that I am naturally temperate, and never engaged in the contrary, which usually produces those effects." This is not by any means a pleasant letter; and the calculating selfishness of its tone certainly speaks ill for so young a man as Swift. After all, the girl was his own connection, and had some expectations, though she seems to have been badly brought up, and spelled like a kitchen-maid. But we may probably take his words as conclusive evidence that he was determined to make his way in the world, and that his life was free from any stain of vice. A whole mass of legends and unpleasant conjectures, associating his conduct to Stella, and the indecencies of his later writings, with the constitutional results of early profligacy, may be dismissed from consideration. No hypothesis of the kind will stand against the unsuspicious witness of a confidential letter to a friend, and the silent testimony of his enemies and libellers, who could not collect even a flying scandal of the kind during his long life.

Swift's prospects were in fact far more brilliant than the honourless graduate of Trinity, Dublin, the needy son of a widow, could have any reason to expect. He had now been more than a year with Sir William Temple; and even if his first position were only that of a clerk, as the Temple family insinuated, it is evident that his powers of mind soon made themselves felt. No mere underling would have been employed by a veteran statesman to argue William III. into compliance with the bill for Triennial Parliaments (1692), or would have received the promise of a prebend (November 1692) from a sovereign who was a little chary of rewards. Indeed, within a year of his residence at Moor Park, Swift had ventured to address complimentary verses to Temple, as a divine spirit, cast in the same mould with himself; and in three years more he addressed the first wit of the time as "My Congreve." It is probable that success turned his head. He believed, not quite unreasonably, that Temple found him too serviceable to part with, and was not really anxious to procure him preferment. A quarrel ensued, in which the patron seems to have behaved well, the protégé capiously. But it had the effect of deciding Swift's destiny. Being offered a small place in the Rolls, he declared that he was now able to gratify the wish of his heart, and take orders with a safe conscience, as no one could tax him with mercenary motives. He was ordained

accordingly,\* and through Temple's interest, which was given him without solicitation, obtained the small benefice of Kilroot. If Temple had acted on calculation, the result proved that he knew his man thoroughly. Swift could not endure Irish exile, and was no longer too proud to return to a patron whose late conduct had atoned for his first shortcomings, and who now wrote to urge reconciliation. As hastily as he had left England, Swift arranged with his bishop that Kilroot should be bestowed on a poor and meritorious clergyman, and returned in less than a year to Moor Park. The next four years of his life were spent in his patron's service and society.

For a young and ambitious man the opportunities were good; and Swift carefully improved them. He tells us himself that "he was then a young gentleman, much in the world;"† and everything, in fact, proves that he was on the outskirts of the highest society. Yet it was an uncertain position; and the bitterness with which he attacked Dryden in the *Tale of a Tub* gives the measure of his resentment against a relative who had not helped him at need. Dryden's alleged criticism, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," was in fact disagreeably true; and the young man had not yet taught the world or perhaps learned himself, where his strength lay. But he was pruning his

\* Thackeray says, "I do not know anything more melancholy than the letter to Temple, in which, after having broke from his bondage, the poor wretch crouches piteously towards his cage again, and deprecates his master's anger. He asks for testimonials for orders." Swift had undoubtedly quarrelled with Temple. Finding that he could not be ordained without his late patron's testimonial to character, he "appears to have paused nearly five months before endeavouring to procure it" (Sir W. Scott). Then, constrained by circumstances, he applied in a letter, which merits all that Thackeray has said of it. There are few spectacles more pitiable than the prostration of a proud man; and few, it may be added, are so apt to bow abjectly as those who bow seldom. But a single letter of deprecation from a young man to an offended patron during a quarrel surely does not prove that their relations at other times were those of tyrant and slave. That Temple was pompous and stately, Swift sensitive and passionate, may be granted. That Swift sometimes chafed at being treated "like a schoolboy" was only natural. All the more is it noteworthy that Swift rose in his patron's confidence, went back to him by request after a rupture, stayed with him till death, always mentions him with respect, and in the last years of his life wrote to his nephew and heir testifying an unabated regard for the family name.

† *Apology for the Tale of a Tub*, vol. xi. p. 13. The references from Swift's Works are to Sir Walter Scott's edition.

wings for the highest flights. The wonderful *Tale of a Tub* was the work of his leisure hours in 1696; and its literary history is remarkable. Swift does not seem to have attached any great importance to it when he wrote it. The manuscript lay by him for years, and at last passed out of his hands into those of one who could better appreciate it, probably the cousin who afterwards tried to claim it. Swift's consent to the publication was obtained; some passages that seemed dangerous were either suppressed or altered; and the book came out anonymously in 1704. It is some evidence how completely Swift had already made his mark in London society, that no one hesitated to regard him as the author. So unmistakable was its success that within five years he was able to say of it, that it seemed "calculated to live at least as long as our language." Four years later his "little parson cousin," as he calls him, Thomas Swift, published a key, and claimed the book as his own, impudently observing that the real author did not know enough theology to have written it. Swift scarcely cared to notice the attack, but suggested to his printer that Thomas Swift should be induced to set his name to his work: "I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce would carry him." Even the surmise that Thomas Swift had a hand in it, and supplied some of the learning, is extremely improbable. It is not a work of any real erudition; and its most recondite illustrations are drawn, not from theology, but from authors like Paracelsus and Ctesias, whom Swift was likely to know as well as his cousin. As regarded the cardinal differences between Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians, Swift must have been less than man if he had not mastered their principal points, in an age when controversy was in the air. In his *Apology*, he distinctly claims the undivided authorship. "The whole work," he says, "is entirely of one hand;" and he offered to resign the whole credit of it to any person who could establish a claim to three lines. The jealousy with which he asserted his rights, now proved so valuable, was only natural. "My God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book," was his criticism upon it in later years; and few will say that his estimate was excessive.

The *Battle of the Books*, another fruit of Swift's residence with Temple, is rather a jeu d'esprit than a serious piece. His heart was not in these matters; and it is difficult to credit him, at the expense of his good sense, with the furious pedantry which inspired his patron—probably the last educated man who wrote against Harvey's dis-

covery of the circulation of the blood, because it was not known to Aristotle. But the book shows that the young Irishman was already in friendly alliance with Atterbury and Boyle, both eminent among "the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease," and both wanting the essentials of greatness in character and reality in learning. The service to Temple was enormous. With a weakness not uncommon in public men, Sir William had believed that he could carry his official rank into literature, and was annoyed beyond measure when he found an obscure scholar like Wotton replying to him on equal terms as an adversary. When he died, two years later (1699), he rewarded Swift with a small legacy and the charge of bringing out a posthumous edition of his works. The old diplomatist had again mistaken his importance. The volumes of defunct treatises attracted no attention, and brought neither fame nor profit to the unlucky editor. Swift found in a moment that he was without a home, position, or prospects. The Temple family disliked him; and Lady Gifford, in particular, accused him, not quite justly, of tampering with the *Memoirs* to curry favour with public men.\* King William refused to give him any preferment. After some months of fruitless expectation, Swift was glad to accept the post of chaplain and private secretary to Lord Berkeley. He was speedily supplanted in the latter employment by a Mr. Bush, who represented that the post was one in which a clergyman ought not to be placed. Before long the Deanery of Derry fell vacant, and was in Lord Berkeley's gift. Swift had been promised the first preferment, and applied for it. But he was baffled by opposition in two quarters. King, then Bishop of Derry, remonstrated against the appointment of a young man who would be "eternally flying backwards and forwards to London." Bush demanded a fee of £1000 for his good offices. Swift indignantly refused to bribe, and another man was made Dean. Swift wrote some humorous verses against Berkeley and Bush at the time, as two "blundering Kings of Brentford," but soon let the quarrel die; and it is to his credit that he afterwards befriended King when he gave offence to Harley by some unlucky words. Yet their relations were never cordial; and Swift complained, not without dignity, that King's enmity had extended over twenty-six years, and had never slept since the hour of

\* Swift's answer was that he printed from a copy made by himself, in which Temple had inserted his last corrections, and in which some peevish passages reflecting on old associates had been omitted at Swift's suggestion.

the Queen's death. He ascribed it to the Archbishop's dislike of his independent bearing. From all we know of Lord Berkeley, he is more likely to have yielded to the Bishop's remonstrances than to have been the dupe of his secretary's intrigue. He retained Swift in his household (where the friendship with Lady Betty Germaine began), and in time presented him to the two livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan (1700). These, with the prebend of Dunlavin, which was given a little later, made up an income of nearly £400 a year. Swift was at last provided for, and independent.

But the humour for entertaining himself with flirtations, to which he acknowledges in his letter to Mr. Kendall, had been actively indulged during the last five years, and threatened to bring its possessor into serious complications. During his residence at Kilroot, he had become intimate with a Miss Jane Waring, the sister of one of his college friends. If we are to take his own words literally, it was the one genuine attachment of his life; for he tells Varina, in his last letter to her, that he never thought of marrying any one else, while his language to Stella, at a later date (1720), was equally distinct on the other side:

"With friendship and esteem possessed,  
I ne'er admitted love a guest."

But the real difference probably was in the interval between eight-and-twenty and four-and-fifty. Swift, as a young man, was more warm-blooded in his own despite than he liked to acknowledge afterwards. He wrote from England, a year after his return (April 1696), and offered to give up England, and all his hopes of preferment, if Varina would marry him. The lady, it seems, hesitated. She had a little money of her own, and did not care to bind herself to a penniless lover. She was fond of dress and society; and her state of health was at one time so delicate that the physicians warned her she must regard marriage as impossible. But the correspondence went on intermittingly, though Swift was slowly passing under new influences. Esther Johnson, whose mother had been the dear friend of Temple's favourite sister, Lady Gifford, had come, when only a child, to reside at Moor Park (1691), and at sixteen was placed under the secretary for instruction. The companionship of Abelard and Eloise is always dangerous. The few months of separation that elapsed after Temple's death convinced Swift that Miss Johnson's society was indispensable to his happiness, and probably were not without effect on the lady. But the news of Swift's preferment to Laracor called out a letter

from Miss Waring, in which she seems to have claimed performance of his promises. He answers with some dignity, as a man who is not wholly in the wrong, but also with some brutality, as a man who wishes to close a distasteful connection: "I singled you out at first from the rest of women, and I expect not to be used like a common lover." Will she marry him on less than £300 a year? (his income before he obtained the prebend of Dunlavin.) Can she give up dress and society in exchange for the quiet domesticity of a country parish? Is her health so much improved that she can marry safely? Altogether the impression left on the mind is that the lady had only trifled with Swift at the time when he was genuinely attached to her, and was now anxious to profit by his improved position. It would have been wiser if he had closed their acquaintance earlier, and better if he had now closed it frankly or renewed it cordially; but he was on the whole as much sinned against as sinning. If literal execution of a one-sided covenant was to be enforced, only literal compliance could be expected. The letter produced its desired result; and the correspondence with Miss Waring terminates.

Swift was now able to invite Stella to Ireland. The death of Sir William Temple had changed the situation at Moor Park; and, though Mrs. Johnson continued to reside with Lady Gifford, her daughter disliked living under a strange roof on sufferance. Swift, on his first visit to England, persuaded her that she would get better interest on her small fortune in Ireland, where ten per cent. was then a common rate, while all the necessaries of life were half as cheap. Mrs. Dingley, a connection of the Temples, and a friend older than herself, agreed to live with her; and the two went together to Dublin, and then to Laracor. Naturally there was some scandal on the subject. Stella was then only nineteen years old, a pretty black-haired girl, with a little too much embonpoint, and with a good carriage. But the strictness with which she and Swift guarded against all appearance of excessive intimacy soon dissipated all rumours to her discredit; and society recognised the facts that she was only capable of one friendship, and that it was not adequately returned. Yet Stella was not in the least a woman of violent impulse and passionate warmth like her unhappy rival Vanessa. There is reason to think that she was not disinclined to accept the proposals of a Mr. Tisdal, five years after her settling in Ireland; and the rejected lover was probably right in ascribing his disap-

pointment to Swift's influence, though Swift in a rather evasive letter denied it. From that time Miss Johnson no doubt regarded Swift as affianced to her, and only waiting till circumstances should allow him to marry. Under his counsels and guidance she became, not indeed a learned woman—for her spelling was never immaculate,—but well read, able to judge for herself, and a good critic of style. The verses in which she thanks the Dean for having taught her

"how I might youth prolong,  
By knowing what was right and wrong,"

are creditable alike to pupil and teacher. Swift was too capable of power to have any jealousy of independence in women; and his whole training was directed to bring out the character. Miss Johnson startled society by her courage and self-assertion. She had read Hobbes, and studied anatomy. Personally fearless, she once fired into a party of burglars, and wounded one of them mortally. But the best instance of her moral courage is the reproof she administered to a coxcomb, who annoyed a company with several double-entendres. "Sir," said Stella, "all those ladies and I understand your meaning very well, having, in spite of our care, too often met with those of your sex who wanted manners and good sense. But, believe me, neither virtuous nor even vicious women love such kind of conversation. However, I will leave you, and report your behaviour; and whatever visit I make, I shall first inquire at the door whether you are in the house, that I may be sure to avoid you." Such a woman deserved a better fate than to have her life sacrificed to the calculating selfishness of a man of genius.

Nine years of Swift's life passed quietly, and we may believe not unprofitably, in the retirement of Laracor. A High-Churchman to the core, who admired Sancroft for non-juring, and attacked Sherlock for what appeared an interested conformity, Swift was strict in all liturgical observances, and appeared to have settled down into a country parson whom George Herbert might have owned. It was his ambition at this time to excel as a preacher; but nature was too strong for him, and he discovered at last that he could only preach pamphlets. He watched the controversies of his day with keen interest. In 1708 and 1709 he produced no fewer than five treatises or pamphlets in defence of the Anglican religion or of Christianity. Of these, one, *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, is in praise of the moderation of the Church of England, and a vindication of the clergy against the charges constantly levelled at them by the Whigs,

whom Swift still regarded as his own party. The *Letter concerning the Sacramental Test* is a defence of Irish Church supremacy against the Ulster Presbyterians; and the more tolerant spirit of the Anglican branch is given as the reason why Dissenters are not to be tolerated. On both these points Swift was manifestly Tory; and the circumstance must be borne in mind, as it is partly the excuse of his sudden change. The criticisms on Tindal are a keen dissection of fashionable freethinking, with a brutal attack on the author as "wholly prostitute in life and principles." But it would not be fair to pass severe sentence on the style of a book which was left unfinished, and never saw the light till the author was in his grave. Swift wrote more moderately, though not less decidedly, in the *Argument against Abolishing Christianity*, and in the *Project for the Advancement of Religion*. It is quite possible that his theological bias received a fresh impulse about this time from his political mischances. His relations with London were not improved, though he had done his best to maintain them. An essay on the political *Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome*, written with modern applications, in the style still novel in France, had enjoyed only that trifling success which is of no value to a rising man. A few barren introductions to great men had ended in nothing but disappointed hopes; and the Whigs kept their dangerous recruit under the cold shadow of aristocracy. Above all, the profligate Wharton, who was now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1708-1710), was Swift's avowed enemy, and may have done him ill service in London. Swift kept more than ever within his parish, and consoled himself with forming "long schemes of life" in Stella's society. But it was probably understood between them that he could not marry upon his actual income; and Stella does not seem to have perceived that she was sacrificing her life to her lover's selfishness.

Suddenly a change came in the political world, which no one had foreseen, whose greatness startled even those who had effected it, and which, as a peaceful coup d'état by the sovereign, is almost without a parallel in English history. The great Whig Lords, who had carried the nation triumphantly through a difficult war, were forced to choose between resigning office and the breaking up of their party. Godolphin, Somers, Sunderland, Halifax, Walpole, were replaced by Harley, whose talents were essentially commonplace, and by Bolingbroke, whose splendid genius was scarcely yet as well known as his vices, and who had not even been elected to the last Parliament. To statesmen there

could be no question that Marlborough's dismissal from the army was only matter of time. It is still difficult to understand how even with such watchwords as "the Queen, the Church, and the Peace," so great a change could be effected quietly. But several circumstances had impaired the Junto's prestige. The trial of Sacheverel had been taken up as a challenge by the High Church party. The Whigs, at once irritated by opposition, and too weak in the Lower House to carry any large measures of toleration, revenged themselves on the clergy by refusing to relieve them from patent grievances, and did nothing to conciliate the Nonconformists. Moreover, the war had lost some of its popularity. The last great victory of Malplaquet had rather given us a name to inscribe on banners than any solid advantage. It was generally believed that our allies reaped the larger profit of the bloodshed and taxation to which we contributed the greater share. Moderate men might well wish that our relations with the States should be watched by ministers who could be jealous as well as compliant. And no one supposed that Harley and Bolingbroke, who had served two years before in the Whig Cabinet, would be less careful of the national honour than their old friends and colleagues. Even the Queen's known wishes were no slight circumstance. It was then possible for a Cabinet to carry on government with a Parliamentary minority; and the great function of opposition was rather to criticise than to displace the ministry. It may be added that it was not Harley's fault if the change was so complete as to be little short of revolution. He was anxious to keep several of his predecessors in office. Pride and party feeling defeated his overtures. The Whigs could not yet believe in a government from which they were excluded; and no member of the party could honourably remain in place under men who had just defeated and expelled his leaders.

The change was just taking place when Swift (in Sept. 1710) came over to London to press some claims of the Irish clergy on the Government. His first visits were to his old allies. Most of them were profusely civil, and apologized for their former neglect. But Godolphin received him with such coldness that Swift left the house, almost vowing revenge. He once hints that magnanimity was not one of Godolphin's virtues; and the words seem to imply that the satirist had already given some personal offence. He also had a private quarrel with Somers, whom he suspected of not backing him in Ireland. Somers now laid the blame upon Wharton; but Swift, who reckoned dis-

simulation among the Chancellor's "chief perfections," quietly refused to listen to his excuses. With Halifax his private relations were more friendly; and four months before he had begged a book of him as the only favour ever shown him by the Whigs. But he was not inclined to sacrifice his resentment to sentimental memories. The day after his interview with Godolphin (September 10), he was talking "treason heartily" with Lord Radnor "against the Whigs, their baseness and ingratitude." Not long after, he refused a toast to the resurrection of the party, unless their reformation were coupled with it. In less than a month he was having interviews with Harley, and had declined an invitation from Halifax. Within a fortnight Harley had convinced him that he desired his alliance and private friendship. Halifax alone of the Whigs still tried to retain him in the old allegiance. But the die was by this time cast. It was not the act of a man of stainless honour; but it was the most venial form of political apostasy. Harley's were still the tactics of compromise; and it was whispered that he did not wish the Tories to be too powerful in Parliament. He contrived to persuade Swift that he loved the Church. Swift's pride had been that he was "a Whig, and one who wears a gown;" but events had convinced him that the two characters could scarcely be reconciled. He could not foresee that the new Cabinet would in any way endanger political liberty; and he might fairly think that the Church was entitled to better treatment than it had received. After all allowance—for Swift's indiscretions, for Whig hauteur, and for the contempt with which men of rank might regard a political pamphleteer—it is not improbable that Swift's Church principles had really stood in the way of his promotion. He himself believed that he had suffered from his strong advocacy of the Test Act. His party had in fact deserted him before he had deserted them, by claiming that unconditional obedience which men of first-rate capacity are never willing to bestow.

With a government as weak as Harley's, Swift soon discovered that he might make his terms; and he was only not in the Cabinet. One political triumph marked his influence. He procured the boons coveted by the Irish clergy,—the remission of a twentieth, and the application of the first-fruits to Queen Anne's Bounty. He himself attached such importance to this success that he wished a mention of it to be inserted in the deed by which he conveyed a glebe to Laracor. But, except in this solitary

instance, he never seems to have interfered with the measures brought forward in Parliament. He was eminently a partisan, not a leader, and brought his persuasive common sense and keen wit to the advocacy of all his party's policy. There is no reason to suppose that this involved any great sacrifice of principle. A man easily takes the tone of his society; and the Peace of Utrecht was not after all a measure that even a moderate Whig might not see grounds to approve. Harley assured Swift that our financial position was such as to make further wars impossible. Nor was this statement altogether unreasonable. There was even in 1710 a floating debt of ten millions; Exchequer bills were at a discount; and it had been necessary to borrow from the Swiss Cantons. Ten millions in Queen Anne's time impressed the public imagination as a hundred millions would now, and impressed it the more because many persons, and Swift among them, believed that the expenses ought to be paid year by year, and that the country could not support a national debt. The money had on the whole been well applied. It had delivered Europe from the fear of France, and had raised England to the first rank among nations. But a portion of it had clung to private hands, Marlborough and Walpole being among the offenders; and not a little had been spent in excess of the proportion which England was bound by an informal treaty to contribute. Peace was every way desirable. But the one difference between Godolphin's and Harley's ministry was that the Whigs made it a condition that Lewis XIV. should aid them against his grandson in Spain, while the Tories, in the end, sacrificed their Spanish allies. The claim of the Whigs might seem as if they wished the war to be perpetual. The Tory surrender of men who had trusted the national faith was wholly indefensible. A middle course would have been to restrict the war to Spain till honourable terms for the Catalonians had been obtained. Nominally this was done; and it is some excuse for the English Parliament, that it probably did not know, as our leading statesman knew, how altogether illusory were the terms granted. Swift is nowhere weaker, nowhere more dogmatic and less argumentative, than when he defends this part of the treaty, and argues that we were justified in allowing our allies to be deprived of privileges "of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel." Nevertheless, when this discount has been made, the treaty might be defended as a fair one for England, and not substantially unjust to

Holland and Germany, who had certainly been more regardless of their engagements than England was of their interests.

From the moment when the fate of the treaty was decided, Swift ceased to be necessary to the ministers, and they were no longer necessary to one another. He was anxious to reap the reward of his services; and they were probably well disposed to pay and be rid of a partisan whom neither could quite trust to be in his own interests. Certain it is, that Swift for a time thought himself altogether thrown over, and was most annoyed with Harley as the more powerful patron. "Lord Treasurer told Mr. Lewis that it [the warrant for a deanery] should be determined to-night; and so he will say a hundred nights, so he said yesterday, but I value it not," and afterwards, "Much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment that, if I had my choice, I would rather have St. Patrick's." Yet he was not altogether pleased when it was decided that he should go to St. Patrick's: "Neither can I feel joy in passing my days in Ireland; and I confess I thought the ministry would not let me go; but perhaps they can't help it." (April 18, 1713.) Some of these complaints are well founded. It was Harley's weakness never to act openly; and he often inspired distrust where he did not deserve it. The chances are that he really desired and tried to serve Swift, but that he did not care to push his promotion as circumstances required that it should be pushed, and was not very sorry to provide for him out of England. In a few months, when it was too late, he succeeded in bringing him back to England, where Swift could only witness the break-up of the party, and when he was no longer inclined to serve Harley or able to follow Bolingbroke. The story of great men's ingratitude is too common to be very interesting. Much may be said in defence of the Tory ministers. Swift had taken out his pay in patronage and arrogance. Later in life he made out a list of more than forty persons whom he had befriended, mostly during his day of power. "I am so proud," he once writes, "I make all the lords come up to me." Tradition says that he did even more than this, that he once sent the Lord Treasurer to call Bolingbroke out of the House merely in order to fix the dinner-hour, and was rude to visitors at his own rooms in proportion as their rank was high. He boasted that he forced dukes to pay him the first visits. He made public criticisms on the wine at the Queen's table. He applied for the post of Royal Historiographer in such a manner as to insult Lord Kent, who had the pa-

tronage. When he paid visits, he claimed the right of choosing his bed-room before the rest of the company. The satire that served his friends did not always spare those whom it was inexpedient to provoke. Mrs. Cutts complained that her brother was attacked while he was still serving the Queen. The Duchess of Somerset, heiress of the proudest house, and married to the proudest man in England, was taunted with the murder of her first husband, and, more unpardonably still, with her red hair. The Scottish Union was represented as the marriage of a person of quality to a woman much his inferior, and even as "an infamous proposal," to which nothing but necessity could have made England consent. Such a writer had only himself to blame if his old indiscretions were steadily brought up against him, and the coveted English mitre obstinately withheld. Somewhat better terms might, perhaps, have been made for him; but the difference between an English and an Irish deanery fairly gauges their extent. Windsor, which Harley tried to get for him, has always been treated as royal patronage. It is on the whole creditable to Swift, that he never attacked the Queen, whose dislike had blasted all his prospects in life, except by the epithet of "royal prude." Neither is it true, as has been said, that he deserted the Earl of Oxford in his fall. Harley's conduct at the time was so ambiguous that his friends generally believed he intended to make his peace at their expense; and Swift, of all others, may be pardoned if he had not a very confident trust in his patron. Erasmus Lewis, who took part against Bolingbroke, declared that Lord Oxford had done himself more harm by his own meanness than any enemy could have done him. But if Swift did not interpose to support him—and it is doubtful whether such support would have been very valuable at the time—he never attacked him, and remained on easy, almost cordial, terms with him to the last.

Swift was not among those whom the new Government cared to molest. The Whigs had learned from the trial of Sacheverel that it was not safe to attack a clergyman; and indeed the general feeling of the Hanover Club was that the late ministry had been merciful, and ought to obtain mercy. It is doubtful whether there was any real ground even for Bolingbroke's flight. Still, after the Rebellion of 1715, public sentiment was in favour of strong measures, and would not have tolerated free discussion or sharp criticisms upon men in power. Swift's correspondence with his friends about this time is always so worded as to bear inspection;

and it was two years before he ventured to write to Bolingbroke. His life was occupied with the cares of his new position, with paying off the debt of £1000 which went for first-fruits, patent, and his new house, and in quarrels with his bishop for patronage, and with his chapter for authority. He had other troubles, of a more delicate kind. The time had now come when he had visibly earned all that life could give him, and was bound by every honourable obligation to marry the woman to whom he was virtually, if not explicitly, engaged. The excuse of indebtedness, though he probably alleged it, will not hold. Stella's fortune would have relieved them from all temporary embarrassment; and Swift need not have scrupled to accept a small loan from his wife. It seems certain that his attachment had cooled. During his stay in London he had become intimate with Mrs. Vanhomrigh, the widow of a Dutch merchant, sometime commissary of stores at Dublin, and who was admitted to the best London society. Swift's unhappy faculty for "entertaining" himself with women soon brought him into intimate relations with the elder daughter, Esther; and under pretence of directing her studies, though she was then twenty, he saw her so constantly that within six months it was a joke to send for him in her name. She seems to have been a beauty of the Dutch type—"a white witch," as he once calls her, somewhat masculine (he represents Pallas mistaking her for a boy), though with what her detractors called "a baby face,"—clever, impulsive, and head-strong in character. She followed out her tutor's orders with enthusiasm, became a better French scholar than himself, studied Montaigne; and kept carefully behind the fashion in dress. So far nothing could be better than Swift's training. But it was among his doctrines that people were bound "to act what was right, and not mind what the world would say;" and he gave a dangerous latitude to this principle. It meant, as he explained it, that all conventions might be defied, if we were certain of our own intentions. He would not have dared to apply this doctrine to himself. He had many little eccentricities of manner, such as biting paper, pulling his wig, and staring, and he gave free vent to his self-assertion and arrogance; but he was withal timidly sensitive to public opinion on all points where he was really vulnerable to ridicule. He was startled and annoyed when Vanessa, who could not understand his conduct, proposed to him (1711). She, a young and pretty woman, with a fortune of £5000, probably thought that the slovenly middle-aged clergyman was doubtful of his own

right to address her. The circumstances were difficult, and Swift acted badly. Either he did not wish to close their connection, or he did not dare to explain his relations with Stella. He temporized, talked of his strong regard for Miss Vanhomrigh, put aside her proposal as a girl's fancy, and continued his intimacy. Meanwhile Stella's suspicions were excited; and Swift, whose journal exhibits a growing coldness, seems latterly to parade his friendship with the Vanhomrighs, which he at first concealed. There are nearly twenty allusions to them between January 30 and September 15, 1710. There had been only two in the preceding five months. It is noteworthy, too, that his letters latterly (February 1712 to May 1713) were addressed not to Stella, but to Mrs. Dingley. He did not, could not, meditate an open breach with his old love; but it is doubtful whether he did not hope that distance and time would bring about a separation.

Matters were in this state when Swift was appointed to St. Patrick's. His first visit to Ireland was long enough to renew the intimacy with Stella, and not so long that Vanessa need despair of seeing him in England again. But after the Queen's death this prospect was at an end; and the Dean, just as he was about to return, learned to his horror that Vanessa, who owned property in Ireland, intended to go there, under colour of looking after it. This was an old project (*Journal to Stella*, August 1711); and it would be interesting to know whether Swift had opposed it some years before. Anyhow, he now wrote urgently to dissuade her (August 12, 1714): "If you are in Ireland when I am there, I shall see you very seldom. It is not a place for any freedom: but it is where everything is known in a week, and magnified a hundred degrees. There are rigorous laws that must be passed through: but it is probable we may meet in London in winter; or, if not, leave all to fate, that seldom comes to humour our inclinations. I say all this out of the perfect esteem and friendship I have for you." "I would not answer your questions for a million, nor can I think of them with any ease of mind." One of the questions probably was whether or not Swift was engaged; and indeed, had he meant at this time to marry Miss Johnson, the announcement of his intention would have stopped Vanessa's journey. We may fairly assume that his purpose was to live again as at Laracor, enjoying Stella's society and worship, but not encumbering himself at forty-seven with a wife. Yet the reasons for marriage were so overwhelming that it is not wonderful if his reluctance has been the riddle of his biographers and the

text of every probable conjecture. It was the one honourable and the one safe course, the only escape from a dangerous dilemma, and the certain way to silence scandal for the future. Nevertheless Swift's conduct is explicable, to those who have studied his life, from very simple though very mean motives. He was unblushingly selfish. To a man of his temperament and age marriage was only desirable as a social arrangement; and reflection seems to have convinced him that he should lose more than he should gain by it. Stella was indispensable to him; but he saw her through all the disenchantment of long and familiar acquaintance, and had probably learned to contrast her provincial manners with the refinement and cultivation of London society. It would have cost money to marry her: and even this motive had its weight with a man who was very jealous of his independence, and genuinely distressed by the prospect of money embarrassments. The fear of Vanessa's violence, and of some unpleasant disclosures, may have influenced him. But, lastly, it seems certain that he shrank from the ridicule of marriage. The satire of his times played freely upon husbands; and the marriage of a divine of nearly fifty to a lady of no great fortune or connection, who had been described as a servant in Temple's will, would have been a six days' topic to the small wits and gossips of a provincial capital. To Swift it seemed natural that he should only consult his own comfort; and he probably expected that Vanessa would in time weary of his coldness, and Stella acquiesce in a position which gave him all he wished without any drawbacks.

The issue proved that he had miscalculated his influence. Stella, justly indignant and jealous, insisted on the performance of his promises; and the Dean consented to be privately married to her in 1716. It is said that on the day of the marriage, not long after the final vows had been pronounced, he was seen by Delaney leaving Archbishop King's room in an agony of grief. "You have just seen," said King, "the most unhappy man on earth, but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." Speculation, of course, has not been idle as to the reasons. One theory is that Swift and Stella were both the natural children of Sir William Temple, and had married within the prohibited degrees. This conjecture may be dismissed as absolutely untenable. There is no evidence that Temple, who was envoy at Brussels during the two years preceding Swift's birth, ever made surreptitious visits to Ireland; and no ground for supposing that Mrs. Swift was carrying



on a criminal intrigue while her husband was on his deathbed. Temple had patronized Swift's cousin before himself on the score of relationship, and would scarcely have left a son uncared for during twenty years. But, above all, the discovery of this relationship would have given Swift the very argument he needed for confining his relations with Stella to friendly intimacy. A second and more possible supposition is that Swift, in a moment of weakness, had been married privately to a low woman, by whom he had a son, and who was pensioned to keep out of his sight. The evidence of an old servant is quoted, that a boy, believed to be Swift's son, was actually kept at school by an unknown father or friend. Of course at this distance of time it is not likely that this story can ever be absolutely disproved; but it is highly improbable. There is no date to which such a marriage can be referred: not to his residence at Kilroot, for he was then proposing to Miss Waring; not to his stay in Lord Berkeley's family, for he was then watched by enemies; least of all to the years at Laracor, when he was in the first fervour of intimacy with Stella. Had there been any real grounds for such a scandal, it must sooner or later have come before the world. On the other hand, Swift's suspicious visits to Vanessa may easily have given his servants the idea of a criminal intrigue; and, as the friend of many men of the world, it is not impossible that he may once in his life have been intrusted with the guardianship of a foundling. Of all men he would scarcely have chosen Ashe, his old tutor, to perform the marriage service, if he had been running headlong into bigamy. No men are greater recipients of floating rumours than those who live in the scandalous atmosphere of a common-room, and are always seeing and talking about former pupils. It is inconceivable, under any circumstances, that Swift would have confessed to a felony; but he certainly would not have made his shrift to King, whom he regarded with good reason as a private enemy. The story is most likely an exaggerated version of some very trifling incident. Swift may have thought it expedient to give his own history of the connection with Vanessa, at a time when he was united to Stella by a bond which any accident might make public. He probably represented himself as the victim of Miss Vanhomrigh's headstrong passion, and restrained by fear of public scenes and a distressing notoriety from acknowledging his marriage with Miss Johnson. No one hearing the story, however varnished, could fail to see something of its true meaning, or to

predict the deepening shadow over Swift's life.

But the Dean would not or could not renounce his intimacy with Vanessa. That impracticable young woman had taken up her residence in Ireland, and, favoured by her father's former connections in Dublin, was admitted into the best society. The Archbishop was among her friends; and two clergymen of high position proposed to her. Swift himself interceded for one of them. He affected to treat her passion for himself as a joke. "One would think you were in love," he once writes to her, "by dating your letter August 29, by which means I received it just a month before it was written." But he was seriously annoyed by her perseverance. One of his letters is an angry complaint, because a note from her has been delivered to him in company. One of hers is a threat that she will fetch him, if he does not come to her of himself. Indeed, all barriers of reserve and delicacy had been broken down. "I was born," she says, "with violent passions, which terminate all in one,—the unexpressible passion I have for you." "Your dear image is always before my eyes. Sometimes you strike me with that prodigious awe, I tremble with fear: at other times a charming compassion shines through your countenance." It is often said that Swift tried gradually to break off the acquaintance. The letters are evidence to the contrary; and he seems rather out of sheer cowardice to have entertained her more and more with protestations of an affection beyond friendship. "Soyez assurée," he once writes, "que jamais personne au monde n'a été aimée, honorée, estimée, adorée, par votre ami que vous" (July 1721), and again, as if for greater safety, in French, "Croyez que je serai toujours tout ce que vous desirez" (June 1722). But the vulgar selfishness of his nature is manifest everywhere. "If you knew how I struggle for a little health," is the constant burden of his excuses for not calling or writing. Sometimes his egotism dilates with something of a sublime pathos: "Shall you, who have so much honour and good sense, act otherwise to make Cadenus and yourself miserable? Settle your affairs, and quit this scoundrel island, and things will be as you desire." It is the one redeeming circumstance in Vanessa's self-abandonment, that she did not know of Swift's relations to Stella. That she had once entertained suspicions is more than probable: that they had been completely dissipated is the most emphatic evidence of Swift's duplicity. Accident seems to have brought the mys-

tery to an end. One account represents Vanessa as calling Swift to a peremptory decision; the other and more probable one represents her as hearing a rumour of the secret marriage, and writing to Mrs. Johnson for an explanation. Both agree that the answer was delivered by the Dean in person, who flung a letter upon the table, left the house silently, and never entered it again. Miss Vanhomrigh did not long survive the shock. Dr. Berkeley, who was one of her executors, perused the whole correspondence with Swift, and pronounced him innocent of any criminal intrigue with her. As he soon afterwards was a suitor to Swift for an introduction to Lord Carteret, we may assume that he saw palliating circumstances in the Dean's conduct. Swift does not seem to have suffered for it in public estimation. Another of his female admirers told him pleasantly, some time afterwards, in a copy of verses, that she should "like Vanessa die," if he did not return to Ireland; and it is the single notice of the dead lady in his correspondence. Stella remembered her with some feminine resentment. In a party where the Dean's poem of *Cadenus and Vanessa* was discussed, some one remarked that a woman who could inspire such verses must have had great attractions. "Oh," said Stella, "every one knows that the Dean could write well on a broomstick."\*

The annoyance of his relations with Vanessa had probably combined with his fear of Government to keep Swift from steady literary work. Anyhow he produced little between 1714 and 1724 except a *Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufacture*, which attracted a prosecution from the Government, and made him favourably known in Ireland. But in 1724, fortune gave the veteran pamphleteer an opportunity which no one else would have seen, and by which scarcely any one else could have profited. William Wood, an inventive and honest but unsuccessful man, procured a patent for introducing £100,000 of copper coin into Ireland. His offer was favourably reported on by Sir Isaac Newton, and was accepted by the Government. There was no question that a new coinage was wanted; and the only real objection to Wood's patent was that it was part of the vicious system by which Ireland was governed as a foreign dependency, and its Parliament not consulted about their own concerns. Swift had the sagacity to see, and the courage to expose, this flaw. Where he argues about the

value of the coinage, he is simply an unscrupulous special pleader, making statements which could not have borne the test of a week's inquiry or a moment's consideration. But the undying interest of his work is in the thread of thought that runs through the whole: "Whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by common law, we of Ireland have the same." Here he touched the popular fibre. After the first rancours of civil war had died out, the Protestants of Ireland were the first to discover that they were the chief losers by the system which referred everything to England. It was not the oppressed peasantry who welcomed the Protestant Dean as an agitator. The yeomen and cottiers of the provinces were either too brutal to care for any misrule that did not actually endanger life and property, or too hopeless of a successful issue to think of agitating for any political reform. It was the squires, merchants, and professional men, the very classes on whom Protestant ascendancy depended, who had become impatient of the restrictive system, which left them the least favoured nation of earth, even for their English trade. "I have not heard of any man," says the Drapier, "above mine own degree of a shopkeeper, to have been hitherto so bold as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project."

Was Swift then a sincere Irish patriot? On the whole there seems to be evidence that he was. He was not eminently single-minded; and it is probable that he cared for himself more than for Ireland. A desire to thwart the ministry and to show his power were among the influences that first carried him into the contest. It is likely that he was quite willing to be bought if Walpole had been disposed to purchase him; and there is a letter of Lord Peterborough's, making an appointment for him with the Premier, which seems to show that negotiations were actually commenced. We may perhaps connect this with the offer, once made him of a settlement within twelve miles of London. That no bargain was actually concluded may have been because Swift demanded too much for himself; but it is at least possible\* that he also desired to make terms for Ireland or for the Church. His relations with Harley had not disposed him to accept the position of a mere Government hack. Yet, when all abatements have been made, it remains certain that Swift's

\* Alluding, of course, to the *Meditation upon a Broomstick*.

\* In the notes to the Dublin edition of the *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, which the Dean either communicated or approved, it is said that Walpole's explanation of his Irish policy was the obstacle to a treaty of alliance.

thoughts constantly dwelt upon Irish grievances, that he was the first man of eminence who sturdily asserted the equality of the two countries, and that against one controversy which he may have undertaken for his own profit we may set a dozen pamphlets, sermons, or letters, in which he seems to glow with a divine anger against oppression. His political economy was often faulty. He believed, like most men of his day, that a country ought to export more than it imported; and he thought it politic to foster manufactures which were not native to the soil, or were dying off from it. He did not perceive that Ireland was even then, thanks to a long peace, recovering from the depression of its worst times. But his vision was all the clearer to see the transparent iniquities of foreign government, restrictions on native industry and trade, and a system which carried the upper classes out of the country. "My heart is too heavy," he once writes,\* "to continue this irony longer, for it is manifest that whatever stranger took such a journey would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Iceland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness, upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them,—these, indeed, may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time only to *learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted." This is not the language of a mere grievance-monger. It would be easy to cite instances where the nature of the criticism and the mode of its delivery are alike inconsistent with the hypothesis of an attack on Government. Take, for example, the following passage from a sermon on "the causes of the wretched condition of Ireland:"—"Lastly a great cause of this nation's misery is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live under them should make bricks without straw, who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people are broken and made for sla-

very, the farmers and cottagers, almost through the whole kingdom, being to all intents and purposes as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling their kingdom by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth." Such language would not annoy an English Premier or a Lord-Lieutenant; but it must have given offence to the squires, whom Swift regarded with such hearty and just contempt. Yet the context shows that he was as little careful to flatter the peasantry as to conciliate the squires. He repeatedly dwells on the ignorance, sloth, barbarism, and vice of "the natives," as among the determining causes of their wretched condition. But he firmly believed that education and equal laws would civilize them. "The common objection," he once says,\* "drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered by showing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life; but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards at least as much as by punishments." Elsewhere, he expresses his belief that a system of good parish schools, in which English should be taught, would "in time bring the natives to think and act according to the rules of reason."† His opinions from first to last are consistent and sensible. They are those of a clear-headed man, who regards the connection with England as natural and necessary, but believes that misgovernment and injustice are crimes against the Divine order, and who already sees the beginning of retribution in the emigration of Protestant families to America. It may be added that Swift's private letters and writings bear strong testimony to the strength of his convictions. He mentions it among the praises of Stella that "she loved Ireland."‡ We may impute it to the irritation of self-interest, when he tells an English bookseller:§—"I do as a clergyman encourage the merchants both to export wool and woollen manufactures to any country in Europe, or anywhere else, and conceal it from the custom-house officers, as I would hide my purse from a highwayman

\* *Short View of the State of Ireland*, vol. vii. p. 330.

\* *Answers to Letters from Unknown Persons*, vol. vii. p. 393.

† *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland*, vol. viii. p. 125.

‡ *Character of Mrs. Johnson*, vol. ix. p. 500.

§ *Letter to Mr. Benjamin Motte*, vol. xix. p. 38.

if he came to rob me on the road, although England hath made a law to the contrary; and so I would encourage our booksellers here to sell your author's books printed here, and send them to all the towns in England, if I could do it with safety and profit." But he certainly had no private interest in remonstrating with a London company\* against raising their rents, on the ground that corporations should be easy landlords, especially if it be true, as he asserts, that he acted on this principle himself, so that his own lands as Dean were let "four-fifths under their value." On the whole, there are not many men who have deserved better of Irish gratitude than Swift; and it is creditable to the popular instinct that it has recognised a friend in a cynic's garb.

But Swift's reputation culminated with the publication of *Gulliver*, some part of which appeared in 1726, and the remainder in 1727. That it was at first issued anonymously, and that Pope and Arbuthnot professed to be uncertain as to the authorship, though its plan had been foreshadowed in the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*, can only be due to the anxiety which Swift may for a time have felt lest it should obtain the honours of a political prosecution. Walpole, however, like the public at large, seems to have understood that it was something more than a mere party pamphlet, and that its personalities were its smallest part. Nor, in fact, should we lose much if we could not supply the key to the allusions. It is interesting, but not really important, to identify Lilliput and Blefuscu with England and France, Flimnap with Walpole, and the queen who could not forgive Gulliver for saving her palace from the flames at the expense of decency with Queen Anne, who forgot Swift's services to the Church in her indignation at the profane jokes that disfigure the *Tale of a Tub*. The parties of the Big-endians or Little-endians are the zealots of all time, even more than Whigs and Tories; and the more Swift advances in his narrative the more he seems to disentangle himself from the petty interests of his faction, and to rise to general principles of State polity. In fact, his story in the first two parts is so essentially creative, his plan throughout so entirely designed to show what a country should be rather than to ridicule its defects, that he explains away the Lilliputian choice of ministers by dexterity on the tight-rope as an innovation that had gradually crept into Lilliput. From this point of view his conception of Utopia is sufficiently remarkable. To use modern

terms, it is democratic and socialist. He acknowledges no mysteries of government, and believes that honesty and common sense, virtues in every man's power, are the great requisites for office. He is prepared to take children from their parents and intrust their education to the State, while the parents are chargeable with its cost. Women are to be "educated much like the males." Standing armies are to be replaced by militias. To reward merit is as much the State's function as to punish crime; and the great benefactors of mankind are those who add to the world's material wealth. With all the scorn of projectors and chemists which Swift afterwards exhibited in the voyage to Laputa, he yet gives a high place in Brobdingnag to the study of applied mathematics. In literature his chief contempt is for metaphysics, as in practical life for lawyers and politicians.

The *Voyage to Laputa* is its own commentary. Swift was not absolutely indifferent to the great discoveries of the day, and once went so far as to purchase a microscope; but he was not in the least competent to understand the great revolution in thought which Newton and his fellow-workers had inaugurated. The hypothesis that the diamond was only a form of carbon would seem to a man of his temperament about equal in value to the calcining of ice into gunpowder. Politically, he had a quarrel with Newton for his share in recommending Wood's patent; and it is not impossible that he viewed theories which even then had produced an outcrop of Arianism with the vague distrust of a theologian. As in politics, so in philosophy, he believed in common sense as the surest guide; and he saw no reason why the doctrine of gravitation should not be exploded when it had lived its day, like the doctrine of vortices.\* Of scientific history he had, and perhaps could have, no conception. Well acquainted with the false estimates of men and measures that had been current in his own day, and having contributed his share to misleading public opinion, he could not understand that a time would come when the public acts of the past would have been tested by experience, and its statesmen judged on better evidence than pamphlets. An Englishman to the core, he detested as visionary and dangerous whatever could not be measured by plumb and line. This feeling explains the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms*. Its strong and savage bitterness has often diverted attention from the real import of

\* Letter to Mr. Alderman Barber, vol. xix. p. 135.

\* It is curious that the Danish satirist Holberg, who published an imitation of *Gulliver*, expresses very similar views about Newton and Descartes in his *Autobiography*.

the satire. It is not merely the spleen of a discontented and morbid man against the human race. As Professor Brewer has pointed out, it is an answer to the philosophy which Mandeville had popularized in the *Fable of the Bees*. To Mandeville all society was founded on vice. Honour and decency were mere chimeras, without truth or being, which were counted hereditary, like the gout in great families. On the other hand, take away luxury and avarice, the vices that promote production and conserve wealth, and all arts and crafts will lie neglected. Mandeville desired to apply this principle in its most cynical extent. In his essay on charity-schools he denounces popular education as dangerous, but wishes attendance on church to be enforced, in the interest of innocence, sincerity, and other good qualities that conduce to the public peace. It may seem singular that Swift was not attracted by such a theory, which is even more contemptuous of mankind than his own satire. His good sense delivered him from its extravagances; and his literary skill enabled him to refute it with a lash that fell at once upon society and its critic. The natural man, whom Mandeville, like Rousseau at a later date, believed to be simple, veracious and temperate, Swift saw as the savage or the Yahoo. Men who cannot use their reason to form an orderly society are in reality below brutes. On the other hand, destroy thought and literature, restrain natural affection within the narrowest limits, and reduce the science of life to the provision by simple instinct for common wants, and the most perfect exemplar of polity will be among beasts. Voltaire's remark after reading Rousseau, that "he did not wish to walk upon all-fours," is in fact the spirit of Swift's answer to Mandeville. It is a satire upon the Englishman of his time, "the reasoning, governing animal of his country;" but it is emphatically a vindication of humanity.

Stella lived to see her husband again honoured, and almost powerful. Once he offered to acknowledge her publicly as his wife. But she answered sadly that it was too late; and Swift easily acquiesced in her decision. If the date assigned to the incident be correct, she knew at the time that she had not long to live. So early as 1720 she had been seriously ill. Her weak constitution was gradually giving way, and her death was believed to be at hand in July 1726. Swift was then in England, and behaved characteristically. "Pray, write to me every week," \* he says to a correspondent, "that I may know what steps to take, for I am deter-

mined not to go to Ireland to find her just dead, or dying." "I am of opinion that there is not a greater folly than to contract too great and intimate a friendship, which must always leave the survivor miserable." Let her know, however, that Swift has thought of her and bought her a gold watch. But on no account must she die in the deanery; that would be "a very improper thing." Some consciousness of his own meanness seems to have haunted him while he wrote thus; and he "conjures" his correspondent "to burn this letter immediately, without telling the contents of it to any person alive." But it was not a mere paroxysm of baseness, such as will sometimes visit a generous man. Rather more than a year later (September 1727), under similar circumstances, he wrote again, repeating his cowardly directions, in Latin:—"Habeo enim malignos qui sinistre interpretabuntur, si eveniat (quod Deus avertat) ut illic moriatur." As it happened, however, Swift was visited about this time with an attack of vertigo, and decided that it would be prudent to return to Dublin while he could yet travel. This, at least, is his own statement in a letter, before his departure, to Mrs. Howard; and there is the less reason to doubt it as he afterwards apologized to Pope for his abrupt flight from Twickenham, stating that he found it "more convenient to be sick" in Dublin, where, he observes, "I have a race of orderly elderly people of both sexes at command." \* The last sentence seems to show that he came over, not to attend Mrs. Johnson's last moments, but in the belief that she would still be able to nurse him, as she had often done before, when she was ill herself. But his correspondence for that period is meagre; and he seems to have thought it "improper" to write freely about his wife. An opportune "sickness" hindered him from attending her funeral. But that his grief at her death (January 28, 1728) was genuine may readily be believed. In an intimacy of six-and-thirty years the heart acquires a certain habit of attachment from which it cannot be severed without pain. Swift undoubtedly felt more than mere selfish grief at the loss of a useful friend; and there is an endless pathos in the cynical superscription to the packet of "only a woman's hair." Yet those who knew him best had never given him credit for romantic attachment. "My wife," says Bolingbroke, just before Stella's last illness, "sends you some fans, just arrived from Lilliput, which you will dispose of to the present Stella, whoever she be."

\* Letter to Mr. Worrall, vol. xvii. p. 76.

\* Letters to Mrs. Howard and Mr. Pope, vol. xvii. pp. 178, 181.

But even to Swift's genius and vitality old age had at last begun, and another Stella was impossible. After her death he produced nothing of importance, except some pamphlets on the state of Ireland, in 1729. Of these the *Modest Proposal for making the Children of Poor People beneficial to the Public* is among the best known and the least understood. True, the humour is ghastly and Rabelaisian. Cannibalism is a sad subject for a jest, even though it cover a deep earnest; and Swift's peculiar literalness of execution brings every revolting detail before the reader's mind, and shows the children dressed, "hot from the knife," and served up "seasoned with a little pepper or salt." But the state of Ireland which he describes might excuse strong colours. "Some persons of a desponding spirit," he remarks, "are in great concern about that vast number of poor people who are aged, diseased, or maimed. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day dying and rotting by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition; they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it, and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evil to come." To a writer who had exhausted himself in recommending other expediences, it might well seem as if such a state of society were a gangrene that would only admit of the cautery. Something must also be allowed for the growing despondency of Swift's temperament, and to a certain morbid taint that began to show itself, and was perhaps connected with the brain-disease of which he at last died. He had been passionately fond of society; he began now to complain that he was alone in the world; and though the statement was certainly over-coloured, it seems he was really distrustful of his own ability to please. He had always been capable of coarse allusions; his mind now seemed at times to dwell lingeringly upon filthy images. One by one the friends of his manhood, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Harley, dropped into the grave before him. Little by little his bodily powers decayed. The strong, active, self-reliant man was becoming dependant on others for help and toleration. The change is painful to all men; to Swift it was indescribably bitter.

Yet he was now reaping the full harvest

of his life; and the good and bad in him alike seemed to contribute to his well-being. He had sacrificed Stella to the exigencies of a small income; and his savings had made him a rich man. His wonderful conversational powers secured him an entry into every house he cared for; and the people of Ireland regarded him as a friend and patriot. No man insulting him could have walked Dublin safely; and the younger generation of peers and men of letters, Oxford, Orrery, and King, were eager to make his acquaintance. The burgesses of Cavan went out in procession to meet him when he visited Sheridan. His influence over women endured to the last; and he found fair correspondents to flatter him, and a faithful relative, Mrs. Whiteway, to live with him. Some of his letters to this lady when her son died are pleasant reading, for their earnest and thoughtful kindness. He seems also to have derived genuine enjoyment from his relations with Dr. Thomas Sheridan, whose wit had some affinities with his own, and whose coarse, simple, testy nature admirably fitted him to be the butt without being actually the slave of his overbearing patron. Sheridan was indebted to Swift for numerous good offices, and seems to have repaid him with a sincere attachment. But the Dean's visits must have been grievous inflictions to his friend's wife, whose relations with her husband were always bad, and whom Swift bullied, satirized, and thwarted in every possible manner, from the ordering of her dinners to her daughter's marriage. Altogether, the Dean might be a formidable guest. Lady Acheson must have been the most good-natured of women if she forgave him his countless railleries on her person, and the nicknames of "skinny and lean," or "snipe." Yet Swift was rather eccentric and inconsiderate than capable of giving pain wantonly. There is a pleasant story, how, once visiting in a country-house, he was told that a young officer had expressed his dread that the Dean would make fun of him. Swift at once went up to the alarmed guest, assured him that he never desired to give pain to men of honour, and so treated him during the whole time of his stay that the young man left the house absolutely fascinated.

At last the time came when Swift was incapable alike of friendship and of society. He had once sketched a ghastly counterpart to the legend of Tithonus, and painted the blank wretchedness of the man who was doomed to outlive friends and memory, to linger on without part in action and without hope of death, who was "least miserable" if

he turned to dotage.\* There can be little doubt that he wrote with a terrible anticipation of his own fate, the long years of growing impotence, and the slow approaches of the disease which he had again prophesied when he said, pointing to a blasted elm, that he should die at the top. During the last nine years of his life (1736-1745) he was the Struldbrug his own fancy had foreboded. The quarrels with Sheridan (who incautiously taxed him with parsimony), the bickerings with Mrs. Whiteway, may in all charity and sincerity be excused as the workings of a diseased brain. Happily a few friends were left who rewarded his old kindness with pious care; and the brain-disease, which had at first been attended by frenzy and paroxysms of pain, passed into an almost unbroken stupor during the last three years of his life. He died in October, 1745, and the unquiet heart at last rested where, in his own words, "bitter indignation could no longer torture it."

Swift's epitaph is the key-note of his character. A burning abhorrence of falsehood and wrong is the one noble feature of a faulty life, the one immortal part of the works by which he is remembered. There are skilful mechanics of style in every age, who can mould language after the best fashion of the day, and be humorous or pathetic as the pamphlet or journal requires laughter or tears. Swift did work of this kind at times; and it is work only known to the professed student. But when he wrote from the heart he wrote for eternity. He was compounded of strange antitheses; and, as his private loves were so essentially forms of self-enjoyment that attachment and friendship were constantly sacrificed to calculation, his religion and patriotism were often curiously blended with self-interest. But he is in reality most genuine where he is most general. He could not face the discomfort of renouncing a pleasant acquaintance that ministered to his vanity, though it ended in the wreck of a woman's life; and there is not a line in evidence that he reproached himself for the unrequited sum of daily love which Stella laid at his feet. As long as the victim was uncomplaining, the Dean's profound egotism assumed that there was no cause for complaint; and the little murmurs that reached him from time to time seem only to have impressed him as unreasonable and capricious. In one of the prayers he drew up for Stella during her last illness, he implores God to make her sensible that if she has been afflicted with weak health, it has been

"largely made up to her in other blessings more valuable and less common." But his mental vision was keen, and as he saw he spoke, often passionately. "Ah, man," says Thackeray, "you, educated in Epicurean Temple's library, you, whose friends were Pope and St. John, what made you swear to fatal vows, and bind yourself to a life-long hypocrisy, before the heaven which you adored with such real wonder, humility, and reverence?" "May not a man," Swift has replied by anticipation, "subscribe the whole Articles because he differs from another in the explication of one?"\* If he believes that "those who are against religion must needs be fools,"† if he is content to merge differences which he regards as small for the sake of the priceless interests at stake, are you to cry him down as a knave and hypocrite?

The question is not a simple one. "My doubts," says Bishop Blougram, "are great; my faith is greater." Swift might have used very much the same words, but more honestly. He unquestionably saw difficulties in the common doctrine of Christianity, and disliked the way in which it was set forth. "Divines of all sorts," he thought, "lessen God's mercy too much;"‡ and he objected particularly to the fashion of depreciating the Pagan philosophers. Their ethics, he said, wanted little but a divine sanction.§ Again, he believed that theological subtleties were a hindrance to the real union of Christians. And as he exalted the ethical above the dogmatic parts of Christianity, he certainly inclined to reject its supernatural dogmas. He would have allowed missionaries among Mussulmans to drop the article of Christ's divinity. The satire that spoke of holy water as universal pickle, and explained transubstantiation by the similes of a brown loaf and a sirloin, was as offensive to High Anglicans as to Catholics. There is other evidence of Swift's views on this point. "Religion," he wrote later in life, "seems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurse it, as it had in its infancy."|| So far his scepticism is undeniable. But his faith was greater. "The Scripture system of man's creation," he writes, "seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason."¶ The whole doctrine [of the Trinity] is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy,

\* *Remarks upon a Book*, vol. viii. p. 259.

† *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, vol. ix., p. 442.

‡ *Thoughts on Religion*, vol. viii. pp. 174, 175.

§ *Letter to a Young Clergyman*, vol. viii. p. 349.

|| *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, vol. ix. p. 482.

¶ *Further Thoughts on Religion*, vol. viii. p. 178.

\* *Gulliver's Travels*, vol. xii. p. 274.

since God himself hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner."\* "I am apt to think that in the day of judgment there will be small allowance given to the wise for their want of morals, and to the ignorant for their want of faith, because both are without excuse. . . . But some scruples in the wise, and some vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the strength of temptation to each."† Practically, therefore, he concludes that the right-minded man will keep his doubts to himself, and not attempt "to shake the walls of the world." "The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome."‡ But a previous passage shows that he only counsels reticence where the difference of opinion is not fundamental, though he certainly objects to schisms like that of Socinus, which have no real chance of success. All this, however, merely means that Swift was more a statesman than a metaphysician, and regarded tenets and forms of faith as comparatively unimportant. Two considerations will help to explain his position. As a High Churchman he attached peculiar importance to outward conformity. As a clear, strong-headed thinker, he believed that the attacks on Christianity were immeasurably weaker than the defence. In order to refute Collins, he simply published an abstract of his discourse. The particular points which Collins attacked were "Providence, Revelation, the Old and New Testaments, future rewards and punishments, the immortality of the soul;" and on all these there is reason to believe that Swift was orthodox in the common sense of the word. No one can defend his logic by the light of modern philosophy; but no one can doubt that thousands have held views substantially resembling his in almost every particular. Half Scotland to this day believes the Bible, accepts the doctrine of the Trinity, and recognises a sterner form of church government than even Swift contended for; while it is just as incredulous as himself as to the supernatural graces of Baptism and the Eucharist. Considering, therefore, that his consistency is undeniable, that he damaged himself with the Queen by his doubts, and with the Whigs by his churchmanship, and that many of his strongest expressions of faith occur in writings that were not published during his lifetime, it seems against all evidence to assume, as Thackeray has done, that he was a sceptic at heart, and put his apostasy out to hire.§

\* *Sermon on the Trinity*, vol. viii. p. 89.

† *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, vol. ix. p. 434.

‡ *Thoughts on Religion*, vol. viii. p. 174.

§ Arbuthnot's evidence on this subject is

Thackeray adds elsewhere: "The Dean was no Irishman." Simple as the words seem, they cover a charge that Swift's patriotism was policy. The examination of his works has, perhaps, given us some reason to judge more charitably. It remains to appreciate how far Thackeray's statement expresses an actual fact. Swift's parents were English. He himself says that he was indeed born "by a perfect accident" in Ireland, but that the best part of his life, the years which gave him culture and the sense of power, had been spent in England.\* He regarded his Irish promotion as sentence of exile. For many years he was on bad terms with the great men of the country. "There is not one spiritual or temporal lord in Ireland whom I visit or by whom I am visited," he writes in 1732. He hated and despised the Irish squires as enemies of the Church, oppressors of their tenants, jobbers, proud and illiterate.† To one who had mixed in the best London society, the change for such companionship must have been very bitter, especially as the distinction between Englishry and Irishry was still sharply defined; and Swift's position was that of a colonist rather than of a native. Moreover his mind, as Thackeray has finely pointed out, was cast essentially in the English mould. His style is grave, nervous, and self-restrained, never florid or circumlocutory; he writes, as it were, in "the tone of society." Grant all this, and the fact still remains that he gradually identified himself with the country of his adoption. "What I did for this country," he says to Mr. Grant, "was from perfect hatred of tyranny and oppression." But the burst of gratitude and love with which his efforts were welcomed by a warm-hearted people fairly carried him away. "Drown Ireland," says Pope, "for having caught you, and for having kept you; I only reserve a little charity for knowing your value and esteeming you." "What you tell Mr. P.," writes Alderman Barber, "of my speaking disrespectfully of the Irish is false and scandalous; I love the Irish."‡ The Chevalier Wogan, an Irish refugee, corresponds with the Anglican Dean as a sympathizing patriot. Mr. Grant writes from Scotland to compliment him on "your public spirit and great affection to your native country." "As to this country," Swift writes mournfully

worth quoting. He writes to Swift in 1732, congratulating him on living in Ireland: "Perhaps Christianity may last with you at least twenty or thirty years longer," vol. xviii. p. 183.

\* *Letter to Mr. Grant*, vol. xviii. p. 254; *Letter to Mr. Windsor*, vol. xviii. p. 7.

† *Character of an Irish Squire*, vol. vii. p. 372.

‡ Vol. xviii. pp. 218, 219.



in 1736, "I am only a favourite of my old friends, the rabble, and I return their love, because I know none else who deserve it."\* Foreign as his intellect was, he was able, by force of genuine liking and sympathy, to understand the peculiarities of Irish wit. He several times intersperses bulls in his letters. He is the first Englishman who translated an Irish ballad.† Nor was he quite unaffected by Irish influences in his humorous poetry. From the petition of Mrs. Francis Harris to the verses exchanged with Sheridan, there are many among his light pieces which are thoroughly un-English in structure and sentiment.

"It was Pope," says Thackeray, "and Swift to aid him, who established among us the Grub Street tradition," that is, the fierce contempt of poverty, and especially of authors as poor. If by this be meant that Pope often, and Swift occasionally, make the squalid surroundings of an enemy their favourite topic of ridicule, and that their satire has been widely read and remembered, the charge is undoubtedly true. But the word "established" must be used in its most restricted sense; for Pope and Swift only copied the fashion of a preceding generation. Dryden's MacFlecknoe in his "drugget robe," Rochester's Othway who can kill his lice because his pockets are filled, Rymer satirized and engraved as the Garreteer Poet, are very literal types of the meaner men whom Pope pilloried in the Dunciad, and Swift ridiculed in the coarse pamphlets which were probably written to please Pope. But the charge generally against Swift is of the lightest, for a few faulty passages in his works are nobly compensated by the generous acts of his life. His good services to struggling authors have been alluded to. They are traits of the strong feeling for poverty that seemed as it were burned into him by the early miseries of his own life, and which no license of his pen can disprove. He applied "the first five hundred pounds which he could call his own," says Scott, "to establishing a fund from which persons of small means might obtain loans;" and, in spite of Dr. Johnson's criticism, the institution seems to have been successful. His next spare money went in purchasing a glebe for the parish of Laracor (Dec. 1716). This he bequeathed to succeeding vicars of Laracor, "as long as the present episcopal religion shall continue to be the national established faith." But if it should be sup-

planted by any other form of Christianity, as Swift sometimes feared it would be by Presbyterianism, the proceeds were to go to the parish poor, "excepting professed Jews, atheists, and infidels." From that time forward Swift's savings were dedicated to the object he carried out in his will, the establishment of an hospital for the mad. But he gave liberally to the poor as long as he lived, and owed part of his popularity among the lower orders of Dublin to his benevolence. Nor was he wanting when personal friends applied to him for assistance. "Could any man but you," writes Lord Bathurst, "think of trusting John Gay with his money?"\* and would any other man, it may be asked, have befriended Mr. Pilkington and Mrs. Barber? He bought an annuity of £20 for the daughter of an old servant.† And when he wrote calmly, no man expressed a stronger feeling for poverty in two classes he most cared for, the clergy and the peasantry. The pamphlet *On the Bill for Clerical Residence*, and the *Considerations on Two Bills*, shows Swift in his true light, impatient of all that degraded an order to which he belonged, and so far only contemptuous of poverty as it implied loss of self-respect. In one of those outspoken sermons which would now be denounced as revolutionary, he calmly observes that it is "worth considering how few among the rich have procured their wealth by just measure," and winds up, in the spirit of Arbuthnot's epitaph on Chartres, by asking, if riches and greatness are essential to happiness, how is it that God suffers them "to be often dealt to the worst and most profligate of mankind"? Curiously enough, Swift was himself ridiculed in the very zenith of his reputation for living among "half-shirts and shams, rowlers, decayed night-gowns, snuff swimming upon gruel, and bottles with candles stuck in them." In fact there was a Dutch school, so to speak, in our literature, which delighted in coarse descriptions of sordid actualities; and Swift sometimes borrowed its style in the trifles flung out against ignoble enemies. But no man was less capable of charging poverty as a crime upon the profession to which he belonged, than the man who never forgot he had been poor, who was even ostentatious in his small economics, and whom no enemy ever accused of having forsaken a humble friend, or with want of sympathy for distress.

A reproach, however, rests upon Swift's literary memory, which cannot be explained

\* Vol. xix. p. 88.

† "O'Rourke's noble fare will ne'er be forgot,  
By those who were there, or those who  
were not," etc.

Vol. xiv. p. 134.

\* Vol. xvii. p. 888.

† Vol. xviii. p. 217.

away, and can only partially be extenuated. Most of his great works are disfigured by a coarse passage here and there; and some of his minor writings are simply disgusting. He would probably have replied that very nice people have very nasty ideas, and would have justified himself by the example of his contemporaries. The latter is the only valid excuse. He lived in the age when Walpole defended the practice of obscene conversation by the plea that it gave the only topics on which a mixed company could talk. Some of the worst letters in Swift's correspondence are from ladies. Some of the worst poems with which his name is associated were really written by Pope and Arbuthnot, and ought now to be excluded from his works. His *Diary* and his *Manual of Polite Conversation* alike show that the relations of the sexes were jested on in drawing-rooms by men and women with a surprising freedom. He once speaks of retiring at an early hour from Bolingbroke's dinners, because he finds his presence a restraint on the company.\* Generally, the case against him may perhaps be thus stated: that he was coarse from the first; that his coarseness is peculiarly distasteful from the concentration of style and minuteness of detail; but that essentially he was no worse than his contemporaries during the first fifty-eight years of his life. The *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* seems in this respect to mark distinct deterioration; and the apology of its philosophical significance has only a partial value. For some of the minor pieces even this plea is wanting; and we must either assume that the Dean's natural propensity ran riot when the restraint of Stella's criticisms was removed, or that disease of the brain had already begun (1730, 1731).

Yet with all his imperfections the man was a great man. Forget his coarseness, put aside the wretched egotisms of his private life, assume—what is surely true—that a man may be incapable of unselfish personal feeling, and yet upright, generous, and ardent in his general perceptions and sympathies; and then say if there be any man between Milton and Burke who is so essentially the Hebrew prophet inspired to detect and denounce wrong as Swift. Make every abatement for private piques and the partly venal services of the political writer; and when every tainted or doubtful passage is struck out, what remains is the terrible in-

dictment against England in her Augustan age. It was the fashionable era of satirists. Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay, De Foe, Addison, were men who might almost be matched with Swift for mere mastery of style; and their pages are repertoires of graceful trifles, such as might amuse a Court in the hours that precede disgrace and death. Swift's stand out in fire, like the warning letters on the wall. Ignorant ministers, unrighteous laws, a corrupt upper class, and a degraded commonalty, were seen by him as no one else saw them; and his vision was thronged with images of national decline and ruin. So it was that after ten years' respite from work as a pamphleteer, he took up his old weapons for a nobler warfare. The women whom he sacrificed understood him; the people whom he despised, defended, and loved, rewarded him with an uncalculating attachment; his literary friends treated him with the old homage to the end. It would surely be without parallel in history if the man was no more than a counterfeit, genuine only in certain real powers of intellect, and with no other claim to a bitter indignation than that which the consciousness of his own hypocrisy might give.



#### ART. III.—THE ORIGIN OF AMERICAN STATE RIGHTS.

THE part played in American history by the doctrine of State Rights is a remarkable instance of the way in which distinctions, of little moment in themselves, sometimes give rise to controversies of fundamental importance. When the thirteen Colonies separated from Great Britain, the precise relations to be established between them might fairly have been classed among matters of detail. Either apart or united, these communities might exemplify all the faults or all the virtues incident to political societies. Their well-being would obviously depend upon the provisions they might enact as to the composition of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary, and as to the relations to exist between the three. But whether these provisions should be enacted by and for each colony separately, or by and for all of them together, and if the latter, whether the enacting bodies should unite themselves into a single nation, or retain a qualified independence, might have seemed a question affecting nothing more serious than their mutual convenience. Instead of this, American history has all along turned upon this

\* "I give no man liberty to swear or talk bawdy in my company," etc. (*Letter to Stella*), vol. ii. p. 262. At a much later period Swift complains that four worse lines had been tacked on to his poem of Tim and the Fables, in the tenth *Intelligencer*.

one point. The Constitution of the United States remains in all its essential features what it was originally. The interpretation of its leading provisions has never occasioned any dangerous disputes. There has been no really formidable conflict between the President and Congress, no sustained attempt on the part of either to destroy the independence of the judges. But the relations of the States to one another has been a recurring cause of quarrel, postponed again and again by a well-timed compromise, but culminating at last in the greatest of civil wars. Every other controversy has taken shape and colour from this one. No matter in what it may have originated, it has come round to the question of State Rights in the end. The limits of authority, the principles of taxation, the rights of minorities, the lawfulness of slavery, may have been the avowed occasion of each successive contest: but the true cause of all alike is to be sought for here. It is the question that has called forth the profoundest political philosophy, and furnished a text for the most effective political oratory, which America has produced. It is not often that the birth and death of such a theory is comprised within a period of little more than seventy years. But in this case it seems safe to say that it has already become historical. The civil war has dealt it a death-blow. The great principles which have at different epochs been connected with it will remain or reappear as subjects for political discussion; but the conflicts arising out of them will no longer turn upon the mutual rights of the members of the Union. The great controversy between Nationalism and Federalism has been decided by the sword.

The origin of State Rights must be sought in the Convention of 1787. Before that time the conditions out of which the doctrine grew did not exist. After the thirteen Colonies had successfully asserted their independence, the separate sovereignty of each one of them was universally admitted. The peculiar conflict or compromise of claims implied in the term State Rights could only come into being contemporaneously with an attempt to harmonize these claims with one another. American writers have sometimes given this attempt an earlier date than 1787. Story, in particular, lays great stress on the fact that the Declaration of Independence was the united act of all the Colonies, and denies that its framers had any thought of the individual sovereignty of several States. It is true, no doubt, that as the thirteen States rose out of the revolutionary chaos at the same moment, and by a common act, they rose in some sort a united body. But

in the Declaration of Independence itself there is not a word said of any union between them, other than that accidental one which naturally results from the pursuit of a common aim, and the presence of a common enemy. Their representatives declare "that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, . . . and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The revolution was the act of all the Colonies; but the first consequence of the revolution was, as Mr. Curtis says, "the establishment of local governments, which should be the successors of that authority of the British Crown, which they had everywhere suppressed."\* The communities which, two years later, ratified the Articles of Confederation, knew of no limitations to their separate sovereignty, beyond those imposed by the terms of the Articles. "Each State," by the Second Article, "retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Whatever union for national purposes there had been before the formation of the State governments, had accomplished its work when they were formed. From the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, at all events, the thirteen States were sovereign societies, except so far as they had chosen by that particular act to divest themselves of any portion of their sovereign character. "The parties to this instrument," to quote Mr. Curtis again, "were free sovereign political communities—each possessing within itself all the powers of legislation and government over its own citizens which any political society can possess."† In the words of a still more unimpeachable witness upon this point, Mr. Motley, "The Continental Congress, which was the central administrative board during this epoch, was a diet of envoys from sovereign States. It had no power to act on individuals. It could not command the States. It could move only by requisitions and recommendations. Its functions were essentially diplomatic, like those of the States-General of the old Dutch Republic, like those of the modern Germanic Confederation. We were a league of petty sovereignties."‡

\* *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i. 38.

† *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i. 142.

‡ Quoted in Stephens's *Constitutional View of the late War between the States*, i. 65.

This last quotation may serve to show of how small a portion of their sovereign character the States which signed the Articles of Confederation had in fact divested themselves. The inability of Congress to keep the Confederacy together was soon made manifest. Its relation to the State governments was virtually that of an adviser, and an adviser only. It could contract debts; but it could not raise the money with which to pay them. It could declare war; but it could not raise the troops with which to carry it on. It could make treaties; but it could not insure their observance. It existed for the maintenance of republican institutions; but it could not guarantee their continuance to any of the States represented in it. During the period from 1781 to 1787, the union between the members of the Confederacy grew constantly weaker, until at length the need of a change was recognised by the leading politicians of every State. It was necessary that some modification of their sovereignty should be submitted to by the separate communities composing the United States, unless, in the language of the General Assembly of Virginia, "the good people of America" were determined "by giving way to unmanly jealousies and prejudices, or to partial and transitory interests," to "renounce the auspicious blessings prepared for them by the revolution and furnish to its enemies an eventful triumph."\* In this conviction the Federal Convention of 1787 had its origin; and with the Federal Convention the history of State Sovereignty ends, while the history of State Rights begins.

The diversity of views which prevailed among the States represented in the Convention was substantially identical with that which appears and reappears in American history down to the Civil War. Upon the question whether a National government should be substituted for the Federal government, or the latter retained with such additions and improvements as recent experience had proved to be necessary, the Convention was broadly divided into a majority of six States, and a minority of five. Rhode Island was not represented in the Convention; and the New Hampshire delegation did not arrive till the great compromise between the opposing views had been arranged. But the two parties in the Convention were differently constituted from their respective successors. On the side of a National government were ranged the larger States: on the side of a purely Federal government the smaller. Virginia, Pennsylvania, North

Carolina, and Massachusetts, then the four leading States of the Union in respect of area and population, were eager for the adoption of a system in which their material preponderance would be adequately represented; and these carried with them South Carolina and Georgia—the last mentioned State possessing at that time a territory thirty times as large as Connecticut. The minority was formed by the smaller States of New Jersey, Delaware, and Connecticut, to which, for other reasons, there had joined themselves New York and Maryland, then the fifth and sixth States of the Union in order of importance. The two theories that found themselves thus confronted with each other were known, from the States whose representatives undertook to reduce them to definite shape, as the Virginia plan and the New Jersey plan. The former proposed to establish a National government, consisting of a supreme legislature, executive, and judiciary; the latter limited its aim to such a revision, correction, and enlargement of the Articles of Confederation as would "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." By the New Jersey plan, therefore, the legislature of the Union was to remain a Congress of Delegates, appointed as directed by the State legislatures, in which each State would have one vote. By the Virginia plan the legislature was to consist of two branches, the first to be elected by the people, the second by the State legislatures; and the right of suffrage, in both branches, was to be according to some equitable ratio of representation. The executive, in both plans, was to be appointed by the legislature. The choice of the judges was intrusted, in the Virginia plan, to the second branch of the legislature, and in the New Jersey plan to the executive. The legislature under the Virginia plan, besides enjoying all the powers vested in Congress by the Articles of Confederation, was to legislate "in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent," and to have a negative on all State laws which it considered to contravene the Articles of Union. The New Jersey plan simply declared all acts of Congress, made in pursuance of powers expressly vested in it, to be the supreme law of the respective States, and authorized the Federal executive to "call forth the power of the confederated States to enforce and compel" obedience.

These two schemes were not submitted to the Convention at the same time. A series of resolutions embracing the main features of the Virginia plan were introduced by Governor Randolph, one of the deputies

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., i. 132.

from that State, on the 29th of May, the first day on which the Convention met for actual business.\* They were immediately referred to a committee of the whole House; and the Convention was occupied with the discussion of them until the middle of June. The question of the position the several States were to hold under the proposed government at once presented itself; but the defenders of State Sovereignty, or, as they were then called, the Federals, confined themselves in the first instance to the suggestion of a doubt whether the deputies were authorized by their credentials to discuss a system founded on wholly different principles from those of the existing Confederacy. On the other side it was contended that the Convention was to consider what changes were required "to provide for the exigencies of government;" and that the idea of government includes supremacy and compulsion, whereas a federation is nothing more than a mere compact, the observance of which depends only on the good faith of the parties, and consequently is not, properly speaking, a government at all.† The rule of suffrage, the point on which the issue between the two parties turned, was postponed in deference to the scruples of the Delaware delegation; and the alternative of election to the first branch of the legislature by the people or by the State legislatures was debated at this stage of the controversy on other grounds. The first attempt to state the case of those who wished to see no changes which were not plainly essential introduced into the Articles of Confederation, was made by Mr. Dickinson, one of the deputies from Delaware. He saw in the division of the country into distinct States a principal source of stability to the Government. There could not, he argued, be a limited monarchy in America, because, amongst other reasons, there was no House of Peers; and the best substitute that could be suggested was the system of checks and counter-checks supplied by a federation.‡ It is worthy of notice that on this, the first appearance of the doctrine of State Rights in the debates of the Convention, the defence of it was placed on a philosophical basis similar to that on which it was maintained by Calhoun more than forty years later. This height of argument was not again reached in 1787. On the 6th of June the question by whom the first branch

of the legislature should be elected came up for the second time. The original decision had been in favour of election by the people. It was now moved to set this resolution aside, and to give the choice to the State legislatures. The change was advocated by Roger Sherman, one of the deputies from Connecticut, on the ground that the ordinary government of the country would be best administered by the separate States, and that the only way of preserving harmony between these and the national legislature was to vest the election of it in their hands; but there was still an apparent indisposition to narrow the controversy within these limits, perhaps from the conviction of the members that whenever this was done the fundamental antagonism between the large and small States would manifest itself too plainly to leave any hope of settle-  
ment.

At length, however, it became impossible to postpone the contest. Of all the questions raised in the Convention, the most decisive as regards the relation of the States to the National Government was the rule of suffrage in the national legislature. By Governor Randolph's second resolution, the representation of the States in both branches was to be "proportioned to the quotas of contribution, or to the number of free inhabitants." When this clause came on for discussion, on the 9th of June, Mr. Patterson, one of the deputies from New Jersey, opposed it with great vigour.\* The Convention, he argued, was guilty of usurpation of power in entertaining any such proposal. It owed its existence, in the first instance, to an Act of Congress, by which its "sole and express purpose" was defined to be the revision of the Articles of Confederation, together with the recommendation of such alterations in them as should "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." The idea of a National, as distinguished from a Federal, government had never entered into the mind of any of the States. The delegates were not authorized to go beyond the Federal scheme; and, apart from this restriction, the people whom they represented were not prepared for the adoption of any other. With regard to the immediate question before the Convention, Mr. Patterson maintained that, whether the United States were to remain a confederacy or to be formed into a nation, the theory of proportional representation was equally untenable. "A confederacy supposed sovereignty in the members composing

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., i. 143.

† Ibid. v. 183. This seems to be the argument of Gouverneur Morris's speech, but the report is so abridged that the meaning is not clear.

‡ Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 148.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 178.

it, and sovereignty supposed equality." A nation could tolerate no State distinctions; the whole territory must be thrown into hotch-pot, and thirteen equal parts be substituted for the existing division. The small States could never agree to a ratio which would give sixteen votes to one State, and one to another. As to the argument that a great State, contributing much to the common treasury, should have more votes than a small State contributing little, there was no more reason in it than that a rich citizen should have more votes than a poor one. In both cases, protection is paid for in proportion to the amount of it required. A great State, like a rich citizen, has more to be protected than a small one has; and for this reason it is only fair that its contributions should be in a corresponding ratio. Representation is no guarantee against tyranny, if the representatives are necessarily in a minority. He admitted that the Articles of Confederation wanted amendment, but only in such ways as would "mark the orbits of the States with due precision, and provide for the use of coercion." The great States might unite if they liked, but they had no authority to compel the others to unite. New Jersey, at all events, would never remain in the confederation on the basis of proportional representation—"she would rather be swallowed up;" and for himself, Mr. Patterson "would rather submit to a monarch, to a despot, than to such a fate." On the other side, Mr. Wilson, afterwards one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who represented Pennsylvania, went quite as far in defence of proportional representation. "Equal numbers of people ought to have an equal number of representatives, and different numbers of people different representatives. . . . If the small States will not confederate on this plan, Pennsylvania would not confederate on any other. The gentleman from New Jersey is candid in declaring his opinion. I am equally so. I say again, I never will confederate on his principles. If no State will part with any of its sovereignty, it is vain to talk of a national government."\* With the view of bringing the debate to a definite issue, it was then moved "that the right of suffrage in the first branch of the national legislature ought . . . to be according to some equitable theory of representation," leaving the determination of the particular theory, and the propriety of applying the rule to the second branch, for separate consideration. This motion was carried by seven States to three—Maryland being divided. Later in the same day it was proposed to give the States

equality of suffrage in the second branch of the legislature. This was negatived by a majority of one—Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland voting in the affirmative. The superiority of the National party in the Convention being thus established, the rest of Governor Randolph's resolutions were adopted, with sundry amendments; and the Virginia plan was reported by the committee.

By the decision in favour of proportional representation in both branches of the legislature, the opponents of the Virginia plan had been united among themselves. They were not all hostile to the creation of a National Government instead of the mere addition of a few new powers to the Congress of the Confederation; but even the most moderate of them shrank from the prospect of being subjected to the absolute domination of the larger States. What has been already described as the New Jersey plan was now submitted to the Convention by Mr. Patterson, by way of substitute for the resolutions reported by the committee; and on the 16th of June the Convention a second time resolved itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the two rival schemes.

Luther Martin, the Attorney-General of Maryland, has given a vivid description of the state of parties in the Convention at this moment. One party, he says, wished to annihilate the State governments, and to substitute one general government, of a monarchical character, over the whole continent. Those who held this opinion were too few in number to have any chance of getting it adopted; but, "well knowing that a government founded on truly federal principles, the basis of which were the thirteen State governments preserved in full force and energy, would be destructive of their views," they voted for the most part with the second party, whose object was to give "their own States undue power and influence over the other States."\* This second party was national as regarded the constitution of the legislature, because proportional representation would make the large States absolute masters. The two sections united were a little more than a match—in the most critical division of all they were just a match—for the Federals. Mr. Patterson's speech in support of his resolutions was in the main a repetition of his previous one. His arguments resolved themselves into two. First, the Virginia resolutions exceeded the powers intrusted to the delegates; secondly, they were not in accordance with the wishes

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 177; i. 404.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., i. 344.

of the people. The former objection was soon disposed of by Mr. Wilson. The members of the Convention, he maintained, were "authorized to conclude nothing," but they were "at liberty to propose everything." Their function was to make recommendations; and, said Mr. Randolph, "when the salvation of the Republic was at stake, it would be treason to their trust not to propose what they found necessary." As to the sentiments of the people, why, it was asked, should a National Government be unpopular? "Has it less dignity? Will each citizen enjoy under it less liberty or protection? Will a citizen of Delaware be degraded by becoming a citizen of the United States?" The Congress of the Confederation did not deserve to have its powers increased. It was founded on inequality of representation, and a system by which the smallest bodies had the same weight as the largest must be as fatal to liberty in America as it already threatened to be in Great Britain. Again, it consisted only of a single legislature, and so afforded no security against despotism. Without some restraint on the legislative authority, there could be neither liberty nor stability; and a legislature can only be restrained by being divided.\*

The defects of the New Jersey plan were exhaustively stated by Madison. It would prevent neither the violations of treaties and of international law, which had been made a constant subject of complaint, nor the encroachments on the Federal authority, the frequency of which had brought so much discredit on the government of the Confederation. It would promote neither internal tranquillity nor good legislation in the several States, nor the maintenance of peace and harmony between State and State. It would not even secure that independence which the smaller States desired; for the coercion contemplated by it would be sure to be exercised in the interest of the most powerful members. Such a confederacy was "the cobweb which could entangle the weak, but would be the sport of the strong." The best result the small States could hope for from obstinate adherence to an inadmissible plan, would be that no plan at all would be adopted. In that case, would they be more secure against the ambition of their larger neighbours than "under a general government pervading with equal energy every part of the empire, and having an equal interest in protecting every part against every other part."† It was in this debate that the greatest of American statesmen delivered the speech which, imperfectly reported as it

is, still ranks among the greatest achievements of political oratory. To Alexander Hamilton the Virginia plan seemed only a degree less objectionable than the New Jersey plan. But he hoped that, if the latter were got rid of, its rival might be deprived of some of its most obnoxious features, and made to resemble more nearly the political ideal he was anxious to recommend to his countrymen. The Federal government as it was, and as the New Jersey plan proposed in essentials to keep it, was defective, he maintained, in all those principles which are required to make government efficacious. The ordinary motives which secure the support of the governed would all operate for the benefit of the parts, not of the whole. The State governments could do most to promote the interests of their citizens; and they would consequently have the first claim on their attachment. This preference could only be counteracted by such a complete sovereignty in the general government as would enlist all these strong principles and passions on its side. To this end, he would have abolished the State governments altogether, providing an effectual substitute in a machinery of local self-government—"corporations for local purposes"—and making the Central Government less democratic by appointing a President and Senate for life.\* Hamilton had no expectation that his plan would be preferred to the others; indeed, he confessed that it was "very remote from the idea of the people." But then, he added, the Virginia plan shared in this disadvantage; and, though the New Jersey plan might be more favoured at that moment, the people were "gradually ripening in their opinions of government," and beginning "to be tired of an excess of democracy;" and if this change of sentiment was to be turned to good account, it must be by some scheme which would assimilate the American Constitution to that of Great Britain.†

The result of the debate was that a motion to report Mr. Randolph's resolutions to the Convention was carried by seven States against three. The first resolution was then amended by the substitution of the words, "the Government of the United States," for the words "a National Government." This omission of the word "National," to which in later controversies so much importance has been attached, seems to have excited no attention, and was assented to without a division. Throughout the discussions on the second and following resolutions, the great controversy was kept in the back-

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 194. † Ibid. v. 206.

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., i. 179.

† Ibid. v. 198; i. 417; v. 205.

ground; but at length, on the 27th of June, the seventh and eighth resolutions, "which involved the most fundamental points, the rule of suffrage in the two branches," were taken up. The most critical debate in the Convention was opened by Luther Martin, who had only lately taken his seat. His letter to the legislature of his State contains the fullest account which has been preserved of the arguments employed by the advocates of equality of suffrage.\* They rested their claim first on the original principles of government. In a state of nature, they argued, men are equally free and independent; and, when they submit themselves to government, each has a right to an equal voice in its formation and subsequent administration. Independent States stand to each other as individuals in a state of nature. They, too, are equally free and independent; and, when they unite themselves under a Federal government, the same principle applies to them. "Every argument which shows one man ought not to have more votes than another, because he is wiser, stronger, or wealthier, proves that one State ought not to have more votes than another, because it is stronger, richer, or more populous." As the adequate representation of men in a State government consists in each man having an equal voice in the choice of representatives, so the adequate representation of States in a Federal government consists in each State having an equal voice in everything relating to the government. Indeed, this equality is more important in the latter case than in the former, since the members of a State government have generally a common interest in the making of just laws, whereas the different States of an extensive confederation may have interests so totally distinct that what would benefit one may destroy another. It was further argued that the maxim that taxation and representation ought to go together did not apply. It was true that no person ought to be taxed who was not represented; but the amount of representation ought to depend upon the amount of freedom, just as the amount of taxation depends on the amount of protection. Large States and small are equally free; therefore they are equally represented. A large State has more protection than a small one—that is, she has the same protection for more wealth and more inhabitants—therefore she pays more taxes. A confederation knows nothing of the citizens composing a State; their individuality is swallowed up in that of the State to which they belong. In America, the thirteen States were thirteen distinct po-

litical individual existences united under a Federal government; and as the largest State was no more, and the smallest State no less, than a single member of this government, both ought to have one vote. As to the unwillingness of the great States to put their interests at the mercy of the small States, these interests would either be identical with those of the small States, in which case the latter would co-operate in the pursuit of them, or antagonistic, in which case the small States would need all the protection that equality of representation could afford them. It was not this equality that constituted the weakness of the existing Federal system, but the want of power in the Federal Government; and, if this latter defect were left without a remedy, no alteration of the rule of suffrage would prevent a recurrence of similar inconveniences.

On the other side it was urged that there was a fallacy in confounding a treaty between sovereign States with a compact creating an authority "paramount to the parties, and making laws for the government of them." The prerogatives which it was proposed to vest in the National Government were so extensive as to assimilate it to the State governments; and they ought, therefore, to be exercised by a body constituted on the same principles as the State legislatures. It would be time enough to give small and large States equality of representation in the one, when small and large counties were equally represented in the other. There was no reason to dread any combination of the large against the small States. Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were separated from each other by situation and by staple productions; they had nothing in common but similarity of size. They had never shown any propensity to a specially intimate association; and the argument from history made it improbable that they ever would do so. Among nations, as among individuals, of pre-eminent power and position, rivalries were far more frequent than coalitions. The two extremes before the Confederation were perfect separation and perfect incorporation. In the first case, the smaller States would have everything to fear from the larger; in the last they would have nothing to fear. The true policy of the small States, therefore, lay in promoting those principles and that form of government which would most approximate the States to the condition of counties.\* Hamilton especially attacked the extreme democratic theories put forward by Luther Martin. Individuals, he maintained,

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., i. 351.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 250.



when forming political societies, did, as a matter of fact, modify their rights of suffrage differently. Strict equality of representation was not observed in any of the State governments: and in all some individuals were deprived of the right of voting altogether. Why then might not States, when forming a Federal government, modify their right of suffrage differently—the larger exercising a larger, and the smaller a smaller, share of it? After all, States were but collections of men; and which ought to be most respected—the rights of the people composing them, or the rights of the artificial beings resulting from the composition? When the arguments on both sides were exhausted, the speakers had recourse to warnings. The National party was informed, “and informed,” says Luther Martin, “in terms the most strong and energetic that could possibly be used,” that the smaller States would never agree to a system giving such undue influence and superiority to the larger. No worse consequences could possibly ensue from their refusal than were certain to ensue from assent. If the States remained separate, they might be enslaved by some stronger power; but no slavery could be more abject than the system proposed by the Nationalists, under the pretence of forming a government for free States.† The determination of the large States was expressed with equal vehemence. A rupture of the Union would be most unhappy for all, but it would be the small States which would suffer most. Delaware would be at the mercy of Pennsylvania, and New Jersey at the mercy of New York. Their only protection lay in being united with these powerful neighbours in such a way as would put it out of the power of the latter to oppress them. Nor was it only the independence of particular States that would be endangered: the liberty of all would sustain a fatal blow. The weakness of the small States would compel them to maintain a regular military force, to guard against being surprised by their stronger neighbours; and constant apprehension of war would lead to great discretionary powers being given to the chief magistrate. Here were the two chief elements of tyranny ready to their hand—a standing army and an overgrown executive.‡

At length, after three days' debate, a division was taken on the motion “that the right of suffrage in the first branch of the legislature ought not to be according to the rule established in the Articles of Confede-

ration.” The Ayes were Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. The Noes were Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; Maryland was divided.\* Immediately afterwards, Mr. Ellsworth, on behalf of the moderate Federals, moved, “that in the second branch of the legislature each State shall have an equal vote,” a compromise which had already been suggested in the former debate by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Ellsworth's colleague in the representation of Connecticut. This gentleman had observed, with great truth, that while one side insisted on regarding the States as so many districts of people, composing one political society, and the other side insisted on regarding them as so many distinct political societies, the controversy must be endless. As a matter of fact, the States existed as well as the people composing them, and therefore both ought to be represented in the legislature.† This idea was now taken up by Mr. Ellsworth. He should not regret, he said, the decision the Convention had just come to upon the first branch, if a compromise could be arranged with regard to the second branch. Without a compromise the Convention must break up. With the exception of Massachusetts, no State north of Pennsylvania would listen to a proposal for excluding the States from an equal voice in both branches. Resistance to such a scheme was a natural instinct of self-defence; and to attempt to ignore it in the construction of a common government was to risk the existence of the Union.‡ But the National party showed no disposition to abandon their advantage. They maintained that if the minority of the American people would not combine with the majority on just and proper principles, it would be better to leave them out altogether. The opponents of proportional suffrage were not quite a fourth part of the Union; and their withdrawal would be a less evil than the renunciation on the part of the remaining three-fourths of their indisputable and inalienable rights. The proposed compromise was no compromise at all. Equality of votes in either branch would enable the minority to control, in all cases whatsoever, the sentiments and interests of the majority. Though a majority of States in the second branch could not carry a law against the majority of the people in the first branch, it could prevent a law from being passed, however advisable, or even necessary, a majority of the people might consider it. And

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc. v. 258. † Ibid. i. 355.  
‡ Ibid. v. 255, 257.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., i. 192. † Ibid. v. 255.  
‡ Ibid. v. 260.

as the second branch would probably possess some special powers peculiar to itself, the majority of the States might, to the extent of those powers, even impose measures upon the majority of the people.\* To this it was answered by Mr. Ellsworth that the concession of equality in one branch would not enable the minority to rule the majority, but only protect it from being destroyed by the majority. It was not a novel thing that the few should have a check on the many. There was an instance of it in the English House of Lords, which, though its members formed so small a proportion of the nation, possessed notwithstanding an absolute negative on legislation, as a necessary defence of its peculiar rights against the encroachments of the Commons.†

On Monday the 2d of July the Convention divided. The numbers on each side were equal, Maryland voting this time with the Ayes, and Georgia being divided‡. After some further discussion a "Grand Committee," composed of one member from each State, was appointed to devise and report a compromise. In this committee, says Mr. Yates, the Chief Justice of New York, who was one of the members, many, "impressed with the utility of a general government, connected with it the indispensable necessity of a representation from the States according to their numbers and wealth, while others, equally tenacious of the rights of the States, would admit of no other representation but such as was strictly Federal, or, in other words, equality of suffrage."§ The proposal of compromise came from Dr. Franklin. The Nationals offered to consent to equality in the second branch if the Federals would surrender it in the first. "To this it was answered," says Luther Martin, who was also a member of the committee, "that there was no merit in the proposal; it was only consenting, after they had struggled to put both their feet on our necks, to take one of them off, provided we would consent to let them keep the other on, when they knew at the same time that they could not put one foot on our necks unless we would consent to it."|| Happily for the success of the Convention this extreme view found few supporters. On the 5th of July the committee presented a report recommending proportional representation in the first branch of the legislature, and equality in the second, with a proviso that all money bills should originate in the former, and be incapable of alteration or amendment elsewhere.¶ The report was

received with great disapprobation by the representatives of the larger States. Mr. Madison said that the Convention was now reduced to the alternative of either departing from justice in order to conciliate the smaller States and the minority of the people, or displeasing these in order to do justice to the larger States and the majority of the people. When the choice lay between justice with a majority and injustice with a minority, he could not hesitate as to the course he ought to take.\* Some days were occupied in arranging the details of the proportional representation in the first branch; and, on the 14th of July, a final effort was made to repudiate equality in the second branch, and to obtain proportional representation in a modified form, according to which Virginia should have five votes, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania four each, New York, Connecticut, and Maryland, three, and the remaining States two or one respectively. After this proposal had been rejected, the Convention divided on the question that the report of the Grand Committee be adopted in its entirety. The smaller States all voted for the compromise, North Carolina taking the place of New York, now no longer represented in the Convention. If the larger States had held out the numbers would again have been equal; but Massachusetts was divided, and thus a majority of one was obtained for the report.† A meeting of members from the larger States was held early the next morning to decide what should be done in consequence of this vote.‡ It was soon discovered that there was a great division of opinion even among those who disliked equal suffrage. Some, thinking the compromise fatal to the interests of good government, wished to continue their opposition even to the point of retiring from the Convention, and recommending a separate Constitution. It was clearly useless, however, to push matters to this extreme, unless the representatives of the larger States were unanimous; and, in the absence of this condition, nothing came of the consultation. The victory of the Federals was made more complete in the end by the modification of the limitation as to money bills; but, with this exception, the compromise was preserved intact. Nothing need be said here of that wealth of casuistry which has been lavished on such incidental words and phrases in the Constitution as have been thought to bear upon the relative rights of the States and of the Federal Government. There is no trace of anything

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 262, 264. † Ibid. v. 263.

‡ Ibid. i. 193.

|| Ibid. i. 336.

§ Ibid. i. 478.

¶ Ibid. i. 193.

\* Elliot *Debates*, etc., v. 275.

† Ibid. i. 206.

‡ Ibid. v. 319.

of the kind in the discussions of 1787; it dates from that later time when the Constitution had become invested in the eyes of Americans with an almost Biblical sacredness.

✓Next in importance to the debates in the Federal Convention comes the action of the several States when the Constitution was submitted to them. In five cases Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island,—the ratification of the Constitution was accompanied by a proposal of the amendment subsequently adopted, that “the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” The ratifications of Massachusetts and New Hampshire acknowledge “the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in affording to the people of the United States, in the course of His providence, an opportunity of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution, in order to form a more perfect union.”\* ✓ In the Virginia ratification, the delegates “declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will.”† The New York and Rhode Island ratifications contain a declaration “that every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the Constitution clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the Government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments to whom they may have granted the same; and that those clauses in the said Constitution which declare that Congress shall not have or exercise certain powers, do not imply that Congress is entitled to any powers not given by the said Constitution, but such clauses are to be construed either as exceptions to certain specified powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution.”‡ In the several State Conventions, the debates, when there were any, largely turned upon the question, whether the new Constitution did or did not convert the United States from a confederacy to a nation. The opposition to ratification came from the uncompromising defenders of State sovereignty; its advocates were generally those who in the Federal conven-

tion had been counted as Nationals. But these latter were no longer found arguing in favour of a consolidated government. They had accepted the Constitution as, at all events, the best within their reach; and they did all they could to show that it did not, as a matter of fact, bear that national character which, if they had had their own way, they would have given it. The change of tone was perfectly natural under the circumstances. The Nationals saw the Constitution in danger of being rejected for merits which it did not possess. Had it been really that consolidated government which at the outset they had tried to make it, such a failure might have displeased them less: they would have relied upon the inherent advantages of the proposed system to recommend it to the calmer judgment of the people at some future time. As it was, however, they had consented to a compromise which they thoroughly disliked, rather than run the risk of bringing their labours to no conclusion. The last thing, therefore, they were likely to wish was that this compromise should miss its object, through its nature not being clearly understood, or its extent properly appreciated. In the Pennsylvania Convention the defence of the Constitution devolved on Mr. Wilson, who had been a most strenuous supporter of the Virginia plan, and had to the last opposed the adoption of the report of the Grand Committee. ✓ The principle on which he conceived the Constitution to rest was thus stated by him: “Whatever object of government is confined in its operation and effects within the bounds of a particular State, should be considered as belonging to the government of that State; whatever object of government extends in its operation or effects beyond the bounds of a particular State, should be considered as belonging to the government of the United States.” In answer to the objection that the sovereignty of the States was not preserved, he maintained that sovereignty resided neither in the State governments nor in the Federal government, but in the people, who “can delegate it in such proportions, to such bodies, on such terms, and under such limitations, as they think proper.”\* In the Massachusetts Convention one of the advocates of ratification said: “No argument against the new plan has made a deeper impression than this, that it will produce a consolidation of the States. This is an effect which all good men will deprecate. . . . The State governments represent the wishes, and feelings, and local interests, of the

\* Elliot, *Debates, etc.*, i. 322, 325.

† Ibid. i. 327.

‡ Ibid. i. 327, 334.

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution, etc.*, ii. 424, 456.

people. They are the safeguard and ornament of the Constitution; they will protract the period of our liberties; they will afford a shelter against the abuse of power, and will be the natural avengers of our violated rights."\* In the Virginia Convention, Edmund Pendleton, the President, in answering the objection to the use of the phrase, "We, the people," instead of "We, the States," said, "We the people, possessing all powers, form a government such as we think will secure happiness; and suppose in adopting this plan we should be mistaken in the end, where is the cause of alarm? . . . Who shall dare to resist the people? No, we will assemble in Convention, wholly recall our delegated powers, or reform them so as to prevent such abuse."† Madison again said, "The powers vested in the proposed government are not so much an augmentation of powers in the general government, as a change rendered necessary for the purpose of giving efficacy to those which were vested in it before."‡ Even some of those who were favourable to ratification thought the new Constitution nothing more than a stop-gap. In a letter written about this time by R. B. Lee, the grandfather of the Confederate commander-in-chief, there occurs this passage:—"The Southern States are too weak to stand by themselves, and a General Government will certainly be advantageous to us, as it produces no other effect than protection from hostilities and uniform commercial regulations. And when we shall attain our natural degree of population, I flatter myself that we shall have power to do ourselves justice with dissolving the bond which binds us together."§ In the New York Convention, Hamilton ridiculed the fear that the adoption of the Constitution would lead to the abolition of the State governments. "Their existence does not depend upon the laws of the United States. Congress can no more abolish the State governments than it can dissolve the Union. . . . The States can never lose their powers till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. These must go together; they must support each other or meet one common fate."|| Writing in *The Federalist*, again, he laid it down as "an axiom that the State governments will, in all possible contingencies, afford complete security against invasions of the public liberty by the national authority. . . . Possessing all the

organs of civil power, and the confidence of the people, they can. . . readily communicate with each other in the different States, and unite their common forces for the protection of their common liberty."\* In another number of the same publication, Madison did his utmost to remove the fears entertained by the States party, by pointing out that the ratification of the Constitution would not be a National but a Federal act. It "is to be given by the people, not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong. . . . Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a sovereign body, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its own voluntary act."† And elsewhere he characterizes the equal vote allowed to each State in the Senate as "at once a constitutional recognition of the portion of sovereignty remaining in the individual States, and an instrument of preserving that residuary sovereignty."‡

In reviewing this, the earliest phase of that prolonged controversy which closed with the surrender of Lee's army, the first thing that calls for notice is the narrowness of the issue directly raised. With the exception of a word or two here and there, such as the speech of Mr. Dickinson quoted above, the speakers on the Federal side seem to have shown little or no grasp of political principles. It was only by Luther Martin that the question was argued on abstract theory; and then the policy which in later American history has been identified with Constitutional conservatism was advocated on the most revolutionary grounds. The dislike of these men for a "consolidated" government was not much more reasonable than the similar feeling which often animates local bodies in England. The weight of argument in the Convention was invariably on the side of the Nationals. Their opponents might succeed in proving that this or that provision in the proposed Constitution would act injuriously on the State governments; but they wholly failed to give any conclusive reason why the State governments should be preserved. A country of which it could be truly said that it had been given by Providence "to one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs, and who by their joint counsels, arms, and efforts, fighting side by side throughout a long and

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., ii. 45.

† Ibid. iii. 37.

‡ Ibid. iii. 259.

§ This letter was found in General Stuart's house during the late war. It is quoted in the edition of *The Federalist*, edited by J. C. Hamilton, p. lxxviii.

|| Elliot, *Debates*, etc., ii. 319, 355.

\* No. xxviii.

† No. xxxix.

‡ No. lxii.

bloody war, have nobly established their general liberty and independence,"\* seemed marked out by nature for the seat of a single nation. None of the Colonies had a long and glorious history, to keep alive in them the pride of independence. They all had but just emancipated themselves from a condition of provincial obscurity; and whatever renown they had achieved in the process was the common possession of them all. The deputies of the smaller States had every right to protest against the creation of a national system against the will of their constituents; but, when the motives which determined that will come to be examined, they are rarely of any higher type than a jealous dislike of any system whatever which should subject them to more orderly rule. So far as the hostility to the proposals of the National party had any more respectable basis, it is to be found in the vast extent of the American continent. This circumstance, which led Hamilton almost to despair of the possibility of Republican government, did no doubt present difficulties of real moment, since the distance of the outlying States from the seat of the central administration might fairly lead them to fear lest the conduct of government should by degrees fall wholly into the hands of the citizens of that State in which it might happen to be fixed. But, for the most part, the love of independence which was so strong in some of the States was a mere sentiment, which it might be difficult to account for, but the existence of which it was necessary to recognise.

The next point to be noticed is the hold which this sentiment had upon the minds of a large part, perhaps even a majority, of the American people. It was universal, or, at all events, overpowering in the smaller States; but even in the largest States it was the sentiment of an active and powerful minority. In Massachusetts the Constitution was only ratified by a majority of 19 in a Convention of 355 members.† In Virginia, the Convention sat for nearly a month, and the votes were 89 in favour of ratification to 79 against it.‡ To speak, therefore, of the assertion of State sovereignty by the Southern States in 1861 as only the pretext, and of their determination to uphold slavery as the cause, of the civil war, is to ignore the facts of history. The Union was dissolved in 1861 on the very ground on which it had been so nearly shipwrecked in 1787. The compromise discovered on the

earlier occasion was the offspring "of a spirit of amity, and that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of the political situations rendered indispensable."\* Seventy-four years later mutual deference and concession had disappeared from the scene; and opposing interests and rival fanaticisms had come in to aggravate the old hostility. But the Southern planters whose irritation precipitated the war, and the Northern farmers whose resolution brought it to a close, were the representatives, by direct political descent, of the Federals and Nationals of the Philadelphia Convention. ✓

It is to be observed, too, that in 1787 neither party in the least foresaw the course that events were to take. In the eyes of the Nationals, the danger to be dreaded was a state of political paralysis, the result of the gradual encroachments of the State governments on the central authority. They did not conceive the growth of that intense national sentiment which has of late manifested itself with such overpowering strength. They took it for granted that in any conflict between local and national interests, the latter must go to the wall. The Federals were not much more accurate in their anticipations. Their fears mostly pointed to an aggrandizement of the central government, which should eventually give it an absolute mastery over all the States. During the stage of the conflict immediately succeeding that which has here been described, there was some prospect of this expectation being realized; but it passed away with the overthrow of the Federalist party by Jefferson's election to the Presidency. The enemy to which State rights finally succumbed was the aggregation of all the strongest States on one side of a geographical line. It was not the Federal Government that reconquered the South; it was the compact phalanx of the Northern States. In 1787 nothing indicated the great sectional division which was by and by to split the Union in halves. The larger States were separated from one another by the interposition of smaller neighbours; and cotton had not yet arisen to give an industrial unity to any one group.

At the date of the adoption of the Constitution, the compromise out of which State rights, properly so called, were developed, had been universally accepted. Each party had surrendered something; but the Nationals had apparently surrendered most. Their scheme of making the United States a nation had for the time proved impractica-

\* Jay, in *The Federalist*, No. ii.

† Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., ii. 178.

‡ Ibid. iii. 654.

\* Madison, in *The Federalist*, No. lxii.

ble. The requisite assent was wanting in the smaller States; the willingness to use force if persuasion failed was wanting in the larger. A representative equality had been accorded, however unwillingly, to State sovereignty. Without this, it is evident that the Union could not have been constituted. The dislike of the Nationals to the rule of suffrage in the Senate would have been overcome by no slighter consideration; they acceded to a settlement of the working of which they entertained the gravest suspicions, solely because it was the only settlement which circumstances rendered possible. The subsequent action of the State Convention showed how truly they had judged the popular temper. If the Virginia plan in its original form had been adopted at Philadelphia, it is certain that the Constitution would not have obtained the assent of the nine States whose ratification was necessary to call it into existence; it is doubtful whether it would have obtained the assent of any. The equality of representation in the Senate was the element which made it generally acceptable, and enabled its defenders to repudiate the charge that they aimed at creating a consolidated government. Nor is there any reason to doubt that in disclaiming such a design the Nationals were perfectly sincere. Their speeches against the compromise, made while they still had hopes of its rejection, bear conclusive testimony to this fact. They thought that in making over to the States, as such, the control of a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, they might be giving up all chance of founding a genuinely National government; and they did not attempt to disguise the extent of the sacrifice. The United States Constitution started into life with a full recognition of State sovereignty in the Senate, and of National sovereignty in the House of Representatives; and the problem how to harmonize the two was the legacy of the Federal Convention to the American people.

#### ART. IV.—AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.

THERE is nearly as much difference between the motives which men have alleged for writing histories of their own lives as there is between the tenor and literary merit of the works themselves. The undertaking is at one time vindicated as a concession to the affectionate curiosity of friends or descendants; at another by a reference to the importance of the events concerned. Some-

times the writer boldly announces a claim to public admiration, or apologizes for listening to the dictates of private partiality, or professes a wish to elucidate his published works, or to recommend his principles by his example. More rarely he proposes to rebut current calumnies; most often, perhaps, to satisfy an ambition which has found no other direction for its hopes. The action of this last motive, the influence of which may be suspected in every classical autobiography, is best analysed by Cædian in language which seems prophetic of Comte. Men, he says, have a twofold existence, a single private personality, and a share in the common life of the world or humanity. The appetite for immortality (subjective immortality that is, though he does not formulate the distinction) is irrational, irreducible, inexplicable, and indestructible, but admitting two kinds of satisfaction. The founder, the conqueror, the destroyer of empires and cities—a Cæsar, Alexander, or Eratostratus,—has placed his immortality beyond the reach of vain report; and the history of his deeds adds nothing to his greatness. The world is the monument of such men, whether their names are inscribed on it or no. But the ambition of Cæsar is folly; for the lapse of years left the Roman empire but a ridiculous and unheard-of shade in Germany. If the mind is eternal, renown profits it nothing; if it is mortal, the noisiest fame is empty. And yet men whom a thousand obstacles shut out from failing with Cæsar seek fresh ways of fixing upon the world's memory the fact that they have been. This too is vanity, and stupidity even more extreme than the former. For what these men write will not be read; or if it is read, they can count the years after which it will be forgotten, contemned, and neglected. Let go the shadow and seize the reality, *carpe diem*, live while you live, follows as the substance and the sum of practical philosophy. But if the reality is not to be attained—if, after all, the present is unsatisfying or worse—then any future that can be looked forward to is a gain; and it is well to despise actual evils in view of an immortality that shall be free from them. A man's qualities are himself in a closer sense than his actions; and to build a monument in the memories of men to come, without laying its foundation in the physical fortunes of their ancestors,—to interest ages in a story of wishes, failures, feelings, and tendencies that stop short of action,—is a hope which may tempt even a more exacting egotism than the hollow glory of unbounded power.

The man who has courage and patience to write a history of his life does not go

unrewarded. As a hero, he need not fear detraction; as an author, there is no risk of his materials failing; his own theme and his own critic, he can suppress in the second character whatever seems unworthy of himself in the first. On the other hand, to go over again the whole of a life which has already begun to decline, to dissect the still palpitating corpse of decaying consciousness, is a laborious, and, as it proceeds, increasingly thankless task. It can only be undertaken, not to say completed, under the pressure either of a strong conviction on the part of the writer's friends that his life is full of interest to his contemporaries, or else of a still firmer persuasion on his own part that the revelations he has to make are such as will tend to gratify the unappeasable curiosity of the human race touching all that bears upon the standing difficulties of the anatomy of the human mind. In the former case the work is likely to be disappointing in itself, however indispensable the light may be which it throws upon the private history of the author. In the latter case, a sort of instinct seems to guide and correct the motions of simple self-love; and unconscious tact saves from an attempt, which must have failed, the vast majority of those whose outward circumstances have been commonplace, who have no mental history to speak of, or whose consciousness of what takes place in and around them is too confused and fugitive to be revived after the lapse of years in a literary framework.

The temptation to attain what, at first sight, seems so easy an immortality, is of universal application; and if the class which succumbs to it is small, it is natural to suppose some common qualities in its members, underlying their obvious differences. The point of union, even if it could be determined, would not, it is true, offer much basis for generalizations; and a division of mankind into those who have and those who have not written autobiographies might be unfruitful as well as arbitrary. But since, apart from questions of style, every autobiography depends for its value and interest upon the measure of common human passion and experience concentrated in its pages, or on the degree of vividness with which they depict common human situations and sentiments, every autobiographer is a representative man, and one not of a representative class, but of a class of representative men. In point of fact, existing autobiographies may be arranged in three principal groups, corresponding roughly to Comte's three historic periods, though the chronological order is different, and subject to individual aberrations. These

groups may be distinguished critically as the Monumental or Elementary, the Positive, and the Analytic, or, to keep up the analogy, the Metaphysical. The first of these schools is epic in style and heroic in substance; each of its works is that of an imaginative autocrat—a story of action told with primitive energy, unmixed self-approval, and spontaneous art. The second school contains artists of a sort, but no heroes. It is literal, realistic, and in form dramatic. The writers depict themselves only as a means or accessory to the representation of the age in and for which they live. They write with unsurpassed depth of conviction what every one knows and believes; they give expression to a sublimated common sense; and, as their observations are authentic and their judgments unimpeachable, the universal reason of mankind admires and applauds. The last variety of autobiographical writing is more complicated. To the autobiographer, at any rate, humanity consists of the ego and the non ego. It is possible to him to view the world as subordinate to himself, or to treat himself in subordination to the world; but a third alternative is not easy to find. Decaying originality may take refuge in a sort of criticism: but criticism of the outer world does not naturally take the form of autobiography, criticism of the writer's self paralyses the course of a narrative, and criticisms of the relations between the two are not naturally suggested by the events of an ordinary life. The only remaining possibility is to chronicle thought instead of action, changes of opinion instead of succeeding experience, or else to represent the influence of imaginary circumstances upon a real mind. To surround a fictitious hero with incidents founded upon fact can scarcely be said to constitute autobiography at all.

One of the earliest, and, in some ways, the most admirable of autobiographies, that of Darius Hystaspes, whether composed by himself or a confidential secretary or clerk of the works, speaks a moral unity, a command of memory, and a confidence in the facts to be stated, which is scarcely approached even by Benvenuto Cellini, and looks for its response to a reverential and uncritical nation. The simple loquacity of the best memoir-writers disappears in busy, learned, or earnestly controversial ages that might question its purpose and its use. Confessions, real or fictitious, designed to express a romantic opposition to the existing order of creation, or a speculative disapproval of any possible order, indicate a transitional period of moral exhaustion and intellectual despondency, trained to tolerate

a want of faith and courage, if not of candour, in its representatives. But whether the work be in the form of an autobiography, a journal, or a philosophical romance, literary success depends upon the distinctness of the outline, the freshness of the colours in which the hero's person appears before us, the completeness of our sympathy with him, and the frankness with which he seems to rely on it. What we really value most in the author who admits us behind the scenes of his career, is the revelation of something—however commonplace, however obviously probable—which we could not have known as certain and actual without his assistance. The virtues and achievements of an eminent man do not come into this category; and hence the impatience with which we hear from themselves how Cicero saved Rome, or how Napoleon wished to save Europe. Information which newspapers might give, gains little in purely literary interest by coming at first hand; and direct statements of fact by historical characters may easily have less authority than incidental, so to speak, inanimate evidence. To the critic, the fact that a thing has been said is very far indeed from being a sufficient reason for believing it; and when the publication of a volume of memoirs is only one act, if perhaps the last, of a complex political activity, it has often little more than the weight of a diplomatic note addressed to posterity.

The memoirs of men who have taken a prominent part in public affairs are not, of course, without value, but their price to the historian or the antiquarian is not in direct proportion to their psychological interest. The Commentaries of Cæsar, for instance, reappear in every History of Rome, and have inspired libraries full of archæological lore; but when the object is to advance further into the penetralia of Cæsar's mind than into the thoughts of Alexander or Charlemagne, we are balked of the expected revelations, and can only draw inferences from our disappointment. A character where energy leaves no space for reflection, a will that leaves itself no leisure for self-questioning, a personality squandered upon the subjects of its influence—if this is all that one of the three or four accepted giants of history can show us of himself over and above his actions and motives, there is compensation for men of smaller stature, Cæsars of private life, who contrive to pose as heroes to themselves, and have the art of concentrating on their persons the attention which their achievements could scarcely command. The attraction in this case is not exclusively either in

narrative or narrator; but when a person of marked or singular character has met with or sought out adventures equally uncommon, his own account of the sensations he experienced meanwhile has a twofold, irresistible interest. Works that completely satisfy this condition are few: and if we attempt to include in the first rank of autobiography the Lives of Benvenuto Cellini and Alfieri, the Confessions of S. Augustine, Dr. Newman's *Apologia*, the acts of Giraldus Cambrensis and the Chevalier de Grammont, and the early part of Stilling's *Lebensgeschichte*, it is difficult to give a satisfactory reason for consigning Goldoni, Marmontel, Hume, Gibbon, Lilly, or the prince of journalists, Pepys, to a lower literary level. The difference—if, as may be suspected, there is a difference—is in the more powerful imagination possessed by the first class; not that in any sense unfavourable to their accuracy or sincerity they embellish their characters and magnify their exploits, but that their recollections have a clearness resembling that of direct poetic intuition, so that at the moment of writing, the picture of their past lives appears to themselves as a complete artistic whole, with what faults or beauties the spectator may judge, but at least an unbroken block of nature, chiselled by the force of a single human will into the form we see. In the best writers of diaries, it is perception rather than memory that rises to the dignity of inspiration. The creative finger of poetry fixes the surrounding circumstances and occurrences of the life; but the author is only one figure in the scene which he observes intensely and acutely, whilst, apart from the act of attention, his own mind is either passive or bent on minor affairs of practical interest. And this, which is true of Pepys, is still more true of politicians and men of letters, who write when the original vividness of sensation has worn off, instead of seizing the humour or experience of the moment.

Historical memoirs by men who had witnessed or taken part in the events they commemorated, were as common in ancient as they are in modern literature. But the introduction of a personal element was a later step; and before the habit had been formed, the decay of national and private energy had left nothing to tempt the skill of qualified pens. The dissolution of the old world might, it is true, have bequeathed to us the corrupt protests, the unavailing complaints, of a provincial Rousseau or Werther; but such fragments may not have been written, and they were certain not to be preserved. The last remonstrances of Paganism looked outwards in appeal to an



objective past rather than to a new inward standard; and the confidences of M. Aurelius or the Emperor Julian are neither circumstantial nor sentimental enough to supply the want. S. Augustine's *Confessions*, indeed, are connected by one side with the analytic or subjective school of autobiography, which will have to be treated later on as a note of moral and literary decadence; but by another they belong to the primitive, epic, or heroic class, and may as easily be reckoned first of the modern, as last of the ancient order of thought.

The earliest formal autobiography of any importance is that of Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century. It is the first that begins at the beginning with the parentage, birthplace, favourite games, and earliest school triumphs of the hero; and it is one of the chosen few in which the hero's character is neither obscured by the history of his deeds, nor made the subject of minute and tedious description. Unfortunately, out of the two hundred and seventy-three chapters of the original work, *De rebus a se gestis*, only the first fifty-three have been preserved to posterity; but these bring the author down to the age of fifty or thereabouts (for the chronology of his life is not absolutely certain); and the loss of the remainder is compensated by the abundant details of his career afforded in the *Invectivum Libellus*, or his later work, *De jure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*. Of course these details owe great part of their value to their early date and the light they throw upon contemporary history; but on his own merits, the Welshman takes a creditable place between literary autobiographers and authors of political memoirs; and he is particularly happy in avoiding the standing difficulty of egotists of his class,—the danger lest the interest should flag and the story lose its freshness as age overtakes the narrator.

The main features of the history of Giraldus are well known:—how he defended the rights and dignity of S. David's see against his Welsh neighbours, against the Metropolitan Canterbury, against kings and nobles, and before the Pope; how he laboured to restore ecclesiastical discipline amongst his barbarous countrymen; how he traversed Ireland, chronicled its conquest, and described its people; how Paris hung upon his expositions of the canon-law; how he refused English, Irish, and even Welsh bishoprics; how his Latinity was praised by the Pope; how he outwitted his perjured adversaries; how his courage never failed in the direst extremities; and how, when the hopelessness of his efforts was apparent, he scorned to harass his opponent with merely captious

resistance, and startled friends and enemies alike by resigning the contest with a good grace. All this is set forth in his published works, with a minute candour that takes the place of humility. When we are told so much about a man, we are likely to be told more than he knows himself; and we can see that the vivacious archdeacon was marked out for failure in his cherished ambition by other causes than his affinity to the royal family of Wales. An ecclesiastical "enfant terrible," his first victory would have given him an importance which, as the controversy between Church and State then stood, could only have been embarrassing to himself. The king and the archbishop knew better than to provide themselves with a third in the dispute, as inflexible as either, and with interests separate from both. The would-be Metropolitan of Wales was too great a patriot for Hubert, too good a churchman for John, too conscientious or too thoughtless to play them off against each other. His nationality was his real misfortune, in a wider sense than he suspected. As an Englishman or Italian, he would have represented a popular and important principle; even as a Scot, he might have deserved well of his country; but as a Welshman, he could only act as a drag upon the wheels of imperial progress. His principal distinction is to have fought a losing battle with singular grace and dignity; and his example certainly tends to verify Cardan's theory of the alternatives of ambition.

If Giraldus's public life had been more fortunate, if a more propitious set of circumstances had provided him with material scope for his activity, if he had exercised a perceptible influence on the fate of Wales or her church, the constantly vanishing traces of his work would have been his memorial; he would have had no leisure to struggle with impending oblivion; and he would not have felt the need to register his protest against the injustice of fate. His best efforts must have failed—they were scarcely even directed—to attain material immortality; but any ordinary vanity might be satisfied with the fame he has secured to his person, and his adventures. In himself, Giraldus rather recalls the temperament of another itinerant philosopher of later date, with the same knack of fluent invective, the same talent of falling out of one quarrel into another, the same good-humoured arrogance, and the same apparent unsuccess. But Giordano Bruno's extravagances are covered by his tragical end. He was a missionary of the rising astronomical system; his tenets are of the sort that admit of perennial rediscovery; the autobiographical notices in his

works are lively; and his uncomplimentary account of the Oxford of Queen Elizabeth yields to none of the descriptions of Giraldu Cambrensis in piquancy. But the Italian relied upon the intrinsic value of his theories, their absolute truth, and their unchanging importance; he claimed respect for himself, because he believed the earth to go round the sun, not for his imaginative pantheism, because it was preached by a versatile and witty traveller. A divided allegiance weakened his chance of reward; he thought too much of himself to be identified and immortalized with his cause, too much of his beliefs to treat them as mere accessories to his history. Copernicus and Cellini have a stronger hold upon posterity.

It is possible to define genius as the exaggeration of a few ordinary faculties; but the intensification of any common taste or tendency is enough to make the subject of a good autobiography. The essential point is to present the maximum of life and motion compatible with the calm of self-analysis and the composure of unalterable self-respect; the rest is only an affair of skill in style or composition. The subtle genius which delineates character is midway between the art of the portrait-painter and the historian; but the illusion produced by representations of this class must be perfect. We must see the individual with all the indescribable shades and mixtures of his temperament, not merely infer his qualities from his conduct, still less accept uncritically his own description of them. We require a confidence so special that it will enable us to predict what the hero would do under any given circumstances, so minute that at any fresh trait we may spontaneously recognise to whom it belongs. We wish to see his impulses in his actions, his principles in his account of them; and we expect both to be original, neither eccentric. An Admirable Crichton, a model author, artist, or ecclesiastic, would have to be described with too many and too congruous superlatives, in terms too suggestive of an epitaph, for the picture of his life to stimulate curiosity. The tints of language are not fine enough to distinguish one such phoenix from another. There might be fifty Evelyns, but there is only one Pepys. In existing specimens of autobiography, the difficulty is to obtain the necessary variety of form without introducing too many and too black shadows. Men who have the courage to show us their worst side are seldom afraid of allowing that side to be sufficiently bad. Characters of concentrated wilfulness are tempted to obey their least laudable impulses by the very ease with

which they can override opposition; but men of this type do not care enough about the warrant of laws, human or divine, to tamper with those that condemn them, or to seek to modify them in their own interests. They only endanger the cause of morality by the reproach they bring on originality, and by confounding for a moment the attempt to try them by the standard of common right and wrong.

In everything except date Benvenuto Cellini's life belongs to a ruder and more primitive age than that of Giraldu; his moral ideal differs more from that of the present time, and his intellectual culture is more individual, less coloured by the traditions of a still remembered antiquity. At bottom a healthy and intelligent savage, he had learned drawing from Leonardo and Michel Angelo, letters from Boccaccio and Petrarch; and this appearance of irrepressible barbarism, adorned with all the splendours of the Renaissance, produces the most paradoxical results. No other autobiography shows so plainly how far it is possible to diverge from common types without overstepping the recognised limits of nature. A talented artist, a truculent soldier, a diligent tradesman, a courteous gentleman, an unprincipled bravo—one character is no more proper to him than another. He is, first of all, himself; next, the sixteenth century in person, only without the scepticism that might have disarranged his life or disturbed his narrative. The union of precocious maturity with indestructible youthfulness is indispensable to the writers of memoirs; for the thought of follies, pronounced irrational on reflection, would be fatal to retrospective self-respect, whilst any concessions to the lassitude of old age would interfere with the labour of composition. At sixteen, Cellini was already master of a trade which would make him welcome in any town in Italy. He could get his own living, assist his father, dress handsomely, wear a sword, draw it at every provocation, and all the while labour devotedly to improve in the higher branches of his art. Perhaps the only feature in his career on which it is possible to dwell with unalloyed satisfaction is his championship of men of genius against their employers. It may be that his trade helped to make him (like Blake) more independent in his art; he is, perhaps, the only artist to whom discouragement and disappointment were unknown. Even in that munificent age, patrons were often found more ready to promise than to perform, to praise than to recompense; and painters and sculptors suffered without remedy. But not so Cellini. King, pope, and emperor,

prince, cardinal, and duke, whoever had the misfortune to offend the irascible goldsmith, might get their medals struck, or their jewels mounted as they could: he would only work on his own terms; and they were lucky to get him on those. Now Michel Angelo was old, not another man living could have cast his Perseus. It was—strictly speaking—priceless; but if he condescended to take ten thousand crowns for it, what mad blindness to chaffer with him! Change the circumstances; throw him into prison with a broken leg, and he will write verses, see visions, and almost repent of his many murders. But in every situation he remains master of himself; and it is impossible to doubt his substantial good faith. At the same time, it must be admitted that his reasonable estimate of the dignity of art is apt to take the form of personal insolence, and that the truth of his narrative is occasionally what has been called regulative rather than absolute. A little imagination in recounting his exploits was necessary to give a complete idea of the boundlessness of his aspirations. The explanation, for instance, of his most flagrant myth—his defence of Rome, and single-handed slaughter of the Constable de Bourbon—is really this: The Constable was slain by an arquebus; who so likely to have fired it as the man who felt within himself power and inclination to shoot not only one but a dozen Constables, as occasion might serve?

As we advance into more sophisticated ages it becomes less easy to draw the line between harmless and communicative self-deception and interested misrepresentation. No autobiographies are intentional impostures throughout, if for no other reason, from the impossibility of making a forgery consistent; but there are varieties of falsehood and degrees of truth. Facts and intentions admit equally of mis-statement; real actions may be explained erroneously, and imaginary conduct accounted for by real motives. Such writers, for instance, as William Lilly, "student in astrology," and Jung Stilling, do not, like Rousseau, make an art of insincerity, or we should be less indulgent to the solemn quackery of the one, and the lucrative unworldliness of the other; but what they say, and still more what they leave unsaid, makes it plain that they had to choose, in the last resort, between deceiving themselves and deceiving the public. The compromise by which we are enabled to trace the mental processes of pseudo-scientific imposture, and to estimate the degree of unconsciousness compatible with religious hypocrisy, disarms the severity with which we might otherwise visit the self-betrayal

of our authorities. In the case of Lilly, it is difficult, *prima facie*, to believe that a respected professor of a still esteemed art should *consciously* divide mankind into the two sections of accomplices and dupes; and this difficulty is increased by the sincere contempt which he evidently feels for the small practitioners who decide cases of loss, restore stolen goods, and cast flattering horoscopes for money. Lilly was a power in the State; and it is in checking his political prophecies that we can best estimate the qualified faith with which they inspired their author. The civil war simplified his task amazingly; for the weal or woe vaguely announced to befall the country was certain to overtake one side or the other; and at the critical moment the prophet could verify his own prediction by identifying himself with the winners. Cardan is said to have starved himself at the age of seventy-five in obedience to his horoscope, after several times surviving the fated day of his calculations. But when, in June, 1645, Lilly had proclaimed, "If now we fight, a victory stealth upon us," and fortune declared for the Parliament at Naseby, he had only to begin to write himself Roundhead instead of Cavalier, and the credit of his prognostications was saved. Astrology in its palmy days was not a mere system of arbitrary imposture: it had fixed principles and methods; and of course the greatest master of these was able to make the most numerous and the most various predictions. The quackery was in the ambiguous expression of the oracles, and in their interpretation *après coup*. Lilly's prophetic style is a mixture of Emerson, Mr. Home, and the pamphlets of his time. It was enough for many to find current events or their own projects alluded to by name in the inspired hieroglyphics; and there was a general understanding that the exact meaning and application might wait till fate revealed it to all the world at once. If the stars spoke too plainly—and in a certain conventional language they did speak—their interpreter could generalize and confound their utterances, so that it was scarcely possible for them to be ever wrong, and certain by the law of chances that they would sometimes be right. Thus Lilly's *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, published in 1651, contained representations of a great fire and a great mortality; but fifteen years was long enough for the non-fulfilment of any prediction to be forgotten, as well as for the strangeness of its accomplishment to be abated. And that this was felt by Lilly's friends and enemies, is proved by the little molestation he suffered in the popular excitement of 1666.

Heinrich Jung belongs in every way to a later period than Lilly; and it is a relief to turn from the embarrassing questions of mental casuistry which they raise to the thoroughly safe triviality of Michel de Marolles. His only distinction is that of having written, in cumbrous French, an uninteresting account of an uninteresting life, which, nevertheless, such is the charm of autobiography, was held by his contemporaries to atone for other still duller works. Born just a century after Cellini, he transports us at once from a state of nature to one of convention, from an age of action to one of reflection. He is the first, as well as the most obscure, representative of the positive school of autobiography—a school which, in a sense, includes all genuine memoirs, diaries, or journals, all merely descriptive narratives of a life that anybody might have lived, that is only interesting because some one did live it. Their value is not in clear representations of the author's character, for he need not have much, and what he has we are content to infer from the part he plays in the scenes it is his pretension to recall. But he must have lived in a time of which we know enough to wish to know more; he must not have forgotten himself in his career; and his personal life must have had at least variety enough to supply a thread of connection to the narrative. If, in addition to this, he observes acutely, judges impartially, and writes without regard to either present or future, there is some hope of his name outlasting that of greater men. Marolles's share of these qualities is sufficiently modest; yet even his volumes are not quite without interest. The son of a country gentleman of moderate means, his earliest recollections of hay-time and harvest, of genuine rustic merry-makings, and of a contentment common to the village and the château, are valuable illustrations of the "good old times" of Henry the Fourth, and help us to believe in a real, though brief, interval between the wars of the League and the Fronde, in which the provinces were preparing an advance in civilisation and prosperity which would have saved France from most of her troubles. Of Paris and the Court our notions are not so scanty as to make Marolles an important authority; but his extravagant admiration for the courage and spirit of his pupil, the Duke de Rethelois, in daring to jest superciliously with the favourite, Luynes, is significant in its way. He was present when Louis XIV. repeated inaudibly the lesson which was to make his mother sole regent; he was intimate with the most eminent of his contemporaries; and when he retires

from the scene with the dignity of Abbé of Villeloin, in acknowledgment of his father's services, it is pleasant to find the office not yet a sinecure, and its holder as much devoted to decorating his church and looking after his monks, as to collecting prints or presentation copies.

As memoirs multiply, we find ourselves embarrassed with an increasing supply of works of this sort, whose interest is in no sense personal, though their contributions to social, literary, or political history cannot be ignored. French literature is inundated with such; and from Saint Simon and Saint Evremond the descent is so gradual to the commonplace compilations of any minister's secretary, that it is difficult to say where autobiography ends and book-making begins. In the Chevalier de Grammont we get glimpses of the higher art; and perhaps nothing in literature exhibits better than the classic episode of the waistcoat, that placid faith in himself and his star, which is the peculiar property of the hero. Every one knows how the Count was to appear at a fancy ball in a suit brought express from Paris, and how the night arrived, and the valet, but not the costume. The Count presented himself well dressed as usual, but not in the anticipated splendour; but when he begins to relate, before all the Court, the one grave man there, how, Heaven be praised! Termes had arrived, though the valise was lost in the depths of a quicksand at Calais, of which quicksand he came, as in duty bound, to give the earliest intelligence to the King, there is an end of everything except amusement, and we do not even care to hear the rest of the veracious history.

It is easier to see why so many lives of mediocre interest are written, than why so few men of the duly qualified heroic class, who have done or felt, as well as witnessed, what we are eager to hear about, care to transmit direct and circumstantial confidences to posterity. The motives for the effort are stronger, but less various than those against it; and the inclination must be very strong to override the certain difficulties of execution. Men whose whole lives have been public property, who have had their actions criticised, their motives canvassed, and their tastes discussed without ceasing, may be excused if they themselves are bewildered by the murmur of opinion, and do not set their own hesitating self-judgments against the confident affirmations of partisan biographers. The primitive merits of Cellini's work demand an untried, an unhackneyed subject; in Garibaldi's life, arranged by Dumas, they are conspicuous by their absence. Besides those autobio-

graphies which we lose through the impatience of contemporaries who take the words out of the mouth of the proper orator, we are disappointed of others by the scepticism, and of many by the enthusiasm, of the heroes. Some are too critical, too cynically uncertain of the value of their life's work, to confront their real self, and ask for a judgment upon its absolute merit; others are too disinterested, or perhaps too narrow-minded, to find room at the same time for devotion to a cause and the most legitimate self-assertion. But these difficulties apply principally to men of action. Enthusiasm in men of letters will lead them to wish to record and preserve their contributions to knowledge, or the feats of their imagination; nor is it distrust of themselves or their methods that deters the greatest thinkers from minute self-examination, and causes the greatest poets to dwell on anything rather than the details of their personality. Every grace of style, and almost every mental attribute of value, may find a place in memoirs, with one exception, one deficiency, not to be supplied, disguised, nor easily forgotten, and which of itself explains why we should be aghast at an autobiography of Shakespeare. The ideas of autobiography and humour exclude each other.

Humour is not much easier to define than genius; but if we call it an intuitive sense of proportion, an instinctive appreciation of the fit and the incongruous, bringing with it an incurable sensibility to bathos, it will at once be seen that a humourist can indeed show us traits of his character, or introduce us to episodes or aspects of his life, but never adventure on the task of reconciling dignity and candour through a complete set of confessions. The autobiographer lives in a glass house; and it is the humourist's profession to throw stones at every transparent fabric, and to see through apparently solid ones. Swift and Sterne and Richter and Lamb, knew better than to make themselves the first victims of their skill; but Voltaire was not willing to be less brilliant than Swift, and wrote too much to be able always to avoid writing of himself. In the fragmentary memoirs, which contain an account of his intercourse with the King of Prussia, we see the pressure of a devouring fear lest something in his past conduct, or in his present estimate of his past conduct, should, somehow or other, give a handle to the satirists. He is equally afraid of apologetic gravity and naïve self-surrender; but in his endeavour to forestall the laughers by laughing at himself, he descends not less surely from the pinnacle of heroic dignity accessible to those with whom truth is a

primary motive, and the equal importance of all self-regarding truths a fundamental axiom. The spell of reality, by which Pepys and his fellows fix our sympathy, even when our curiosity flags, would be broken by a touch of irony. Here and there, of course, they allow us a hearty laugh at a situation, a comfortable smile at a neighbour; but the writer is in too business-like earnest often to give us the opportunity of laughing with him, and if we do not like him too well to wish to laugh at him how can he expect us to care about what he has for dinner? If a man is absurd, why write his life? but a life in which the humourist can see no 'absurdities must be a series of negatives, impossible to write. The incongruities are there, an essential part of humanity; and we resign ourselves as we can to the author's unconsciousness of them. When Pepys has just raised a laugh by answering the King that he is on his way to "our masters at Westminster," it is irritating to find him recording a solemn resolution never to do so again, though we do not mind his being "sorely troubled for fear some Parliament-man should have been there." But if he had been of the number of those whose gravity is always exactly proportioned to the occasion, he might have had the humourist's dread of a truism. As it is, he is not afraid to comment naturally on the short-lived grief of a jointured widow; and he can moralize on the cost of an evening party without interspersing general reflections on the vanity and misery of life. All his observations have a particular occasion; and that is why so many of them appear always new. His widow is received in the reader's mind as the immortal type of consolable widowhood. It is a division of labour. The humourist sees the world motley on a black ground; the autobiographer sees one figure in relief, lighted up with a searching, inextinguishable consciousness. We instinctively put ourselves in the writer's attitudes; and we are confronted with a moral looking-glass. The diary is a mouse-trap, like Hamlet's play, to catch consciences.

If truth of character, precocious maturity, and realistic vividness, give Pepys's nine years' journal a right to rank with complete autobiographies, Montaigne's *Essays* ought not to be excluded by the disconnected form of his confidences. But though the minds of the two men have much, their writings have little, in common. Montaigne himself explains that he was unobservant to stupidity of what took place around him; and this is the more credible, since, with all his descriptions of his house, his habits, and his circumstances, we have at the end a clear idea

of nothing but his tastes and his principles of morality. He and Pepys would have formed the same opinions from the same materials; but Montaigne would not have observed the facts, nor Pepys formulated the judgment. Montaigne's imagination is too sluggish for his century: he describes his intellect instead of dramatizing his character; and he tells us either too little or too much. There is more egotism in partial than in complete confidences. It would be rash to maintain against a consensus of critics that Pepys was neither vain nor an egotist; but there is a confusion in the notion of egotism which may be cleared up to his profit. To keep a diary may be a proof of regard and respect for the personality to which such a monument is erected; but that is nothing to the point so long as partiality is avoided. Ambition is not vanity; and whatever Pepys's failings may be, his defence is that he makes none. Of all autobiographers he would be the least capable of a vaunt like Rousseau's, though he is the only voluminous one in whose mouth it would have any plausibility. Egotism, in the unfavourable sense of unfounded self-admiration, only begins to disfigure autobiography as the lives written become emptier, the characters less pronounced, and the social machinery so intricate that mere perception requires as much native energy as might once have sufficed for original creation. To revive an old distinction, the autobiographer is essentially and radically *glorious*; he is satisfied with himself and his actions as a whole; to misrepresent them in any particular would be an act of high treason against his conscience and his self-esteem, which are nearly related to each other. We call the man who is afraid of unembellished truth, and proud of forged credentials, *vain-glorious*. But the vanity which tampers with *fact*, and embroiders states of mind, implies a doubt whether the absolute and unadorned truth is the most creditable possible to the narrator; and that which can co-exist with candour is scarcely a vice in an autobiographer.

The popularity of works like Pepys's Diary proves that their individualism is not excessive; but this individualism itself depends for appreciation upon some tendencies, and for expression upon some development of the social instincts. Without this, autobiographies could have no representative value; they would throw no light upon questions of moral progress, and could only serve to amuse a gossiping curiosity. In virtue of this they enable us to follow the history of the last three centuries in a sort of miniature reflector of the outer world,

in a parallel current of action, thought, and criticism, leading—it is true with interruptions and irregularities, but in the main continuously,—from the age of Cellini, Luther, and Macchiavelli, past Madame de Sévigné, Voltaire, and Gibbon, to Faust, and the many recent illustrations of the phases of waning and waxing faith.

The memoirs of the seventeenth century interest, as we have said, the matter of fact element in man; and no popularity is wider, less ephemeral, or more just. For the worst that can be said of this kind of social positivism is that it formulates the commonplaces of commonplace minds, and reveals the ubiquity of their influence. Since Louis XIV. and the Stuarts, there have been no changes in the moral habits of Europe radical enough to make a stranger of Pepys; and it is human nature, both that more people should take an exclusive, and that more should take a passing interest in the doings of courtiers and actresses, than in literature or the history of letters.

The eighteenth century was pre-eminently the age of authors. A single writer might give an impetus to popular thought, gather a party round his name, and create a demand for information as to the history of his opinions, the occasion of his principal works, the character of his conversation, of his private relations, his personal habits, and, generally speaking, the connection between his inner and his outer man. Of course this curiosity is in part frivolous—too much so for the greatest men to stoop to gratify it; and where it is most serious—relating to the secret history of important works—its gratification implies least literary merit. The lives of Marmontel and Goldoni are more amusing than those of Gibbon and Hume, though the studied simplicity of the last is a model in its kind. Indeed, if the absence of tragic interest allowed us to call it heroic, its candid brevity might almost entitle it to rank with the epic variety of narrative. When the writer has told us that all his books began by failing, and he did not mind it; that they ended by succeeding, and he did not mind that either; that he was poor and contented when he was young, and rich and not less contented when he was old; and that it was his intention to die in perfect and philosophic charity, with a world which had never done him any harm, we know all that can be said about a happy temperament exactly suited to its circumstances. But Hume's account of his life is not circumstantial enough to command the popularity proper to autobiographies; and it is possible to suspect both him and Gibbon of being influenced by an ostentation akin

to Addison's. In their compositions, and in their friends' anxiety to give an account of their last moments, the motive is a little too plainly to call on the orthodox world to observe and admire how deists can live and die. Gibbon's style is too cumbrous to enliven the account of an uneventful career; he seems to know no more about his character, and to tell no more about his life, than any qualified biographer might do. An independent man of letters, his life is the life of a class; that is to say, he existed, and he wrote books, and before writing a book he meditated on the Roman Empire and the Swiss Republics. The author is lost, his personality sunk, not in his thoughts, which are a part of himself, as we may take to be the case with Bruno or Campanella, but in his writings, of which the interest is altogether external, like a measure of Richelieu's or Sully's. The extreme of civilisation begins already to meet the extreme of rudeness. Mere intellect is as little capable of dramatic self-consciousness as mere animalism; and by the time the mind has become aware of this, we shall probably find ourselves in a period of romantic or pietistic revival, full of zeal and enthusiasm, but without the confident simplicity of a first literary dawn.

Goldoni's Memoirs are transitional. The indispensable conditions of variety and originality are supplied partly by his adventures, which in the earlier half of his life succeed each other with Gil-Blas-like rapidity, and partly by the observant nonchalance proper to him as a dramatist. The professional element in him is as strongly marked and prominent as that in Gibbon; but it is narrowed so as to produce more of the effect of individuality. He is the typical comedian, not only in his literary tastes and aptitudes, but in the education which seemed forced on him by a kind of fatality; and, so long as the scene of his career is laid amongst the towns and provinces of Italy, the abundance of material for his sketches conceals the essentially passive character of his attitude and disposition. As in the case of Goethe, a grandfather and a puppet-show are amongst his earliest reminiscences. He wrote a play when he was eight years old, on the strength of which he was sent to school, where he distinguished himself by a scrambling precocity in composition. While still a boy he was placed with a family at Rimini, to study philosophy, with a view to embracing his father's profession, that of medicine. From thence he eloped, on the invitation of a troop of comedians, with no motive but that of visiting his mother, and making a short voyage in the company of his dramatic

friends. His escapade was forgiven; and, as he found the introductory study of scholastic philosophy unattractive, his father undertook to introduce him at once into the mysteries of medical practice. The boy of fifteen soon became restless again, and was sent to Venice to read law. Then the offer of a sort of scholarship at the University brought him to Pavia, where he received the tonsure; and, since the conditions of the foundation required him to be in his nineteenth year, he found himself next morning more discreet by two years than when he went to bed. In the vacation he again visited Chioggia, this time more in the style of the Decameron than of Wilhelm Meister's vagabondage: youths and ladies sailed down the Po, stopping by night to dance and enjoy the entertainments everywhere offered them, by day bringing all the country people down to the river's brink by their songs and music. Goldoni was the laureate of the party, and on his return home won golden opinions by composing edifying orations for a convent of nuns patronized by his mother. But this new facility had its dangers, as the author found when he began to try his hand at satire. Feuds between town and gown had long raged at Pavia; and the wives and daughters of the citizens were accused of unbecoming partiality to the stranger youths. At last the marriageable townsmen bound themselves by a covenant not to solicit the hand of the daughters of any house in which students were received. Goldoni, after paying a series of afternoon calls, and finding every door closed to him, was urged by his friends to revenge, and the result was an Atellan comedy, describing the construction of a colossal statue of Beauty; to this statue each of the eligible young ladies of Pavia was supposed to contribute a feature, which immediately became the subject of criticism by artists and dilettanti. The ingenious author was promptly expelled the University. But his parents received the prodigal with indulgence; and the problem of his destiny in life was as far from solution as ever.

It was not till 1746, when he was thirty-nine, that he began to write for the stage as a profession, and conceived the reform of Italian comedy as the object of his life. The interval is filled up with many changes of place and occupation, secretaryships, doctor's degrees, practice in civil and criminal law, marriage, amateur authorship, and the vicissitudes of an adventurer's life; but in all the accidents which befall him, each misfortune is tempered by a shade of the ridiculous, and never quite reaches tragic proportions. His rôle is that of an easy-tem-

pered victim, amused by his wrongs, and consoled by the jests he passes on their perpetrators. He woos the waiting-maid by mistake for the mistress, wins the affections of the aunt instead of the niece, is despoiled by card-sharpers, deceived by swindlers, and has his first opera refused by a committee of actors. At this last blow indeed he began to despair. He returned to his hotel, ordered a fire instead of a meal, and grimly committed the history of *Amalasunta* to the flames. But this was the turning point in his fortunes. The comedian element in him re-asserted itself. He reflected that neither in love nor war had he ever lost his appetite before: he ordered supper, "ate well, drank better, and slept profoundly and with relish." After this he met with only ordinary troubles at the hands of actors and critics, for which he used to take a harmless revenge. The actors were punished by having to represent their own delinquencies on the stage; and the critics either had the worst of it in a humorous prologue, or were silenced and crushed by the success of sixteen new comedies a season. But the analysis of these sixteen comedies is less amusing than the account of the varied experience of Italian life and character which went to supply plots for them. Goldoni's Memoirs, as they proceed, take increasingly the form of mere materials for a history of the Italian stage. This might perhaps have been no disadvantage, if he had really heralded a new era in Italian comedy; but he was not more successful than Alfieri in founding a school; and his own importance as a dramatist was not such as to give lasting value to the detail in which he describes his compositions and their reception. It throws some light on the society for which he wrote, to find that he might rally the institution of Cicis-beatura, but on no account attack it, that the native Harlequin and Pantaloon still had energetic defenders against his Gallicizing reforms, and that he was obliged to transform his *Pamela* into the unknown heiress of a Jacobite noble before his audience would consent to the reward of her lowly virtues by the hand of a Milordo. But this is not autobiography; or, if so, it is a confession that the autobiographer has outlived his moral energy, and has become either the subject of his circumstances instead of their ruler, or else an original and independent rebel—the only characters in which he has a right to disregard grace of style and the comparative unimportance of his personal history.

Marmontel's Life stands to the history of the Republic of Letters in France, in the same relation as the political memoirs of the

preceding age to the history of the French monarchy. The brilliant assemblage of literary celebrities gathered together in Paris in the middle of the eighteenth century deserved to find a Boswell; and Marmontel's share of cultivation and common sense exactly fitted him for the task of portraying the society to which he belonged. The cynical self-distrust which disfigures Voltaire's amusing Memoirs takes the form in a less eminent man of gentle irony, which is no more than sufficient to guard his evidence against the distrust excited in literary matters by too simple second-hand enthusiasm. Marmontel mixed letters and philosophy so as to be on good terms with both, and the devotees of neither. But the age and the country were too frivolous, too critical, too doctrinaire for a great autobiography to be produced, except by rare accident; and Marmontel's *mémoires pour servir* the history of society and contemporary thought only give a sketchy and unsatisfactory picture of their author. The work is homogeneous, though it is difficult to see how the ostensible purpose of edifying and instructing the writer's young family should be served by the account of his relations with Mlle. Clairon, and the more or less celebrated ladies in whose affections he succeeded or supplanted Marshal Saxe. The Life, which ends with serious reflections on the course of the French Revolution, begins with a scene of school life in Auvergne; and it is a curious coincidence that the author, whom time was to turn into a reluctant conservative, expends eloquence enough to overturn a monarchy in exhorting his companions to resist the tyranny of the head-master, who, for some supposed offence, had dared to threaten a member of the rhetoric class with the barbarous and humiliating rod. Fifty years before Camille Desmoulins, Greeks and Romans were invoked pell-mell to attest the wrongs of enslaved humanity; a solemn oath of fraternity and solidarity was sworn upon an altar which was at hand; and—not least bewildering to the preceptors—a noisy *Te Deum* was chanted in honour of the successful revolt. The passion for reform might have found milder expression in the Gironde and the Mountain, if the leaders of those parties had been inoculated, so to speak, with the principles of revolution in this harmless manner in their youth. Marmontel's combination of peasant breeding, literary culture, and aristocratic connections, gave him a moderation which the separation of classes had made dangerously rare. His *Contes Moraux* bridge the distance from *Paul et Virginie* to *Harry and Lucy*. His master prophesied



that he would grow up a dangerous and turbulent character, which might very possibly have been the case if political significance had been attributed to his unruly vivacity at Mauriac; but the provinces were more philosophical than Paris. Already in Marolles we find the neutralization of school-boys as far from acceptance under Richelieu as under the Republic; and the neglect of one educational axiom brings others with it.

Of Marmontel's other works, *Bélisaire* has shared the common fate of books which owe their popularity to a censorship; his *Incas* scarcely continues to furnish reading-books with extracts; and his *Contes*, though not perceptibly duller than their modern counterparts, naturally find little favour in a society which is not content with plots that end in happy marriages, domestic reconciliations, and the conversion of giddy matrons or undutiful children. But his *Memoirs* are not only still amusing in themselves: they form a link in the chain of social and personal history, which the devotees of autobiographical art would wish to see unbroken in its parallel illustrations of the known course of public events. Not the least interesting part of the *Histoire de ma vie* of George Sand is that which is devoted more particularly to the history of her grandmother, the Aurore de Saxe for whom Marmontel procured a Parliamentary decree confirming her claim to an illegitimate descent from Marshal Saxe. Except in this curious proceeding, Aurore appears to great advantage in her granddaughter's pages, and the letters preserved in them. One of the few ladies of the old Court whose reputation had never been approached by scandal, she devoted herself on the death of her second husband, M. Dupin de Francueil, frequently mentioned by Marmontel and Rousseau, to the education of her son, Maurice, the father of the novelist. Mme. Dupin remained all her life a consistent Voltairian, forgave the Revolution its inroads on her property, distrusted the Empire, and held aloof at the Restoration from the faubourg Saint Germain. The admirable practice of preserving family papers, observed in France, enables us to follow her sentiments as a liberal aristocrat in the prisons of the Terror, to watch the conflict of prejudice and principle when her son enlisted in the armies of the Republic, and to trace the growing discontent with which representatives of the old school of enlightenment submitted to the parvenu airs of the Napoleonic dynasty.

The period in which these reminiscences are supplemented by Marmontel's narrative is the date—so far as the rise of a tendency

can be dated—of the third and latest development of autobiography. Rousseau is the herald of this development, though not its representative. His works are the product of an unhealthy social and political atmosphere: but his genius was anomalous; and it would be unjust to any age to hold it responsible for the diseased working of his imagination. Merely vicious sophisms, like those by which the author of *Emile* professed to convince himself that it was for the good of his children to be brought up at a Foundling hospital, could not make disciples; the *Contrat social* and *Julie* might attract those who were tired of scepticism, or who wished for new passions to enliven a new organization of the State; but even the inspiration of Oliver Goldsmith, "who wrote like an angel, and talked like poor Poll," was equable and consistent compared with Rousseau's, who did not talk at all, and invented a complete system of social ethics to dispense himself from the necessity of making a bow or accepting an invitation to dinner. None of the merits of the writer extended to the man; and except in the *Confessions*, the defects of the two were kept equally distinct. Rousseau was not mad enough to be treated as an interesting case; and he was too powerful to be ignored as a vicious nuisance. But though a madman's diagnosis of his symptoms would have one value, as Cellini's barefaced avowals of crime have another, the accident, so to speak, of identity between an imaginative philosopher and a vain, querulous, and unprincipled musician does not lend importance to the life of the latter.

It is however true, that with Rousseau sincerity ceases to be a matter of course in the composer of his own Life or *Memoirs*. The stereotyped preface to such works, to the effect that the narrator has no ambition or desire but to be known as he really is, either ceases to have any meaning, or becomes far more individually significant than before. The earliest autobiographers believed simply and firmly that posterity would be glad to inherit an authentic likeness of the man who had done such and such deeds amidst such and such surroundings. His first business was to live; and this he did so completely to his own satisfaction, that he had no doubt of imparting the feeling to his readers. But this was at most a secondary object. We see signs of the coming change in Goldoni, who was thankful for having lived so as to have no need for concealment, as if there was a recognised standard, divergence from which had to be concealed. Even Alfieri seems to think that his own veracity needs accounting for, and suggests that it

may be due to the horrible torments which he suffered when a child, from being taken to church in his nightcap as a punishment for story-telling. The cause seems inadequate to so admirable an effect; but Italian character, versatile and exuberant, long after other countries had contentedly sacrificed individuality to systems, was not to be swamped in the level current of modern progress without a last remonstrance. The interval between Alfieri and Goethe may, at first sight, seem less wide than that which separates Rousseau from Goldoni; but it is profounder and more final. The hereditary self-confidence which lingers longest in the castles of a rustic nobility carried the young aristocrat, without loss of dignity, through the crass ignorance of his boyhood and the romantic extravagance of his youth, harmonizes with the writings of his maturity, and emboldens him, at the age of forty-eight, to encounter the difficulties of the Greek grammar and alphabet. Where Goethe breaks hearts with idyllic tearfulness, Alfieri crosses swords, a pure hero of melodrama. Whilst the German accepts gratefully the favour and honours of a petty Court, the Italian reconciles his habits and the rights of man by allowing his servants to return his cuffs, and by making it a principle not to cane them as a superior, but only to throw chairs and boots at their heads as an angry fellow-mortal. The story of Count Mirabeau and his lacquey shows that such a piece of self-conquest is not to be despised; but the fact is nothing to the manner in which it is related. Alfieri is not a poet of the first rank; and the interest of his adventures may be matched by many; but in the confidence with which he tells his story, his indifference whether his narration may invite amusement or condemnation, above all, his assumption that whatever he has done needs no explanation, and scarcely any justification beyond the fact that he did it—in all this there is a degenerate heroism, a rudimentary positivism, which, whatever the defects of both material and style, are removed *toto cœlo* from the depressing irresolution of the metaphysical period in the history of egotism.

The *Lebensgeschichte* of Heinrich Jung is a connecting link between the religious memoir, which is always the same, and the sentimental autobiography of which Werther was soon to set the fashion. Written by Goethe's advice, the story of his woes and religious faith had a brilliant success; but it takes all the power of Goethe's name to make us believe in the sincerity of the tailor-schoolmaster turned oculist, who wept tears of pity when young ladies went out of their

minds in compliment to his mind and person, who with tears of gratitude invoked everlasting happiness to reward his employer's gift of a Sunday suit, and half-a-dozen pairs of beautiful stockings, and who drew cheques upon Providence and the religious world which were sometimes rather too near being dishonoured. Perhaps the key to his character lies in a trait of his youth, when he used to tell lies to avoid the correction of a severe father, and then pray that they might not be found out. In later life he ran into debt, and prayed for money to discharge his liabilities; and in each case his prayers were so often heard that he forgot to repent of the preceding offence against secular canons of morality. But without this peculiarity his *Autobiography* might have been tedious, as indeed it becomes as his years and income increase. In the early and more poetical chapters, the mild and apparently modest youth has really more in common with the placid arrogance of the Chevalier de Grammont than with the slightly fatiguing good faith of ordinary religious diaries.

Autobiographies written for the sake of edification differ amongst each other less in substance and tenor than in the success with which the writer expresses real and genuine feelings as if they were original as well as real. Baxter gives us a reason for reticence touching the "heart occurrences" of his later years, that "God's dealings with his servants are the same in the main," and thinks it "unsavoury" to dwell too much on intimately personal matters; and his instinct is justified by the monotony of those religious memoirs which neither stop short with the crisis of the writer's spiritual history, nor yet have anything important to relate of his subsequent influence in the religious world. From the "Friends of God," in the fourteenth century, the Germans have always been fond of this class of autobiography. The difficulty of keeping up an active, conscious, religious life, without mysticism and without practical fields of labour, led that famous confraternity into dangerous reliance upon mysterious machinery and secret agencies for political or other proselytism; and with Francke and the later pietists its effect is simply to lower the standard of spiritual exaltation. The Covenanters of the seventeenth century have far more to say about their armed risings and the sins of their rulers than about their personal trials and temptations; and Veitch, Brysson, and Blackader throw more light on the history of their times than on their own characters, and less on either than a thoroughly original writer and politician

like Knox. But Knox had never leisure, nor perhaps repose of mind enough, to add an autobiography to his history; and the age of Pepys is not represented amiss in the field of religious autobiography by Richard Baxter and George Fox. They are the two extremes of the movement which finds a faint and degenerate echo in the missionary journals of the first Methodists. Fox's Journal is perhaps the more able, certainly the more imaginative, of the two; and the touch of fanatic extravagance, which might be a drawback anywhere else, only serves here to give an air of genuineness to the story of the writer's conversion and persecutions. It was a saying of his school-fellows, "If George says 'Verily,' there is no moving him;" and in the most important qualification of self-confidence he yields neither to Stilling nor Cellini. It is imagination vivid to the point of disease that led him to see a material resemblance between the congregation of the "steeple-house" at Nottingham and a "field of fallow-ground," with the priest "like a great lump of earth" standing in his pulpit above. The forms taken by his horror of steeple-houses were sometimes quaint in the extreme, the spires of Lichfield, in particular, moving him to a bona fide cross-country chase, which he describes with great gusto: but it cannot be denied that episodes of this sort do a good deal to enliven the spread of Quakerism. Baxter is more dignified, and, for the reason above quoted, restricts himself to the history of his labours and their success and hindrances, only resuming at intervals the changes which he traces in his character. Of these the most notable was a steady increase in tolerance, or, as his enemies said, indifference—a slowness to proselytize, arising partly from a respect for his neighbour's personality and conscience, and partly from a belief in the impossibility of assisting a soul in distress, except indirectly and at the appointed time.

To class together Byron, Shelley, and Sénancour, Goethe, Newman, George Sand and the Guérins, may seem the *reductio ad absurdum* of the chronological theory which connects them. But the step from Machiavelli to Montesquieu is exactly that from practice to theory, as the step from Alfieri to Gibbon is that from action to thought; and if we have already outlived the men who record dispassionately the arbitrary course of their lives, and those who represent with truth and complacency the life of a period or a class, nothing remains but to misrepresent one or the other, or to represent a relation or compromise between the two. A similar intensity of character, or an iden-

tical method and habit of mind, connect S. Augustine and Cellini, Marmontel and Pepys: and the heterogeneous list, which should include all authors of the present century whose works contain autobiographical details, avowed or easily recognisable, is held together by a common absorption in certain problems, by the use of similar methods for their solution, and by the arrival at kindred conclusions, or at least by two out of the three possible points of contact. The egotism of introspective autobiography takes several forms, but rarely one which can be satisfied with the indiscriminating historical candour of professed memoirs. For a man to describe his own character is to confess a doubt whether his actions and his declared opinions represent it fully and worthily; but to disclaim the description is in addition to admit a doubt, not merely whether the author's real character, but whether his favourite idealized rendering of it, has the artistic propriety without which it should not have been made the subject of disquisitions in prose or verse. Shelley's *Alastor* and *Laon* are a mixture of Shelley's notion of himself and his notion of perfection; and if the presence of the Shelleyan element is objected to as marring the abstract truth of the poems, the poet is compelled to answer that the choice of an ideal implies a tendency to approximate to it. But Shelley's imagination would have outlived his theories; and even before his intellect had rejected these, his taste warned him off from the morbid portraiture of a mere exaggerated second self in *Prince Athanase*. Byron, on the other hand, is a complete example of that curious development of vanity which allows its victims to wish to be admired not for what they are but for what they are not. The uniform character of his heroes, and the taste for magnanimous mysterious misery which is common to him and them, make it impossible to take his word for their being altogether independent creations. When the poet, therefore, speaks in terms of condemnation of his favourite characters, the artifice is as transparent as when he appeals to the mere difference of scenery as distinguishing himself from the Corsair or the Giaour. But this tergiversation is the least part of his sins as an autobiographer. When Rousseau wished to pass for an example of antique virtue and primitive simplicity, he bought a scratch-wig, sold his watch, and wore coloured stockings, that he might be the more readily mistaken for a high-minded philosopher; Schiller's Karl Moor really made converts to highway robbery; and Werther provoked and prevented an appreciable number of suicides. But Byron's ideal was not

definite enough for even its author to think seriously of approaching it in practice. Without being inconsistent, it was incomplete. It asked too much from the imagination, whilst withholding all tangible food from that much-enduring faculty; and with the best intentions, his imitators could not find out exactly what it was they had had to do to their wives, their friends, or the laws of the land, before they would be entitled to look down with Manfred, Lara, and Childe Harold, upon the duties, pleasures, and concrete misfortunes of humanity. The only object held in view by the school was to reach a non-natural frame of mind, unmotivated, objectless, and morally unfruitful. Werther, René, and Obermann are true by comparison. When Byron wrote, the days of piracy and lordly debauch were over. They had been weighed in the balance, and had been found wanting in beauty, use, and intrinsic propriety; to rehabilitate them as subjects of high art was an anachronism of which a poet with deeper imaginative insight would not have been guilty. Obermann, on the other hand still—still more René,—were, at the time of their appearance, new and genuine, even where weak and fantastical. With them ennui was more than a personal, half-formed sentiment of discontent; it was a positive and resentful protest against the action and the thought, the failures and the successes, of preceding generations. These young apostles of incurable melancholy passed in review nations, empires, and religions, life, death, and the unalterable conditions of existence; and in their summary condemnation of all and everything they were guided, not by principles which might be controverted, nor by experience which might be enlarged, but by a moral taste above discussion and above reason, as well as above sub-lunary satisfaction. The first step was taken when the private griefs of a Werther were set forth to be shared or compassionated by thousands of readers. But it was the sentiment, not its provocation, that enlisted sympathizers; and when René and Obermann ultimately failed to find relief, even in the indulgence of their melancholy, those who were conscious of having no specific to suggest for an abstract infinitude of unprovoked suffering accepted cynically all that could be urged against the natural order which includes diseases without remedy.

The new and peculiar feature of these sentimental pseudo-autobiographies is that the supposed author not merely despairs of finding consolation himself, but denies *a priori* the possibility of its being found by any one. He has no conviction, no ambition, and no desire but that for personal

contentment; but, as the causes of his discontent are internal, the new philosopher's stone, the idea of happiness, has to be developed out of the subjective moral consciousness of the seeker; and the most serious and lachrymose of pessimists hardly differs from Sir Walter Scott in estimating the success of the search. But this failure does not, like a mere political or controversial defeat, leave its subject disposed to claim his revenge at the bar of posterity. Neither personal nor literary amour propre is satisfied by proving a problem to be unanswerable, of which the first comer may dispute the premisses. The real Werthers have not energy to commit their sorrows to paper; and the few whom constitutional despondency really sends to a premature grave leave little mark upon their age, and at most have their memory preserved by a friendly and more favoured contemporary. If, like Chateaubriand and Goethe, the author outgrows the tendencies of his youthful representative, and writes an autobiography in form, there will still be reasons why it should not come up with the highest examples of the past. It is only another form of the fundamental scepticism of the youth which makes the man content to throw one section of his life after another behind him, not in search of a final resting-place, but because moral progress is the highest end he can discern. The choice is substantially that of Lessing; only Lessing's resignation to the infinite duration of the pursuit of infinite and absolute truth was natural and spontaneous, and left his life as full as ever of objects and interests. But if the progress is the end, and the only object of art and philosophy is to enable the student to interpolate as many stages as possible between his natural self and an indifferent goal, then material events are only important in so far as they further or retard this endeavour, and historical accuracy of narration becomes a secondary matter. But the internal and external lives of individuals do not run in parallel lines, nor advance at an equal pace; and the attempt to make their crises synchronize only distorts the real succession of events and opinions. The immortality of Lotte and Frederika is perfectly legitimate, and consoles us for the easy passage from *Werther* to the *Wahlverwandschaften*, and thence to such *Confessions* as Alfred de Musset's. But the ready abuse of which this sentimental style admits makes it doubtful whether any loss results from its necessarily fragmentary character.

In the parallel variety of analytic autobiography, Goethe does not, like Byron or

Shelley, Lamartine, Rousseau, or Sénancour, attempt to connect his solution of the difficulties of modern life with his individual character and temperament. In *Faust* it is the history of the intellectual, in *Wilhelm Meister* the consciousness of the emotional and materialistic sides of human nature that he generalizes and abstracts: but he far more often disguises his own adventures to bring them into harmony with his ideal existence than modifies the latter to adapt it to his own preferences. The doctrine of the new Ecclesiastes is less complicated in its substance than in the preparatory steps of initiation. Enjoy, renounce, and—if you can—understand, is the formula which resumes the conviction that to enjoy is a necessary, commendable, and unsatisfying weakness, that to renounce is a necessary, attractive, and unfruitful discipline, and that, for what concerns comprehension, it is a happy thing that there are some wise enough not to wish to fathom the depths of their own wisdom. As Goethe's apprentice draws near his emancipation, mentor after mentor brings out the moral—"Words are good, but they are not the best; the best cannot be explained by words"—to the exaltation of the "magnificent moment" in which the commonness and stupidity of the comprehensible is first revealed. The state of mind of a wise man, which is too good to be expressed by words, may be better than an act or a thought, worthy and capable of distinct remembrance; but, ex hypothesi, volumes of written words can throw no light upon its nature; and this is exactly the point of uncertain certainty and credulous doubt at which voluntary ignorance has the advantage of unsuccessful science. A generation predisposed to condemn in the mass what it is not qualified to judge in detail, to resent the limitations of the knowable without having attained the limits of the known, to reject all possible enjoyments because there are, or rather are not, impossible ones—such a generation will be glad of an elaborately obscure excuse for reverting, by a circuitous route, to what is after all only a new name for the old practical wisdom of making the best of things. The first part of *Faust* is complete as a poem; and, if art had been all with Goethe, he would have been content to leave it so. But we have seen that his capital principle, the finality of progress, is adverse to the repose of classical art, as well as to the confidence of positive science; and, this being so, it seems almost in spite of the author that the second part of *Meister* and the second part of *Faust* meet in the same final and inevitable result. This result is of

course disappointing to those who have not followed the poet through the preliminary steps in his pursuit of an object to pursue. That Wilhelm Meister, at the close of his *Wanderjahre*, should take to surgery, his son to horse-breaking, Jarno to mining, and Philina to dressmaking on enlarged principles, may seem a lame and impotent conclusion to the most elaborate Pilgrim's Progress devised by the natural reason; but at any rate the inventor of such a climax is not disqualified for autobiographical success by an unduly keen sense of humour, and if Goethe was serious about anything it was probably in this very quaint provision for the mature age of his renuntians. It is not quite a platitude to recommend, as conducing to peace of mind in the individual, what is not, in itself, an adequate end for his desires; and the rehabilitation of primitive tastes and motives is completed in *Faust*. The moral—in any case rather trite—that magic is apt to turn out badly for the wizard, may be read against the wish for superhuman faculties, as well as against their unlawful possession; but the elaborate machinery for satiating Faust with power, love, and wealth, is really subordinated to the crowning moment, in which he rejects their most perfect appearances for the mere thought of some philanthropic improvements to be carried out on his estate. On their completion—

"Zum Augenblicke dürft' ich sagen:

Verweile doch! du bist so schön!

*Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdentagen  
Nicht in Aeonen untergehn*—"

an undisguised return, to the most simple, and, so to speak, disinterested phase of positive ambition. The same incompleteness marks all successive writings of the school of introspective sentiment. Obermann, after a vain search for the complement of his being, subsides into a surly quietism, which at any time might make way for the ordinary machinery of unideal life; and more original writers only find a fresh poison for every antidote suggested in their velleities of hopefulness. The complement of *Meister* is an age of imaginative industrialism; the complement of *Lelia* is an age of imaginative immorality; but since neither immorality nor industrialism was ever less imaginative than in the nineteenth century, the conclusion is inevitable, either that Goethe and George Sand have misunderstood their age, or that their age has an aversion to being understood, which is peculiarly trying to those who take their humanitarianism from Goethe instead of Cardan, and value the individual life in pro-

portion to its harmony with the general mass.

The tendency of contemporary autobiography is to become a record either of sentiments or opinions; but in either case, Scylla and Charybdis, the extravagant and the commonplace, are separated by an ominously narrow passage. The popularity of Silvio Pellico and Mademoiselle de Guérin shows that it is possible to escape, however narrowly, the two dangers in journals of sentiment; but in a history of thought there is less license allowed. Philosophic or theological Retractations may take one of two roads to significance. They may trace the original course of an individual mind, or they may resume the inevitable results of certain tendencies in kindred minds. In the one case they exhibit a chain of opinions which depend from each other naturally, if not necessarily: in the other, a series of thoughts which follow necessarily, if not by a plainly natural process, from the mental organization of the thinker. In the first case, our sympathy is claimed for a man: in the other, for a group of propositions. In *Phases of Faith*, a fair example of the latter class of narrative, the views of which the author gives an account, are always such as might be held by a party. The connection and interdependence of his arguments is objective; and it did not require much penetration on the part of his evangelical friends to predict in advance the steps by which he would abandon their fellowship. Where the controversial element so far outweighs the historical, the work is always in danger of ceasing to be individual, without becoming really representative. Such narratives may command the active assent of a small body of sympathizers; but, here as elsewhere, material success, the triumph of the favourite doctrine, demands some moral self-abnegation in the advocate whose personality is merged more and more in the narrow or extreme symbol of a sect. Every believer in a peculiar doctrine feels as if he had discovered or invented it himself, and pays less respect to the spokesman of his party than even the member of a dominant majority, who sees in *his* organ simply a mouthpiece of the universal reason. But a mere Pepys of rationalism would find his materials too scanty. The axioms of sense and the fallacies of common sense are soon exhausted or detected; and the history of their acceptance or rejection is concluded in the moment in which their drift is apprehended. Less originality is displayed in thinking everybody's thoughts than in living everybody's life; for people who have intellectual convictions think it a duty to formulate them for themselves, whilst to retain a clear

and vivid conception of the experiences of social life is plainly optional. At any rate, it is impossible to treat the first process historically.

The opposite extreme of individuality offers one of the knottiest problems of autobiography—that of reconciling common and received principles of thought with new and original methods of development and inference. The writer has to tell both what he believes and how he came to believe it, with a clearness and imaginative cogency which shall seem to prove that what was must have been, and convince those who finally differ from him most that it was in their common human nature to have agreed. The task has not perhaps been accomplished more than once; certainly it has never been accomplished with the same brilliant success as by the author of *Apologia pro vita sua*; but that instance would alone be sufficient to cast doubt on a desponding conclusion that autobiography was one of the arts lost by over-civilisation. The mindful accuracy which we miss in Goethe—that leaves every period its real temper, the precision of feeling for want of which *Obermann* and *Lélia* are unreal and inconclusive, a recognition that doctrines are made for man, not man for the truest opinion,—the simple eloquence of S. Augustine, the candour of Pepys, the self-respect of Benvenuto Cellini, combined in an unhackneyed style, make Dr. Newman's history of his religious opinions a literary masterpiece. It is the true history of a real mind; and so far it is truly representative of an age in which men of original character are thrown back upon solitary thought, or comparatively selfish sentiment. But the form of which the *Apologia* is an ideally perfect specimen is less permanent and universal in interest than some others. The tendency to distinguish between action and thought as alternative fields of energy leaves the former contentedly monotonous, mechanical, and unfruitful, and causes the latter, properly a method or instrument, to be mistaken for an end in itself—the chart, that is, for the voyage, the compass for the desired land. When the particular circumstances are forgotten which gave occasion to trains of reasoning only connected together by their affinity to the same mind, it is hardly possible to revive a sense of their significance; and Pepys may be read with unflagging amusement when Dr. Newman's equally lifelike narrative will only serve as a contribution to history, and to delight at long intervals a curious and sympathetic reader.

But nothing bears its date so plainly and so fatally as works of fiction. When pas-

sages of mental autobiography are thrown into the form of a story, such as *Yeast*, *The Nemesis of Faith*, or the French romances so often alluded to, the authors are even more at the mercy of changes of literary fashion than they would be in narrating commonplace or too exceptional experiences. A truth is at worst trivial: a trivial invention is absurd and impertinent. Autobiography has duties as well as rights; and the authors who have neither the courage of their opinions, nor what may be called the courage of their characters, are not entitled to entertain society with a garbled version of their mental history. A novelist cannot, of course, be charged with a lack of moral courage for drawing upon his own experience to the extent found in *Pendennis* or *The Professor*, and no further. But a master of realistic fiction like Thackeray has as little temptation as a poet to identify himself exclusively with any one of the characters he creates; and though Charlotte Brontë's heroines are all of one type, it by no means follows from this that all or any of them were successful representations of herself. Yet perhaps even these writers are as near to genuine autobiography as the Journals or Recollections published from time to time by statesmen, travellers, detectives, missionaries, and self-made men, or the crowd of inferior *littérateurs* who, wishing to write a book, take the first worthless subject that comes to hand.

#### ART. V.—DECENTRALIZATION IN FRANCE AND PRUSSIA.

THE Chamber of Deputies in Prussia and the Council of State in France have each under discussion at the present moment a project to advance decentralization. In both countries the Governments are yielding to the pressure of public opinion; but their concessions are not of equal value, and are not offered with any good grace. These facts, compared with others analogous to them taking place in Saxony, in Austria, in Italy, and even in Spain, show plainly that the tendencies or aspirations of continental nations are steadily setting in for the extension of municipal liberties.

Decentralization is, in fact, the enfranchisement of localities from the abuses of tutelary government; its end is self-government. On the Continent, self-government is becoming the criterion, or even, in the eyes of many political writers, the very foundation of political liberty. Local franchises, it is

said, accustom the people to public life: the administration of the commune is the best preparation for the administration of the province, and this, in its turn, for the government of the country; men who cannot resist with firmness and propriety the encroachments of local authority, can never effectually oppose those of the central government; they cannot preserve their liberty unless they know how to defend their rights. As the Continent, however, is very poorly provided with local franchises, other theories have been devised to help forward the claim. One of them, much discussed in France, and developed by Henrion de Pansay in his *Pouvoir Municipal*, maintains that the commune is the primordial element, the monad, of the State, so that the commune has an indefeasible right of autonomy, prior to all law. This theory has not yet been able to make good its position; for no country has acted upon it. Everywhere the commune has been considered and treated simply as an administrative division, to which the public good requires more or less independence to be left, but where the authorities ought only to exercise those powers which the law expressly confers upon them. The law-makers have in no case troubled themselves to refute the theory of Municipal Monads; but a political writer has argued that States could never have grown up out of an aggregation of communes, because the independent communes were already true States; and he cites the fact that it was not the town but the State of Frankfort which Prussia annexed in 1866. The State is not distinguished from the commune by the one being great and the other small, but by the one being entirely independent and the other only a dependency. The microscopic republic of San Marino, or the miniature principalities of Monaco and Liechtenstein, are States: Paris and New York are but communes.

The idea that the commune is the fundamental element of the State was introduced by the French legitimists; and, if the Prussian conservatives have not adopted it in their turn, it is because they did not want it. In fact, their estates were left entirely unconnected with the villages; these properties had preserved a municipal independence, and were themselves monads. The Prussian project secures this privilege to them, although Prussia has long felt the need of embodying with the communes the extra-parochial places, which were formerly very numerous. But these small extra-parochial places, without rights or duties, must not be confounded with those large estates which perform, in their own name, all the duties of

the commune. In France these distinctions are not admitted; and the law prescribes that every house, and every particle of land without exception, must necessarily form part of a commune. This law, which dates from the Republic, so far from considering the commune as a primordial element, treats it as a part of the State "one and indivisible." The theory of the legitimists was therefore a reactionary one. Still, at the present day, the ultra-radicals in France seem to have adopted it, and according to their custom, to have deduced from it all its possible consequences. They have become "federalists," that is to say, they desire that each commune and each province should have its own autonomy, and that their union should be secured only by a weak tie. They have entirely adopted, on this point, the opinion of the legitimists, who seem, in their turn, to be leaning toward centralization.

Nevertheless, there is only an inconsiderable minority who would push matters to an extreme; the mass of citizens nowhere demands more than a moderate progress. The actual demands in France are notoriously very moderate. They are confined to these two points: (1.) that the Councils General\* should elect their presidents, instead of leaving them to be nominated by the Government; and (2.) that the mayors should (as some ask) be chosen by the Government from among the members of the municipal council, or (as others demand) be elected by the inhabitants of the communes, or by the members of the Municipal Council. It will be seen that the question concerns the persons by whom the local authority is to be exercised; and, indeed, in all countries the people are not simply asking for an extension of the powers of local centres, but also for liberty to choose the persons charged with its exercise. The municipal powers have lately been extended in France; the question now is about the municipal functionaries. This is reasonable, for the effects of laws depend upon the manner of their execution. Moreover, the French Government has always shown itself more disposed to yield in respect of things than in respect of persons, as is evident from the history of the organization of the local authority of France.

Before 1789 there was the same distinction in France as there is now in England and in Germany between boroughs and parishes. This difference could not last in a country where equality is placed above liberty. But as it was impossible to establish a real equality by destroying part of

the houses in the towns, or by adding them to the villages, a decree of December 1789 ordered that "all municipalities, whether urban or rural, being of the same nature, and on the same level in the order of the constitution, shall have the common title of municipality." The rash legislator of that stormy period must soon have perceived that changing words was not changing things; but he was too full of energy to yield: He therefore proposed to change the communes. The law of 5 Fructidor of the year III. (22 August 1795) decreed that in future there should be no commune with less than 5000 inhabitants; and, as there were only some hundreds of towns with so large a population, whilst there were more than 37,000 smaller parishes, many of them (sometimes 10 or 12) were joined together to form one municipality. These were fictitious communes; the true natural and ancient agglomeration was suppressed, at least in law.

These collective municipalities could choose their own officers, and enjoyed a certain amount of independence. The coup d'état of 18 Brumaire suppressed this right. But the individual commune was not formally re-established. It revived of itself, and by the force of circumstances. It may be said to have glided almost surreptitiously into the new legislation. The constitution drawn up by Sieyès and Bonaparte, and dated 22 Frimaire of the year VIII. (13 December 1799), speaks only of departments and arrondissements, the arrondissement corresponding in some degree with the English county, and with the Prussian Kreis, or circle. Of communes or parishes there is no mention. Next came the law of 28 Pluviôse of the year VIII. (17 February 1800). Here again there is a lengthy treatment of the department and the arrondissement, and incidental mention only is made of "villes, bourgs, et autres lieux," which were thereafter to have a mayor, assistants, and a municipal council named by the Government. This municipal council, however, which ought, in the administrative language of France, "to offer all guarantees" to the Government, is invested with but slender powers of administering the communal property. To show by a simple fact how little the commune was regarded under Napoleon I., it may be mentioned that the budget of the 20th of March 1813 confiscated the communal property by a stroke of the pen, for the simple reason that the State was in want of money.

Under the Restoration the laws of the Empire remained in force, but they were applied with discretion. Villèle in 1821,

\* The Council General is for the department, and the Municipal Council for the communes.



and Martignac in 1829, introduced liberal municipal bills; but they met with such opposition in the Chambers that they were not passed. It was not till the 21st of March 1831 that a new law upon municipal organization came out. It regulated the election of the members of the municipal council, and charged the Government with the nomination of the mayor from among the members of the municipal council, who were thus both nominated and elected. This law did not go beyond the regulation of persons; and that of 1837 only affected the powers intrusted to them. After the revolution of 1848, a fresh step was taken. The law of the 3d of July ordered that communes with less than 6000 inhabitants should elect their own mayors, and that these functionaries should be appointed by the Government in the larger communes; but they were selected from among the members of the municipal council. After the coup d'état, the law of the 7th of July 1852, confirmed by the law of the 5th of May 1855, gave to the Government the appointment of all the mayors, without limiting the choice of the municipal councillors. And finally, at this moment, the Government is prepared to limit its choice to the members of the councils, and to select the mayors from those who are already indicated by election. A more liberal proposal, to allow the municipal council to elect their mayor, has not been accepted. The concession of the Imperial Government only replaces France where she was in 1831. It is evidently determined to remain master of the personnel. But it is more generous with regard to the powers. The law of the 18th of July 1837 extends them considerably beyond the law of 1800; and the law of the 24th of July 1867 makes another step in advance. The history of these changes is not to the present point. But it was necessary to show that the legislation relating to persons, and that relating to things, have not remained parallel. One of the reasons for the difference is, that in France the administrative functionary has a certain tendency to set himself above the laws, so that it was more serious for a personal government to change the persons than to change the laws.

In France the commune is included in the canton, the canton in the arrondissement, the arrondissement in the department. Between the department and the State some would again place the province, and so still further complicate this complex hierarchy. In reality the canton has hitherto had but little importance. There is a justice of the peace for each canton; the cantons elect the

members of the council general, and of the council of the arrondissement; and the conscription is levied on the canton. Some republican writers would re-establish the cantonal commune created by the law of 1795, and suppress the small parochial communes; and the council of State is studying the question, in order to ascertain whether there is room for cantonal councils to be consulted upon the common interests of the district. But, till some new order is established, this machinery would be superfluous in France, where, instead of being an active instrument, as it might be in England and Germany, it would only be a fresh cause of delay. If the canton has not in France, for the present at least, any administrative importance, the arrondissement has no more. As the laws of 1799 and 1800 speak of an "arrondissement communal," it was thought obligatory to assist the sub-prefect (who may be considered as occupying the place of mayor) with a council of the arrondissement. The business of this council is to distribute the taxation among the communes, and to give advice, which it is optional to ask, and equally optional to accept. It may also express wishes. France has nearly 400 arrondissements. If they have all been expressing wishes for the last seventy years, at the rate of a single wish a year for each, we have a total of 28,000 wishes, not one of which has ever been attended to. Many persons, therefore, would suppress the arrondissements; their most strenuous opponents are the friends of the cantons, for the one must be destroyed to build up the other. As the arrondissement is met with in every State of Europe, and in all the American States with which we are acquainted, there would seem to be some reason for its existence; and it should rather be reformed than suppressed.

It is in the department that the local administration culminates. The department alone is a true commune. It constitutes a civil personage or corporation. It can possess, acquire, and alienate property; it has a budget, a mayor who has the title of Prefect, and a municipal council which is called a Council General. Since the year VIII. there has never been any doubt as to the necessity of the prefects being appointed by the Government. As regards the councils general, at first the members were nominated; then they were elected; then their powers were considerably increased. There are some persons who are not satisfied with this, but would like to see the prefect elected; they do not remember that the attempt was made in 1789, and failed. Of the province we need not speak, for it does

not in fact exist; and the idea is a suspicious one, for it has never been put forward without some ulterior purpose.

After having thus examined the French administrative organization, let us cross the Rhine and examine briefly that of Prussia. Here we no longer find that radical uniformity, that symmetry, at the same time convenient and wearisome, which characterizes France. Prussia has numerous *Gemeindeordnungen*, communal laws or organizations. The six old provinces, a part of Pomerania, Westphalia, the Rhenish provinces, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, have each at least one, often two *Gemeindeordnungen*—one for the towns, the other for the rural districts. Besides this, each town can give itself a statute of general regulation distinct from its bye-laws or special rules upon determinate objects. The law even permits these statutes to contain provisions unforeseen by, or actually contrary to, the law itself. But notwithstanding this great variety, there is a certain family resemblance between all these organizations; and to avoid the confusion of a multiplicity of details, we will only here speak of the municipal legislation of the old provinces.

Contrary to the principle established in France, a broad distinction, as we have said, is made in Germany between the towns and the rural districts. This distinction is founded to a certain extent on the nature of things;\* but its actual cause is historical. It stands in close relation with the Germanic *Hanse* on the one hand, and with the division of the population into orders (*Stände*) on the other. The national representation was by the *Landstände*; and the fact that the town was a *Stand*, and so had the right of representation, made it necessary that it should have, at least in appearance, an organization and independence. This independence became merely nominal at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The town was no longer regarded as a corporation, but as an administrative district. The Sovereign often appointed the city officers; and the least act, such as repairing an out-house or sinking a well, required a preliminary authorization. Hence the *Städte-ordnung* or law for the organization of towns, of the 19th of November 1808, was a real event, not only for Prussia, which had been just reduced by the battle of Jena, but everywhere through Germany. The enthusiasm

of the Germans in favour of this law of 1808 has sprung from two excellent reasons. The first is, that the law was, so to say, a moral balm for a material wound. In other countries, probably also in France, the loss of a large portion of territory would have redoubled the zeal of the Government in preserving its powers; and the people would have willingly endured a heavier pressure of despotism on the plea that a strong government was necessary. The Prussians, who had so long stagnated in abject submission to despotism, would scarcely have objected if the old state of things had been kept up. It is therefore the eternal honour of such men as Stein and Hardenberg, that they persuaded King Frederick William III. that the way to recover the lost material power was to increase the moral force, based upon national liberty. The result has proved that their calculation was just. The second reason why the *Städte-ordnung* of 1808 was received with enthusiasm is, that it not only gave to towns a certain autonomy, permitting them to elect their authorities and to manage their property (with some very intelligible restrictions), but that it also suppressed many vexatious distinctions among the burgesses, permitted every one to exercise his trade without entering into a *Zunft* or professional corporation, and attached the right of suffrage and of being elected neither to religion, nor family distinction, nor place of birth, but simply to the possession of an income of from 150 to 200 thalers, according to the size of the towns. This Prussian law was imitated by many other German States; and its effect was enhanced by the fact that, at the same time, the kingdom of Westphalia, and some of the other German allies of France, had introduced the Napoleonic organization, that is to say, had abolished the commune.

The *Städte-ordnung* of 1808 has since been amended several times; but the changes are not very important. Thus the revision of the 17th of March 1831, only arranges the regulations and interpretative provisions issued in the interval between 1808 and 1831, and introduces perhaps some slight variations. In all cases the choice has been left to the town, whether it will keep the law of 1808 or adopt the law of 1831; and many of the towns which belonged to Prussia in 1808 have preserved their ancient organization. The commotion of 1848 also influenced the municipal organization. The revolutionists of that date aped the French, and in the communal law of the 11th of March 1850 effaced, as much as they could, the distinction between town and country, and introduced other changes

\* In France a distinction must be made between the (very) great and the small communes, as we shall see further on in speaking of the Police. There has always been a special legislation for Paris and Lyons.

more or less radical. There is no occasion to dwell on the law of 1850, for it was not introduced everywhere, and it nowhere remained in force more than a year, when it was superseded by the Royal Ordinance of the 19th of June 1852. The reaction re-established the greater part of what had previously existed, so that the Städteordnung of the 30th of May 1853,\* which is now in force, does not differ essentially from the corresponding law of 1808. At the head of all towns of more than 2500 inhabitants, there is always a magistracy, that is to say, a collective authority composed of a burgomaster (or, in the great towns, an Oberbürgermeister) or mayor, and a certain number of councillors. The burgomaster is paid; and in the large towns also some of the councillors receive a salary, such as the chamberlain and the syndic. The magistracy or college of magistrates forms a unity; and though each member generally has his own department, decisions of any importance must be submitted to the committee, who come to a decision by vote. The number of the members of the magistracy depends upon the population of the town. The same statement applies to the municipal council, which controls the acts of the magistracy, and has to give assent to a great number of measures. The magistracy and the municipal council are elected—the council by the inhabitants, the magistracy by the council; but the magistracy must besides be confirmed by the King where the population reaches 10,000, and in other cases by the district government (Regierung), which is equivalent to the French prefecture.

The idea of the commune, both in Northern and Southern Germany, was confused with that of the town, because, as has been already said, the towns had their voice in the representation of the country as Landstände: consequently it was quite late before the rural communes received distinct treatment. In France, before 1789, the rural districts took no part at all in public life; the tiers état came solely from the towns. M. Guizot is mistaken in saying, in his *History of Civilisation in France*, that there were communes throughout Europe, but no real tiers état except in France. All he could rightly say is, that the rural districts were not represented except by their lords—*pas de terre sans Seigneur*—as is

still the case in Mecklenburg. In England, besides the borough representatives, there were also representatives of the counties, who together were a perfect equivalent of the tiers état of France. In Germany, the French principle (*pas de terre sans Seigneur*) did not generally prevail; villages existed, inhabited by free peasants, who preserved their right to representation. In the course of time rural districts became divided into villages without lords, lordships or great properties with more or less of population, and small properties, such as mills, which formed no part of either a village or lordship, and which held a position analogous to extra-parochial places in England before 1858. The first step was to annex these small isolated properties to a parish. This was not completed till 1856. The great properties which we have called lordships, but of which the greater part are only knights' fees, were maintained as independent unities; and generally one and the same law was applied to the village communes and the seigniorial communes (*Dorfgemeinde* and *Gutsgemeinde*). It would not be inaccurate to say, that for some time—at least up to March 31, 1833—these points were not directly regulated; for no necessity had arisen for a general treatment of them. The Germans were contented with their traditional customs, which differed in different provinces; they did not give any great importance to communities whose wealth and industrial interests were so small. There still remained, subsequently to 1848, some thousands of villages without any budget; and in these, incidental expenses were provided for by the Schulze, or head of the village, assembling the inhabitants to deliberate, decide, apportion the burdens, and perhaps collect the receipts and direct the expenditure, in a single sitting. Making allowance for the regulations about police, education, and some other matters, and for the law of 1850, the organization, or rather constitution of the rural communes (*Landgemeinde-Verfassung*), dates from the 14th of April 1856. The word "organization" appears to be reserved for the towns. The law or rather laws of 1856 (for Westphalia and the Rhenish province had each a separate law) begin by recognising the local customs as valid, and only lay down rules for cases where these customs are obscure, or where it is desired to change them. The regulations for establishing the right of election are as follows: 1. The elector must be a householder, residing in the commune in his own house; or, 2. He must possess in the commune sufficient land to be cultivated by cattle, and to give him a living, or he

\* A special law of 31 May 1853 organizes the towns of the district of Stralsund; a law of 19 March 1856 organizes those of Westphalia; a law of 19 May 1856 those of the Rhenish provinces; and laws of 1867 and 1868 those of the provinces annexed in 1866.

must possess therein a manufactory without necessarily residing in the commune. 3. The possessor of large property may have more votes than one. 4. The inhabitants may be divided into several classes of electors. 5. Similarly, collective votes may be formed by the union of several small proprietors whose properties are not in themselves sufficiently large for each one of them to maintain draught-cattle; the exercise of this collective vote resides in one of the proprietors, elected by the whole body of them. All these electors can, if they will, take part in the deliberation, and form a communal assembly; they can also choose a municipal council. But in that case the commune must give itself a statute or constitution, which must be submitted to the council of the Kreis or circle, must be allowed by the government of the district, and by the superior president of the province, and must be approved by the minister. In all that concerns communal taxes, traditions are to be followed; and it is only in case of doubt or disagreement that the Government intervenes. In Prussia, local traditions are respected almost as much as in England; it is only in France that they are discarded.

The law which we have been analysing does not speak of the manner in which the executive is to be represented in the rural communes. This point is settled in another law of the same date, which recognises the existing state of things as established from time immemorial, and known to all the world, and only amends it in some details. The general conclusion of this second law of the 14th of April 1856, as compared with several others up to the *Allgemeine Landrecht* (§ 18-22, tit. 17, part ii.), the code of Frederick the Great, is that the municipal executive power is attached, in the greater part of the provinces, to the ownership of certain estates, and that elsewhere it is appointed by the Government. Whoever purchases one of these estates purchases at the same time the right of local magistracy; and generally it is he who appoints the Schulze, a functionary who stands between the French mayor and the old English petty constable, who enjoyed a certain consideration, and had a little more power than his modern successor. In the language of the Prussian laws, the Schulze is also called the head of the commune, and the proprietor of a privileged property is called the local magistrate, or *Ortsobrigkeit*. The authority of the local magistrate may be considered as hereditary; his powers extend beyond those of police, and bear a resemblance to those of the English justice of the peace.

It is evident that so far the rural com-

munes were not superabundantly provided with liberty; this fact is easily explained historically. In 1807 when serfdom was abolished in Prussia, and in the following years when the agrarian code was established, the peasants were made, under certain conditions, owners of the lands, or of that part of them which they cultivated; their tenures were transformed, as it were, from copyholds into freeholds. It was thought necessary to leave the police in the hands of the dispossessed proprietors who had previously exercised it as delegates of the King. Public opinion has been long in insurrection against this heritage of feudal times, which continued to influence at once the commune and the Kreis. In Prussia the Kreis has important powers, and in the Kreis assemblies the possessors of knights' fees had the majority of votes. The law upon the Kreis organization (*Kreisordnung*), which is being discussed in the Prussian Chambers, is designed to reduce to the most modest limits the power of these owners, and besides to bring about an effectual decentralization.

The bill upon the Kreis organization is of great importance. It touches upon so many points that it will be difficult to give a complete idea of it in few words. It regulates the organization of the Kreis itself and of the rural communes, suppresses some ancient privileges, and creates within the Kreis divisions or districts, with an *Amtshauptmann*, or bailiff, whose functions are something like those of an English justice of the peace. We must first speak of the Kreis, and compare it with the French *arrondissement*.

The *arrondissement* is always larger than the Kreis, and that for two reasons:—1. The population is more dense in France than in Prussia; and 2. Each of the larger towns is its own Kreis. In the matter of self-government, the *arrondissement* is nowhere; the sub-prefect is appointed by the Government, and the council of the *arrondissement* has only formalities to attend to. The Kreis has three kinds of authorities: the *Landrath*, the *Kreistag*, the *Kreisausschuss*. The *Landrath* is named by the King, upon the proposal of the representatives of the Kreis; and generally he must be a proprietor within the Kreis. He cannot be compared with the sub-prefect, either in the manner of his appointment, or in the extent of his power. He is the president of the *Kreistag*, which consists of the representatives of the Kreis. Formerly the representation of the Kreis was called the *Kreisstände*, and there were three orders:—the owners of knights' fees, who were the

hereditary members, the delegates of the towns, and the delegates of the communes. In the organization which the new law is about to destroy the proprietors had the majority of votes in the assemblies of the Kreis. In the six eastern provinces there are 26,294 communes; and in the assemblies of the Kreis there are 14,006 members, of whom 11,643 are owners of knights' fees, 1805 delegates of rural communes, and 1058 delegates of towns. In future the proprietors will no longer be a majority by themselves. It has been calculated that the new organization may give to the proprietors 3607 votes, to the rural communes 2798 votes, to the towns 1550 votes; but these figures are only approximate. It is not without interest to contrast the radical simplicity of the elections in France, where all the citizens appoint one member for each canton without any other distinction, with the complexity of the Prussian system. In Prussia the number of the members of the Kreistag depends upon the total number of the inhabitants; the minimum is 25. If the population exceeds 25,000, there is one member more for every 5000 up to 100,000; and beyond that number there is one member for every 10,000. Consequently a Kreis of 120,000 inhabitants would have  $25 + 15 + 2 = 42$  representatives. The towns, the communes, and the proprietors, name their proportionate numbers separately. The proprietors are divided into two classes; one comprises those whose properties are rated at a net revenue of 1000 to 6000 thalers, and the other, those whose estates produce 6000 thalers and upwards net. Each of these classes elects its delegates apart, according to a system which gives them at least a quarter, and at most a half, of the members of the Kreistag. In cases where there are only a few of these proprietors, it might happen that there were as many members to elect as there were electors, so that each of them might appoint himself. If the number of proprietors does not reach the minimum, the difference is to be added to the rural communes, which will appoint so many more delegates. The essential point in the new combination is that the privilege of knights' fees is suppressed, and that there are no longer hereditary members. The owners of these properties will possess only the advantages which the extent of their estates confers, without privilege for the feudal character which formerly attached to them. This change in the legislation will have the unexpected effect of facilitating the division of properties. The knights' fee had a minimum of extent prescribed by law or custom; and the advan-

tages which attached to the privilege tended to preserve them intact. Upon the whole, Prussia has just made another step towards democracy. The progressists are doubtless still unsatisfied; but the conservatives have also to be taken into account; and, in point of fact, the intermediate parties consider the transaction to be fair enough.

After the Landrath and the Kreistag comes the Kreisausschuss or executive committee of the Kreis. The Ausschuss is composed of the Landrath and of six additional members, of whom three are elected by the members of the Kreistag, and three by the burgomaster and the bailiffs or Amtshauptleute. It is this committee which in reality governs the Kreis. It has extensive powers, and can make important decisions without the necessity of having them approved by a higher authority; in short, it has, in reality, the guardianship of the rural communes. For the Kreis, decentralization has almost become a fact.

With regard to the communes, the law allows all towns of 30,000 souls and upwards to constitute a Kreis by themselves. As to the smaller communes they are either towns or villages. The towns have their municipal legislation, and preserve their organization as ordered by the law of 1853. But the villages, and the great separate properties which have preserved their independence and are considered as communes (the old lordships and knights' fees), have undergone some important changes. The villages or rural communes now themselves elect their own Head and his assessors; but the Landrath must confirm them. The proprietor of an estate which constitutes a commune, exercises by right the powers of Head of the commune, but only when resident. If he does not reside on his property he must have a substitute; but he can appoint the Head of a neighbouring commune to fill his place, provided he indemnifies him for his trouble. The progress due to the new law consists in the fact that the Head of the rural communes is no longer appointed by a person without direct interest in the village, who exercises his rights by inheritance. From the French point of view, those properties which form a commune by themselves are monstrous; and the Prussian progressists who would keep pace with the French *avancés* are also dissatisfied, and desire more radical reforms; but the Prussian Government, and perhaps also the people, are disposed to rely upon tradition, and proceed by successive reforms. They have therefore confined themselves for the present to depriving the owners of knights' fees of the privileges which gave them

power over others, leaving them those which injure no one. Moreover, they have prepared for them a partial compensation; for in a great number of cases they are the men who, by force of circumstances, will be appointed to the function of Amtshauptmann or bailiff.

These functions are something new in Prussia. It is found that the rural communes would be too small, too poor, and, perhaps, too wanting in intelligent inhabitants, to perform all the public services which might be demanded of them; several are therefore amalgamated to form a district. It might with equal propriety be said that the Kreis has been divided into districts, at the head of each of which a bailiff has been placed. The bailiff must live in the district; he is appointed for three years by the King, from a list of fit persons prepared by the Kreistag. He is an unpaid functionary, and a man of consideration in his district; he is charged with the general police, with matters relative to the relief of the poor, with the highways, the water-supply, the regulation of industry, and especially the guardianship of the rural communes. His council is composed of the heads of the communes. In the towns where there is no bailiff, the magistracy fulfils the same functions, so that the bailiff is really the district burgo-master or mayor. The rural communes on the Continent, like the parishes in the English counties, are considered too weak to support municipal organizations; and hence they are everywhere being formed, or on the point of being formed, into groups or unions in order to give them the necessary force. These unions are of different kinds in different countries. In France, the canton has, or will have, only a council without executive power. In Prussia the district or bailiwick has a strong executive (the bailiff) with a sufficiently feeble council; neither the canton nor the bailiwick has any revenue. It may be remarked by the way that the German (like the English) legislation has a provision which is not to be found in that of France. It provides a punishment for those who will not accept the municipal functions to which they are elected. In France there is no lack of amateurs.

Having thus reviewed some of the most recent measures taken or proposed on the Continent in favour of decentralization, let us see what has been done for self-government. It is indispensable to make this distinction. The first inconvenience experienced on the Continent from the concentration of powers in the hands of the ruler

of a great country was that all affairs, even very insignificant ones, were referred to the capital for decision. The construction of the smallest bridge over the smallest torrent of the Alps or the Pyrenees was decided at Paris, equally with that of a bridge over a tributary of the Moselle or the Oise; and, before the decision could be given, it was necessary that the affair should pass through the communal council, the council of the arrondissement, the council general, the council of bridges and ways, the council of State, etc. It was complained that two or three years had to elapse before the most trifling business could be settled; and decentralization was accordingly demanded. In Prussia the demand was less urgent than in France, because the instructions of the 23d of October, 1817, and the 31st of December, 1825, forbade the *Regierungen*, which correspond to the French prefectures, to consult the minister upon matters within their own competence. Such questions were to be decided on the spot. It was a very wise measure; for, not to mention the economy of time, the members of the *Regierung* are more competent to decide local questions than the minister who often knows neither the men nor the things. The *Regierungen* appear to have generally and naturally followed these instructions. Composed of a certain number of councillors, discussing together affairs of any importance, not only were their decisions more enlightened, but the special councillor felt that his responsibility was shared, and consequently lighter. Moreover, the *Regierungsräthe*, or councillors of the *Regierung*, are not political persons; and they cannot be easily removed. It is different with the French prefect. He is a politician; he has to decide on the most various affairs. He can be very easily recalled. Consequently he often hesitates, and on the slightest occasion consults the minister. The minister's offices, besides, favour this tendency; and the instructions often recommend the prefect to consult him in case of doubt. Thus it is that business is so protracted in France.

One of the first acts of the present Emperor was to publish, on the 25th of March, 1852, a decree of decentralization. A certain number of cases were removed from the decision of the minister, and reserved for that of the prefect. The list of these matters was long, but the matters themselves were of small importance; and the prefect has consulted the minister as much since the decree as before it. In 1861, the decree of the 13th of April decentralized a little more, according to M. de Persigny,

who was then Minister of the Interior, and who said, that though the strong unity of powers was one of the glories of the Empire, yet the grand principle must not be forgotten that, though government can be carried on at a distance, administration must be conducted on the spot. The prefect then was authorized to decide upon other matters which had been reserved to the minister. It may be as well to mention some of the important decisions which the minister reserved to himself in 1852, and which in 1861 he sacrificed on the altar of decentralization. The following are selected because they will be understood without explanations: No. 5, Assistance to the overseers of the parish highways; No. 6, Gratuities to the same overseers; No. 10, Examination and rectification of the statutes presented by the friendly societies for approval; No. 14, Leave of absence to the commissary of police, not exceeding fifteen days. The other points are of similar importance. The public were not yet satisfied. Suddenly, however, in the official journal appeared a letter, dated Fontainebleau, 24 June 1863, addressed by the Emperor to the President of the Council of State, in which he announced the necessity of a reform. The first paragraph of this document has produced some results:—"Notre système de centralization," says the Emperor, "malgré ses avantages, a eu le grave inconvénient d'amener un excès de réglementation. Nous avons déjà cherché, vous le savez, à y remédier; néanmoins, il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Autrefois, le contrôle incessant de l'administration sur une foule de choses avait peut-être sa raison d'être; mais aujourd'hui ce n'est plus qu'une entrave. Comment comprendre, en effet, que telle affaire communale, par exemple, d'une importance secondaire et ne soulevant, d'ailleurs, aucune objection, exige une instruction de deux années au moins, grâce à l'intervention obligée de onze autorités différents? Dans certains cas, les entreprises industrielles éprouvent tout autant de retard. . . ." Accordingly, the Emperor requires that measures should be prepared for suppressing superfluous administrative regulations. Thus the path which ought to lead to the extension of self-government was entered; and it is only just to say that an important step has been taken in that direction.

The maximum of municipal self-government appears to be its absolute liberty, to which ought perhaps to be added the gratuitousness of all functions, these functions being exercised in turns by the inhabitants of the parish or borough. But this is only

the indication of the extreme point in one direction. In order to find the extreme point in the other, it is necessary to take the communal organization placed at its lowest level; for example, the Napoleonic commune of the year 1800, where the Government appoints the mayor and the municipal council, and reserves to itself the approval of all the deliberations; or again, the Prussian rural commune, where almost the whole of the municipal authority was the hereditary appanage of a given property. Between the two extreme points, absolute liberty and absolute servitude, all the communes in civilized countries are actually to be found; and in order to determine whether an organization is nearer to the lower boundary or to the higher one, some persons content themselves with ascertaining whether the officers of the commune are appointed by the Government, or whether they are elected by the citizens; others again would ascertain the extent of the gratuitous functions; others would ask whether the municipal decisions have or have not need of confirmation by the Government. Absolute liberty, however, exists nowhere, not even in England. The very varied and sufficiently extensive powers exercised by the vestries, the justices of the peace, the mayors and common councils, and the union boards, are all founded on the law, and on the statute more than on the common law. It is precisely because in England legislation has foreseen all these cases, has fixed their forms and established their rules, that the municipal acts, with some exceptions, have no need to be confirmed. But the Continental laws enter less into detail than the English; and the principal reason why they so abstain is that they wish to leave a certain play to the discretionary power of the administration. Consequently, the requisite reform consists in regulating things as much as possible by general laws, and in leaving to the municipalities power to move freely within the circle thus traced. Let us now select a few examples of matters of municipal administration, in order to see how they are treated by the two different legislatures.

To begin with the law of taxation. In France there are two such laws: that of the 18th of July 1837, and that of the 24th of July 1867, besides many paragraphs of other laws. Considerable improvement was effected in the thirty years which elapsed after the law of 1837, which itself was a notable improvement upon the former legislation. In 1837, the municipal council voted its budget; but the budget had to be approved either by the prefect, if the receipts did not

exceed 100,000 francs, or by the Sovereign, if they did. A similar approbation was necessary for every municipal decision relative to such matters as the management of productive property, or the tariff; and the prefect, or the King in the large communes, had power (*ex officio*) not only to tax the communes which did not provide in their budget for expenditure declared by the law to be obligatory, but also to reduce or reject the optional expenditure voted by the council. He could not however (*ex officio*) increase optional expenditure, nor order an expenditure which was not obligatory. The law of 1867 takes away from the prefect or the Government the right to reduce or reject an optional expenditure defrayed out of the ordinary resources of the commune. The municipal councils can now without restraint fix the tariff for stalls in the market, and the like. They can also vote without authorization a communal tax of five centimes additional to the direct taxes of the State, for extraordinary expenses for the good of the commune, besides three centimes extraordinary for parochial highways, five centimes for repayment of loans, and several centimes for elementary education. Taxes to a larger amount must be approved, according to the case, by the prefect, by the Emperor, or by special law. We cannot review all the clauses and conditions; it is enough to state that at present the communes can move freely within a limit fixed in a general manner, either annually through the council general, or once for all through the law. It is proper to mention that in France there are none other than the municipal rates, which include all the parish rates and district rates, and a portion of the county rates. The remainder of the county rates is levied under the name of additional departmental centimes; for there are no rates for the *arrondissements*.

In Prussia a distinction must be made between the towns and the rural communes. The law of the 30th of May 1853 (§ 53) says that besides the revenue arising from the property of the town, which it leaves almost unencumbered, the municipal receipts may consist of *Zuschläge*, or fractional additions to the taxes of the State, and of special taxes. The approval of the Government is necessary for the *Zuschläge* on the income-tax, on the indirect taxes, and on special taxes. On the direct taxes, such as the land-tax, the house-tax, the trade-tax, the addition may go as far as 50 per cent., and authorization is not necessary except for that which exceeds this limit. For the rural communes, the new *Kreisordnung* confines itself to saying that the committee of the *Kreis* may authorize the communes to modify their

mode of taxation, and to decide the difficulties which may present themselves. The law is short on this point, because it leaves very few expenses to the direct charge of the parishes; everything is made an affair of the *Kreis*—the police, the militia, the poor, the highways, the functionaries and clerks. The *Kreis* then imposes rates, and must collect them in the form of *Zuschläge* on the direct taxes; but there is no restriction on the amount of the fractional percentage. The districts or divisions of a *Kreis* do not collect taxes; for the treasury of the *Kreis* covers all their expenses.

With regard to the rights of the communes over their property, their power of buying and selling, it will be found that everywhere—on both sides of the Channel, and on both sides of the Rhine—the law limits the power of municipalities in the interest of future generations. That the communes should be considered as minors, capable of abusing for their own profit property destined for the benefit of their descendants, may be admitted; but to suppose that their minority or their intellectual incapacity would lead them to impose more taxes than are strictly necessary seems an exaggerated view. Taxes are not so popular that any corporation is likely to overtax itself. But the State is so afraid of their killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, that it does not permit them to approach her.

The administration of the police is a matter which, in France at least, touches closely on politics. It is in France especially that the distinction between political police, judicial police (which two are often combined as the *police de sûreté*), and administrative police, has been pushed to the furthest point; and it is especially on account of the *police de sûreté* in France, and the corresponding *Sicherheits-polizei* in Prussia, that both Governments insist so strongly on keeping the nomination of the mayors. In France the Government also appoints the justice of the peace. He has no right of initiative: he must wait till he is appealed to; and then he acts either as a conciliator or as a judge in equity. Strictly speaking, it is not necessary that he should have studied law. The mayor, on the other hand, has an initiative. It is he who, in case of need, arrests the criminal; it is he also who promulgates the necessary regulations of the police in the commune in matters of property, health, weights and measures, public tranquillity, and the highways. There are, however, many regulations which limit practically, if not legally, the powers of the mayor over the police. First, there is the prefect, who



has for the whole department the same powers as the mayor for his commune. But he has them in a higher degree, since he can annul the municipal regulations. Moreover, the prefect is a political personage, who possesses in a special way the confidence of the Government. This explains why the municipal law of 1855 took the police from the jurisdiction of the mayor of communes of 40,000 souls and upwards, while the law of 1867 gave it back to them, with this restriction, that the prefect should appoint the commissary of police on the presentation of the mayor. The commissaries of police are a second means of reducing the influence of the mayor, without appearing to do so. The commissary of police is legally the subordinate of the mayor; but he is also the subordinate of the prefect, with whom he is in direct communication. And he is again the subordinate of the *Procureur-Général*, for whom he commences the judicial inquiry or instruction. Besides, the mayor is not paid; and he is often a man who is not young, who has other occupations, who contents himself with the administrative or even with only the honorary part of his work, and willingly leaves to the commissary, who is paid, the unattractive duties of the police. The functionaries charged with police duties—the prefect, the mayor, and the commissary—cannot inflict any punishment, whether fine or imprisonment. The law fixes all penalties: the justice of the peace or the tribunal of police applies them.

In Prussia, the police of large towns is in the hands of the Government. The second section of the law of the 11th of March 1850 reserves it to the State functionaries in towns where there is a *Regierung*, or where there are tribunals, in fortified towns, and, generally, in towns where there are more than 10,000 inhabitants. In other towns it is the burgomaster who has the charge of it. In towns where the State appoints the officers of police, it also pays them. In the rural communes the police is to be in the hands of the bailiffs; hitherto it has been in the hands of the owners of knights' fees, and has also been exercised in part by the *Landrath*, by the Head of the *Kreis*, and by the *Schulze*, or Head of the rural commune. The authorities charged with the local police have the right to proclaim penalties. As in France, the superior authority (*Regierung* or Prefect) can annul police regulations published by the burgomaster or commissary of police.

We have seen that in Prussia the complement of decentralization, or rather, the extension of self-government, has consisted both in augmenting the powers of the mu-

nicipalities, and in charging the councils or committees of the *Kreis* to keep guard over them. In France the process has been the same; but the guardianship comes back to the councils general of the departments. The law of the 18th of July 1866 shows that the prefects have been deprived of numerous decisions, which will in future be given by these councils. At present the great corporation which is called the department can administer its own interests almost without restraint; and if there are restrictions, they chiefly concern the services of the State intrusted to the departmental authority. The last concession that has been seriously demanded is that the councils general should have power to elect their presidents. This concession has been made by the Government; and it may be said that in this way departmental self-government is organized in a manner to satisfy the great majority of Frenchmen. It is not possible here to compare in detail the laws of 1866 and of 1838 upon the councils general; but the circular of the Minister of the Interior, of the 4th of August 1866, makes this comparison in a very clear and intelligible manner.\* Anyhow, the improvement is incontestable, and ought to be recognised as such by the federalists, though of course it cannot completely satisfy them. This is not the place to examine their theory, which moreover differs in the hands of different advocates. It is enough to have exhibited some of the recent facts which indicate a tendency prevailing on the Continent, and to have compared the different ways by which two great nations have arrived at a like result. Their progress in each case bears fresh witness to the immense influence which the former history, and the manners, customs, and aspirations of a people exercise on the development of its laws.

#### ART. VI.—HISTORY OF IRISH LAND TENURES.

THE attempt to impose laws on a people from without, whilst their customs and native legislation are ignored, can rarely be successful. Unexpected results follow from measures so devised; and those who have sown without studying the nature of the soil are made to wonder at the strange fruit of their labours. Especially is this likely to be the case when former errors have to be corrected, and when the nation to be dealt with is one which has held stead-

\* See Dr. Maurice Block's *Annuaire de l'Administration française*, for 1867.

fastly to its own traditions against the adverse legislation of many hundred years. It is essential, therefore, in practically treating such a question as that of the Irish land, not only to collect the wishes of the Irish people, but also to investigate their antecedents. The ancient laws and customs of Ireland are not singularities to be stared at and written down, but active forces which have influenced the nation continuously and deeply to the present hour. There cannot be an intelligent and hopeful Irish policy without a careful study of Irish history. But such a study is far from easy. Until of late years the treasures of the old Celtic lore were almost totally neglected; and though the day of spurious ore has gone by, still the specimens that have been brought to the surface inadequately represent the mine beneath. This puts a difficulty in the way, at the outset, in any endeavour to investigate the social position of the Irish Celts in relation to the land.

From before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, there were two great classes of inhabitants there—free and base. Prisoners of war and persons who did not perform their contracts might be reduced to servitude. St. Patrick himself was made a bondman, and the Acts of the Council of Armagh in 1171 show that there had been a custom of buying Anglo-Saxons from merchants, robbers, and pirates, and that they were held in servitude even in that year; for it was decreed “ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocentur libertatem.”\* These were slaves. By an ancient Irish canon the oath of such a slave, unknown to his master, was void;† and by the Celtic laws the contract of a *mog* (translated “labourer”) without his chief was void.‡ There were slave-labourers; but there were also other classes of base or bondmen. Thus it was recorded in the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin, that certain lands were (A.D. 1042) granted by the Danish King Sitricus of Dublin to that Church, “cum villanis, vaccis, et bladis,” “with the villeins, cattle, and corn.”§ And acts of this kind were not peculiar to the Danish colony: for the Register of the Priory of All Saints, Dublin, contained a charter from Dermot, the Irish king of Leinster, in which

certain lands, “with the men thereof,” were made over to it. The Black Book of Lis-more contained a reference to another class, and to their duties: “It is to be noted,” runs the extract given by Ware, “that every Caruc of the Betagii ought every year to plough for the lord (the bishop) one acre at the season of wheat, and one acre at the season of oats, etc., likewise the Betagii ought to draw home the corn of their lord.” This was villein service; and Ware informs us that in that book, since burned, “the Betagii are distinguished from the tenants.” But he does not state in what the distinction consisted. He adds, however, that men of this servile condition were not permitted to have any military employment. Little else appears to have been known in his time. Reference to “lands free and unfree” appears in the Annals of the Four Masters,\* under the year 1585; and the editor explains (wrongly) that free lands meant land held by the chief’s relatives, free of rent, and (rightly) that unfree land was land held by strangers, or natives who had forfeited their privileges by crime or otherwise, at high rents, and for services of an ignoble nature.† The publication of the first volume of the Ancient Laws added incidentally some authentic details; but as it is chiefly concerned with an exposition of the Law of Distress, it gives no satisfactory description of the relations of the inhabitants to the land. There are, however, many striking analogies in it with the common law of England.‡ The Law of Distress itself bears a close resemblance to the English law, even as modified by modern statutes.

The existence of different grades of peo-

\* *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, edited and translated by John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A., vol. v. p. 1842, note.

† Ibid.

‡ Compare, for instance, these two passages:—“There is distress of five days’ stay for the last fleece,” i.e. “at the end of the year, or at the end of half a year, he (the chief) dies, and if he die before it, the opinion is that nothing is due in that case (i.e., the second food-rent, upon the death, is due from the tenant), if the time for supplying the food-rent had not arrived when the chief died, i.e., the food-rent of the year in which he died, and it is not himself that exacts it.”—*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 185-7. “As a consequence of the determination of the estate of a tenant for life the moment of his death, it was held in old times, that if such a tenant had let the lands reserving rent quarterly or half-yearly, and died between two rent-days, no rent was due from the under-tenant to anybody from the last rent-day till the time of the decease of the tenant for life.”—Williams, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*. The chief had only a life tenure of his chieftainship and mensal lands.

\* Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hibernia Expugnata*, c. xxviii.

† Ware, *Antiquities and History of Ireland*, c. xxx.

‡ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 61.

§ Ware, *Antiquities and History of Ireland*, c. xxx.

ple was markedly indicated by the provisions of this Irish law. Thus, no slave-labourer, "fuidir," shepherd, cow-herd, etc., could be distrained for debts due from himself or others, nor for offences against the district laws; but his foot was fettered, a chain was put round his neck, and he was kept on light diet, until his chief or lord settled the matter, and gave bail for him, or until he became forfeit in the ordinary course of poundage law. There was not only immediate distress, but distress with one or more days' stay, or grace, during which time the chattels seized were not taken to pound. The distress on those who paid food-rent had only one day's grace; the distress on those who paid cess or rent had three. Every prince and noble had a right to food-tribute from a limited number of base tenants. This food-tribute, however, was given in return for stock: the petty king gave his base tenants one hundred of each kind of cattle.\* Beyond the statements that there were hired labourers as well as slaves, that there were free tenants as well as base, and that there were three kinds of rents,—rack-rent from a person of a strange tribe, an easy rent from one of the tribe, and a stipulated rent that may be paid by the tribe and strangers,—there is little more to be learned on the subject from this volume of the Ancient Laws, or from any published work. The word *ciss*, which is translated "rent," might with at least equal propriety be translated "tax" or "tribute."

In the absence of more detailed information, it is not to be wondered at that the most fanciful views have been expressed about the state of society in Ireland. Generally speaking, writers content themselves with the opinions of Spenser and Sir John Davis, and do not even consult recent publications. Professor W. K. Sullivan, however, has gone to the root of the subject in his very important introduction to the second series of O'Curry's lectures. The work is still in the press; and we are indebted to the author's kindness for the use of it. The ancient customs and laws which he has exhumed afford a perfect solution of many historical difficulties, and supply the reasons and grounds of national land-customs which have perplexed or misled all

who have looked upon them from without. We shall here give only a brief statement of that fraction of his discoveries which it is absolutely necessary to know in order to understand the position of tenants, and the bearing of those laws which we shall have occasion to indicate.

The land of each district was divided into commonage land, office or mensal land, and land held by individual ownership. From such individual ownership, seven classes derived the dignity of their grades of nobility. One of these nobles might (it is known) be elected president or king over the district; another, vice president.\* In such case, the petty king retained his own real property, and had a life possession of the mensal lands, and an official dominion over the common land. There were seven other grades of chiefs who farmed land, but whose dignity was ascertained by the amount of their personal or chattel property, the number of cattle they owned.

The land-noble kept a portion of his land as demesne land. This he had cultivated by labourers or villeins of three kinds, who possessed no political rights, and to whom we shall refer presently. The other portion of his land was distributed amongst two classes of tenants, called *Saer Ceili* and *Daer Ceili*, usually translated "free tenants" and "base tenants." The *Saer Ceili* or free tenants gave him "military service and an annual tribute, helped him to bear the burthen of the tribe, paid his mullets and fines, ransomed him or any of his family who might be taken as hostages."† This kind of tenure seems to have represented tenure by knight's service, exempt from some of its more grivous burthens, such as maritagium, livery, and wardship. In that respect it resembled the beneficial tenure of free and common socage. The *Daer Ceili* or base tenants held by a tenure which also had some of the marks of common socage;‡ but as they

\* Or *Tanist*, i. e. "Second," hence what is called the law or custom of *Tanistry*, on which Spenser writes, and about which Sir John Davis complains. The *Tanist* succeeded to the kingship when the king died. Sir John Davis confounded their tenure of office with their ownership of property.

† Compare the above extract from Professor Sullivan's work with this: "The tenant" (who held by knight's service) "was at first expected, and afterwards obliged to render to his lord pecuniary aids, to ransom his person if taken prisoner, to help him in the expense of making his eldest son a knight," etc.—Williams, *Principles of Real Property*, p. 97.

‡ The custom of *Gavel-kind*, providing for the equal division of property amongst children on their parents' decease, existed in Ireland as in Kent. The Kentish tenure is defined as socage tenure subject to the custom of *gavel-kind*, in

\* "Every king has seven base tenants, . . . and the amount of stock which he gives to the seven base tenants is equal to the number of *Seds* that a *Brewy cedach* should have, and a *Brewy lethech* should have twice as many."—*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 61. "The *Brewy lethech* has two hundred of each kind of cattle, except dogs and cats, and two hundred men in the condition of workmen," i. e., slave-labourers.—*Ibid.* p. 47.

were ascribed to the glebe (so long as they retained stock and possession only, however), and were charged with frequent contributions, it may probably have been more closely represented by what is sometimes called villein socage. They yielded military service, which mere villeins did not. Their characteristic render, however, was non-military or rural service: "their chief rent consisted of victuals [food-tribute] given at two periods of the year, contributions at certain festivals, *Cai* or 'coshering,' that is, entertainment given on collecting their tribute," and other levies.

With respect to the commons, Professor Sullivan says: "No one had any right, save by permission of the tribe council, to the possession of a special part of the common land except from year to year. A re-division of it took place annually in each township, in many localities, under the directions of a local court." "It was," he adds, "this annual division of the common land" with other things, "that gave rise to the idea that all land was held in common, and divided annually."

The tenants were not subject to ejectment. "All Ceili, whether free or base, had certain definite rights in the territory, such as the right to have a habitation and the usufruct of land." The importance of this fact is self-evident.

Below the Saer Ceili and Daer Ceili were the three classes mentioned above as cultivating the land-noble's demesne lands, and possessing no political rights. These were the Bothachs, the Sencleithe, and the Fuidirs. The Bothachs, or Cottiers, free and base, had a right of settlement, served the land-noble as hired and farm-labourers, and performed menial services. The Sencleithe, or old adherents, were the descendants of mercenaries and prisoners "who had acquired the right of settlement." Like the Bothachs, they "did not possess the political rights of freemen; but they formed part of the affiliated family or clan, and were thus secure of shelter and relief, and were irremovable from the estate of the lord." The Fuidirs were of two kinds, bond and free. The bond Fuidirs were convicts, prisoners, and degenerate free Fuidirs. The free Fuidir was a freeman, but a stranger, an individual of another tribe or district. If he wished to retain the rights and privileges of a freeman, he could only hold from year to year; "if he entered into longer engagements than one year with

another than his own chief, he lost his rights, and became permanently a Fuidir." In that case, he became a bond or base Fuidir. But if he served then continuously under two lords succeeding one another, he acquired, on the accession of the third lord, free rights. In any case, bondage did not extend to his grand-children. Thus even the Fuidirs acquired perpetuity of tenure. Professor Sullivan draws attention to this important fact, as in part explaining the traditional right of fixity claimed in the present day by peasants. He says: "This circumstance explains the expression so often heard among the Irish peasantry, when they complain of being ejected by their landlords: 'My father and grandfather were there before me,' or 'My grandfather was a tenant of his grandfather.'" He shows likewise how the Irish law reveals the cause why rack-rented tenants, as Spenser remarked, would only hold "from year to year" and preserved their "liberty of change." The wars dispossessed many free tenants; and, whilst seeking a livelihood, they yet would not do anything to forfeit their ancient free rights, or bar their claims to their ancient holdings. On the other hand, it was the interest of alien or new lords to reduce all tenants to this rack-rented condition. Yet these Fuidirs, whose lot was regarded as one of hardship by the Irish law, had a right to all their improvements; and it has been shown that in the third generation, or at the election of the third lord, they obtained a security of tenure equal to that enjoyed by English copyholders, who, like them, originally emerged out of a state of villenage.

Thus under the ancient laws of Ireland there were compensations for improvements in the case of the temporary yearly tenant, occupancy titles, security of tenure, and certain rents. The questions next arise: How long did these laws continue to govern and influence the population; at what time or times were they replaced by others; and what were the laws and customs set up in their stead? These questions can only be satisfactorily answered by an historical examination of the fortunes and conduct of the colonies that entered Ireland from Britain.

The men who settled among the ancient Celtic colonizers, before the Norman invasion, were not essentially different from them in their land-views. The Norse system resembled the Irish in a marked manner; and, although the Danish settlements were principally confined to a few towns on the sea-coast, Scandinavian families had rooted themselves like ancient

trees\* far inland, and intermarriages between the princely families of the Irish and Norse were of no unfrequent occurrence.† The constant and friendly intercourse that existed between the Anglo-Saxons and Irish Celts, during the seventh and part of the sixth century, combined with the influence of the great Irish schools, tended to modify any differences. At the least, Anglo-Saxon settlers were thus made acquainted with the principles of the Irish law, and could comprehend and adopt them. Professor Sullivan considers that the land-systems were, in many respects, remarkably alike.

The Anglo-Normans introduced the feudal system officially; but how far was this a real and solid introduction? Formally, Henry II. bestowed upon ten of his principal adherents the entire land of Ireland, by charters drawn up in accordance with Norman law; but actually his adherents formed only a small cluster on the eastern coast, replacing and representing the Danish colony. John, though he claimed to be Lord of Ireland, did not assume the title of King of the Irish—a distinction with a difference. The Irish were long called “enemies;” the Anglo-Irish insurgents were always called “rebels.” Dominion was claimed over the soil rather than over the people; it was of more importance to adventurers that the soil should be called under the law than the people. In the reign of John the English territory was divided, on paper, into twelve counties; and the nobles were sworn to obey the laws of England. The “War of Chicane,” which Burke described as following the War of the Sword, began in the Anglo-Norman settlement with John’s arrival; for new adventurers intrigued for the possessions of veteran invaders.‡ On his death, one of the first public acts of the Earl Marshal was the proclamation of a general amnesty in Ireland. The Great Charter was extended to Ireland in 1216, and solemnly confirmed in 1227, when Henry III. directed the Lord Justiciary to call before him the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and bailiffs of counties, to read it publicly before them, and to swear the magnates of Ireland firmly to hold, observe, and enforce the laws and customs of England. The laws and customs were insisted on in various writs; thus in 1245 a writ was issued confirming former ones, and among other things containing these expressions:—“Rex, etc., quia pro communi utilitate terre Hiberniæ et unitate

terrarum regis, rex vult et de communi consilio regis provisum est, quod omnes leges et consuetudines que in Regno Angliæ tenentur in Hiberniâ teneantur.”\*

The Welshmen who accompanied or followed the first adventurers, and whose language and customs were almost identical with those of the Irish, had already doubtless settled down, finding it easy to conform to Irish habits, though they may have ousted some landholders. In the Great Charter, the liberties and customs of the inhabitants of Wales were acknowledged and confirmed. It would have been well if the same principle had been applied to Ireland. But even if the magnates of Ireland had faithfully followed and enforced the customs and laws of England, compensation would have been allowed to tenants for improvements, and the humbler tenants would have grown up from a state of insecurity to one of security, as the villeins grew to be copyholders, and as customary freeholders were developed. The tendency, however, has been directly the reverse; and it is interesting to note the early indications of what is literally the degrading system, the enforcement of which has caused innumerable disturbances, and given support to not a few attempts at insurrection in Ireland.

Curiously enough, the first case of collision between landlord and tenant occurred about the time of the extension of Magna Charta to Ireland. Henry de Londres, the landlord concerned, was not only Archbishop of Dublin and Papal Legate, but also Justiciary. He seems to have found some difficulty in distinguishing between his functions; for he had to be prohibited by royal writ from drawing temporal causes into ecclesiastical courts, and his conduct in excommunicating keepers of the King’s Wood for resisting his wood-cutters was one of the causes of his deposition. From his general conduct to his tenants, and on account of the following circumstance in particular, he became popularly known as “Scorch-villein” (perhaps, “Ecorche-vilain”).† When he

\* Betham, *Origin and History of the Constitution of England, and of the Early Parliaments of Ireland*.

† The first case of legal action by landlord against tenant in the Pale appears to have been taken under the Statute of Westminster 2, 13 Edw. I., which took effect in Ireland, as the following extract shows:—“The Statute of Westminster 2, 13 Edw. I. gives the writ of cessavit against the tenant for recovery of lands holden, who for two years ceases doing the services reserved by tenure. This is an introduction and new law, as is observed by Fitz Herbert, and wherein Ireland is not yet named; yet that Statute was there received and put in execution in the same King Edw. I. his time, as we may see

\* *Topographical Poem*, by O’Dugan, Bard of O’Kelly, A.D. 1570.

† *Saga of Burnt Njal*, translated by G. Dasent. *War of the Galls and Gaels*, edited by Dr. Todd.

‡ Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*.

had been installed as Archbishop (A.D. 1213), he summoned all the tenants and farmers of the See to appear personally before him, on a day appointed, and to bring with them such evidences and writings as they enjoyed their holdings by. The tenants, at the stated time, presented themselves, and showed their evidences to their landlord, "mistrusting nothing." But before their faces, on a sudden, he cast them all into a fire secretly made for the purpose. "This fact amazed some that they become silent, moved others to a stirring Choller and Furious Rage, that they regarded neither place nor person, but brake into irreverent speeches: 'Thou an Archbishop!—nay, thou art a Scorch-villain;' another drew his weapon and said, 'As good for me to kill as be killed, for when my Evidences are burned and my Living taken away from me, I am killed.' The Bishop seeing this Tumult and the Imminent Danger went out at a back door: his Chaplains, Registers, and Summoners were well beaten, and some of them left for dead. They threatened to fire the house over the Bishop's Head; some means were taken for the present time to pacify their outrage, with fair promise that all hereafter should be to their own content; upon this they departed."\*

This was the first agrarian outrage, following the first attempt recorded in Irish history to degrade those who held by secure tenures into position of mere villeins, or tenants-at-will. Such attempts were stoutly resisted by the settlers who came from England. But, with the lapse of years and the

frequency of wars, civil and military authority got more into the hands of the lords; and no law could stay their exactions but that of the strong hand. In proportion as they surrounded themselves with armed guards, in the border or marsh territory, the tenants were plundered. Some British freeholders fled to England, as Sir John Davis tells us; and Leland relates that others took refuge among the Irish. In an unsettled territory few would adventure except migratory Fuidirs, who would pay a rack-rent, until better times. There was one check, however, on the lord, namely, the necessity of having "defensible" men as well as provisions. This obliged him to offer good terms and perfect security of tenure to such tenants as would consent to remain; and thus we find freeholders continually mentioned, although we are told they were often plundered and poor. Then, though incursions were made into the country, and strongholds built, the Irish swept all the land that was beyond bowshot of the walls; and it became a necessity for isolated lords to secure their alliance. They soon, also, adopted their customs. Internecine quarrels between the lords of the Pale, fomented by needy adventurers, who, swarming into England from Poitou and Bretagne in the thirteenth century, straggled greedily into Ireland, caused the old Anglo-Norman lords and Irish nobles to make common cause. Dundalk paid tribute to O'Hanlon; Galway, though well fortified, and the residence of the powerful De Burghs, lords of Connaught, paid an annual rent to the O'Briens of Thomond. Intermarriages became frequent. The Irish laws, tenures, and manners prevailed over the land, amongst the Anglo-Normans as amongst the Irish. In fact, a thorough fusion was effected. Then came an attempt of new adventurers and others to make this communion penal. They accomplished their purpose, so far as law went, in the Statute of Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, the words of which witness to the perfect mingling of races: "et ore plusors Engleis de la dit terre guepissant la lang, gia, monture, leys, usages Engleis vivent et se government as maniers, guise, et lang des Irrois enemies, et auxiant ont fait divers mariages et aliaunces enter eux et les Irrois enemies."\* In this Statute, appended to one mention of the lords, are the words, "et lour subjets appelez Betaghes." It is complained that both lord and "Betaghe" were formerly governed by English law, but now by Irish. By a previous Statute (5 Ed. III.), enacted

by a record in 26 Edw. I., Rot. 2. in the Remembrancer's Office, but belonging to the Common Pleas, entitled: 'Placita apud Dublin, etc.' 'Pleas held at Dublin on the octave of St. Hillary, in the 26th year of King Edw., Robert de Willeby and Alicia his wife, appeared on the fourth day against William Trissel, in a plea that he should restore to them ten acres of land with the appurtenances, in Knight's town, which the said William holds of them by certain services, and which ought to revert to the said Robert and Alice, by form of the Statute of our Lord the King lately enacted: because the said William hath ceased for two years doing the said services, as is alledged, and the said William was summoned and did not appear. Therefore the Sheriff was commanded to seise the said lands into the King's hands, etc. etc.'—Sergeant Mayart's *Answer to a Book entitled a Declaration, setting forth how and by what means the Laws and Statutes of England, etc. came to be in force in Ireland*, by Sir R. Bolton, *Hibernica*, pp. 434. The fact that this Statute was required to enable landlords to oust tenants who held by "certain" services, enables us to understand why the Archbishop should have sought to destroy the titles of his tenantry, and reduce them to the position of villeins at pleasure.

\* Ware, *Annals of Ireland*.

\* *Tracts relating to Ireland*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, 1843.

at Westminster and transmitted to Ireland, it was declared that one and the same law should be as well towards the Irish as the English, except the servitude of the "Betaghies" to their lords, which should be as in England with respect to villeins. This prominent mention of the two classes of lords and villeins would appear to prove that these lords had zealously adopted the degrading system, and enlarged the number of villein-occupiers, or servile "erthe-tillers," whose chief privileges were that they had protection and settlement. By the custom of England such villeins would grow into copyholders; but the extension of legal memory to the time of Richard I. may have interfered with their claim in Ireland. If the customs and laws of the two countries were indeed made identical, this interference would be hardly logical.

Duke Lionel's Kilkenny Statute, though renewed in every parliament till the year 1452, did not succeed in dividing the Anglo-Normans and the Irish, or in expelling the Brehon law from among the English, or in arresting the intermarrying, fostering, and the like. It perished, but not till it had exasperated the Irish and Anglo-Irish, and made them believe there was nothing for it but to rise in arms, which they did, with much success.

The period was not an auspicious one for the cultivators. In England, in the first year of Richard II., the villeins assembled riotously in considerable bodies, and endeavoured to withdraw their services, personal and other, from their lords, alleging exemplifications from Domesday Book with relation to their manors and villages, and claiming, on their account, to be held discharged and free. By a royal proclamation, preserved at Rymer, fixity of rents was granted them. This proclamation directed "quod nulla acra terræ quæ in bondagio vel servagio tenetur altius quam ad quatuor denarios haberetur, et si qua ad minus antea tenta fuisset, in posterum non exaltaretur." In Ireland the villeins had no protection. The King was not there: perhaps his Deputy was one of those lords whose villeins thus revolted in vindication of ancient rights transgressed. Adventurers who crossed the channel, the younger sons of such lords, had neither scruple nor check put upon them. The intimate connection that existed between Irish and English in those days may be curiously illustrated. In the year 1451, official despatches went from Ireland to the Earl of Salisbury, complaining that the Irish enemy, MacGeoghegan, "with three or four Irish captains, associated with a great fellowship of English

rebels," had burned the large town of Rathmore.\* In the previous year the insurgents in Kent were encamped at Blackheath under the leadership of an Irishman, Jack Cade, who proclaimed himself Captain of Kent. The word "captain" was used to designate Irish chieftains; and at that time an Irish chieftain would find the leadership of Kentishmen in some respects congenial work.

In Ireland, the territory subject to English laws was, after the Kilkenny act, greatly contracted: "yr is not left in the nethir parties of the counties of Dyvelin [Dublin], Mith [Meath], Loueth, and Kildare, that yoynin to gadyr, oute of the subjection of the saide enemyes and rebels scarisly xxx miles in lengthe, and xx in brede ther, as a man may surely ride other go, to answerre to the Kynge's writtes." The castles of Carlow, "one of the keyes of the saide lande," had been taken or destroyed; there were scarcely liege people enough to victual the seven or eight towns of the south and east, "wherthrough they ben on the poynt to be enfaymed."† In the reign of Henry VIII. the complaint was the same; "ther is no folke dayly subgett to the Kinges lawes but half the countye of Uriell [Louth], half countye of Meath, half the countye of Dublin, half the countye of Kildare."‡ The Irish lords encroached on the English Pale: "the Irishrie suppressed the Englishrie." Scarcely four persons in any parish of four counties of the Pale wore English habits. The Irishry forcibly took from the Earls of Ormond and Kildare divers of their possessions, and became masters of the whole country, except some parts of Leinster.§ The Lord Deputy and Council wrote to the King that "the Inglish blodde of the Inglish Conquest ys in maner worn out of this land," some through attainders, some by departure, some by being slain, "and contrarywise the Irish blodde, ever more and more without such decacies increaseth;" and then "ther is such scarnes of the Englyshe blodde in this parties, that of force we [are] dryven, not only to take Iryshe men, our naturall enemyes to our tenaunts and erthe-tillers, but also to our houshold servants some horsmen and kerne."||

Tenants and cultivators, regarded as natural enemies, had little to expect from the lords, when the latter had power to oppress them.

\* Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 361.

† Letter of the Privy Council, dated the 14th year of Henry VI., enrolled on the Close Roll of Ireland. Betham, *Origin and History*, etc.

‡ *State Papers*, Part 3, vol. ii. p. 9; *State of Ireland*, A.D. 1515.

§ *Tracts relating to Ireland*. Irish Archaeological Society, 1845. Paper in British Museum, Titus B. 12.

|| *State Papers*, Part 3, vol. ii. pp. 338-481.

Dispossessed and harassed tenants of the Marches were doubtless among those who sought to be replanted, under the colonial lords. Spenser, looking back, described their condition. To these lords, he says, "repaired divers of the poore distressed people of the Irish, for succour and relief of whom, such as they thought fit for labour and industriously disposed—as the most part of their baser sort are—they received unto them as their vassalls, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the benefit of those lawes under which they themselves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a lawe unto his owne vassall: thus was not the Law of England ever properly applyed unto the Irish nation, as by a purposed plot of Government, but as they could insinuate and steale themselves under the same, by their humble carriage and submission."\* Such writers as Spenser are only authorities with respect to the Pale and March lands.†

North as well as south, however, they bear unimpeachable testimony to the industry of the Irish cultivators: "for the churle of Ireland is a very simple and toylesome man, desiring nothing but that he may not be eaten out with cesse, coyne, nor liverie."‡

The Irish nobles appear to have got a recognition of their national laws and customs in a parliament held in the time of Lord Deputy Sir Anthony St. Leger, when they were induced to acknowledge Henry VIII. for their sovereign, "reserving yet (some say) unto themselves all their owne former Priviledges and seigniories inviolate," writes Spenser. His complaint that they were "now tied but with termes," that the King's power was limited and no longer absolute, is sufficient to show that he believed in the pact. "They reserved," he adds again, "their titles, tenures, and seigniories whole and sound unto themselves, and for the prooffe alledge that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them would (say they) be a great wrong."§ It appears from this that in the year in which he wrote, 1596, the Irish laws

and customs prevailed, virtually undisturbed, in the territories of the Irish nobles. The Irish annals record that, in 1554, the Anglo-Norman Earl of Kildare received "a great fine in cows, namely, 340 cows, as an eric for his foster brother, who had been slain."\* Still later, in 1565, it appears that the same Earl not only followed Irish customs, but acted as an Irish chief. He "has the captainship [chieftainship] of O'Ferral's country;" and "he appoints Irish Brehons to weigh their offences," and to levy fines on the offenders.† In 1603, Niall O'Donnell, a strenuous ally of the English, convoked the clan according to custom, in order that he might be appointed chieftain in due form; "and he was styled O'Donnell without consulting the King's representative or council."‡ Thus, down to the first year of James I. we have public profession of the Irish laws and customs. There are indications that the practice must have continued much later.

Towards the last third of Elizabeth's reign, however, two important events took place,—the "Composition" of Connaught, and the Confiscation and Plantation of the Earl of Desmond's estates, which formed a large part of Munster.

Desirous that the nobles of Connaught should surrender their titles, and hold them by patents of the Crown, the Lord-Deputy Perrot issued a commission, in July 1585, to the Governor of Connaught and divers of the Anglo-Norman and Irish nobles of the province, empowering them to call together "all the nobilitie, spiritual and temporal, and all the chieftaines and lordes," to devise how their titles and rights should be affirmed, and all "uncertaine cesse, cuttings, and spendings" compounded for. The commissioners proposed that the Chieftains of Countries, Gentlemen and Freeholders, should "passe unto the Queene's Majesty, her Heirs and successors, a graunt of tenne shillings English, or a marke Irish, upon every quarter of land containing 120 acres, manured or to be manured, that beares either horne or corne, in lieu and consideration to be discharged from other cesse, taxation, or tallage, excepting the rising out of Horse and Foote for the service of the Prince and State, such as should be particularly agreed upon, and some certaine dayes labour for building and fortifaction for the safety of the people and kingdome." In-

\* *View of the State of Ireland*, Ware's edition, 1633, p. 10.

† In Elizabeth's reign, A.D. 1565, Oliver, a "gentleman of the Pale," made a complaint:—"That the gentlemen of the County of Kildare made to this (Kildare) Earl's grandfather on his petition to serve a present necessity, instead of Coyn and Livery, not as this Earl's grandfather would have it, at his pleasure."—*The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestor*, by the Marquis of Kildare, Addenda, p. 96.

‡ *Journal of the Ulster Archaeological Society*. Captain Smith, A.D. 1572, vol. ix. p. 179.

§ *View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 6, 7.

\* *Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters*.

† *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, Addenda.

‡ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

§ *A Chorographical Description of West or Iar-Connaught*. Irish Archaeological Society, 1846.



quisitions succeeded; and indentures were drawn between the Lord-Deputy, for the Queen, and certain chieftains for themselves and others. Thus the indentures of composition, A.D. 1585, for "the countrie of the O'Fflaherties, called Eyre-Conaught" (West-Connaught), gives the names of a score of chieftains who agree "for and in behalfe of themselves and the rest of the chieftaynes, freeholders, gentlemen farmers, and inhabitants, having land or holdings," to grant the ten shillings on condition of being freed from "all manner of cesses, taxes, chardges, ymposicons, purveying, eateing, findinge, or bearing of soldiers, and from all other burthens whatsoever, other than the rents, resservacons, and chardges hereafter specified, and to be exacted by Parliament," etc. Among the charges reserved they were bound to "beare hostings, roods, and jurneyes." It was further agreed (on parchment) "that the names, stilles, and titles of captayneships, taynistships, and all other Irishe authorities and jurisdictions . . . together with all ellection and customarie division of land" should be abolished; and that their lands should "lynialie descend from the father to the sonn, according to the course and order of the lawes of England." O'Fflahertie, "for the better maintenance of the degree of knighthode," was to have castle and land confirmed to him, to hold by knight's service.

The following important paragraph is inserted in several of the indentures:—"And forasmuch as divers of the meane freeholders and the tenants dwelling upon their lands are and shall be greatlie burthened by this composition, if the petty lords and captaines next above them be allowed to take such rentes and customarie duties as they pretend to belong to them, for remedy whereof it is condescended that" the said chiefs, "and all others of that sort of petty lords or captaynes, shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy all their castles and lands to descend from ech of them to their heirs by course and order of the laws of England, and after the decease of everie of them, now livinge, the aforesaid rents, duties, and all exaccions shall from henceforth be utterlie determynd and extinguished for ever." This elevation of mean freeholders into direct dependence on the Crown is remarkable. But not all that was set forth was carried into effect; and the subsequent disturbances upset all plans. Sir Morrogh O'Fflaherty, himself one of the commissioners, bequeathed his lands to all his sons, "to be indifferentlie betwixt them parted;" the eldest, whom he appointed "chiefe of and over my children,

name, kindred, and countrye," was to have the first choice.\* He appointed two friends as a court of arbitration. His death occurred in 1593. He evidently made this will fearing that, if he should die intestate, the operation of the Irish law would be superseded by that of the English law of primogeniture.

Considered from a legal point of view, the Composition of Connaught forms an epoch of importance. The relations of people and chiefs towards each other and towards the land were, in that province, altered. The clan lost its ancient power of electing to the headship the individual of its choice† (a choice generally limited to members of a certain family). The lands held in trust for it by the chief, in virtue of his office, were permanently alienated to his use and that of his heirs. The customary division of the common lands was stayed, so that they could not be let out, but were to remain as commons.‡ The custom of gavel-kind was forbidden, and replaced by "the course and order of the law of England" (Kent being apparently excluded from England). The chief was converted into a feudal lord,§ so far as the mensal land and his own estate were concerned. But for this privilege he had to commute all others; and for the privilege of being confirmed in their own estates, all the other land-nobles (as well as their captain or chief) had to commute all rents and rights likewise. The "meane freeholders and their tenants—who were the Free and Base tenants of the Irish—lost certain political privileges; but their landlords were swept away from over them. On them would devolve, it was seen, the payment of the ten shillings for every quarter of land that bore "corne or horne;" and they were consequently freed from all other rents or services due to their former landlords. But this was deferred till the death of the latter, whose vested interests were thus respected. So remarkable an interference with property

\* *A Chorographical Description*, Appendix, etc.

† In 1553, the brothers of O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, rose against him and drove him into his tower, because he "had obtained from the King the right of succession for his son, who had been styled baron in preference to his seniors." Not the son, but a brother succeeded, at his death soon after. *Annals of the Four Masters*.

‡ The appropriation of such commons in Partry caused, in 1869, much sensation; and the libel suits of *Proudfoot v. Lavelle* and *Lavelle v. Proudfoot* have arisen out of it.

§ By Stat. 11 Eliz. sess. 3, cap. 7, no Earl, Baron, Viscount, Lord, or pretended Captain, was to take the title of Captain or ruler of any country being shire ground, except by letters-patent; nor was such Captain to assemble the people for making war or peace, or granting sesses.

arrangements recalls at once the Statute of Quia emptores (18 Edw. 1.) The greater barons, holding under the Crown, had granted smaller manors to be held of themselves; their inferior lords granted more minute estates; and so on, till the Lords Paramount observed that they were losing many profits, which fell into the hands of the mesne or middle lords, the immediate superiors of the terre-tenants. They accordingly obtained this Statute of Westminster, which directs that "upon all sales or feoffments of land, the feoffee shall hold the same, not of his immediate feoffor, but of the chief lord of the fee of whom the feoffor held it."\* Queen Elizabeth was Lady Paramount in Connaught; and between her and the "meane freeholders" or terre-tenants (the base tenants or villein-socagers being excluded) all mesne lords or middle men were swept off, on the death of those then existing. This was tantamount to the establishment of a peasant proprietary. The paragraph enacting it was inserted in the indentures for the territory of Clanricard, and the counties of Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon. Perhaps it had something to do with the after quietness of the western province. The previous state of things there had been dangerous, for the Lord Deputy shows himself anxious to entice the natives to "expulse the Scotts,"† of which Mayo was "a verie receptacle," whilst Sligo, "well inhabited and ritche," was more haunted with strangers than he desired, "unless the Queene were better answered of her custome."‡

The Plantation of Munster commenced in the autumn of the year following, 1586, on the attainder of the Earl of Desmond, and the confiscation of his estates. Feoffments which he had made of his lands were annulled in the Parliament of Dublin, though not without remonstrance and opposition. The booty to be divided amongst expectant adventurers was great, if the forfeiture should be declared; and they were not balked. Over half a million of acres (574,628) were declared escheated to the Crown, and were parcelled out into seigniories of 12,000, 8000, 6000, and 4000 acres each. The undertakers, that is those who should undertake the plantation or peopling of the territory, were to have estates in fee-farm,

at a rent of £33, 6s. 8d. for estates of 12,000 acres, during three years, and double that sum thenceforth.\* The seigniories were to be peopled in seven years upon the following plan or "plot," as it was called:—Every undertaker of 12,000 acres was bound to plant eighty-six families: his own family was to have 1600 acres, one chief farmer 400, two good farmers 600, two other farmers 400, fourteen freeholders (each 300) 4200, forty copyholders (each 100) 4000, twenty-six cottagers and labourers 800.† Other undertakers were bound proportionately. Edmund Spenser was one of the undertakers; he got 3028 acres in Waterford county.‡ Sir Walter Raleigh fared exceptionably well: he obtained 42,000 in Cork and Waterford.

We are able to obtain a fair glimpse of the interior of the country, from the careful description of one of the new undertakers. Those who confine their reading to Spenser get simply the opinions of one who from his sea-side castle saw but little of the land. That little was exceptional march land; and his book was composed when he had grown embittered—for he was not a successful colonist. Robert Paine, the undertaker whom we quote,§ commences by warning his English countrymen against heeding the evil reports of some disappointed men. They speak of the dangers of Ireland, he says, "Yet are they freed from three of the greatest dangers: first, they cannot meete in all that land any worse than themselves; secondly, they neede not feare robbing, for that they have not anye thing to loose; lastly, they are not like to runne in debte, for that there is none will truste them. The greatest matter which troubleth them is, they cannot get anything there but by honest tranell [work] which they are altogether ignorant of." He describes the Irish as of three sorts:—Kerns, or warlike men, who were few, on account of the late wars; wanderers; and the better sort. These last, he says, "are very civill and honestly given; the most of them greatly inclined to husbandrie, although as yet unskilful, notwithstanding, through their great tranell, many of them are rich in cattell. Some one man there milketh one hundred kine, and two or three hundred yeawes or goates, and reareth yeerely most of their

\* Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Book II. c. 6.

† There appear to have been "swarmes" of Scots, as allies, in Ireland, especially after the selection of Edward Bruce, A.D. 1315, as King of Ireland. The Anglo-Irish and Irish united under his standard; and he and his brother, Robert Bruce, advanced almost within sight of Dublin.

‡ *A Chorographical Description of West or Iar-Connaught*—Despatches, etc., Appendix.

\* Smith, *History of Cork*.

† Cox, *History of Ireland*, fol., 1689, Part I. pp. 392-5.

‡ His *View of the State of Ireland* was written ten years after, two years before his death.

§ *Tracts relating to Ireland*—Irish Archaeological Society. A Briefe Description of Ireland; made in this yeere 1589, by Robert Paine, unto xxv of his Partners, for whom he is undertaker there.

breed." They give you a "welcome and plentiful" entertainment; "for although they did never see you before, they will make you the best cheare their country affords for two or three days, and take not anything therefore." "Most of them," he continues, "speake good English, and bring up their children to learning." The children in the towns are taught to "conster the Latin into English." "They keepe their promise faithfully," he adds, "and are more desirous of peace than our English men, for that in time of warres they are more chardged." "They are quick-witted, and of good constitution of bodie." "They have a common saying, which I am persuaded they speake unfeinedly, which is *Defend me, and spend me*; meaning from the worser sort of our countrymen." This phrase has been often misrepresented, but Paine gives its meaning from the lips of the speakers. He adds: "They are obedient to the laws, so you may trauell through all the land, without any danger or injurie offered of the verye worst Irish, and be greatly releved of [by] the best." The new landlords or undertakers he divides into two classes: bad and good. The "worsser sorte" had done much hurt, and discouraged many from coming, "for they have enticed many honest men over, promising them much, but performing nothing, no, not so much as to pay their servants or workmen wages; they will not let any term above xxi yeeres or three lives, and they demand for rent xiid. an acre; this is so far from the meaning of her Majestie as appeareth by her highnes graunt that (as I think) they have, or shortly will make al their estates voyd." How this conduct was reproduced by the planters in Ulster we shall see. Paine adds, "They find such profite from their Irish tenants who give them the fourth sheafe of all their corne, and xvid. yearly for a beastes grasse, besides divers other Irish accustomed duties. So they care not although they never place an Englishman there."

The surge of war and confiscation, by which the Pale was extended, loosened the old form of society; and those who gave up most got most favour. To this fate many Irish yielded until they should be able to re-establish their rights. It must be borne in mind that in the wars the humble class of cultivators generally escaped the change and destruction that fell on their superiors in station. The honey was too welcome not to secure the toleration of the working bees. The English and Irish combatants looked down on them as hinds and churls,\* unfit

for fighting, but apt to produce rent and cattle. Disinclined for war and revolts, if not pressed into them by intolerable oppression, they remained, even through Cromwell's transplantations, the one comparatively fixed element in Irish social history—a settled substratum.

The extension of the border of the Pale over them was marked chiefly as extending border-practice—the practice of plundering them, of levying uncertain rents and keeping them in uncertain tenure. Their land-laws, rents, and security were preserved from destruction exactly so far as they were able to enforce them. They had the strength of definite aims against desultory oppression, of numbers against isolated undertakers, of armed allies in the outlawed Kerns, Tories, Rapparees, to whom they gave aid and comfort, for good reasons. For these men were the guards and executive of the proscribed laws and Brehons; they were employed to enforce the ancient land-code, and not only against undertakers, but against tenants—to check the competition of base tenants and wandering Fuidirs, to protect security of tenure, and to keep down rack-rents. Revolutions in England always threw a backwash of strange undertakers or landlords upon Ireland, who usually at first regarded the native tenantry as "naturall enemyes," and frequently strove to treat them as such. But those wars also threw on the country the armed remnants of defeated armies, who in their lurking-places received aid and comfort from the earth-tillers, and who did them secret service in return. Whether they were called Wood-Kern, Tories, Rapparees, or Ribbonmen, in successive ages, the part they played was the same—the enforcement of the ancient system and immemorial customs.\*

---

their rascall people, whom they thinke unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, which they call churles, which would onely waste their victuals, and yielde them no ayde, but their cattle they will surely keepe away. . . . This sort of base people doth not for the most part rebell of themselves, having no heart there unto."—Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 74.

\* The Statute 7 Gul. III. sess. 1, c. 21, shows that Protestants or reputed Protestants, as well as Papists and reputed Papists, were concerned as "Robbers, Rapparees, and Tories," just as in the middle of last century there were Protestant "Hearts of Steel" and "Hearts of Oak" in the North in arms against "cesses" and "rack-rents," as well as "White Boys" and "Rockites" warring in the South against "rack-rents" and "tythes." In Donegal county, until a few years ago, the Ribbon society was wont in its Courts or Lodges to issue a decree, popularly known as a "Donegal decree" or "Glenswilly decree," under which the cattle of debtors were

\* "The rebells themselves will turn away all

These were some of the checks opposed to the practice of degrading the Irish tenants into mere rack-rented Fuidirs, and degrading into villenage the English tenants, to whom Queen and landlord had promised the security of copyhold tenure at the least. The tenants, in both cases, made open resistance whenever they could.

But Paine saw a better class of undertakers also. They gave land in fee-farm, and leases for 100 years, at sixpence an acre. These advantages were, when he wrote, limited to English tenants. The conditions of the Plantation prescribed that no English planter should convey to any "meer Irish;" that the head of each plantation should be English; that the heirs-female should marry none but of English birth; and that none of the "meer Irish" should be maintained in any family there.\* Nevertheless these tenants quickly accepted Irish customs. Quite unconsciously, Paine lauds Sir Richard Greenfield for what was really an adaptation of the method in which the Irish chief dealt with his tenant. He stocked his farm and got tribute in return: Greenfield, we are told, "taketh a very good order for artificers and labourers; he will let any poore man of honest behaviour a house, xl acres of land, and vi milche kine for xl s. the yeere, for the terme of three lives; and if any breede off sufficient stock and restore the rest, xx s. rent." The importance of this acceptance of Irish customs lies in the fact that with them came the practice of security and settlement.† "Master Phane Beecher," near Kinsale, one of the largest undertakers, conducted his plantation so honourably that tenants flocked to him: "but he hath covenanted with every of his said tennauntes to place others under them, by which meanes there are many small per-selles of 50, 60, or some 100 acres, to be had as good, cheape, and under as goode conditions as the best, for his speciall care is that every inhabbiter there should have as much libertie as a freeholder in England."‡

distraigned in accordance with Brehon law. The distress was hidden away in the mountains until a settlement was made. The cattle of landlords who imposed what were believed to be overcharges, have thus been taken, and, on forfeiture, sold for the benefit of the tenants. The ancient custom of land division co-existed, and in (part) still exists, in Donegal and the West.—See Coulter, *Tour in the West of Ireland*.

\* Smith, *History of Cork*,—extract from an MS. of Lismore.

† Leland says regretfully, "Leases and conveyances were made to many of the Irishry."—Vol. ii. p. 302.

‡ It is observable that though Paine regrets seeing the Irish allowed as tenants, he always speaks favourably of them, "although the name of the Irishe among the ignorant is odious." Many traitors in Desmond's war were driven to

It may be supposed that there were others as careful. Those who were not so, and grasped at too much, found soon that they had to relax their grasp, or lose permanent advantages. The class of tenants they could obtain were too independent to subject themselves to rack-rented bondage, when they could help it. So they gave no hostages. They neither built nor improved; they sat loose; they made sure that they could proceed to fresh fields and new pastures at their own pleasure.\* Landlords must have

revolt: "As well die as traitors as be harried to death, spoiled by the worser sort of soldiers." "But as touching their government in their corporations where they beare rule, it is doone, with such wisdom, equity, and justice, as demerits worthy commendations. For I myself divers times have seene in severall places within their iurisdiction wel nearly twenty causes deecided at one sitting, with such indifference, that for the most parte both plaintiffe and defendant hath departed contented; yet manye that make showe of peace and desireth to live by bloode doe utterly mislike this or any goode thing that the poore Irishman doth."

\* "The soile is generally fertill, but litle and badly manured, by reason of the great exactions of the lordes upon their tenants. For the tenant dothe not holde his lands by any assurance for tearme of yeares or lyfe, but only *ad voluntatem domini*, so that he never buildeth, repaireth, or encloseth the grounde, but whensoever the lord listeth is turned out or departeth at his most advantage."—*Tracts relating to Ireland*. Irish Archaeological Society, 1842: A Treatise on Ireland, by John Dymmok [probably an attendant on Essex], 1600. So also Spenser: "*Irenæus*. The Lords of the land and freeholders doe not there use to set out their Land in farme or for tearme of yeares to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his Land than so long as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tennant is, for that the Land-lords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them Coynty and Livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (beside his Covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe for longer tearme, or thinketh by his continuall liberty of change to keepe his Land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him" [tenants were scarce then]. "*Eudorus*. But what evill cometh hereby to the Common-wealth, or what reason is it that the Landlord should not set, nor any tennant take his land, as himselfe list?" "*Irenæus*. Marry, the evill which cometh hereby is great, for by this meanes, both the Landlord thinketh that he hath the Tennant more at command, to follow him into what action soever he shall enter, and also the tennant being left at his liberty is fit for every occasion of change that shall be offered by time: and so much also the more ready and willing that hee hath no such state in any his houlding, no such building upon any farme, no such coste employed in fensing and husbanding the same, as might with-holde him [i.e., provided he had a secure estate in them] from any such wilfull course. . . . All which hee hath forborne and spared so much expence for that he hath no firme estate in his

been quickly taught that such tenants-at-will, and at rack-rent, only cared to remain until they had obtained all they could from the natural or pre-added fertility of the soil. Having impoverished it and the short-sighted over-greedy lord, they knocked down their sheds of interwoven branches, and drove off their stock to better quarters. The undertaker, in order to save his estate, had to secure permanent tenants; and these could only be had by giving security of tenure. Once compelled to relax his grasp, nothing prevented his compliance with the tenure-customs of the country; for in the majority of cases he was ignorant of land-customs and of agriculture, and had to deal with men whose business it was to know both, whose help he needed, and whose minds were tenacious of ancient habits. They knew the country too, its soil and climate, and could resort to its markets and fairs.\* And thus it happened that, after the lapse of ten years from the commencement of the plantation, a disappointed undertaker, Edmund Spenser, had to record of his fellows that "instead of keeping out the Irish, they do not only make the Irish their Tennants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also some of them become meere Irish."† And such tenures had they, and such knowledge of their rights, that it was difficult to pack a jury; for jurors had to be freeholders, and "most of the Freeholders of that Realme are Irish," who have "stepped into the very roomes of your English."‡

By the Act 12 Eliz. cap. 4, such Irishry or Degenerate men of English name holding their lands by Irish custom in the several provinces (some counties excepted), as should offer to surrender and take them to hold of the Crown, were to receive them under Let-

ters-Patent, or have and to hold them for years or life in tail, or in fee-simple, or with remainders to other persons. The Irish expected much from a Scottish king. But in 1605, the customs of Tanistry and Gavel-kind were abolished by judgment in the King's Bench; and in 1608, the patrimony of the Ulster Earls, 511,465 acres, was forfeited to the Crown. Most authorities believe that the plot for which the Earls suffered was only a sham one, concocted by land-hunters. Scruples were rare among adventurer officials. Letters exist showing that they suborned a man,\* in Elizabeth's reign, to assassinate the predecessor of one of these two Earls. The formal disgavelling of the country, immediately previous, gives colour to this disbelief in a plot on the part of the Earls, whilst it suggests a predetermination to have their lands confiscated, nominally to the Crown, actually for the benefit of their judges. The advantage of previous disgavelling† was this: under English law, lands held in gavel-kind were greatly privileged against escheats, the custom of Kent being expressed in its maxim, "The father to the bough, the son to the plough." The point has been overlooked; yet it accounts for much of the eloquence employed against gavel-kind by Sir John Davis, who, Attorney-General and Commissioner of Confiscation though he was, managed to obtain, in the precincts allotted to English undertakers, servitors, and natives, three grants of 2000 acres, 1500 acres, and 500 acres respectively. He did not fulfil the conditions of the Plantation scheme. It is necessary to understand this, because it enables us better to appreciate the protests of the tenantry against the unscrupulous frauds of the planters.

The essential points of the Plantation scheme were as follows:‡—There were three classes of undertakers: (1.) English and Scottish, servitors or not, who were bound to plant English or inland Scottish tenants; (2.) Servitors (officials) in Ireland who might plant with Irish as well; (3.) Natives of Ireland, to be made freeholders. The three classes were to have estates in fee-farm—the first class (after two years' grace) to yield rent at the rate of £5, 6s. 8d. per 1000 acres; the second class the same, but £8 per 1000 acres of lands planted with Irish; the third class (after one year's grace)

Tenement, but was only a Tennant-at-will, or little more, and so at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any Land-lord that shall refuse to graunt any such tearme or estate unto his Tennant as may tende to the goode of the whole Realme."—*View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 57, 58.

\* It was not till the Stat. 11 and 12 and 13 Jac. i. c. 4, that the Acts of Henry VI. were repealed, which, among other things, forbade the taking of merchandise among the Irish at their fairs.

† *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 105.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 16. His advice that they should be "heedfull and provident in luyres," appears to have been taken. Questions of Titles and Rights submitted to Juries heedfully provided by encroaching undertakers or adventurers did not result satisfactorily to the land-owners, though pleasantly to the land-hunters. Another Desmond Rebellion was in part thus caused.—*Vide Pacata Hibernia*: 1633.

\* *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, State Papers, vol. ii. p. 218.

† No such necessity, of course, existed in the case of the Anglo-Norman Earl of Desmond.

‡ "Orders and Conditions to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster," printed 1608.—Harris, *Hibernica*, p. 123.

to pay at the rate of £10, 13s. 4d. for every 1000 acres. Undertakers (of the first two classes) of 2000 acres were to hold by knight's service in capite; of 1500 by knight's service as of the castle of Dublin; of 1000 in common soccage: the first to build a castle and strong court or bawn; the second a stone or brick house, with the same; the third a strong court or bawn, at least—all within two years. The tenants were to be induced to build. Timber for all was given for nothing from the King's woods. They were forbidden to aliene to the Irish, or (in the case of servitors) to any who would not take the oath of supremacy. For five years, unless excused by license, they were to be resident, and only aliene one-third part in fee-farm, and another third for 40 years or under.\* They were to reserve the rest. On the expiration of five years, they were free to aliene, except to the Irish, etc. They received power to erect manors, to hold Courts Baron twice a year, to create tenures to hold of themselves upon alienation. "The said undertakers shall not demise any part of their lands at will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for life, in tail or in fee-simple."† No uncertain rents were to be reserved. Their patents were to have provisos against cuttings, cosheries, and other exactions. For five years they could import anything, not by way of merchandise, duty free; for seven years they could transport their produce free of custom or imposition. The Irish natives were, like the rest, bound to make certain estates for lives or years to their under-tenants, and to take no Irish exactions.

There is an aspect of such elaborate care about this Plantation scheme, and Sir John Davis has so praised its superiority over the Queen's plot for Munster, that observers have been and are deceived. Their attention is concentrated on the flagrant breach of its studied provisions by the undertakers; and they omit to notice the one great flaw which it has in common with the Munster scheme, and by which the destruction of both was necessarily insured. There was no arrangement whatever made as to the amount of rent to be paid by the under-tenants. Their rents were not fixed like those of the larger tenants, commonly called landlords;‡ there

was no sliding scale dependent on produce price proposed; no arbitration courts were appointed. It was a mockery to provide for certain estates to be made at certain rents, whilst the greater tenants (whose rents were fixed) were left free to name the rent of the under-tenants. There was, indeed, no fear of over-competition; and if the Irish native tenantry had been impartially recognised and estated, there would have been no temptation to evade and make void the plantation-clauses.

The undertakers were very human; they not only yielded to temptation, but sought it. As in Munster, they invited over tenants from Britain, and when they had them in their power betrayed them. A few got leases; a few had "mynnyts" [minutes]; a large number held only by promise; and some who could went away.\* The Irish, in fact, ousted them again largely, as in Munster. British tenants, who had no estates, declined to improve the land or stock it. Some sublet to the Irish, who, with cattle in hand, kept to "greasing." While exorbitant rents could be had of the Irish, most landlords and agents competed for them, and finally, as in Munster, had to come to their terms, more especially when the wars of 1641 placed them at their mercy. Whilst it could be said, as in several places in Pynnar's Survey it is said, "All this land is inhabited with Irish," tried veterans who, with the "wickedest" of septa, the Clandonnell Scots, repulsed Elizabeth's armies, it is evident that the Irish land-customs would be maintained. The British settlers were dependent

not. This led them to resent Drummond's observation that "Property has its duties as well as its rights." In the same way it leads them to resent the movement by the under or terre-tenants for security of tenure and settled rents. They forget, or do not know, that their own predecessors had to foment more than one agitation against the uncertain render of knight's service,—aids, relief, wardship, livery, maritagium, and (for King's tenants in capite) primer seisin, alienation fines—before they obtained or could obtain that secure tenure at certain rents which they now enjoy. It was only at the Restoration, by the Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 24, that they obtained what they sought. A class of tenants which has suffered should have consideration for another class which suffers; nor should the special champions of English land-law forget its root principles:—"The first thing, then, a student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership. Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands. He can only hold an estate in them."—Williams, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*, p. 17.

\* See Report of the "Survey in 1618-9, by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, under the great seal of Ireland, to Nicholas Pynnar and others." "Letter of Sir Thomas Phillips, Knt. of Lymyvady."—Harris, *Hibernica*.

\* "Nor set them at uncertain rents, or for a less term than for twenty-one years, or three lives."—Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 73.

† Compare this with the commutation offered for Irish tenures by Stat. 12 Eliz. cap. 4, already quoted.

‡ The name of "landlord" misleads many of such upper tenants in Ireland, and makes them suppose that they have some special, absolute, or allodial ownership in the soil, which others have

on these Irish; for we are told that, if the Irish had been put away with their cattle, the British would have had either to forsake their dwellings, or to endure great distress "on a sudden." The dispersed tenants were contributors to the wood-kern. The land-customs of the Scottish and Welsh settlers were, like their languages, very similar to the Irish. Those customs went to the formation of what is now known as the Ulster custom, though it existed then, so far as security is concerned, all over Ireland, except where Border-practice could rule unchecked.

Did English settlers contribute anything to the formation of this custom? We believe they contributed to shape it, by moulding the congenial native elements after their own copyhold custom, and so helped, by virtue of their ascendancy, to obtain its recognition. The Gaelic-speaking natives bought and sold among themselves; the landlord or agent was doubtless content to receive the rent from any comer. The English-speaking tenants, except those dispersed at a distance from the undertaker's residence, were brought into such close contact with him that he could supervise their dealings. Yet he became so dependent on them, in days of civil strife, when not only his estate but his life was at stake, that such supervision must have been nominal. He knew that he had committed such breaches of his patent that he held it, as it were, by sufferance, and that if he did not at least compound with his tenants by submitting to their customs they might complain so urgently as to cause forfeiture of his estate. King's commissioners were going about. Sir Josias Bodley had examined and reported severely in 1613; and King James had thereupon written earnestly to the Lord Deputy,\* ordering a general survey of the plantation on which he personally prided himself. Nicholas Pynnar had then (1619) reported severely. It was known amongst them all that, for delinquencies of which each was more or less guilty, the Londoners' "Irish Society" had incurred the sequestration of its Irish property (1624). In consequence of accusations which might have been brought against any of them, it had its patent annulled by the Star-Chamber in 1636.† Ucalegon's house was aflame. Thus it was necessary for the landlord to

keep his tenants in good humour, to respect their customs at least, and allow them security of tenure, that his own might not be disturbed. They were to be virtually and practically "estated tenants," whether a lease was executed or not. They had been shown their farms and told to enter and take possession. Livery of seisin was made to them; and in those days the maxim, *seisina facit stipitem* ruled, and possession was rather more than nine points of the law. Parole holdings were then not necessarily invalid.

Now what land-customs would the English tenantry carry to Ireland with them? Not those of mere villeins, for the lowest class could not go; and if villeins could have gone, they would have been at once elevated above pure villenage by the articles of plantation requiring estates to be made them in fee, for life, or years. But in England, villeins had been universally rising into secure copyholders, "strengthening their tenure of their estates to that degree that they came to have in them an interest in many places full as good, in others better than their lords." The common law, of which custom is the life, gave them title to prescribe against their lords, and "on performance of the same services to hold their lands in spite of any determination of the lord's will. For although in general they are said to hold their estates at the will of the lord, yet it is such a will as is agreeable to the customs of the manor; which customs are preserved and evidenced by the rolls of the several courts-baron in which they are entered or kept on foot by the constant immemorial usage of the several manors in which the lands lie. And as such tenants had nothing to show for their estates but these customs, and admissions in pursuance of them entered on these rolls, or the copies of such entries witnessed by the steward, they now began to be called tenants by copy of court-roll, and their tenure itself a copyhold." So that "when tenure in villenage was abolished (though copyholds were preserved) by the Statute of Charles II., there was hardly a pure villein left in the nation."\* Thus the lowest class who could go over were copyholders, either in fact or lawful expectation. It will next be seen that an earnest invitation was published in England, urging cultivators to go over to receive copyholds, and that the customs and methods of surrender are identical in their essential particulars.

The author of the rare tract we quote

\* Letter given in the *Concise View of the Irish Society*, Appendix, pp. 37-8.

† "A.D. 1635. In this year the City and County of Londonderry was restored to the Society, who had been deprived of it by a decree in the Star-Chamber, anno 1636."—Ware, *Annals of Ireland*.

\* Blackstone's *Commentaries*, B. ii. c. 6.

from, Thomas Blenerhassett,\* was "one of the undertakers in Farmanagh;" and his word may be relied on, because we find, by Pynnar's Survey, that he did estate his tenantry.† Two years after the publication of

\* *Direction for the Plantation of Ulster and Exhortation to England*, etc., imprinted at London by Ed. Allde, for John Budge, dwelling at the Great South doore of S. Paules Church, 1610.

† Fermanagh. "Thomas Blenerhassett hath one thousand five hundred acres, called Edernagh [built bawne of lime and stone and houn]. He hath begun a church. He hath also a small village consisting of six houses built of cage-work, inhabited with English. I find planted and estated on his land, of Brittish families: freeholders, 4, viz., 1 having 80 acres, 1 having 46, 1 having 22, 1 having 16; lessees for years, 8, viz., 1 having 60, 1 having 26, 1 having 8." But Pynnar did not see them, "for the under-tenants and many of the tenants were absent."

It is instructive to glance at a few more typical reports: Cavan.—"John Taylor, esq., hath fifteen hundred acres, called Aghiduff. . . I find planted upon this land, of Brittish Birth and Descent: freeholders 7, viz., 1 having 288 acres; 1, 264; 1, 96; 2, 48 le piece; 2, 24 le piece; lessees of years, 7, viz., 1 having 192; 2, 48 le piece; 2, 24 le piece; 2, 48 le piece. *Cottagers in fee*, 11, viz., 3 having 60 acres le piece; 3, 31 le piece; 3, 30 le piece; 1, 4 acres; 1, 2 acres."

A Scottish undertaker, "William Hamilton, esq., holdeth 1000 acres called Dromuck. . . I find planted and estated upon this land, of Brittish Birth and Descent: freeholders, 2, viz., 2 having 120 acres le piece; lessees for 3 lives, 2, viz., 1 having 42 acres, 1, 54; lessees for years 4, viz., 1 having 128 acres; 1, 84; 1, 48; 1, 36. *Cottagers that hold for years*, 6, viz., 1 having 30 acres; 1, 20; 1, 15; 1, 12; 1, 11; 1, 10."

In Clancally, a precinct appointed for English undertakers, "Sir Hugh Wirral hath a thousand acres, called Ardmagh. . . He hath no freeholder nor leaseholder, and but three poor men on the Land, which have no Estates; for all the Land at this time is inhabited with Irish."

In Castlerahin, a precinct allotted to servitors and natives, "Sir Thomas Ash, Knt., holdeth 1000 acres, called Mullagh. Upon this proportion there is an old castle new mended, but all the land is now inhabited with Irish."

In the precinct of Omy, appointed for English undertakers, "the Earl of Castlehaven hath 3000 acres, called Faugh and Rarone. Upon this there is no building at all, either of Bawne or Castle, neither Freeholders. I find planted upon this land some few English families, but they have no estates, for since the Earl died, the tenants (as they tell me) cannot have their Leases made good unto them unless they will give treble the Rent which they paid, and yet they must but have half the Land which they enjoyed in the late Earl's time." On another property, "the agent for the Earl showed me the Rent-Roll of all the Tenants, but their Estates are so weakly, that they are leaving the Land."

Londonderry, Haberdashers' Hall property, "Sir Robert McClelland hath taken this of the Company for 61 years." . . . "There were nominated unto me six Freeholders, which were in Scotland, and these were set down but for small Quantities, and twenty-one are Leaseholders, but not any one of them could show me anything

the King's Orders and Conditions, this writer addresses Prince Henry, in order that "the never-satisfied desires of a few should not quite disgrace and utterly overthrowe the good and exceeding good purposes of many." He and certain of his acquaintances being resolved sincerely to plant, he had crossed the seas, and arrived when Sir Arthur Chichester and others were "surveying near Lyfford," about a dozen miles from Londonderry. Knowing some of the chief knights and captains, he asked them why they were not forward themselves to undertake those "profitable seates and rich grounds." The building of forts and castles, they replied, was costly work, and even should there be a manor erected, with twenty or forty tenants, walls and men would not secure their goods. Castle and fort might preserve their lives in an extremity; but the "cruell Wood-Kerne, the devowing Woolfe, and other suspitious Irish, would so attend on their busines, as their being there should be little profitable unto them." There was Sir Tobye Cawfield, dwelling in Charlemount, a fort of many others the best, well furnished with men and munitions; "yet now (even in this faire calme of quiet) his people are driven every night to lay up all their Cattle as it were in Warde, and doe hee and his what they can, the Woolfe and the Wood-Kerne (within Caliever-shot of his Forte) have oftentimes a share." Indeed, "all men there in all places doe the like." Even within what they had long called the English Pale, it was so. "Sir John King, he dwelleth within halfe a mile of Dublin, Sir Henry Harrington within halfe a mile on the other side thereof, . . . they also doe

in writing for their Estates, neither could the Landlord show me any Counterpains."

Summing up in an appended letter, Pynnar gives his opinion of what he saw in the whole Survey:—"I may say that the abode or continuance of those inhabitants upon the Lands is not yet made certain, although I have seen the Deeds made unto them. My reason is, that many of the English tenants do not yet plough upon the Lands, neither use Husbandrie, because I conceive they are fearful to stock themselves with Cattle or Servants for those labours. Neither do the Irish use Tillage; for that they are also uncertain of their Stay upon the Lands; so that by this means the Irish ploughing nothing do use greasing, the English very little, and were it not for the Scottish Tenants [who had more security, or were poorer,] which do plough in many places, those parts may starve; by reason whereof the Brittish, who are forced to take their Lands at great Rates, do lie at the greater Rents paid unto them by the Irish Tenants who do grease their Lands; and if the Irish be put away with their Cattle, the Brittish must either forsake their Dwellings, or endure great Distress on the suddain." Thus middlemen came.—*Pynnar's Survey, Hibernica.*



the like, for those forenamed enemies doe every night survey the fields to the very Walls of Dublin." Armagh city could not restrain the violence of the wolf: and there were no inland towns equal to Armagh. Bogs and woods \* were the strongholds of the wood-kern and wolf. Now what was to be done to plant such a country?

In the first place, towns must be built and safety insured, "with the helpe of some Irish"—the agricultural classes. Then "those good fellows in trowzes, I mean the everywhere dispersed creatures in the creats [i.e., the cattle-owners], seeing this course will no longer hearken after change, nor entertaine the lurking Wood-Kerne as now they doe." But towns are only outposts. Tenants must be induced, by every means, to take and settle on remote lands, "which the undertaker should allot them by Coppy of Court-roll, or otherwise." "So all the lands farre remote" would be occupied. And his reasons are to be observed:—"Oh, this word *Myne* is a strong warriour, every man for his *owne* will adventure farre. The Mercenary Rutter will oftentimes have his charge empty with men, when his purse shall be full with dead payes. This my valiaunt and provident warriour *Myne*, he will rather increase than decrease his nomber, he doth watch and ward night and day without ceasing. Therefore in this our Undertaking, let all the people be such as shall enjoy every man more or lesse, of *his owne*." "There be twelve of us," he says, "under the assignation of the Right Honourable Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury," who intended to purchase and plant, bestowing their best endeavours on the matter, "for discoursing will not doe it." In his *Exhortation to Fayre England*, he explains that men are needed to colonize with. He warns off poor indigent fellows, without faculty or money, who would only starve, and adds: "Art thou an husbandman, whose worth is not past tenne or twenty pounds? goe thither; those new manor-makers will make thee a Coppy-Holder; thou shalt whistle sweetely, and feede thy whole family, if they be six, for sixpence a day."

Upon such an invitation as this, in which twelve undertakers joined, it is reasonable to believe that a fair number of actual or

presumptive copyholders, desirous of a wider field, would go to Ireland, and there establish their custom. Provision was made for copyholders by the Queen's Plot for Munster, so that forty families—nearly half the total number—should be planted on every large estate. Custom rather than writing was the life of their tenure. It was the substantial basis of the colonization. It was widened by the fact of so many holding "by promise," by "*mynnys*," by writings not handed over or lost. It was supported by the universal Irish custom of prescriptive rights, and compensation for improvements. It was confirmed by terror of the Wood-Kern, and by the resolve of armed men, who had taken over their small capitals, invested them, built houses, and improved wastes, to defend their property against all comers. It was sealed by the acquiescence of the undertakers, who knew that they were themselves but tenants on sufferance. The Wood-Kern, the Royal Commissioners, and the rising of 1641, made them feel this acutely, and allow a custom to which, or to greater concessions, they were pledged, and which was acknowledged by the law in England. Many of them were probably glad to be excused from the necessity of giving greater concessions, and, being used to the custom, thought it nothing strange. Writing materials were not to be had every day; and this was probably the cause why copies were infrequent. The changes of upper tenants or undertakers by means of alienations or sales were not rare. These changes and the wars tended to throw the formal records of the Courts-Baron into confusion, or transform their written acts into verbal law. The dispersed state of the tenantry, the difficulty of intercommunication, the social condition of the country, threw or kept the tenants on their own resources. They bargained and sold together, interchanged chattels and lands; and in doing so, they did what they were authorized to do by customs handed down for generations, and confirmed by law, on the manors from which so many of them had come. The Ulster custom may be called a parole copyhold custom; and we shall see that, in the reign of William III., such a parole tenure was confessed to exist.

The Plantation schemes of both South and North show that it was intended to exclude tenants-at-will. Anciently the lord's manor was divisible into demesne land, worked by labourers for himself; book-land or charter-land, held by deed under certain rents and services, from which arose freehold tenants holding of particular manors, by some suit and service to the same; and folk-land, distributable at pleasure, and re-

\* So rapidly were the woods wasted that it was found necessary to provide, by Stat. 10 Gul. III. sess. 2, c. 12, for the planting of 260,600 trees, some in every county. This was a change for the land which Cynthia delighted in more than all the gods who used to resort there:—

"Whylome, when Ireland florished in fame  
Of wealth and goodnesse far above the rest  
Of all that beare the Britthis Islands' name."  
—*Faerie Queen*.

sumable at the lord's discretion, being indeed land held in villenage.\* Now it is clear that the plantation properties were granted as demesne and book or charter lands only, with an evident and understood purpose. It is also clear that, with a purpose, evident also, but not exactly understood, the grantees laboured to degrade the properties into folkland and the tenants into a state resembling villenage. But they began too late. They had to deal with tenants the lowest of whom knew the sweets of a copyholder's liberty.

In Ulster, the tenant alienes sometimes with, sometimes without, his lord's knowledge. Anciently, the feudal bond being reciprocal, neither lord nor tenant could aliene without the consent of the other. The restraint on the lords soon wore off. There were fines upon alienation; but, in England, "these fines seem only to have been exacted from the King's tenants in capite, . . . but as to common persons, they were at liberty, by Magna Charta, and the Statute of Quia emptores, to aliene the whole of their estate, to be holden of the same lord, as they themselves held it of before."† By the Statute of Edward I., every freeman could sell his lands or tenements, or parts thereof, at his own pleasure; and by the Statute 32 H. VIII. c. 1, the power of testamentary alienation was given for estates in fee-simple, and, in later days, by the Statute 29 Car. II. c. 3, sec. 12, for estates held for the life of another. Now, there was a considerable number of freeholders so privileged by written deed, in the plantations; and there was a still more considerable number so privileged by "mynnyts," and by "promise." To the latter class some of the former may have been added, by the loss or destruction of their documents during the subsequent civil wars. Thus, we should have a comparatively large, and ever increasing body, who had a right to buy and sell their small estates or farms, and whose right, being unrecorded, could be trampled on in law, as often in fact it would have been had they not resisted by force. They had no need to consult the lord‡ when they bought

or sold a farm; and they did not consult him. But in later years, the upper tenants or landlords have been labouring to reclaim

to defend the place; and it appears to me that we can trace, from all that I see about the matter, the present indefeasible tenant-right up to that; for those who were settled by the original patentees were in some sort fosterers or kindred, and were then engaged in the defence of the country, and became rather a kind of friendly tenant than a tenant for money; and I think from that time to this, the tenant-right has been continued, and in no way altered by law, but by custom." "18. Do you think it arose from those persons, so brought in, having in the first instance built those dwellings and houses themselves? Yes, I think so, and being connected with the patentees in a closer way than the mere connection of a tenant with a landlord." "22. Can you give any statement of what you consider the price or value of it, compared to the year's rent or the acre? I do not believe there would be any general rule; but within this fortnight a man in a mountain district that belongs to myself came for some timber to build a house. I had never seen him nor heard of him before; but on inquiring who he was, I learned that he had given £80 for a farm without a lease, that paid £3 a year."—p. 743. James M. Reid, Esq., land-agent, co. Tyrone:—"56. Is it usual to allow the tenantry to sell the tenant-right? Yes, it is in part, but usually you must please the agent; and the incoming person, if he happens to be a favourite or pet, can buy it at less than one-half the market-price."—p. 824-5. William Blacker, Esq.:—"67. The property has been brought into cultivation within the memory of man, by the exertions of the occupying tenant, without any assistance from his landlord whatever; for instance, in the case of the allotments on the school lands the other day, the poor man builds his house and brings the bog land, which was worth nothing, into a valuable property."—p. 324. C. J. Knox, Esq., agent, Clothworkers' Company:—"32. In the present state of the country, it is not only judicious to allow the sale of the tenant-right, but I think it would be cruelly unjust to prevent it—unjust, because the tenantry and their forefathers have been permitted to make all the permanent improvements at their own expense—and injudicious, because with the poorer classes it is the best security against the dilapidation of the premises, the price of the tenant-right always being in proportion to the condition of the farm."—p. 651. Townland Valuation Report of 1844: Evidence of A. Senior, Esq.:—"1091. The Committee should not understand that the tenant-right depends entirely upon an outlay made by an improving tenant, inasmuch as an outgoing tenant on a mountain district would receive tenant-right who had not expended anything upon the land." "1142. The early settlers were stationed in a hostile country, and could only tempt their retainers to come over, or to remain, by granting permanent advantages in return for the protection they afforded the first chief occupiers." "1103. As a question of political economy, it is precisely the same to the incoming tenant, whether he pays a small rent and a large fine as tenant-right, or a larger rent to the proprietor." "1155. Do I understand from you that the landlord does not actually choose the incoming tenant, but it is a bargain between the man who is ejected, [case supposed,] and the

\* Blackstone's *Commentaries*, B. ii. c. 6.

† Ibid, B. ii. c. 5.

‡ Land Commissioners' Report: Evidence of James Sinclair, Esq., J.P., Strabane, co. Tyrone:—"In this district, as long as I remember, and for a great time back, as far as the Plantation of Ulster, the tenant-right has been respected, and has been valuable only to the tenant. The notion is, that it originated in the manner in which the settlement of Ulster was made. The tenants *in capite* got a certain portion of land, on condition that they were to sublet to under tenants a portion, for three lives and twenty-one years, upon strictly feudal terms, to be ready with arms

them from such a state of freedom, degrading them to the supervised copyhold surrender.

The custom in Ulster varies in different counties; copyhold customs were not the same on all manors. Numbers of the colonizers went from the north of England to the north of Ireland, and took with them a custom which harmonized well with the freeholders' unwritten rights. They held, indeed, by copy of court-roll; but their tenure hardly originated in villenage, for even the merely formal expression that they held at the will of their lords, inserted in other copies, was excluded from theirs. Their lands, held by such a tenure, were customary freeholds. Lawyers have debated whether this freehold is in the lord or in the tenant; but, though the decision leans in favour of the lord where he has right to mines and timber, etc., where such rights, or most of them, do not exist, the customary freeholds "may with good reason be regarded as the actual freehold estates of the tenant." Such tenant would then "possess the rights of other freeholders in fee-simple, subject only to a customary mode of alienation."\* What connection is there between any such customary mode of alienation and that prevalent in Ulster? An instance is given of a locality in Westmoreland where "the customary mode of conveyance has always been by deed of grant, or *bargain and sale*, without livery of seisin, lease for a year, or enrolment."† The similarity of this to the Ulster usage is obvious. But this is not all. The "cottagers in fee" whom Pynnar mentions as stated in Ulster, and whom he places lowest on his list, even beneath those who had merely the chattel interest of a term of years, appear to have held an estate in fee-simple in copyholds.‡ Such was the tenure that Thomas Blenerhassett promised. The copyholders' right to alienate is of an-

cient origin. They stood on a footing analogous to that of freeholders. Like them they took the oath of fealty, and did suit at the manor-court. As copyhold tenure originated in villenage, the customary services, varying with different manors, had an agricultural, sometimes a menial character. We find such customary services prevalent in Ulster, and elsewhere in Ireland, at the beginning of the present century, and lingering on in remote localities. Under that head come the "duty-fowl" sent to the landlord or agent, the "duty-days" when the tenant was obliged to supply "duty-men" and horses and do "duty-work" at cutting his landlord's corn and turf, and drawing them home. The character was impressed on leases, where these "and other dues too shameful to mention" were specified.\* The copyholder who alienated by surrender did so by "coming to the steward in court, or, if custom permits, out of court, and there, by delivering up a rod, a glove, or other symbol, as the custom directs, resigning into the hands of the lord, by the hands and acceptance of his said steward, all his interest and title in the estate *in trust*, to be again granted out by the lord to such persons and such uses as are named in the surrender. . . . Immediately upon such surrender in court [baron] or upon presentment of surrender made out of court, the lord, by his steward, grants the same land again to *cestuy que use* (improperly called the surrenderee) to hold by the ancient rents and customary services, and thereupon admits him tenant to the copyhold, according to the form and effect of the surrender."† Now what is this but a description of one of the lowest forms of the Ulster custom, as it is called? The essential part is that one tenant sells his farm to another, to hold of the same lord, at the same rent.‡ The recognition of the new tenant

man who is coming in? Entirely so; the usual form which appears is an advertisement, headed 'FARM FOR SALE,' issued by the outgoing tenant, who is in want of a purchaser. Under this system, therefore, there are almost no arrears of rent." (The rent being a first charge on sale-proceeds.) "1156. That is called 'Farm for Sale?' Yes. 1157-8. Even though the tenant has no lease? Yes."

\* Williams, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*, pp. 289, 290.

† Ibid., note, p. 290.

‡ Perhaps one reason why undertakers were averse to give written records to freeholders was that freehold lands in fee-simple escheated to the Crown if the tenant were convicted of treason. The times were stormy, landseekers on the lookout (as personally they knew) for discoveries and "concealments," "paper petitions" common in Charles I.'s time. Now copyholders' lands escheated to the lord.

\* *Statistical Survey of Tyrone*, drawn up for the Dublin Society, 1802.

† Blackstone, *Commentaries*, B. ii. c. 22.

‡ The following Acts relating to copyholds have been passed in the present reign:—First, commutation of rents, reliefs, customary services, fines, etc., were facilitated. The landlord's rents and interest are changed, by commutation, into a rent-charge varying or not, as agreed, with the price of corn, and a small fixed fine (Stats. 4 and 5 Vict. c. 35, s. 14; 15 and 16 Vict. c. 51, s. 41). Facilities were given for the enfranchisement or conveyance of the freehold of such lands from lord to tenant—either in consideration of money paid the former, of an annual rent-charge varying with the price of corn, or of the conveyance of other lands (Stats. 4 and 5 Vict. c. 35, ss. 56, 59, 73, 74, 75; 6 and 7 Vict. c. 23; 7 and 8 Vict. c. 55, s. 5). It was provided also that the money paid for the enfranchisement might be charged on the lands by way of mortgage (Stats. 4 and 5 Vict. c. 35, ss. 70, 71, 72; 7 and 8 Vict. c. 55, s. 4).

by the agent was a mere formality; and the attempt to make it more than a formality is a modern encroachment, the enforcement of which would be resented unless the incomer were notoriously unfit. In Ulster, during tumultuous times, both landlords and tenants had to dispense with much paper or parchment work: the entering of the tenant's name on the court-roll or book, and the transfer of the symbol, or one or other, was enough.

There is here surely enough to show the origin of what is known as the Ulster custom. In reality it extended over Ireland; but in Ulster it has remained almost intact, because the political and religious causes that devastated the South, and as far as possible destroyed its ancient rights and customs, did not hurt the North. Generally, the Ulster tenants were Protestants, so that the province was not wasted by the Penal Laws. They retained their arms, rose in defence of their custom more than once, and did not vote against their landlords. Thus they remained almost undisturbed until quite recently, when it was found that in one case the custom was not allowed in a law-court.\*

The compulsory Copyhold Act of 1853 is still more remarkable. Either landlord or tenant can compel enfranchisement (Stat. 15 and 16 Vict. c. 51). If the tenant demands it, he is to make compensation in a lump sum, on its completion; or in certain cases, it may be charged as a mortgage. If the landlord demands it, he is to get the compensation as an annual rent-charge, issuing out of the lands, subject to the right of the parties, with the sanction of the appointed commissioners, to agree that the compensation shall be either a gross sum, or on a yearly rent-charge, or a conveyance of land (sec. 7). The rent-charge may vary with the price of grain, or be fixed, at the option of the parties or the discretion of the commissioner (sec. 41).

\* It was a bad test-case; for the tenant was a priest. It is hard to know on what principle the Ulster custom should be disallowed, whilst other customs are admitted. The limit of legal memory applies to all or none. But in the case of *Grannel v. Hamilton*, before the Lord Chief-Justice and a special jury, certain specified customs are sanctioned for the three other provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. The Lord Chief-Justice said, referring to examples given of the custom: "The books showed that in Munster and Connaught two-thirds, and in Leinster seven-eighths, of the crop went to the out-going tenant, leaving in the one one-third, and in the other one-eighth, to the landlord or to the incoming tenant. This applied to uncertain tenures, or as a yearly tenancy, or where the lease fell in on the sudden dropping of a life after the crop was sown. If the jury believed the custom as alleged on the part of the plaintiff to exist (that was a matter which they were seriously to consider), he could not yield to the requisitions of the (landlord) defendant's counsel and tell them that such a custom was unreasonable or illegal. It was

Mutual dependence on each other's good offices drew together the British and Irish tenants in the years following the plantations. By offering a high rent, the Irishmen often retained their holdings.\* Inter-marriages became frequent, "gossiped, fosterings, relations of much dearness among the Irish, together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them." "Nay," it is added, "they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each other's manners, many English being strangely degenerated into Irish affections and customs, and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparel," etc.† The Catholics privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, while the Scottish tenants began to complain of being persecuted by Prelacy. When they had just expected to reap the fruit of their labour, "by the cruell severitie and arbitrarie proceedings of the civill magistrate," and "the unblest way of the Prelacy, our soules," they say, "are starved, our estates undone, our families impoverished, and many lives among us cut off or destroyed."‡ The Irish gained by this hostility between Prelacy and Puritanism; it was complained that their schools began to be universities rather than schools, from the numbers attending them. The Irish were fond of learning;

sufficient in his opinion, also, if the custom was proved to exist in the district to which the plaintiff belonged." After a short deliberation the jury found for the landlord defendant on one count, for the tenant plaintiff on another—"a verdict for the plaintiff on the ground that *by custom* he was entitled to his crops, and they assessed the damages at £276." However, "upon the application of defendant's counsel, execution was respited pending the decision of legal points, raising questions as to there being evidence of the custom, and of its being a reasonable and legal custom."—*Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 11, 1869. The Lord Chief-Justice appears to take a view identical with that which we have already mentioned. Quoting Lord Coke on the way-going crop, he said: "Now that was Lord Coke stating the Common Law of England, which centuries ago was introduced into Ireland, and now formed part of the Common Law of Ireland." If the laws and customs ("leges et consuetudines") were made identical as intended, then the non-recognition of prescriptions recognised in England requires to be accounted for.

\* "They, finding the natives willing to overpale rather than remove, and that they could not reap half the profit by the British that they do by the Irish," etc.—*Hibernica*. A Letter from Sir Thomas Philips to King Charles.

† *The Irish Rebellion, or an History of the Beginnings and First Progress of the General Rebellion*, 1641.

‡ *The Humble Petition of the Protestant Inhabitants of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, concerning Bishops*, 1641.

and it was always easy to empanel a jury to determine boundaries, for it was found that a majority (ten or eleven out of twelve in one case) could speak Latin.\* In 1641 a Royalist and Catholic rebellion broke out. The lower classes were less moved than the upper. Admissions are allowed to drop that much friendship was shown by the natives to their British neighbours; and such avowals appear even in the frenzied tracts† where the apparitions of Protestant ghosts are solemnly appealed to. Landlords cast themselves on the mercy of their tenants. Sir Phelim O'Neale's mother protected the lives of numbers of settlers. Creighton, an Irishman, by his charitable relief, preserved many from perishing. Many, however, were depopulated, and went away to neighbouring towns, till the war was over. Stragglers were killed by stragglers; rumours begot rumours and slaughters; but the exaggeration is excessive. The rebel gentlemen's complaints were about religion, the avoidance of grants by "Quirks and Quiddities of the Law,"‡ and the restraint of purchase in the Irish of lands in the escheated counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterities, which "doth more discontent them than that Plantation Rule."§ These wars were ended by Cromwell. Then came the Cromwellian confiscation and "settlement," and succeeding these the Williamite war, confiscation, and planting. The chief effect of them all was to "clear" the country of Catholic landlords. The tenantry were found too profitable to officers and soldiers to be got rid of, though the tale of oppression and suffering was repeated in all cases.|| In time the Cromwellian and Williamite soldiers and officers married Irish wives and adopted Irish habits; and often their children could speak only Irish.

Let us now observe the change effected, and the principles established, by the Cromwellian settlement.

The act of Transplantation was simply an act of Eviction, remarkable for the quantity of ground "cleared," and for the class of tenants upon whom notices to quit were served. The evicted were, prominently, the upper-tenants, or landlords; they were

turned out for (alleged) non-payment of their render or service, i.e., for breach of fealty. Two classes of persons were excepted from the eviction: first, those who had regularly paid, that is, who could prove their "constant good affection;" and secondly, "all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort," according to the provisions of the Act. To this second class, "mercy and pardon for life and estate" were extended.\* Under-tenants, who were transplantable, were not bound to adhere to their immediate landlords, but might "sit down in Connaught, as tenants under the State."† The object was to degrade the evicted upper-tenants to a lower condition. It was hoped they would be lowered to the rank of cultivators, earth-tillers, peasants, by having to work for themselves.‡ Those who had previously worked for them would serve to work for a new series of landlords. Thus there was left a population to continue land-customs, which the new lords (ignorant of land culture, and able to obtain no other tenants) would gladly recognise.

How did the evicting landlord—the Parliament—deal with its evicted tenants? What principle did it establish? The answers are most important:—*First*, The evicted got an "equivalent" on eviction. *Secondly*, The "custom of the country" was officially recognised.

1. The evicted person got an estate in Connaught for his estate elsewhere, from which he was ejected. He was compelled, as it were, to sell out and accept payment in kind. The recognition in him of a right to compensation, after he had failed in his render, was a recognition of his occupancy right; and he obtained compensation in proportion to his crops,§ etc. From end to

\* Original Declaration given in Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 26, 27.

† Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 32.

‡ Ibid. p. 28.

§ "Pierce, Lord Viscount Ikerrin: seventeen persons, sixteen acres of winter-corn, four cows, five garrans [horses], twenty-four sheep, two swine. For each acre of winter-corn, three acres of land were to be assigned, summer corn and fallow being included; for each cow or bullock (of two years old and upwards), three acres; . . . for every three sheep, one acre; and for goats and swine proportionably. These [first] assignments were only conditional; for at a future day other Commissioners were to arrive and sit at Athlone, to determine the claims, i.e., the extent of lands the transplanters had left behind him, and to distinguish the qualifications, i.e., the extent of disaffection [non-payment of render] to the Parliament, by which the proportion to be confiscated was to be regulated, and an equivalent, called a Final Settlement, was to be given in Connaught."—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 33-4.

\* *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*.

† *The Irish Rebellion, or an History*, etc., 1641.

‡ A copy of a letter directed to the Lord Viceroy Cossilough from the Rebels of the Co. Longford, Nov. 10, 1641, and Appendix v. in Borlase's *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*. London, 1653.

§ *The Demands of the Rebels in Ireland unto the State and Council of Dublin*, Feb. 3, 1641. London, 1641.

|| Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 129-133.

end of Ireland this was so; it would have established what is called the Ulster custom over the whole country, if it had not already found it so established, and simply acted on its principles. But certainly it did not confirm those principles, and tended to make the people hold to them as an ancient, general legalized right, when newer landlords attempted to ignore them.\* The local designation of the custom is only due to the fact that in Ulster it has remained almost

undisturbed. Well-defined traces of its existence are still to be found in all the provinces of Ireland.

2. There was an explicit official recognition of the "custom of the country." Evicted upper-tenants or landlords were allowed to come back or send back, in order to reap and carry off their waygoing crops, charged with a varying percentage to the new landlord, according to the custom of the locality. Thus the Cromwellian officers and soldiers (the new landlords) whose lots had fallen in the district called the Rower, in the county of Killkenny, "were declared entitled to have an allowance for the standing of the corn on the lands fallen to them for their arrears, from the 1st of May last [1654] till December following, according to the custom of the country, not exceeding a fifth sheaf." The evicted landlords of Waterford county, having complained from Connaught that those who tended their crops were interfered with, "the Government ordered that the Commissioners of Revenue of the precinct where the respective crops were, should permit the wives, and such servants of theirs as were permitted to stay, to receive the benefit of the crop, having discharged the contribution due thereout, and allowing the new proprietors an eighth sheaf, or such proportion as is usually made in those parts according to the custom of the country."\*

The caretakers of the evicted were to have "cabbins or other habitacons," and grazing ground for their beasts. Those of the Cromwellian soldiers who became settlers, as many did in Tipperary, were men not likely in after days to allow new comers to wrest their customary rights from them. For example, when, on the Restoration, it was sought to remove some of them, even though they were offered "reprisals" or compensation in other lands, the "Phanatic Plot of 1663" was formed. The King was deceived, said one of them, if he thought their lands could be taken and given to others, "for we will join our heads together again, and have one knock for it first, my life for it."†

But officers generally bought out the lots of their soldiers for a trifle, and allowed the old tenants to remain. The great privileges offered to Protestants in towns (where artisans were to be exclusively Protestant) attracted and kept there large numbers of the soldiers of Cromwell (and afterwards of William). If they found a vacant place or waste within the walls of certain cities and

\* Townland Valuation Committee Report, 1844: Examination of A. Senior, Esq.:—"1067. The tenant-right does exist in every part of Ulster, but it varies in every county, and in different parts of the same county" (like copyhold customs with manors). Land Commissioners' Report, 1845: Examination of Mr. Griffith, Government Engineer and Valuator:—"70. The counties in which I know it to prevail are Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Tyrone, (Ulster,) and Sligo" (province of Connaught). "It prevails to a certain extent in the adjoining counties, but not to the same extent as it does in these, as far as I am aware." "71. I believe [the payment has reference] to possession alone; in some instances, it may have regard to improvements, but generally it is for possession alone." "79. In the County Tipperary can you say whether the tenant-right prevails there? The tenants generally hold under leases there; but the tenant-right does prevail to so great an extent that few are bold enough to take the land where a tenant has been dispossessed." "83. In the County Tipperary is there any particular district much subdivided? I think not, beyond the precincts of towns." Examination of Mr. W. Pidgeon, land-agent to the Incorporated Society of Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools:—"29. Is the tenant-right or sale of good-will recognised under the Society? It is to a certain extent, particularly in the north of Ireland: they recognise it to the fullest extent there; and, in fact, they do so everywhere. They only require that the name of the incoming tenant should be submitted to them and approved of." "34. Is there any arrangement existing there [in the South] between the incoming and the outgoing tenant, similar to the tenant-right? They have rules among themselves, but it is not a recognised system in the South as it is in the North; there is greater confidence among all the relations in the North than in the South; they have greater confidence in their landlords. They do it in the South, but it does not exist as a system. I think it an admirable principle, and it ought not to be put a stop to." Examination of Richard Byrne, Esq., Crossmakee, Louth parish (province of Leinster):—"98. With respect to the tenant-right or the sale of goodwill, does that extend to this district? Yes; it is generally allowed." Thus its existence is recorded not only for Ulster, but for counties in Connaught, Leinster, and Munster. By report of Cork press (*v. The Times*, Nov. 18, 1869) its existence near Kinsale is mentioned as permitted. The letters and speeches connected with the recent Longford election show that it is recognised in that county also. The fact of the existence of the same custom in localities so diverse and divided indicates that it was previously a general custom common to all.

\* Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 85-87.

† *Ibid.* Appendix iii. p. 211.

towns, enclosed it, built upon it, and lived there, the Commissioners were to assign and set it out to them," "without any Fine or other Consideration." \*

After the Restoration (by 17 and 18 Car. II. sess. 5, c. 9) one plantation acre of land "at least" was to be set with every cottage, one-eighth to be sown with hemp or flax; and all who ploughed thirty acres were so to crop half an acre.

Several Acts of importance were passed in the reign of William III. One of them enacted (Stat. 9 Gul. III. s. 1, c. 87) that properties should be enclosed by quickset fences, and apportioned the cost thus: wholly on the tenants for lands in fee-farms, for lives renewable for ever, or for sixty years; equally on landlord and tenant for lands held for three lives, or for years, twenty-one years being unexpired; wholly on the landlord for lands leased for any less term or terms.

"To encourage the building of houses, and making other improvements," etc., an Act (Stat. 10 Gul. III. sess. 3, c. 6) was passed in the year 1698, giving compensation for improvements, and containing a retrospective clause covering eight years. Unfortunately its benefits were strictly limited to church-lands and ecclesiastical persons. All such persons who had improved since 1690, or who should make, build, erect, add to, or repair any house, out-house, garden, orchard, or any other necessary improvement on their demesne, glebe, or mensal land, or in any other lands in their possession, and had it duly certified, were allowed two-thirds of their outlay from their successors, who in turn could exact one-third thereof from their successors.

Another Act was, on the contrary, unlimited in its application. We have had occasion to mention, more than once, the parole rights, the promises, the deliveries of possession, in connection with tenure. When the estates had grown valuable, the heirs of the undertakers and new proprietors thought the time was come to sweep off such claims. It was accordingly enacted (7 Gul. III. c. 12), that from the feast-day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist in 1696, "all leases, estates, interests, freeholds, or terms of years, or any uncertain interest of, into, or out of, any messuages, manors, lands, tenements or hereditaments made or created by livery of seizen† only, or by parole, and not

put in writing, and signed . . . shall have the force and effect of leases and estates at will only, and shall not either in law or equity be deemed or taken to have any other or greater force and effect, any consideration, for making such parole leases or estates or any former law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding, except nevertheless all leases not exceeding the term of three years from the making thereof, whereupon the rent reserved to the landlord, during each term shall amount to two-third parts, at the least, of the thing demised: and moreover that no estates, leases, or interests either of freehold or terms of years, or any uncertain interest, not being copyhold or customary interest of, into, or out of any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, shall at any time after be assigned, granted, or surrendered, unless it be by deed or note in writing signed," etc. It may be presumed that few tenants were able, within the limited time, to have their parole holdings assured by writing; for those who had procured the act were not likely so to avoid it. In spite of "consideration" given, of tenures taken on the faith of former law or usages;

validly. Thus a relic of such tenure may be detected in the mode of surrender of his farm made by Joe M'Key, a Presbyterian of Armagh, "most obstinate and rebellious" of tenants, who had "planted every stick and raised every stone" on the land, and who died of grief after the surrender. He thus "gave up possession:—He rose . . . and walking up to the other men in the kitchen, he said, 'Begone out of that till I give up the place . . . Begone, I say!' and he pushed them out of the room. The young woman then came to him—'What is this, Joe?' she asked. 'You must go,' said he kindly; 'don't talk—leave the house.' She went at once. He put out the fire by kicking it about the floor, took 'rod and twig' from the garden, and handed me legal possession of the house and grounds."—Trench's *Realities of Irish Life*. Now this was not the surrender of one who has the mere chattel interest: it was the deliver of the feudal possession or seisin handed down from sire to son, according to the old maxim, *Seisina facit stipitem*. The freehold was in him, not in the landlord as with a tenant-at-will. No one else could be seised until he delivered up seisin. All who had any estate or possession in house or land had to join in or be absent at its delivery; and hence, following a custom, M'Key put the men and girl out. "By delivery of the ring or haspe of the doore, or by a branch or twigge of a tree, or by a tarfe of land."—Co. Litt. 271, b.n. (1). and 48 a. And with such words as "the feoffor being at the house doore or within the house, 'Here I deliver you seisin and possession of this house, in the name of seisin and possession of all the lands and tenements contained in this deed.'" There is no mention of M'Key having a deed: his sires may have been among those who had got "livery indeed" or "livery in law," but who could not show Pynnar "any writing."

\* *An Act for the Speedy and Effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands, etc.* London: Printed for John Fields, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1653.

† By which, doubtless, a multitude of freeholders held, north and south, and, before this

a mass of the under-tenants were precipitated into the condition of mere tenants-at-will. As such, they retained some of the marks of higher tenure. They were degraded. They went to increase the great underlying class who had "copyhold or customary interest;" and this interest was recognised by the act.

The direct tendency of the penal laws was to crumble away the estates of Catholics by decreeing succession in gavel-kind, unless a Protestant heir should appear, and to impoverish them by leaving them only the third penny profit. One of the ulterior effects, however, was to uproot the Protestant yeomanry. Contact with the earth seems to have given the natives new strength. On the one side, Catholics, excluded from durable and profitable tenures, turned graziers, kept their lands waste to avoid envy, kept to a "fugitive property" in cattle, which they could change about to avoid informers who might seek to prove that they enjoyed more than "a third penny profit." As leases fell in, the rich grazier, money in hand, negotiated privately over the heads of "that most useful body called yeomanry;" and thus "communities of industrious" cultivators were turned out.\* On the other hand, a concurrent change took place throughout the country. Landlords who had divided their estates in farms of from 50 to 150 acres amongst Cromwellian and Williamite settlers, found higher bidders on the expiration of their leases. The native Irish, who had been reduced to the condition of labourers, would club together and establish co-operative societies, or "Knots," of from ten to twenty families. Then one would be put forward to offer a higher rent than the favoured settler would give; he got the farm, and it was divided amongst the knot. "Popish tenants were therefore preferred, and Protestants rejected." Some of the latter went to England, some to America. The Octennial Bill of 1768, however, made landlords prefer and plant Protestants for their votes; but it soon appeared once more that the natives were the most profitable tenants, and they accordingly superseded the comfort-seeking settlers. Next it was discovered, as of old, that without security they would not improve and build. Hence they got security. They had been disabled by certain Acts (2 Anne, c. 6, and 8 Anne, c. 3) from taking leases for more than thirty-one years, or at rents less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value. In 1777 a bill

was brought in to grant them leases for ninety-nine years. It was rejected; but in 1778 they were permitted to take lands for nine hundred and ninety-nine years. In 1782 (21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 24) they were allowed to take and transfer, like the Protestants, for any term; and in 1793 their forfeitures, incapacities, and penalties (with certain exceptions) were removed.

Meanwhile the estates and interests of the under-tenantry were tossed about like shuttlecocks by the upper-tenants or landlords. At one time cultivators were discountenanced, grazing promoted, and pastures freed from tithes. Then tillage was promoted, and bounties given on grain-carriage, inland (1762) and export (1782). Afterwards, in 1815, pasture appeared more profitable; and in 1816 the first Quarter Sessions Act was passed, making it easy to eject the cultivators from their holdings. In those days the personal, pecuniary, and political advantage of having a large body of obedient voters was a powerful check upon the practice of eviction. But in 1829 the forty-shilling freeholders were disfranchised; and in 1831 a fresh Act was passed to facilitate eviction. Others followed. Yearly tenants became common. The privilege of time, allowed by the notice to quit, was taken away by an Act regulating the Civil Bill Courts; and the process of ejectment was made speedy. The Poor-law system, different from that of England, has rendered it possible for a landlord to rid himself of his poor, and to clear off his tenants, who may then become burthens elsewhere. The Encumbered Estates Court has been continuously supplying the old tenantry with strange and changing landlords, who know nothing of their ancient rights and customs, and rack-rent them to expel them. The de-grading system has been so zealously persevered in that a multitude of tenants are now reduced to the position of mere villeins removeable at pleasure. Under that system, and authorized by its "ejectment code," devastations have been committed which exceed the transplantations of Cromwell in magnitude, and in the cruelty of their accompanying circumstances, and far surpass them in the amount and persistence of the hostility they have evoked. To destroy it will be not only to free the State from a danger, but to purify it from a revolutionary taint. For it is a system that will fall to the ground on the recognition of ancient custom, which is the life of the common law.

---

\* *Observations on the affairs in Ireland from the Settlement in 1691 to the Present Time.* By Viscount Taaffe, 1766.



## ART. VII.—THE REPENTANCE OF THE TORY PARTY.

THE suffering sinner, reflecting in the morning on his evening's excess, may ground his remorse on the transgression either of prudence or of morals. The Tory party has had its debauch, and is now shivering on the stool of penance, and being preached at by candid friends who are expounding to it the error of its ways. They tell it, not that it has been acting on wrong principles, but that it has associated with wrong persons, and been habitually found in the same lobby with the profane. They do not exhort it to a resolution like Cassio's, never again to put an enemy into its mouth to steal away its brains. The repentance they preach is only one like Master Slender's: "I'll ne'er be drunk whilst I live again but in honest, civil, godly company. If I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves." This is to put the case upon a wrong issue, and to probe the wound too slightly. For the present position of the party cannot be accounted for by a mere consideration of its tactics. Behind the question of their soundness or unsoundness rises the question of the truth, the wisdom, and the reality of the principles they embody. The tactics for the last twenty years may have been a failure; but they have not been an inadvertency or a misunderstanding. And though their intellectual merit may belong exclusively to Mr. Disraeli, the moral responsibility for them is shared by his colleagues and his followers. For twenty years, say these censors, the party has, as a rule, combined, in critical divisions, not with the most conservative section of the Liberal party, with whose opinions it had most sympathy, but with Radicals, to whose views every feeling it cherished was opposed. Well, but this conduct, however disastrous to Conservative interests, is not opposed to Tory principles; and what have those who now proclaim themselves the special champions of Conservative interests been doing through these twenty years but following a leader who has all along denounced Conservatism as an inane and frivolous doctrine, impossible to practise, and certain to make its professors do exactly the opposite of what they profess? If they have shared his principles, they ought to be more than satisfied with his tactics. If they have not shared his principles, then, by the mere fact of allying themselves with him, they have exemplified on their own account the very tactics they censure. They should repent, if they repent at all, not only because of the

tactics they have sanctioned, but also because of the principles they have advanced. They have not advanced them in excusable ignorance, for their leader has habitually proclaimed and expounded them. He had unfolded his whole political philosophy before the party enlisted under his banner. And if it pleads that there was no alternative, that its organization under Mr. Disraeli was an inevitable result of the crisis of 1846, that only carries the inquiry a step further back, and raises the question why it brought about the crisis of 1846 at all. It might have followed to the end a powerful leader, who shared its prepossessions so far as they were in any way compatible with political intelligence and justice; but it fell away from him because it preferred the fancied interest of a class to the well-being of the nation. It has never risen from that fall; and if its repentance is to be the beginning of a new life, it must go back to the starting-point of its transgression, and consider the whole of its subsequent career in the light of its previous history.

The Revolution of 1688, completed by the Hanoverian succession in 1714, was the final defeat of real Toryism. Up to that time the conflict had been between two principles, both of which laid claim to a Divine sanction—the one appealing to a common law of justice and liberty grounded on the attributes of God, the other to a *jus divinum* existing in the hereditary prerogative of the King. After the Revolution, this latter theory, on which Toryism rested, became palpably impossible. It was therefore necessary, if Toryism was to exist as a system at all, that it should shift its basis and found itself on new principles; and it was equally necessary, in order to the preservation of its continuity, that these new principles should be spun out of some of its former episodic and collateral tenets. Bolingbroke accordingly surrendered the claim of religious sanction altogether, and constructed a new and rationalistic Toryism, in which the absolutism of the ruler and the subjection of the people were maintained on other grounds. He denied the *jus divinum* of the sovereign, or any divinely imposed duty of passive obedience and non-resistance in the subject, and founded his neo-Toryism on the natural and hereditary distinction between the born ruler and the born serf. The system was one of those arbitrary hypotheses which, conscious that history is against them, appeal to what they call logic. Bolingbroke declared it to be a deduction from "true propositions, all of which are obvious, nay, many of them self-evident." Now that the *jus divinum* was gone, the monarch had to

come forward in a new character; and he was accordingly proclaimed as the "Patriot King," and sent forth to be the saviour of society. Bolingbroke's neo-Toryism is founded on the despair of a continued course of good government, and provides in this way an occasional and transitory remedy for the usual corruption. In his notion, the mass of mankind is only born to consume the earth's increase, to tread, at best, an insipid round, and beget others to do the same after them. But from time to time a few men, and only a few, are born with a larger share of the ethereal spirit, who engross almost the whole reason of the species, whose nature it is to instruct, to guide, and to preserve, who are the destined tutors and guardians of humankind. Society, incapable of taking care of itself, is given over to the care of its own eminent children, who are at the same time its fathers and its guides. Thus the new rationalistic Toryism substituted genius for divine choice, a manifest force for a hidden gift, sight for faith. But it had one quality of the old Toryism: it placed the prince outside his people and government, and admitted no community between them, except the one-sided relation where all is taken by one and all is given by the other. Lord Bute tried to realize this antagonism, and to aggrandize the monarch by disgracing and weakening his government, as if the feebleness of the State constituted the force of the Crown. The same policy of aggrandizing the Crown continued to be pursued till Pitt seemed about to steer the party in another course. The opposition in the meantime had been weakened by the intrusion of the opinions which were afterwards known as the principles of 1789; and on the breaking out of the French Revolution the old Whigs formally separated from the new ones. In this confusion of parties Conservatism began. It was a kind of mechanical product of the French Revolution, which not only stirred up the military passions to which Toryism is nearly allied, but excited also in all holders of property an anti-revolutionary terror which peremptorily forbade all change. The institutions of the country, exactly as they existed, came to be looked on as the palladium of our liberties, and were tinged with a kind of lesser *jus divinum*. All privileges held on by the skirts of the Church Establishment, and borrowed a blessing from it. By such means the ascendancy of the privileged classes, the Church, the landed interest, and the close corporations, had by 1830 become as exorbitant as the royal prerogatives had been in 1688; and a new adjustment was necessary.

The Reform Bill of 1832 accomplished this work, and broke up the bases of the Tory-Conservatism of 1790-1830 as effectually as the Revolution of 1688 had broken up those of the original Toryism. After 1832 the leadership of the disorganized and discouraged party remained in the hands of Peel; and it was his task, as it had been Bolingbroke's, to furnish it with a new principle of life. Peel was too honest and too good an economist, too little imaginative and creative, to succeed as Bolingbroke did. He made the best of his materials, not for party but for political ends. He prevailed on his followers to accept the settlement of 1832, on the understanding that it was to be a final settlement. Further organic change was to be resisted; and the practical aims of the party were to be the amelioration of the government in its actual grooves. In opposition, the negative part of this programme was naturally the most prominent. It is the Government, not the Opposition, which alone can initiate and carry real administrative reforms. It became then the specious policy of the party simply to negative the proposals of the Government; and Lord Lyndhurst used at the end of each session to review its results, and to reproach the Government with a barrenness which was partly indeed the consequence of their apathy and uncreativeness, but still more the effect of the Conservative opposition. The experience of 1834 and 1835 seemed to prove to Peel that policy required him to refrain from substituting for a weak Whig ministry, which was conservative through inability to pass its measures, a weaker Conservative ministry which might have been forced to play into the hands of those Whigs or Radicals who supported it. He therefore waited till he could come into power with an absolute majority before attempting to put in practice the positive side of his programme. It was restricted to administrative reforms. But in office the leaders had to reconcile their attitude of immobility with the fluidity necessary for those who take part in the affairs of a great country. Hence the wide construction they had to give to their idea of administrative reforms. Peel's Police Act, his Tithe Commutation, his endowment of Maynooth, but above all his consummate finance, were effectively organic and not merely administrative reforms. But the party did not understand this. It did not see that finance was then the turning-point of politics, the door by which the science of political economy was to force an entrance into our system, and make our legislation and our Government scientific, in opposition to the im-

pulsive type of Tory rule. It was only when the administrative necessity of mitigating the effects of the Irish famine made Peel's free-trade finance culminate in the repeal of the Corn-Laws that the party became finally and irrevocably convinced that it was being imposed upon. Its wrath and its pride exploded; and by throwing off Peel and his followers it blew out its own brains. He had certainly outgrown Conservatism; he had drawn some elements of a new and more scientific policy, not out of Conservative principles, but out of his own—elements which were destined to amalgamate with Whiggism and to bear a chief part in transfiguring it into Liberalism. And there was a man in his party, but not of it, who clearly saw whither things were tending, who perceived the two roads, one of which the Conservatives must take, and who disliked the one into which Peel was leading them. He had already written much political criticism. He had declared that Peel had never been the leader of the Tory party; that in a parliamentary sense that great party had ceased to exist from the moment of his becoming its organizer; that for Toryism he had substituted Conservatism, which was a league not a party, which could gratify its leaders with place, but not its followers with the practice of their opinions, for they had none. What, he asked, was it to conserve?—the prerogatives of the Crown provided they were not exercised, the independence of the House of Lords provided it was not asserted, the Church provided it was governed by a commission of laymen. Conservatism, he wrote, assumes in theory that everything established should be maintained, but declares in practice that everything established is indefensible. It only seeks to attain the best bargain. It is an attempt to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfilment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government. It consents to no change till it is clamoured for, and then yields. Its principles are concessionary, not conservative. It discards prescription, shrinks from principle, disavows progress. All its profession only covers political infidelity. A conservative government means Tory men and Whig measures, and is merely an organized hypocrisy.

The man who thus criticised Conservatism was its destined transformer. In his very boyhood, he tells us himself, under a transparent veil of fiction, he had conceived the idea and determination to be a man of mark in the political world. In the case of an author as incapable as Byron of portraying any other hero than himself, it is not

unfair to give his fictions a real meaning, and a personal application. When Mr. Disraeli shows us Vivian Grey walking about his room, and saying to himself that mankind was his game, that there was many a powerful noble who only wanted wit to be a minister, while Vivian Grey only wanted that noble's influence for the same end, that he had the three great instrumental means—the conception, the eloquence, and the audacity—he is evidently writing a chapter of his own autobiography. He must already have examined the conditions of the political world of his day when he published his first instalment of *Vivian Grey* in 1826. But it is also clear that he had not then formulated the theory which he put forth in 1844. In his extreme youth, he must have seen that the conditions of his birth were unfavourable to his prominence in the oligarchical and aristocratic Whig party, and must have been early attracted to the Tories, amongst whom he saw a greater willingness to admit on equal terms the genius of self-made men. Besides, in those early days, the long lease of Tory power gave as yet no immediate signs of collapse; the contest therefore seemed to him to be rather between different powerful nobles than between great parties divided by trenchant principles. His combinations were “founded on the present state of parties, when there are few distinctions between the two sides of the House of Commons.” Hence it was a policy of intrigue which he determined to follow. Vivian Grey was “precociously convinced of the necessity of managing mankind by studying their tempers and humouring their weaknesses.” He also perceived in himself a “miraculous” power of management, and a moral audacity “reckless of all consequences save his own prosperity.” “Nothing is allowed in this life,” he would say, “and everything is done.” He would conciliate all “by allowing all to do something they liked, something characteristic.” It was a rule with him “never to advance any opinion as his own; the opinions of an inferior, however good, stand no chance of being accepted as such by his superiors. It was his system to advance his opinion as that of some eminent and considered personage; and when, under the sanction of this name, the opinion or advice was entertained or listened to, Vivian Grey had no fear of proving its correctness or expediency.” Thus, when he was talking to the Marquis of Carabas of scandal, politics, or gastronomy, it did not seem to be Vivian, but the Marquis himself whose opinions were being uttered. But under this humili-

ty, he claimed the real leadership of the party. He asked the Marquis to give his name and his influence: "I will take upon myself the whole organization of the Carabas party." He insisted too on being dictator: "I saw the feeble fools were wavering, and to save all made a leap in the dark."

The second part of *Vivian Grey*, which was published two years after the first, contains the author's ideal of a minister in the person of Beckendorff. He was a minister, we are told, sprung from the people, and therefore conciliating the aristocracy. Having no family influence of his own, he endeavored to gain the influence of others. But he always refused a title, and took advantage of his want of an escutcheon to exempt himself from the duties of etiquette. He was a great student of men, and believed that their conduct was much more influenced by circumstances than by principles. He was at the same time a humourist, who even in the most critical moment could not altogether restrain the bent of his capricious inclinations. His library, instead of works of political economy and science, "consisted, without an exception, of poetry and romance." Beckendorff imparts to Vivian Grey some of his maxims. Among other things he assures him: "If you have ever entertained my views, have dared to act on them and failed,—sooner or later you will recur to your original wishes and pursuits." Another of his sayings was: "No minister ever yet fell but from his own insufficiency." This maxim alone would be enough to justify the deduction that the minister's only principle should be to keep his place; but Vivian Grey makes no secret of the idea. A minister, in his view, should be unprincipled, both as a thinker and as an actor. "In politics, there positively is no feeling of honour. Every one is conscious that not only himself, but his colleagues and his rivals, are working for their own private purposes; and that however a party may apparently be assisting in bringing about a result of common benefit, in fact each is conscious that he is the tool of another. With such an understanding, treason is an expected affair; and the only point to consider is, who shall be so unfortunate as to be the deserted instead of the deserter." There is not much to show that at this early period Mr. Disraeli had fixed his political ideas; but the following passage is decidedly Tory. "The people," he writes, "who enjoy an impartial administration of equal laws, and flourish under Beckendorff's wise and moderate rule, are not inclined to rise in behalf of constitutional liberty. This apathy astounds the philosophers, who artfully reply to their professions

of contentment, that their happiness depends on the will of a single man. . . . The minister feels that the people would not be happier with a constitution, and looks with a jealous eye on the charlatanism of publicists and economists." Thus as early as 1824 we have the ideal of a contented and happy people, following along the pastures of equal laws the sweet pipings of a minister who reads nothing but poetry and novels, and despises politicians and economists as quacks. But even if his convictions were Tory, he was at this time, and for some ten years afterwards, quite ready to assist in carrying out any other theory. He had zeal for propagating, not his own opinions, but any opinions: he exhibited himself as the predestined teacher without having as yet any doctrines to teach. Contarini Fleming says that he passed through this phase, and in the necessity of writing, found, when he came to the point, that he had nothing to write about. Mr. Disraeli on the hustings at High Wycombe, in 1832, declared that a statesman was the creature of his age, the child of circumstances, the creation of his time—without opinions of his own to impose, but capable of ascertaining and carrying out whatever might be needful or beneficial. Hence he might be inconsistent. It might be his duty to enforce passions not his own. The opinions of the people must sway him; the prejudices of powerful classes must weigh with him; this it was to be practical.

In *Vivian Grey*, the exaggerated estimate of the author's power is everywhere modified by an undercurrent which manifests a sore consciousness of failure. And indeed Mr. Disraeli's Hebrew origin must at that time have appeared to him an almost invincible obstacle to his success with that party which, however favourable to genius, held Jews in abomination. He had not then conceived the design of putting his race into the front rank of his merits, and grounding his claims upon his blood. *Vivian Grey* was the native and subjective product of Mr. Disraeli's boyhood. Years afterwards he returned to the theme, and gave the world another picture of his youth, this time studied objectively, and critically reflected upon. In *Contarini Fleming*, after depreciating all tradition, all experience, all system, all customs, he announces something new, all truth, of which the passion, thought, action, even style, should spring from his own intellect, observation, and study. Accordingly, in a kind of autobiographical sketch, he introduces us to a youth, half Saxon, half Venetian, exempt from sectarian prejudices, because without country,

without kindred, and without friends. He takes him to school, where he finds education banished, and instead of "the noblest of sciences the vile art of teaching words." He takes him to the theatre: "at length I perceived human beings conducting themselves as I wished." He takes him into a Catholic chapel, where a picture leads him to change his religion. He makes him join a company of strolling players, achieve a great success at the University, get expelled, become an outlaw and leader of brigands, and then suddenly arise as the confidant and sole counsellor of his father, who is prime minister of a German State. In this capacity, Contarini Fleming, at a meeting of diplomatists, confounds all their politics, by suggesting a "popular appeal" to universal suffrage, in order to put a foundation under the contested title of the king. The success of his suggestion makes him go mad with glory. "In imagination I shook thrones and founded empires. I felt myself a being born to breathe in an atmosphere of revolution. My father said to me, 'My son, you will be prime minister of —, perhaps something greater.'" It is clear that, when Mr. Disraeli looked back upon his teeming and adventurous youth, he considered its great merit to be the invention or the adoption of the principle of democratic monarchy, a crown founding its claim upon universal suffrage. Contarini Fleming, however, renounces politics for literature, and prefers being a poet, even a prose poet, to being a prime minister. But the book ends without solving the riddle of his life, only showing the poetic dreamer roused from his reverie by his father's death, and hurrying home again from his Sybaritic solitude.

Nine years after the publication of *Vivian Grey*, Mr. Disraeli had completed the outlines of his political system, with the notable exception of the determination of the place reserved in it for the Jewish element. In his letter to Lord Lyndhurst in 1835, "in vindication of the English constitution," he expounds how, in spite of the Dutch conquest of 1688, and of the Reform Bill of 1832, Toryism still survives, and has a *locus standi* in the institutions of the kingdom. The Whigs, he explains, are an oligarchical faction, the Tories a national party. The Wigs unsuccessfully attempted to found an oligarchy or "Venetian republic" under William III., and again, with more plausibility, under George I., when they established the Cabinet, and banished the King from his own council. George II. unsuccessfully struggled against the autocrats. But "the strong spirit of his able grandson emancipated the country from the government of

the great families;" and George III. thus put himself at the head of the nation, and realized the Tory ideal of a "democracy under an hereditary chief." For the Tories are the true democrats. The bench of Bishops is a democratic institution. As for the House of Lords, hereditary legislators are not more absurd than hereditary electors. And the attempts to give more power to the House of Commons are directly inimical to democracy. For the Commons are only an estate; and their House represents nothing more than that estate, which is a very limited section of the nation, invested for the common good with great privileges. The House of Commons, is no more the House of the people than the House of Lords; and the Commons, like the Peers, are neither more nor less than a privileged class. The Tory party is really the democratic party, because it maintains this truth. It supports the institutions of the country, because they have been established for the common good, and because they secure the equality of civil rights. Even its advocacy of divine right and passive obedience were evidences of its democratic and popular character. The Whigs, on the contrary, were odious to the nation, because they were inimical to the Crown, the Church, and the Universities, to the Corporations and to the Magistracy, which their centralizing system tended to abolish. Toryism survived the Reform Bill through three happy circumstances. One was the Chandos clause; another was the preservation of freemen; the third was the organization of the Registration. But in order to secure success three points were requisite:—First, the real character and nature of Toryism should be generally and clearly comprehended. Next, Toryism should be divested of all those qualities which were adventitious, and not essential to it, and which had become obsolete, inconvenient, and odious. And lastly, the efficient organization of the party should be secured and maintained. Its special aim should be to set up society upon the basis of equality—not that equality which levels and destroys, by taking away privileges from all, but that which elevates and creates, by giving privileges to every one. The letter explained the ambiguous position which Mr. Disraeli assumed in the general election of 1832, and showed how, without inconsistency, he might present himself to the electors as a political polygamist, interchangeably Radical and Tory. But the most characteristic part of it is the sketch which he gave of the career of Bolingbroke, wherein he foreshadowed his

own:—"Opposed to the Whigs from principle—for an oligarchy is hostile to genius—and recoiling from the Tory tenets which his unprejudiced and vigorous mind taught him at the same time to dread and to condemn, Lord Bolingbroke, at the outset of his career, incurred the commonplace imputation of insincerity and inconsistency, because, in an age of unsettled parties, with professions contradictory of their conduct, he maintained that vigilant and meditative independence which is the privilege of an original and determined spirit. It is probable that in the earlier years of his career he meditated over the formation of a new party, that dream of youthful ambition in a perplexed and discordant age, but destined in English politics to be never more substantial than a vision. More experienced in political life, he became aware that he had only to choose between the Whigs and the Tories; and his sagacious intellect, not satisfied with the superficial character of these celebrated divisions, penetrated their interior and essential qualities, and discovered, in spite of all the affectation of popular sympathy on one side, and of admiration of arbitrary power on the other, that his choice was in fact between oligarchy and democracy. From the moment that Lord Bolingbroke, in becoming a Tory, embraced the national cause, he devoted himself absolutely to his party; all the energies of his Protean mind were lavished in their service, . . . and in a series of writings unequalled in our literature for their spirited patriotism, their just and profound views, and the golden eloquence in which they are expressed, eradicated from Toryism all those absurd and odious doctrines which Toryism had adventitiously adopted, clearly developed its essential and permanent character, discarded *jure divino*, demolished passive obedience, threw to the winds the doctrine of non-resistance, placed the abolition of James and the accession of George on the right basis, and in the complete re-organization of the public mind, laid the foundation for the future accession of the Tory party to power."

That Mr. Disraeli intended this as the programme of his own performances is proved by his subsequent history. He also, in a series of writings in some respects unique, attempted to put a new bottom to the Tory theory, and at the same time, by his combinations in Parliament, to enforce his theory on the Conservative party. His political novels, his assaults upon Peel, and his biography of Lord George Bentinck, belong to this period of his career. As he had already set himself the task of educating the party, he had in Parliament to dispense his lore

with economy, and to cocker babes, not yet fit for the food of the strong, with oratorical milk which was not always sincere. But it is not in his nature to shrink from declaring his opinions; and the revelation which could not be made in Parliament was given in his novels. It is beyond controversy that the novel is the fittest vehicle for his philosophy. As with Mr. Carlyle universal history is at bottom the history of great men, so with Mr. Disraeli politics is at bottom nothing but the career of a great minister: the personal element is supreme. In his politics, as in poetry, the relationship between the ruler and those he governs is painted as that of the dependence of child on parent, of wife on husband, of servant on master, of disciple on teacher. All these relations are sacred within their sphere; but when they are generalized into political principles they become the sources of half the tyranny in the world. A paternal government, the conjugal theories of Plato's republic, the institution of slavery or serfdom, and a pedagogic administration, are each and all gross forms of tyranny. But Mr. Disraeli's political theories are all generalizations of this kind. Whatever gives a man or woman influence at the dinner-table, in the drawing-room, or in the cottage, is in his system to be merely enlarged and generalized in order to become the secret of the government of a nation. When an ambitious man feels that his chief power is in social coteries, he is apt to wish to make the whole nation a great coterie, or a collection of them—a monarch swayed by the magic of his minister's tongue, and estates, that is, privileged classes represented by their select vestries, all equally at the mercy of the same sugared rhetoric. But he would be disposed, at the same time, to curse all scientific methods, all searching tests of the value of work. Statistics, averages, all machinery, all that is automatic in the State, working by rule and law instead of by the personal superintendence of the ruler, would be an abomination to him. There is no element of romance in the dry forms of scientific administration. But Toryism, as Mr. Disraeli conceives it, is not an historical, or a scientific, but an historico-romantic policy. It is a policy which has never been realized in England, except in fragments; and to give it consistency and wholeness these fragments must be rounded off with myth. And if it were realized it would be in itself so very low in the scale of political organisms that there would be nothing to say about it. Oriental despotism, or, as Mr. Disraeli prefers to call it, "the Asian mystery," is not a scientific policy at all. It has no principles, no laws, no rules, no organisation. How

then is it to be recommended except in the non-scientific form of the novel? It is a mere question of sentiment, of loyalty, of fanaticism. Without being poetical, therefore, Mr. Disraeli's system has the dreaminess and haze of Arab poetry. It has the same indistinctness and dimness of sentiment, without any of the luggage of detail. Again, as being founded on fanaticism, it is also revolutionary. The *jus divinum* of the absolutist tramples on all other right. But the happiness is that fanaticisms lack the principle of cohesion. The man who would find their common measure commits himself to a hopeless task. He has to take refuge in a mysterious vagueness of terms and of argument, which mars the sense of his expositions, though it may materially assist the sentiment. But this is just the style suitable for revolutionary doctrine. Views vast and perplexed, indefinable to one's-self, inexplicable to others, find themselves on all sides imprisoned by any fixed order. But in the fogs of confusion all limits disappear, and the raven can fly free over the chaotic waters.

In *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and *Tancred*, Mr. Disraeli's chief objects seem to be to exalt the Crown, the Jew, and the Press, and to depreciate Constitutions, Parliamentary Government, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In *Contarini Fleming* he develops the character of the minister; and in *Venetia* he maintains a theory necessary for the advocate of Bolingbroke, namely, that profligacy is consistent with high character, and that genius excuses deeds which simple honesty would flatly condemn. In *Coningsby* he tells us that "the tendency of advanced civilisation is to pure monarchy. Parliaments are being superseded by the press, and the press by the monarch. For the press is public opinion, and public opinion must act through one who has no class interests. In an enlightened age, the monarch on the throne, free from the vulgar prejudices and the corrupt interests of the subject, becomes again divine." "If the peers have ceased to be magnificoes, may it not happen that the sovereign may cease to be a Doge?" "It is not impossible that the political movements of our time, which seem on the surface to have a tendency to democracy, may have in reality a monarchial bias." In *Sybil* he tells us how Bolingbroke recalled to the English the inherent blessings of their old free monarchy, which was a real monarchy, and not a mere chief magistracy, and congratulates us on the continuance of the old wholesome superstition that the sovereign can exercise power.

But the Crown is a mere symbol; the great distinctive object of these novels is to

exalt the theocracy incarnate in the Jew. Out of the great obstacle which seemed to oppress Mr. Disraeli in 1826, his imagination had by 1844 laboriously constructed the fiery car which was to bear him to power. The true hero of *Coningsby* is Sidonia. But before his orb rises above the horizon, a dawn of Asian principles glimmers in the east, and prognosticates the advent of the luminary. The Church, we are soon made to learn, is a sacred corporation for the promulgation in Europe of certain Asian principles, local in origin, of universal and eternal application. These Asian principles, however, are not exemplified in the Church, but in Sidonia, a man

Composed of many ingredient valours,  
Just like the manhood of nine tailors.

In him we see first the exclusion of the Jew. He is a man fit to rule the world; but his race shuts him out from any ostensible power. But we see also in him the power of the Jewish nature. His untold wealth, and the power he enjoys in consequence, are natural adjuncts to his magical genius. He stretches out one finger to commerce, and the exchanges of the world pour their purses at his feet. His other gifts represent Mr. Disraeli's ideal of the proper nature of the minister. "In an age of change," he says in *Tancred*, "power directed by a clear brain and obdurate spirit cannot fail of its aim." Sidonia's motto was "Adventures are to the adventurous." His nature was one compact of intellect and imagination. He had no heart; and all his enthusiasm and passion was for intelligence. What we call heart, he called a nervous sensation, like shyness, fervent in the nursery, strong at home, tumultuous at school. The affections, he said, are the children of ignorance; as experience expands, love and admiration vanish. He had an utter freedom from prejudice, which was, Mr. Disraeli, suggests, the compensation to a man without country. In his address there was an absence of earnestness. A slight spirit of mockery played over his speech, even when you deemed him most serious; you were startled by his sudden transitions from profound thought to poignant sarcasm. If you pressed him for an opinion, he took refuge in raillery, or threw out some grave paradox with which it was not easy to cope. This character is introduced as the critic and adviser of "the new and better mind in England" then incarnate in *Coningsby* and his clique of young aristocrats, which he moulds and forms from without, assuring them that Jews are essentially Tories, and that Toryism is but copied from the mighty prototype which has fash-

ioned Europe. It is evidently an ideal sketch of the relations then existing between Mr. Disraeli and "young England." When *Sybil* was published, he assumed that the Asian principles had already penetrated the English mind, and he did not think it needful to introduce a Jew to tell us that "Rome is the only Hebræo-Christian Church extant," and as such, the only one with complete claims on our faith, and that "the second Testament is avowedly only a supplement." But it was in *Tancred* that the ascendancy of the Jew was dogmatically determined. First we learn how the Church of England fails "mainly from its deficiency of Oriental knowledge, and from a consequent misconception of the priestly character." The next criticism on English government is to be found in Tancred's saying, "Society was once regulated by God, now it is regulated by man; for my part, I prefer divine to human government." Then we learn how inspiration is not only a divine but a local quality, and radiates from material centres—Horeb, Calvary, and Rome. "Your bishops," says Sidonia, "know nothing about these things—how should they? A few centuries back they were tattooed savages. Here is the advantage of Rome which you never can understand. That Church was founded by a Hebrew, and the magnetic influence lingers." "All is race; there is no other truth, because it includes all others." "The Crusaders looked upon the Saracens as infidels, whereas the children of the desert bore a much nearer affinity to the sacred corpse that consecrated the Holy Sepulchre than any of the European host. The same blood flowed in their veins, and they recognised the divine missions both of Moses and Jesus. In the twelfth century, the mysteries of race were unknown. Jerusalem belongs either to Israel or Ishmael." When at length Mr. Disraeli conducts his new Crusader Tancred to the supreme moment of his pilgrimage on Sinai (not Jerusalem), the words which he makes him hear in his sacred trance are these:—"The thoughts of all lands come from a higher source than man, but the intellect of Arabia comes from the Most High . . . Cease to seek in a vain philosophy the solution of the social problem. Announce the sublime and solacing doctrine of *theocratic equality*." In these two words is contained the whole "Asian mystery" which Tancred, at the bidding of Sidonia, went forth to seek. From the moment he hears them he becomes a beggar, waiting on the liberality of the Jew and the Arab. And the petition he puts up to them is: "Send forth a great thought, as you have done before from Sinai, from Galilee, from Arabia"

(for Mahomet shares the glory with Moses and with Christ), "and you may again remodel all the institutions of Europe, change their principles of action,"—and the rest. "In vain they baptize their tumult by the name of progress—progress from what to what? Except to those who cling to the Arabian creeds, Europe—that quarter of the globe to which God has never spoken—is without consolation." This glorification of the Jew is not confined to the novels. In the biography of Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli has inserted a well-known chapter pleading against his party for Jewish emancipation, and, though beginning in humility, in the end asserting the Jewish ascendancy. There is nothing revolting to a Jew, he tells us, to learn that a Jewess is Queen of Heaven, or that the flower of the Jewish race are even now sitting on the right hand of God. And he repeats an assertion in *Tancred*: "No one has ever been permitted to write under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit except a Jew."

It is strictly true, that besides the King and the Jew, Mr. Disraeli gives us no reason to suppose that he would preserve any other institution than quarter-sessions, small boroughs, freemen, parish vestries and some other privileged bodies, and the press. In his system, the press is the future substitute for representative government. "If we are forced to revolutions, let us propose the idea of a free monarchy, established on fundamental laws, itself the apex of a vast pile of municipal and local government, ruling an educated people, represented by a free and intellectual press. Before such a royal authority, sectional anomalies would disappear." Representative government, says Tancred, is a "fatal drollery," a feature not to be found in the polity which Omniscience deigned to trace. "The wisdom of the Saxons, Norman valour, the statecraft of the Tudors, the national sympathies of the Stuarts, the spirit of the later Guelphs struggling against their enslaved sovereignty, . . . end in the huckstering rule of some thirty unknown and anonymous jobbers!" Such, in *Sybil*, appears to be the result of representative government. "Such a system may suit the balanced interests and the periodical and alternate command of rival oligarchical connections; but it can subsist only by the subordination of the sovereign and the degradation of the multitude, and cannot accord with an age whose genius will soon confess that power and the people are both divine." Nothing can exceed the scorn with which parliamentary government is spoken of throughout *Sybil*. The political mystification of the last hundred years is laid to its charge,



"during which a people without power or education have been induced to believe themselves the freest and most enlightened nation in the world, and have submitted to lavish their blood and treasure, and see their industry crippled and labour mortgaged to maintain an oligarchy that had neither ancient memories to soften nor present services to justify their unprecedented usurpation." And all this was done by the bewildering phrase of artful orators in a parliament closed against the reporters of the press. In this parliament, he says in another place, "robbery has been practised on the greatest scale known in modern ages; here ten thousand manors belonging to the Templars were forfeited and divided between the king and the nobles. Here the great estate of the Church which belongs to the people was seized. . . . Here was brought forth the monstrous conception—the mortgaging of the industry of the country to enrich and protect property. Here the innocent were impeached, and a virtuous and able monarch martyred because he was of opinion that it was better for the people to be taxed directly by one, than indirectly by many." This indictment against representative government in general, and the English Parliament in special, is still further particularized in accusations against both Houses. "A plague o' both the Houses," says our new Mercutio. As to the Peers, he divides them into two lots—the old Venetian oligarchy, which Pitt consigned to destruction when he said that every man with £10,000 a year should be a peer, and the plebeian pseudo-aristocracy which was his instrument for dethroning the oligarchy. Mr. Disraeli has aristocratic principles; but he owns no aristocracy except that of blood. And ancient blood in the veins is, he says, an accident rather rare with the English nobility. "I never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage. The real old families of this country are to be found amongst the peasantry; the gentry too may lay some claim to old blood." As for the House of Commons, at least between 1832 and 1868, it had lost all claim to Mr. Disraeli's respect. De Maistre said that a nation consisted of the monarchy and aristocracy. Mr. Disraeli added the labouring multitude. But he never would allow that the middle classes made up any notable part of the nation. He said in *Coningsby* that if the House of Commons was treated as the House of the people, as it was by the Bill of 1832, the principle of universal suffrage was virtually conceded. By that Bill, he tells us, the old Constitution was reformed on new and exclusive principles, which made the House of Commons the House of a few—

of the ten-pound electors,—and took the representation from the freemen, who themselves were the representatives of labour. In the House of Commons, thus reformed, only two courses were possible; either to carry out logically the levelling principle, and remove all privileges that were left, or to profess Conservatism, a negative creed more imbecile than the former was wicked. The alternative was between political infidelity and a destructive creed.

Mr. Disraeli has carried out his theories, so far as he has dared to do so. With his great tact in parliamentary management, still, like Lord Bute, he has steadily and systematically compromised parliamentary government. He has looked upon party conflicts as mere questions between gamblers, whom it was lawful to cozen with their own cards. Tadpole's remarks on the Parliament of 1839, in *Sybil*, are rather meant as a sarcasm on an institution which could be so managed by so contemptible a person than as a condemnation of the manœuvres themselves, which Mr. Disraeli adopted in the sessions of 1866 and 1867. "This is a very manageable parliament," says Tadpole; "the malcontent radicals who have turned them [the Whigs] out, are not going to bring them in. That makes us equal. Then we have the Sneaks,—the men who are afraid of a dissolution. I will be bound we make a good working majority of twenty-five out of the Sneaks." He despises that consideration for the honour and dignity of Parliament which was so conspicuous in Peel. For him Parliament is an assembly to be duped, and to be so used as to make its government impossible. His patronage of Chartism should not be forgotten. As he wrote an elaborate apology for it in *Sybil*, so in the House of Commons he voted against all repressive measures on the ground that Chartism had been produced by Parliament's revolutionizing the parochial jurisdiction, attacking the ancient police, tampering with the magistracy, confiscating the patrimony of the people (the Church lands), assaulting trial by jury, and destroying corporations. That is, he required that Parliament should restore the old poor law, the old watchmen, the Church lands confiscated at the Reformation, and the close corporations of boroughs, and should abolish all stipendiary magistrates, before he could conscientiously vote for the measures requisite to stop a temporary excitement and a few local riots. His hostility to parliamentary government includes hostility to government by parliamentary parties. He recognises a "national party," and no other. He considers the two English parliamentary parties to be two rival oligarchies,

each with its own programme, and with its hereditary views and tendencies, seizing alternately the rudder of the State. Such an arrangement logically supposes that one party should voluntarily embrace unpopular views, and thereby resign to the other the monopoly of proposing popular measures. Thus it would be excluded from office for ever. But a party organizes itself in order to govern. The very reason of its existence is not to enforce a theory, but to exhibit its legislative and administrative talents. Its business is, not to risk its existence or its tenure of office for isolated measures, but to enforce the principle that, as the king reigns through the divine right of his blood, so the minister should govern by the divine right of his genius, and by means of his party. Nothing excites his contempt so strongly as a falling minister. Peel twice fell, and twice destroyed his party. Instead of educating his party, his own life was a perpetual education. He tried to give effect to the worn-out ideas of his party, instead of making it carry out his own principles. He only learned through failure. After a great disaster, his mind seemed always to expand. He was only wise for the occasion. Instead of judging from the heaven of his own invention what would be good for the people, he obliged the people to declare what they wanted, and made policy to consist in giving a scientific form to the popular demand. Thus he forced the people out of doors to become statesmen; and this, adds his critic, was a revolution which took the essence out of our institutions. It is clear then that, although Mr. Disraeli recognises both party and people, he gives no real place in the government to either. The party is merely the pedestal or instrument of the minister, and the people merely his raw material. Neither has any real voice in affairs. The monarch and his minister ought to rule all in the interest of all, without sacrificing the minority to the majority, as party government must do. The only power which has no class interest is the sovereign, who, if he tyrannizes, may be checked by the people, as an arbitrary parliament is checked by the constituency. The House of Commons represents only a few; the sovereign is the sovereign of all, and is the proper leader of the people. The personal wins mankind. A cause is an abstraction, fit only for students. Embodied in a party, it stirs men to action; but represented by a leader who can inspire enthusiasm, it commands the world. When Mr. Disraeli approves party, he means only that section of the public which embraces the Tory cause. He does not mean a parliamentary party; for such parties, however

they may differ in the rest, agree in this, that they vindicate to Parliament the supremacy in the State. The only parliamentary party that he can logically justify is a party in Parliament, but not of it, a party sworn to countermine the usurpations of Parliament, to blast its dignity and to checkmate its action, to play off the Crown and people against the Parliament, and one section of the Parliament against another.

With this fundamental objection to parliamentary parties, it is natural that he should condemn all that ever have been or will be. We have seen how, in this view, the unprejudiced and powerful mind of Bolingbroke taught him to dread and to condemn the Tories, such as they were in his day. To the Tory party, with Bolingbroke's traditions and under Pitt's guidance, he necessarily attributes a share in the "political mystification of the last hundred years." And as to the party after Pitt's death he says of it: "Impudently usurping the name of that party of which nationality, and therefore universality, is the essence, these pseudo-Tories made exclusion the principle of their political constitution, and restriction the genius of their commercial code." What he thought of the party as transformed by Peel we have already seen. His opinion of the Whigs is sufficiently notorious: "The Whigs introduced sectarian religion, sectarian religion led to political exclusion, and political exclusion was soon accompanied by commercial restraint." The party he holds to be a mere faction or conspiracy to introduce and maintain a "Venetian oligarchy." If he could have sympathy with any party, it would be with that section of philosophic Radicals which would found an Imperial power on universal suffrage, and would use the Church as the means of persuading the masses. With Radicalism he has often shown that he has a certain fundamental agreement; but he has no sympathy with what he calls the Jacobinism of Lancashire. He has accordingly been obliged to look abroad for a political system which he could thoroughly approve. And he found one in France. It is clear that he and Napoleon III. are fellow-students in the school of Bolingbroke. In his youth he attempted to make himself the laureate of Napoleon I. by his *Revolutionary Epic*, in which he sang how the spirit of Feudalism (Toryism) and the spirit of Federalism (Radicalism) found their point of union and indifference in the Emperor, and where he announced himself as the destined poet of the transformation of Europe by the ideas of the French Revolution. It was in complete accordance with the theories of his whole life

that he risked so much of what popularity he had by making himself the parliamentary advocate of Napoleon III. in 1854.

Mr. Disraeli's political opinions are all grouped round one grand centre—himself. We have seen how in his mind the notion of becoming a party leader preceded any notion of the party he was to lead. In general, he holds that the cause exists for the man, not the man for the cause. As God made all things for himself, so in a theocracy all things exist for the governor. The minister has a kind of divinity; and in comparison with him the people are but chaff and bran to stuff his ambition. Ambition is the consciousness of genius. It is "the heroic feeling, which in old days produced demigods; without which no State is safe, . . . and civilisation itself but a fitful and transient dream." The part which the great man plays in his system is immense. He seems to recognise three grades of influence and authority. The first is management, a mere intellectual gift of assigning to every man his part, and bringing them all to act together for an end; but, great as may be the value of this gift, he always exhibits it as ending in failure when unaccompanied by higher qualifications. The next grade is attractiveness, which is symbolized by wealth, rank, wit, adventure, audacity, or any other gift which engages the imagination or the interests of mankind; the attractive man plays the same part in the political field that the coquette plays in society. The third grade is that of genius. The highest genius is that which exhibits itself as inspiration: Mr. Disraeli's most perfect ideals are men and women who see visions and dream dreams. Next in rank to this divine genius comes the poetic genius. "The teeming fertility of the inventive resources of the imagination is as necessary to a great statesman as to a great general or a great poet." Peel was not a statesman, because "he embalmed no great political truth in immortal words." All these three qualities of a great statesman Mr. Disraeli claims for himself in his novels, where there is no character but himself, divided into many masks, exhibiting his full face in the principal personages, and his profile and quarter face in collateral characters of the story. To construct him, as he sets himself before us, we must take the "miraculous management" of Vivian Grey, the magnetic attraction, the poetic genius, the clairvoyant intuition of Contarini Fleming, the aphoristic infallibility of Sidonia, with a spice of the human weaknesses of Fakradeen (as it were a half-brother of Vivian), and with a hem of feminine fibre borrowed on the one side from Mrs.

Lorraine and Mrs. Coningsby, and on the other from Sybil and Eva. For his preternatural powers are more those of the prophetess than of the prophet, more in the temperament than in the authoritative mission, more allied to mesmerism than to inspiration. Yet he claims the magical power of accomplishing ends without ordinary means, of working by contraries, of propagating a truth by summing it up in an immortal word. He is an adept in that Oriental lore which teaches (according to Ibn Chaldan) that "the word of a believer concludes peace and makes war according as he speaks; for the power of everything created lives in the pure word of a believer, from which states arise, and cities and nations flourish, as the tree grows up from its roots."

It is not difficult to see what was the attraction between the disorganized Conservatives and a man of Mr. Disraeli's opinions and character. Conservative principles had collapsed with the repeal of the corn duties, as entirely as Toryism had collapsed at the Revolution, or Tory-Conservatism with the Reform Bill. The negative side of Peel's programme was unable to stand alone; it was not a policy but a sentiment; and as a sentiment it was destructive of policy, for it would allow nothing to be done. The positive side of Peel's programme had developed into a liberalism towards which the Conservative sentiment was furiously hostile. The party could not exist without some positive creed, however hollow; and Mr. Disraeli was precisely the man to combine its sentiments, its tendencies, and its prejudices, into the semblance of a principle. He was in want of a chaos; and the very demoralization of the party was both a magnet and a whetstone for his organizing genius. He knew the secret of a key which would fit into its intellectual and moral voids, and open for him a way into the inmost recesses of its confidence. He had ex-cogitated a great bribe to offer it, estimated at £120,000,000, as a compensation for its supposed losses by the repeal of the corn laws. He had got a beautiful vision to dangle before its eyes, of the Queen on her throne, crowned and sceptered, with all her prerogatives restored, the centre of a galaxy of lords and bishops, rectors, squires, and churchwardens, surrounded by a tame flock of happy peasantry, while the middle and manufacturing classes were wearing out their doom to "fade like the Tyrian dye, and moulder like the Venetian palaces." It would not matter if the hopes were mockeries, the fears delusions, and the ideal an exploded fallacy. For the programme was only addressed to the imagination. It was to be

the plaything of a party, not the earnest purpose of a statesman. It was a charm by which the genius was to mould the party into a pedestal for his own statue, not the law by which he was to regulate his policy and shape the development of the nation.

The whole life of Conservatism in 1846 was concentrated in the thirst for revenge upon Peel. The party, however "spacious in the possession of dirt," possessed no sufficiently accomplished hurler of mud, and was obliged to go begging for a bravo. Mr. Disraeli bestowed himself upon them, and was welcomed, like the man whom the horse in the fable invited to mount him. The Conservatives had no idea of subjecting themselves to him. They thought to use him; but he intended to use them, to control them, and to educate them—partly for their good, chiefly for his own. A career thus opened required circumspect advance. He had, as the Americans say, to go in at the little end of the horn. He had to take his cue from the party; he could not attempt to dictate to it. It thus became his hard lot to stand forth as the champion of the Protectionists, whose principles he had all his life condemned as one of the stupid imbecilities of pseudo-Toryism. He was able, however, to cloak himself for nearly three years under the skirts of Lord George Bentinck, a leader without a system of his own, but bold and clever, with wit enough to listen to plausible ideas, and dignity enough "to play his great part in a becoming manner," whose "singular and sudden career" exhibited just that triumph of accidental information over artificial training, of impulse over theory, which was a part of Mr. Disraeli's romantic creed. For are we not taught in *Contarini Fleming* that, though the legislator ought to consult the genius of the people, yet it is impossible to draw out this genius with the hook of philosophy, or to make that which is "the occasional consequence of fine observation" into "the certain result of scientific study"? Policy comes by intuition, not by training. System cannot give us knowledge of man. "Moral philosophy is mere words. History is a pleasant pastime, never a profitable study." Lord George Bentinck became a statesman, neither by study, nor by his own intuition, but by that of Mr. Disraeli. After the death of Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli could stand alone, or at least required only a crutch, and not a cloak. Lord Derby supplied what was lacking, and gave bail for his good behaviour.

In 1849 Mr. Disraeli became definitively the leader in the House of Commons of the party which called itself Conservative, and which he intended to make Tory. But his position was a delicate one; his hold on his

party was not yet established. From 1846 to 1852 was the first period of his action upon it. This period is itself divided into two: the first during his coverture, while Lord George Bentinck was leader; the second under his acknowledged lead. This whole period was one of ostensible protection. It comprised the attacks upon Peel in 1846, the defence of the sugar duties in 1847, and of the navigation laws in 1848, the arguments for the reimposition of an import duty on corn in 1849, and the motions in 1849, 1850, and 1851, for a readjustment of local taxation, so as to compensate the landed interest for what they had lost by free-trade. But during all this period, his speeches contain no affirmation of the principle of protection. In 1848 he said outright that he was a free-trader, though not a freebooter of the Manchester school. He was able, however, to combine his free-trade with a freebooting which was not of the Manchester school: for in 1849 he declared himself ready to appeal to the people on the question, "whether they were for the system which should make the foreigner or the Englishman pay the taxes of England." He thought also that the landed interest ought to be protected at the expense of the mercantile interest, and prophesied that the recent changes in the commercial system must end in national degradation and financial convulsion. He tried also to apply what he called free-trade principles to the land. If the land is raw material, he asked in 1850, why is it taxed at all?—as if rent itself were not taxation, and a tax on rent a public tax on the profits of a private tax. When Parliament, he said, had destroyed the artificial protection to land, it had no right to maintain the artificial burdens. Lord Russell bore witness that he never grounded his motions on protection, and never promised its re-establishment; but his own party treated this silence as a mere concession to the prejudices of the free-trading majority, and exhibited a confidence in his convictions which his words certainly did not warrant.

The events of 1848 had brought Reform once more to the front. The disaster of Louis Philippe and Guizot had warned Lord Russell of the danger of finality in excluding great classes from the franchise. But he opposed all motions for its extension, till he was placed in a minority by Mr. Locke King in 1851. He resigned; but, as Lord Derby was not able to form a ministry, he retained office, though he was again put into a minority on the continuance of the income-tax, by a combination of Mr. Hume with Mr. Disraeli. The next session (1852), weakened by the exclusion of Lord Palmer-

ston, he proposed a new Reform Bill, but was beaten by Lord Palmerston on the Militia question, and again resigned. This was the first great occasion for Mr. Disraeli's education of the Conservatives on the question of Reform. There had been a meeting of the party, where it was led to commit itself to a position which turned out to involve a policy hitherto strange to it. It was to relinquish its intolerant attitude, and to allow Reform Bills to be introduced, reserving its force for moulding them according to its own ideas in committee. This was a great step gained. Henceforth the Tories, instead of negating all reform, began to be taught to suppose that they had positive schemes of their own, not indeed to be produced independently, as though they were of any positive value, but to be, if possible, substituted for any proposals which might come from the opposite party. "From the time," said Mr. Disraeli, in October 1867, "I ever presumed to take any lead in public affairs, I have never omitted an opportunity of claiming, whenever this question was brought forward, the right of the Tory party to deal with it, deeming that historically we had as good and better right than our opponents, but that, totally irrespective of these considerations, it was a fatal position that one of the great constitutional parties of England should commence their programme by the admission that, upon the most vital and interesting of public questions, they were considered to be debarred from ever interfering." Reform then was inculcated both as a principle or article of "the traditional Tory creed," and as a rule of tactics; and it became the occasion of clenching the transformation of the Conservatives into the Tory party.

The year 1852 saw Mr. Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. In the beginning of the session he had declared that the peculiar burdens on hand entitled the landed interest to countervailing duties as a compensation. He was now a compensationalist. A few weeks afterwards, Lord Derby, as the head of the new ministry, sketched the policy which the Government intended to follow. In a minority in the House of Commons, it would avoid all unnecessary party measures, and devote itself to legal and social reform, without following Lord John Russell in his "indefinite plan to unsettle everything and settle nothing" by parliamentary reform. Mr. Disraeli, addressing his constituents at Aylesbury on his re-election in March, assured them that he had sown all his wild oats, that for fifteen years he had never forfeited a principle or a pledge, and declared,

"it shall never be said that I have attained power by false pretences." A precipitate settlement, unjust to farmers, planters, or sailors, was, he said, wrongly called free-trade. But he would pledge himself to no particular measure, only to the policy of justice to all classes, including "ample and complete redress" to the landed interest. When he first met Parliament he was obliged to adopt provisionally the budget of the outgoing ministry; this he did in a speech so candid that Mr. Gladstone was ready to let the result of the financial policy of the preceding ten years rest upon it. In the autumn session of the new Parliament, the way having been cleared by the affirmation of a resolution in favour of the free-trade policy, Mr. Disraeli produced his budget. It was ambitious enough. It offered paltry compensation to the shipping interest and the planters. The land was promised the substantial alms of half the malt-tax. The townspeople were to be gratified with a reduced duty on tea. But there was to be a graduated income-tax and an extended house-tax. "There are greater subjects for us to consider," he said, "than the triumph of obsolete opinions. I look upon one-sided free-trade as an obsolete opinion, just as you look upon protection; and I am lost in the great principle of the day, that of unrestricted competition." Lost he undoubtedly was. Mr. Gladstone demonstrated that he knew nothing of the business; and his budget was refused by the House. But at least he had educated his party, first into substituting "compensation" for "protection," and then into being "lost in unrestricted competition." In the imagination of the party, this actually meant that landlords and farmers were not to be taxed; but it was also capable of being ultimately shown to have meant pure and simple free-trade.

In the years between 1853 and 1858, the attention of the country was absorbed in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. In 1853, Mr. Gladstone's first great budget was too popular to offer any hopeful point of attack; but, by a union with Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Disraeli managed to beat the Government on the question of taxes on knowledge. Though he failed to profit by the military passions of the hour, and to ride into office as a War Minister, he had no little influence in putting an end to what he called the ministry of "no principles but all the talents." He could not displace Lord Palmerston's Government till 1858, when the Extradition Bill, which he ought to have approved for its subservience to Napoleon III., afforded him a second opening

to power. During the interval between his two administrations he had busily educated his party in the principles of Tory Reform. He had at last given them a theory on which a Bill might be founded, and all other Bills rejected, in order eventually to pass that. In his numerous Reform speeches he always insisted that the franchise is neither a right nor a trust, but a privilege, not an odious exception, but a general reward. If this is denied, and a right to the franchise asserted, then he told his party every restriction becomes an absurdity; but when the franchise is given by law as a privilege and reward, then it does not matter how liberally it is given. Universal suffrage he assured them would produce a Tory majority. He criticised the Reform Act of 1832 as having given privileges to property only, and as having swept away all the old privileges given to labour and to skill. On the old system the freeman represented the artisan and the labourer: "we virtually terminated the political rights of labour with the class of freemen we destroyed." But whatever privileges he was ready to lavish on labour, he reserved greater privileges for the land. Government, he said, must be based on traditional influences and large properties round which men may rally. They are the only security for liberty and property. Ours is a "territorial constitution." Power is in the Crown, order in the Lords, liberty in the Commons. Such were to be the bases of Tory Reform. Lord Derby, in his first speech as minister in 1858, observed that the broad distinctions of political parties no longer existed, but that they were divided into the most various shades of opinion, the niceties of division being so fine that it was difficult to define the position of many a member of Parliament. Thus the composition of parties was in exact analogy to the composition of Tory principles. The formula, "power in the Crown, order in the Lords, liberty in the Commons," by giving a separate local habitation to each element, separates the elements themselves, gives them a fragmentary character, and builds up the party programme out of mutually inconsistent bits, each of which demands in its turn a practical development. Such a creed is exactly the one to present to an assembly divided in the way Lord Derby described. It offers to every fragment of a party that fragment of a principle on which it erects its platform. And in exchange it demands compromise on all other points, and thus trains men for every kind of concession. On this eclectic basis Lord Derby formed his ministry of 1858. It borrowed Mr. Gladstone's finance,

the India policy which Mr. Disraeli had opposed in the earlier part of the session, and some of Mr. Locke King's piecemeal reforms. The Conservatives boasted that the session of 1858 was more prolific of measures than any since 1852. Whether the boast was true or false, the honour claimed was small for a party sworn to stop all legislation when out of office, and ready to concede all when in office. The policy of universal obstruction while in opposition, by combination with extreme sections of the ministerial party, coupled with universal concession while in office, and the carriage of measures by the same combination, is one that has in it neither mystery nor art. It flows on with the brute necessity of a physical law. It must succeed whenever the Liberal party contains in it discontented sections which, in union with the Tory party, out-number the main Liberal body. The novelty was not that the efficacy of the contrivance should be discovered, but that the Conservative party should be brought to combine with such extreme allies in order to overcome the Whigs, whose fault in the eyes of those allies was that they were too conservative. Such alliances, though suicidal for Conservatism, were naturally approved by the Tory leader, because they tended to transform Conservatism into Toryism, and also directly promoted certain articles of the Tory creed of democratic monarchy.

To the true Tory, parliamentary government is an eyesore. To hamper Parliament, to exhibit its inability to solve a pressing question, and to relegate the decision to a minister who will annul ordinary parliamentary rules in order to carry it, is a proceeding essentially Tory, and not Conservative. This is exactly what Mr. Disraeli saw might be done by Reform. When everybody had agreed that it was to be settled, and ministry after ministry had tried to settle it, and failed, it would be clear that "the great machine was not adequate to the question, that it could not meet the difficulties;" and then would come the great opportunity for referring the question to the party which was national and not parliamentary. By 1858-1859 the party had been so far educated that the Government was able to comply with the necessity of bringing in a Reform Bill. It was a Reform Bill with only one liberal feature in it,—the reduction of the county franchise. And this patch of liberalism was only specious; for it was part of a general scheme for giving parliamentary preponderance to the uneducated and dependent majority of the people, which lives in counties. The

maintenance of the £10 line in the boroughs, coupled with the scheme of lateral as opposed to vertical extension of the suffrage, by means of lodger and fancy franchises which would only affect the "respectable" classes, completed the reactionary character of the measure. It was deservedly rejected. A dissolution took place; and after a hostile vote in the new Parliament, the ministry resigned. In this second tenure of office Mr. Disraeli had gained the vantage-ground of having forced his party to support positive concrete proposals on Reform, and from that ground he renewed his process of education. His five points are too recent to need recapitulation or criticism. They were certainly all more or less preached in his Reform speeches between 1859 and 1866. And he boasted at Edinburgh that they were all embodied in the ultimate measure of 1867. In reality his boast was neither timely nor true. That measure sinned against his first point; for it was only a piecemeal reform, and was not completed till 1868. And the completion of it effaced its compliance with another of the five points; for several "centres of representation" were annihilated. Moreover, two other points were made futile by the refusal of the House of Commons to sanction the suggested alteration of the boundaries of boroughs, or otherwise to weed the county registers of the borough voters, or to give a preponderating parliamentary influence to the county population. Of all his practical and impracticable suggestions only one enjoyed a temporary and short-lived triumph—his famous principle of the personal payment of rates. As an instrument of parliamentary intrigue it was perfect; as a theory of government and of political economy, or as an administrative contrivance, it was immeasurably puerile and ridiculous. This, however, was the solitary approximation to a legislative result from Mr. Disraeli's Tory teaching. The Bill, after it had thrown off its deceptive checks and compensations, came out ultimately differing in one point alone from such a measure as Mr. Bright, or, before him, Mr. Hume had recommended. This one point was not personal payment of rates, for the personal payment had shrunk into personal rating. Personal rating as a condition of the franchise was the birth for which the mountain had been in labour for nineteen years, and for which the Conservative had been changed into the Tory party. Even this has since been practically swept away.

The conflict between the three schools of Liberalism, Toryism, and Conservatism, was

better seen during the passage of the Irish Church Bill than during the Reform struggle of 1867. In 1869 the three parties were visibly distinguished. The Liberal Government introduced a complete and consistent Bill, which dealt firmly with principles and kindly with interests. The Tory leader declared that the measure was worse than foreign conquest, by which he probably meant that it was as fatal to the Toryism he had been constructing as the "Dutch conquest" had been to the Toryism of the Stuart days. He denounced it as a divorce between the State and religion, and a consequent weakening of the Crown. But after contending seriously though in vain for the principle of Establishment, which his theory required him to do, he made a mere sham-fight for endowments, which he must have felt, though he did not say, could not on his principles be either wisely or justly left in the custody of a disestablished Church. Thus, though the list of his original amendments exhibited him as the champion both of establishment and endowment, yet, when he gave battle on the principle of establishment, and then surrendered at discretion on that of endowment, he only acted with perfect consistency as a Tory, who sanctions the existence of a Church, but only as an annex to the Crown, and censures a Church administered in any other way than by absolute prerogative. This surrender no doubt immensely facilitated the passage of the Bill through Parliament, and was therefore distasteful to those few Conservatives who hoped for a better bargain by delay. It also weakened the position of the main body of the party, who accepted disestablishment as inevitable, but considered that by prudent management the whole of the property might be preserved to the disestablished body. Lord Cairns, as Mr. Disraeli's lieutenant in the House of Lords, finally annihilated these Conservative hopes. The Tory leaders, after being compelled to admit the principle of disestablishment, distinctly lent their aid to reduce to sufficient depletion the strength of the engine thus taken away from the armoury of the Crown; while the Conservatives strove rather lightly for establishment, in comparison with their vigorous efforts to retain the wealth of an independent Church. The two principles are, in fact, mutually contradictory, and would, under fitting circumstances, lead to a division in the party. The Tory is for Church and Crown; but not for the Church without the Crown. The Conservative wishes to keep whatever he can, if not wholly, then in part, and to reserve the wealth and influence, even when it is impos-

sible to maintain the establishment, of a Church. The theory of the royal supremacy existing not in the royal courts but in the person of the sovereign, and the union of the Church with the State on the sole ground of this supremacy, was the total contribution of Toryism to the debate on the Irish Church measure.

With all its positive pretence then, Toryism has proved as sterile as Conservatism itself. Where it has been prolific, it has been so merely by surrender to some section of Liberals, with whose opinions it has provisionally decked itself. And indeed, in those transcendent moments when the delight of cajoling a hostile majority lures Mr. Disraeli into frankness, he does not stick at the admission that, after all, his Toryism has as little real place in English legislation as the Conservatism it has superseded. On the 25th of February 1867, he said: "A national party, a party which is nothing if it be not national, had by too long a possession of power shrunk into a heartless oligarchy. The Whig party seized the occasion which was before them, and threw the Government of this country into the hands of the middle classes. Never to my mind was any political experiment more successful. Never has a country been better governed, to my mind, than England during the last thirty years." It is precisely during these thirty years that Mr. Disraeli's political activity has been manifested. It is precisely in thwarting the course of this good government that all his energies have been employed. His hostility has been that, not only of a private antagonist, but of an organizing leader. When the obstructive forces lay shattered and helpless, he rallied them, and recreated the opposition. Organized, consolidated, formed into a coherent phalanx, by his skill, the party ever since has devoted itself to resisting, piecemeal and in the mass, one by one and altogether, the successive developments of the Liberal policy. And for what? In order that its leader might rise from the Treasury bench, and confess in its name that that policy was unsurpassed in excellence. There is no doubt of his right to be the mouthpiece of the party; there is no doubt of his competence to declare the idea on which it rests. He created both the one and the other; and he knows whereof they are made. His word is the end of controversy. *Habemus confitentem reum*: the Tory policy is a conspiracy against good government.

And what is that Conservatism to which the party is exhorted to return but the very influence which predisposed it, the very preamble and premiss which forced it, to

welcome and subserve the Toryism from which it now recoils? Conservatism is not a doctrine or a system; it makes no provision for the most elementary and necessary demands of government. It is merely a sentiment, or an ethical habit. It dies away out of men's minds as they expand to a real knowledge of the forces which are moving the world and of the problems which those forces are continually creating, as they rise to a genuine conviction that their own class interests are not the ultimate test of right, and as they gain the moral courage to act sincerely on the principles which they believe to be true. Under Peel, Conservatism did not stand by itself; if he continued to share its prepossessions, he lent it a life which was not its own. But when the party came to understand that it could no longer enjoy that life without committing itself to a real political system, it started aside like a broken bow. It expelled the only principle of vitality and development with which it seemed capable of amalgamating, and collapsed upon the dull mass of its own negative instincts. The rest was only the inevitable working out of a general law. For a party cannot exist upon a purely negative basis, haggling for ever over the details of its own doomed interests. It cannot help seeking an escape from a palpably impossible position. The Conservative party after 1846 only followed the promptings of its own nature, in the circumstances in which it stood. Therefore it fell a prey to whatever chimera in the sphere of politics could promise most to its interests and its passions. It became the dupe of clattering aphorisms, and the accomplice of a hare-brained plot. It stood by in simpering acquiescence while each of its sentiments was in turn converted into a logical premiss to establish and enforce its contradictory. It accepted as a political philosophy the interchangeable juggle between protection and free-trade, unrestricted competition and monopoly. It learned to justify whatever it might be its interest to do, by whatever principles it might be its interest to profess. What Conservatism has been, that it will be—not a serious policy, nor even the preparative for one, but simply the ready prize of any imposture which promises to stop the sun, and to draw the moon out of its sphere. If the repentance of the Opposition is to establish for them any claim to the national respect, if it is to provide them with any real foundation for a policy in the future, it must go deeper than the trumpety squabble about their tactics and their leaders. It must take them back to the time when they turned away from the light towards which



they were advancing, and reverse the mental and moral habit which incited them to that apostasy. What they have to learn are elementary truths—that facts are stronger than the ignorance which denies them, that justice is higher than the interests of any class, that principles are safer than the alternate cowardice and recklessness of passion. To drape themselves again in the tatters of Conservatism would be something more than to defy the general teaching of history; it would be deliberately to renew, in the face of their own personal experience, their career of disaster and dishonour.

#### ART. VIII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Resultate der auf Befehl Sr. Majestät des Königs Wilhelm I. von Preussen im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsendeten Archäologisch-photographischen Expedition.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Johannes Dümichen. Theil I. (Berlin: Duncker.)
2. *Die Gliederung des Buches Isaias als Grundlage seiner Erklärung und insbesondere der Auslegung einer für die Zukunft wichtigen Weissagung.* Von B. Neteler. (Münster: Niemann.)
3. *The Greek Sceptics from Pyrrho to Sextus.* By Norman Maccoll, B.A. (London: Macmillan.)
4. *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden.* Vorträge gehalten in den Protestantischen Vereinen zu Dresden und Leipzig. Von Max Krenkel. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
5. *The Homilies of Aphraates the Persian Sage.* Edited from Syriac Manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries, in the British Museum, with an English Translation, by W. Wright, Ph.D., LL.D. Vol. I. The Syriac Text. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
6. *Synesus von Cyrene. Eine biographische Charakteristik aus den letzten Zeiten des untergehenden Hellenismus.* Von Dr. Richard Volkmann. (Berlin: Ebeling und Plan.)
7. *The Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered with reference to recent Apologies.* By P. Le Page Renouf. (London: Longmans.)
8. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.* Von J. Friedrich. II. Band. 1 Hälfte. Die Merowingische Zeit. (Bamberg: Reindl.)
9. *Indiculus Arnonis, und Breves Notitiae Salzburgenses.* Herausgegeben und erläutert von Friedrich Keinz. (Munich: Fleischmann.)
10. *Maçoudi. Les Prairies d'Or.* Texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard. Tome Cinquième. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
11. *Monumenta Germaniae historica, edidit Georgius Henricus Pertz.* Scriptorum Tomus XXI. (Hanover: Hahn.)
12. *Syntonische Studien zur deutschen Geschichte im zehnten Jahrhundert.* II. *Hrotsvit von Gandersheim.* Von Rudolf Köpke. (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn.)
13. *History of the Norman Kings of England, from a Collation of the Contemporary Chronicles.* By Thomas Cobbe. (London: Longmans.)
14. *The Chronicles of Roger de Hovedene.* Vols. I. and II. Edited by Professor Stubbs. (London: Longmans.)
15. *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici.* Ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis codice potissimum edidit Ernestus Strehlke. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
16. *Ricardi de Cirencestris Speculum Historiale.* Vol. II. Edited by John E. B. Mayor, M.A. (London: Longmans.)
17. *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani.* Vol. III. Edited by H. T. Riley, M.A. (London: Longmans.)
18. *Chroniques de J. Froissart.* Publiées par Siméon Luce. Vol. I. (Paris: Renouard.)
19. *Histoire de Toulon au Moyen Age.* Par Octave Teissier. (Paris: Dumoulin.)
20. *Jacobäa von Bayern und ihre Zeit. Acht Bücher niederländischer Geschichte.* Von Franz v. Löher. Zweiter Band. (Nördlingen: Beck.)
21. *Histoire de Charles VIII., Roi de France.* D'après des documents diplomatiques inédits ou nouvellement publiés. Par C. de Cherrier, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Didier.)
22. *Trois Documents de l'Eglise du XV. Siècle.* (Venice: Antonelli.)
23. *La Bibliothèque des Princes Corsini, à Rome.* Par M. Gachard. (Brussels: Merzbach.)
24. *Dispacci di Giovanni Michiel.* Rettificazioni ed Aggiunte di Luigi Pasini. (Venice: Grimaldo.)
25. *Le Cardinal Jean Morone.* Par Frédéric Sclopis. (Paris: Durand.)
26. *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par le Docteur T. van Raemdonck. (Saint Nicolas: Dalschaert-Praet.)
27. *Shakespeareana Genealogica.* In Two Parts. Compiled by Geo. Russell French. (Cambridge: Macmillan.)
28. *Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty.* Edited and Translated by S. R. Gardiner. (London: Camden Society.)
29. *Gustaf Adolf.* Von G. Droysen. (Leipzig: Veit.)
30. *Geschichte Wallensteins.* Von L. von Ranke. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
31. *Graf Georg Friedrich von Waldeck, ein preussischer Staatsmann im 17ten Jahrhundert.* Von Bernhard Erdmannsdörfer. (Berlin: Reimer.)
32. *Rembrandt Harmens Van Rijn. Sa vie et ses Œuvres.* Par C. Vosmaer. (The Hague: Nijhoff.)
33. *Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera.* Vol. I. By T. Duffus Hardy. (London: Longmans.)
34. *Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preussen.* Von J. G. Droysen. (Leipzig: Veit.)
35. *Le Père Ricci Général des Jésuites à l'Epoque de leur suppression (1773).* Biographie et pièces inédites publiées par le P. Auguste Carayon. (Paris: L'Ecureux.)

36. *Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen*. Erster Band, 1775-1803. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
37. *Archives Judiciaires. Recueil complet des discussions législatives et des débats résultant des grands procès politiques jugés en France de 1792 à 1840*. Documents recueillis, annotés et mis en ordre par le Baron Carl de Ketschendorf. (Brussels: Decq et Mucquardt.)
38. *Portalis, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*. Par René Lavollée. (Paris: Didier.)
39. *Das Leben des Generals von Scharnhorst, nach grösstentheils bisher unbenutzten Quellen dargestellt*. Von G. H. Klippel. I. II. Thl. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
40. *Histoire politique et parlementaire de la Belgique de 1814-1830*. Par Louis Hymans, Membre de la Chambre des Représentants. Tome premier, La fondation du Royaume des Pays-Bas. (Brussels: Office de Publicité.)
41. *Aus den Memoiren eines Russischen Dekabristen. Beiträge zur Geschichte des St. Petersburger Militäraufstandes vom 14 (26) December 1825 und seiner Theilnehmer*. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
42. *Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England*. By Arthur John Booth, M.A. (London: Trübner.)
43. *Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*. Von J. J. Honnegger. Bd. I. II. (Leipzig: Weber.)
44. *The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, related in a Selection from her Letters to her Friends*. Edited by the Rev. A. G. L'Estrange. (London: Bentley.)
45. *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Bunsen*. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
46. *Charles Baudelaire, sa Vie et son Œuvre*. Par Charles Asselineau. (Paris: Lemerre.)
47. *Life of Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan, Foundress of the English Congregation of St. Catherine of Siena, of the Third Order of St. Dominic*. By her Religious Children. (London: Longmans.)
48. *Histoire de la Constitution de 1852, son développement et sa transformation*. Par A. Cuheval-Clarigny. (Paris: Sauton.)
49. *Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez*. Par Olivier Ritt. (Paris: Hachette.)
50. *Recherches économiques, historiques et statistiques sur les guerres contemporaines (1853-1866)*. Par Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. (Paris: Librairie Internationale.)
51. *Litländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarin*. Von C. Schirren. Dritte Auflage. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
52. *France*. By M. Prévost-Paradol. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
53. *Nationality: or the Law relating to Subjects and Aliens, considered with a view to future Legislation*. By the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief-Justice of England. (London: Ridgway.)
54. *The New West: or, California in 1867-1868*. By Charles Loring Brace. (New York: Putnam and Son.)
55. *Wanderbuch*. Von W. H. Riehl. (Stuttgart: Cotta.)
56. *Constitutional Progress*. Seven Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. By Montague Burrows, M.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History. (London: Murray.)
57. *Typical Selections from the best English Authors*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
58. *Histoire de Calife le Pêcheur et de Calife Haroun er Rachid, Conte inédit des Mille et Une Nuits*. Texte Turc accompagné de notes explicatives et de la Traduction Française en regard par Charles Clermont-Ganneau. (Jerusalem: Typographie de Terre Sainte.)
59. *Nouveaux Lundis*. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve, de l'Académie Française. Tome onzième. (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.)
60. *Theocritus translated into English Verse*. By C. S. Calverley. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.)
61. *Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'Époque de la Renaissance*. Par Paul Lacroix. Ouvrage illustré par F. Kellerhoven. (Paris: Didot Frères.)
62. *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*. Par André Pottier. (Rouen: Le Brument.)
63. *Histoire générale de la Musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*. Par F. T. Fétis. (Paris: Didot.)
64. *Nouvelles études morales sur le temps présent*. Par E. Caro, de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette.)
65. *Les Sciences et la Philosophie. Essais de critique philosophique et religieuse*. Par Th. Henri Martin. (Paris: Didier.)
66. *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Von Theodor Benfey. (Munich: Cotta.)
67. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary, chiefly founded on the Collections made from Prose Works of the 12th-14th Centuries*. By the late Richard Cleasby. Enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Part I, A-H. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
68. *Habit and Intelligence in their Connection with the Laws of Matter and Force*. By Joseph John Murphy. (London: Macmillan.)
69. *Recherches sur le Spectre Solaire*. Par A. J. Angström, Professeur de Physique à l'Université d'Upsal. Spectre Normal de Soleil. Atlas de Six Planches. (Upsala: Schultz.)
70. *Vorträge über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten Hundert Jahren*. Von Dr. A. Ladenburg. (Brunswick: Vieweg.)
71. *Rapport Méthodique sur les Progrès de la Chimie Organique pure en 1868 avec quelques détails sur la marche de la Chimie physiologique*. Par le Dr. Micé. (Paris: Bal-lière.)
72. *Outlines of Chemistry, or Brief Notes of Chemical Facts*. By William Odling, M.B. (London: Longmans.)
73. *The Mississippi Valley: its Physical Geography*. By J. W. Foster, LL.D. (Chicago: Griggs and Co.)
74. *Pre-Historic Times, as illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*. By Sir John Lub-

bock, Bart. Second Edition. (London : Williams and Norgate.)

75. *An Illustrated Natural History of British Moths*. By Edward Newman. (London : Tweedie.)

1. THE indefatigable Dr. Dümichen has just published a volume of the results obtained by the Prussian archæological expedition to Egypt in the summer of 1868. The first fifteen plates are taken from four of the most remarkable tombs of Sakkarah and represent Egyptian art at the time of the fifth dynasty, that is, considerably more than 2000 years before Christ. The remaining plates, with the exception of the last four (which are really supplementary to another publication of Dr. Dümichen's), belong to a very much more recent period. They contain a plan and inscriptions of the great temple of Hathor at Dendera, and represent the "basest period" of Egyptian art. The name of the "Emperor Nero" occurs repeatedly. These recent texts, which are infinitely more difficult of decipherment than those of the better periods, are of considerable interest both from a mythological and from a philological point of view. The play upon words, sounds, and images, which is characteristic of this literature, sometimes furnishes curious and even important evidence. At Plate XXV., for instance, there is a passage (lines 11 and 12) in which almost every word begins with the letters *ch*. The beginning of the text (line 9) is equally alliterative. *chi-ut, chi-ut, chent chut en cheft-neter*. This is fresh evidence as to the phonetic value of the ideographic [L]. See *The*

*North British Review*, No. CI. p. 106.

The interest of the representations belonging to the older period is partly historical and partly archæological. The historical information which may be gathered from the most ancient tombs has been carefully collected in M. de Rougé's *Memoir on the Monuments of the First Six Dynasties*. Professor Hartmann, the African traveller, has contributed a valuable paper determining the species of animals represented in Dr. Dümichen's publications. But the most important contribution to the present volume is Herr Graser's essay, "*Das Seewesen der alten Aegypter*." He is the author of a most valuable work *De Veterum re Navali*, which is now in fact the greatest authority on the subject. The large number of Egyptian vessels of every kind (no less than 148 in all), which are found in the plates of Dr. Dümichen's recent volumes has enabled Herr Graser accurately to study and describe the details and development of the Egyptian system in its different periods, from the earliest date down to the thirteenth century before Christ. Although the Greek ship of the historical period was far more complicated in its construction than the Egyptian, almost all the elements of the Greek system are found in a simpler form in the Egyptian, so that Herr Graser in describing the latter is almost invariably able in the absence of the

Egyptian technical term to use a corresponding Greek one.

He is of course strictly accurate in contrasting the wealth of the Greek texts in nautical phraseology with the poverty of the Egyptian. But it would be unfair to forget how recently the Egyptian texts have been deciphered, how imperfectly as yet they have been studied, and how many still remain unpublished. There is no antecedent improbability in the discovery of Hieroglyphic texts as important in their way as the inventories of the Attic navy, published by Boeckh. "No one writer in the whole range of Greek and Roman literature," says the author of an article in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, "has supplied us (it may be doubted whether all put together have supplied us) with so much information concerning the merchant ships of the ancients as St. Luke in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. xxviii.)." The Coptic translator of the New Testament unfortunately did not think it necessary to render the technical Greek terms by corresponding Egyptian ones. He either preserved the Greek term or gave an approximate or untechnical version. In spite of all difficulties, however, our Hieroglyphic vocabulary is far more advanced than many persons are aware.

2. HERR NETELER has made an honest but certainly not successful attempt to overthrow the opinion, now generally received among scholars, against the unity of composition of the Book of Isaiah. He is perfectly conscious of the fact that none of the previous endeavours to prove this unity have been satisfactory. But he exaggerates the importance of the fact; and he is mistaken in supposing that the most complete success, within its own limits, of such an attempt as his own would have any real bearing on the question of the unity of authorship of the book. The mere want of unity and connection between the different prophecies would be no proof that they did not proceed from a single author. And, on the other hand, a perfectly false and illusory unity of thought and composition may be imagined to pervade the writings of very different men, particularly if grave difficulties, such (among many others) as differences of dialect, are thrust out of sight, and the obvious meanings of words are set aside to make way for grossly improbable interpretations. Herr Neteler writes for the purpose of convincing rationalists and unbelievers. But "the belief of the Church that the Book of Isaiah is a Divine revelation" no more establishes the unity of its authorship than the belief of the Church with reference to the Proverbs of Solomon proves that Solomon wrote "the words of Agur," or "the words of King Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him." The most orthodox believer may admit the inspiration of the latter part of Isaiah without on that account being forced to admit that these chapters were written by the author of the first. The internal evidence of the latter chapters as overwhelmingly proves that this

author lived during the Captivity, and was a contemporary of Cyrus, as the evidence of the first chapters proves that their author lived in the days of Hezekiah, and earlier kings of Judah. The earlier prophet predicted the captivity, the later prophet the restoration of Judah. No one would dream of attributing a work which spoke of Queen Victoria as a contemporary sovereign to a writer who flourished before the reign of George I. Nor is it to the point to say that a prophet is not tied to these miserable conditions of time and space. No part of the Book of Isaiah asserts that *kind* of fore-knowledge which is implied in the mention of Cyrus by a contemporary of Hosea and Ahaz. Herr Neteler evidently sees no difficulty in this mention. According to his views, not only was Cyrus predicted, but the clearest indications were given of the politics of modern Russia. From a combination of the data of Isaiah with those of Ezekiel, it appears certain to him "dass Edom eine bildliche Bezeichnung für die Russen ist." This is very much as if a divine prophet of the present day, writing in France, were to warn a distant posterity against an Antichristian power, say in North America, by denouncing woes against Belgium or Switzerland.

3. MR. MACCOLL'S essay on *The Greek Sceptics* contains a clear and accurate account of the opinions of Pyrrho and his various successors and continuators. The difference between the mere suspense of Pyrrho and the probabilism of the later Academy is satisfactorily brought out; and the writer perceives the fallacy of the charge of negative dogmatism brought against Arcesilas and Carneades by the later school who revived the tradition of Pyrrho. The introduction is too rhetorical, and sins both by excess and defect. There is much fine writing wasted in an attempt to prove that the decline of Greek national life was the reason why Aristotle and Plato had no successors, and why subsequent philosophy reduced itself to the regulation of individual life; and little or nothing is said on the extreme insignificance of Pyrrhonism. Later experience has shown that in the most vigorous society it is almost impossible for an encyclopædic system of philosophy to maintain itself beyond the first generation of disciples, unless, indeed, it can incorporate itself with a positive system of theology. Short of this, the best that any system can hope is to pass like those of Hegel and Aristotle into special sciences. Moral and psychological controversies, such as those between Stoics and Epicureans, and the followers of Locke and Reid, are longer lived than such systems, not because they appeal to weaker faculties, but because they appeal to fewer faculties. The peculiarities of temper which incline individuals to take sides in a psychological controversy are more permanent than the phase of culture reflected in an encyclopædic system. The insignificance of the later Greek scepticism is due to the fact that it did not fasten upon popular institutions or creeds, but confined itself to philosophical systems. It was a protest, not against the pressure of

society, but against the pressure of a small cultivated class. The pre-Socratic scepticism emancipated the individual in order to arm him against society; the post-Aristotelic scepticism emancipated the individual from the contradictory dogmas of the learned, in order to enable him to acquiesce in the customs of the crowd. Even the new Academy, which Cicero once dignified with the title of universal disturber, only merited the title so far as it was a criticism on the conservative and official philosophy of the Porch. The real meaning of the scepticism of Carneades was that no abstraction was sufficiently certain to justify sacrifice; and the cumulative arguments on which he relied for practical guidance could only establish propositions that lay within the concrete sphere of common sense. Mr. Maccoll treats the later sceptics, beginning with Ænesidemus, too much as if they had fallen from the clouds, and had no connection with their time; and there is no apparent reason why he should have wilfully refused to discuss the connection of Ænesidemus's scepticism with his Heracleitean mysticism. Besides these omissions, one rather grave inaccuracy must be noted. Mr. Maccoll seems to be under the impression that *καταληπτικὰ φαντασία* is Greek for an intellectual representation.

4. HERR KRENKEL'S views on St. Paul are essentially those of the Tübingen school; and his *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden* contains little of importance that has not already been said, in a less popular form, by Baur and Zeller. To the biblical student the "Erläuterungen" at the end of the volume will perhaps be more interesting than the Lectures which form its substance. The author acknowledges nine of the epistles as genuine—those to the Romans (i.-xvi.), Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon. He has not succeeded in convincing himself of the spuriousness of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and has used the data contained in it whilst describing the condition of the Ephesian Church. In the 16th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he agrees with Reuss, Ewald, Weisse, and others, in recognising a fragment of another epistle to the Ephesians. The so-called Pastoral Epistles, though not genuine in their present form, he believes to contain one or two considerable fragments really written by St. Paul. On the birthplace of the great Apostle he strongly supports St. Jerome's assertion, "de tribu Benjamin et oppido Judææ Gisculis fuit, quo a Romanis capto cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit" (*De viris illustr.* c. 5). St. Jerome must have been fully conscious of the apparent contradiction between this tradition and three passages of the Acts of the Apostles, and must have known how to reconcile it with them. And a mere myth would not have selected an unimportant spot, not mentioned either in the Old or the New Testament. On the subject of the eye-witness and companion of St. Paul, who speaks in certain chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, Herr Krenkel brings forward arguments in support of the authorship of Titus.

5. THE collection of writings which appears under the title, strange even to most patristic scholars, of *The Homilies of Aphraates* [or Ferhad] *the Persian Sage*, is one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity, and the earliest series of original compositions now extant in the Syriac language. The publication of this treasure, which had been hidden for centuries in the Nitrian desert, is due to private munificence. A proposal of Dr. Cureton that it should be printed at the expense of the University of Oxford was rejected by the delegates of the Clarendon Press; and Dr. Wright, of the British Museum, who was charged by Dr. Cureton, when dying, with the execution of his plans, would have failed to get the work printed when it was at last ready for the press, had not an old friend and school-fellow, Mr. David Murray of Adelaide, South Australia, offered to bear the entire cost. The first volume, just published, contains the Syriac text; and a second, containing the translation, will follow as soon as Dr. Wright's other engagements will permit.

It is evident, at the first glance, that the writings now published as those of Aphraates, the Persian sage, are absolutely identical with those published at Rome more than a hundred years ago, in the Armenian language, as an ancient translation of the works of St. James of Nisibis. The Armenian is a close, and generally most faithful, version of the Syriac text given in the present volume. Some of its corruptions and obscurities may at once be cleared up on referring to the Syriac. It is said, for instance, that the names of God are many and glorious. "He has called his name Ahiah, Seharah, Elisade, and Adonia Zauth." These names in the corresponding Syriac passage (p. 335) are intelligible enough. It was the belief, therefore, of Dr. Cureton that these discourses were attributed to St. James of Nisibis by an error which has been fatal to the literary reputation of the real author, Aphraates. This opinion, which is shared by Dr. Wright, Professor Payne Smith, and most Syriac scholars of note, is a very probable one. The evidence in favour of it is extremely strong. It is not, however, absolutely conclusive; and there is evidence on another side of the question, which has not been sufficiently considered. That the author's name was Aphraates need not be doubted. But may not Aphraates and James of Nisibis have been one and the same person? The writers who speak of Aphraates are not ancient; the earliest of them, George, bishop of the Arabs, wrote in the eighth century. None of them seem to know much of Aphraates except from his writings. George, who states that some asserted Aphraates to have been stationed at Nisibis, does not appear to have suspected his episcopal rank, which may be inferred from passages in the discourses on "Penance" and "Pastors," but particularly from the synodical letter, which none but a bishop could have written. In this letter, as Dr. Wright observes, the author speaks of "the holy imposition of hands which men receive from us." The dates of the discourses (A.D.

337, 344, and 345) exactly agree with the time of St. James of Nisibis, according to the best chronologists (see, for instance, Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, vol. i. p. 417). One of the Nitrian mss. ascribes the discourses to "Mar Jacob, the Persian sage," on which Dr. Wright observes that "even at that early period (A.D. 512) our writer may have been confounded with his more widely celebrated namesake, Jacob of Nisibis." But the Armenian translator, who is extremely ancient, and Gennadius of Marseilles, in the *fifth* century, are independent witnesses on the same side of the question. The principal objection of Dr. Wright is that James (or Jacob) of Nisibis died in A.D. 338, "and consequently his claim to the authorship falls at once to the ground." But the date of his death is far from being so well established as to make the inference drawn from it a necessary one. The Chronicle of Edessa and Dionysius Telmachrensis are by no means infallible authorities. They contradict each other as to the dates of St. James's immediate successors. And, granting that the evidence referred to by Dr. Bickell as to the episcopate of Babu during the *second* siege of Nisibis may be relied on, it may on the other hand be doubted whether the hymns he quotes are sufficient to outweigh the positive testimonies of Jerome, Theodoret, and Philostorgius, as to the activity of St. James during *one* of the sieges. A minor difficulty arises with reference to the two names. There is, of course, no obstacle to supposing that the same man may have been designated by both; it was, as Dr. Wright tells us, a usual practice in the Syrian Church to take a new name on advancement to some ecclesiastical grade; but there is some difficulty in understanding how these discourses, if really by St. James of Nisibis, have been handed down in the history of Syriac literature under the less illustrious name. Valeat quantum.

There can, however, be but one opinion as to the singular value of the discourses themselves, whether considered from a purely literary point of view as the earliest extant specimens of Syriac composition, or as the work of the most ancient Father of the Syrian Church. The extreme simplicity of the creed they contain is characteristic of the early date at which they were written. "For this is faith," we are told (p. 22), "that one should believe in God Almighty who made heaven and earth, the seas, and all that is in them; who also made Adam in His likeness, gave the Law to Moses, and sent of His Spirit in the prophets; who also sent Christ into the world; and that one should believe in the resurrection of the dead, and also believe in the mystery of baptism. This is the creed of the Church of God." The writer then proceeds to mention the duty of abstaining from the observance of the sabbath, new moons, astrology, magic, fornication, musical festivals, etc. The discourse demonstrating that Christ is the Son of God will disappoint those who look into it for strong expressions of Nicene orthodoxy. It is written against the Jews, and must be taken as an argumentum ad hominem

rather than as an explicit statement of all that the author held upon the subject. The Jews, it is said, complained that Christ was called God and the Son of God. The author's argument is this:—Our Lord Jesus is God, and Son of God, and King, and Prince, Light of Light; and He is called by many other names. But, even if He were a mere man, the titles we give to Him, and the honour we pay to Him, are such as the Jews must confess to be lawfully given to men. Moses was called God; and he was made a God not only to the wicked Pharaoh, but even to the holy priest Aaron. Christ is called the Son of God; but God calls Israel His First-born Son. God has many and glorious names; but He has without any jealousy given them to the Sons of men, His creatures. He has even called Nabuchodonosor the King of Kings. Adoration, too, has been lawfully paid to bad men. Daniel adored the apostate Nabuchodonosor; and Joseph adored Pharaoh. And if bad men may lawfully be adored, how much more fitting is it that we should adore and glorify Jesus, through whom we have been converted, and who has brought us to the knowledge of God the Father? He died on account of our sins, and took them upon Himself; and we adore these mercies, and bend the knee before the majesty of His Father, because He has turned our worship towards Him. And He is called God like Moses, and First-born and Son like Israel, and Jesus like Jesus the son of Nun, and Priest like Aaron, and King like David, and Prophet like all the prophets, and Pastor like the pastors who have fed and led their flocks. All this, it must be remembered, is said in argument against the Jews. It is no less true, on the other hand, that the author, when writing to Christians for the express purpose of teaching them their religion, never uses language with reference to our Lord which goes beyond the actual words of Scripture. The attempt of Antonelli, the Roman editor of the Armenian version, to quote testimonies in favour of the Homousion is an evident failure. If the Nicene doctrine necessarily follows from first principles, then indeed these discourses are thoroughly Athanasian; but it would perhaps be as easy to find these first principles in professedly Arian confessions. The strongest passage which Antonelli can find in support of his thesis is the statement that Christ "*a principio æqualis Patri erat.*" But the original Syriac merely says, "From the beginning *He was* with the Father." The Armenian translator had evidently read, "*æqualis erat,*" for "*erat.*"

The simplicity of the creed of Aphraates is, however, to be accounted for as representing an early stage in the development of Christian doctrine. It is not the conscious simplicity either of a heretic or of a reformer. The whole tone of Aphraates is utterly at variance with such a view; and it is as little Protestant in the modern sense as can be imagined. He repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, implies his belief in the Real Presence. Man's body, he says, is purified in the Eucharist by the

body of Christ (p. 77). "Keep watch over thy mouth, through which the King has entered" (p. 46). Our Lord with His own hands gave His flesh for food (p. 222). The pastors of whom he speaks, and against whose faults he inveighs with a tone of authority, are priests who offer sacrifice, and have the power of the keys. It is through the use of these keys in penance that sinners are restored to spiritual health. The necessity of confession and the efficacy of absolution are expressly taught to penitents, whilst the corresponding duties of secrecy, discretion, gentleness, and justice, are enforced upon the pastors of souls. A controversialist might be tempted to quote the statement (p. 134) that "of all who have put on flesh, our Lord Jesus Christ is the only one who is both *immaculate* and *victorious*, and that there is no other among the children of Adam who enters the contest, and is not overthrown and wounded. But there is a passage in the preceding discourse (p. 113), in which, after describing the woman as having been from the first day the devil's harp, the cause of the earth's curse, and of its thorns and briers, the mention of the "blessed Mary" is followed by a rapturous description of virginity. Aphraates does not refer to the monastic life, properly speaking, but to the ascetic life. He speaks of solitaries and virgins who have wedded themselves to Christ by a vow; and he warns the latter (p. 106) against a scandal which St. Cyprian in his day denounced so severely: "O ye virgins who have betrothed yourselves to Christ, if any of the children of the covenant [ascetics] should say to one of you, 'Dwell with me and serve me,' answer him thus: 'I am betrothed to the true King, and Him I serve. If I leave His service and serve thee, my Spouse will be wroth, and will write me a letter of divorce, and expel me from His house.'" In the discourse on the Resurrection (p. 161) he teaches the efficacy of prayers for the dead.

His knowledge of Scripture is profound. His quotations are so numerous that great help might, at first sight, be expected from them in the criticism of the sacred text. "I must say, however," observes Dr. Wright, "that, like most of the other eminent Fathers, Aphraates seems to me to quote the Peshittā merely from memory, sometimes mistaking the book in which the passage occurs, and, at other times, mixing up the words of two or more passages of Scripture." As far as we can see, he does not quote the deuterocanonical books. On the other hand, several passages which are quoted as from Scripture appear to have been taken (if they are not simply blunders of the author) from some of those apocryphal writings which are not unfrequently cited by the very early Christian writers. It is, however, not impossible that his copy of the Scriptures may have contained interpolations of which the MSS. known to us have no traces.

6. DR. VOLKMANN, who is preparing a German translation of Plotinus, was led, in the course of his studies on the Neo-Platonic

philosophy, to devote a special inquiry to the writings of Synesius, about whom the historians of Greek philosophy are all but silent. A very short examination convinced him that there were excellent reasons for this silence. Synesius as a philosophical writer is absolutely devoid of originality. He merely reproduces the Neo-Platonic doctrine in its well-known general outlines. But from other points of view his writings belong to the most interesting remains of the later Greek literature. He is well known to readers of history as the descendant of the Doric kings of Sparta, as the pupil and friend of the unfortunate Hypatia, whom he loved and revered to his dying day, and as a convert from Paganism to Christianity, who was raised to the see of Ptolemais, and whose episcopate is for ever memorable through the humiliation of the tyrant Andronicus. Dr. Volkman has written an excellent biography of him, and cleared up the obscurities of the subject wherever documentary or other evidence can be brought to bear upon it. One of the most obscure parts of the history of Synesius, as it is often written, is the "extraordinary compromise," as Gibbon calls it, in virtue of which Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, by no means a latitudinarian in theology, almost forced episcopal consecration upon a philosopher who "loved profane studies and profane sports, who was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy, who disbelieved the resurrection, and who refused to preach fables to the people unless he might be permitted to philosophize at home." The gross inaccuracy of this account is proved from the actual text of Synesius; and what really took place is honourable alike to the philosopher and to the patriarch. Dr. Volkman is entitled to the thanks of his readers for presenting to them in all its details the career of so gentle, affectionate, truthful, and in every way noble a character as that of Synesius.

7. MR. RENOUF, whose recent pamphlet on the heresy of Pope Honorius was put on the Index, and also attacked with argument, has published a reply to some of his assailants, under the title of *The Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered with reference to recent Apologies*. With excellent taste and forbearance he avoids every allusion to the official censure, and deals only with the literary controversy. Yet, of the two, the censure was more worthy of commemoration and remark. It signified that the Court of Rome will not tolerate the imputation of dogmatic error to a Pope, and has anticipated the expected result of the General Council. It also established a prejudice against Mr. Renouf's pamphlet in the minds of his assailants, which may partly explain the levity and impertinence in which they seem to have indulged. Many years ago an announcement appeared of a work which Mr. Renouf was preparing on ancient Christian literature. The present essay affords reason to believe that the work will raise the standard and the reputation of ecclesiastical learning in England. There is no second-hand research in

Mr. Renouf's pages; and yet all that has been written on his subject, in various ages and countries, is as familiar to him as the original sources themselves. It will hardly be possible to add to what he has written; but it cannot be said that anything required to be added to what was known before he wrote. The marvel is that so much acuteness and so much knowledge should be expended on so bootless a quest. Mr. Renouf himself declares, that "in a country where Catholics possess learned faculties of theology like those of Bonn, Tübingen, and Munich, it would have been quite unnecessary to reply to such opponents." The words imply a very just criticism on his own book. For competent readers his argument is superfluous; for incompetent readers it is vain. Those whom he expects are probably of the latter class. But the remedy for their incompetence, as his words indicate, is the possession of a high standard of learning. No argument on a single point, however able, can break the bonds which attach particular theological opinions to particular interpretations of fact. Men grow out of them by a general progress in knowledge and an increased respect for evidence. Men who believe that no Pope can err will not renounce their doctrine because Honorius did err. It is for men who are prompted by their religious system to justify the Pope that the book is written. It would not be easy to find defenders of the orthodoxy of Honorius at the present day, except among men who have an interest in maintaining papal infallibility. Mr. Renouf well knows that rather than give up their system they will reject the evidence. "Multum huic nostræ communi orthodoxorum sententiæ præjudicaret, si non evidenter constaret Acta Sextæ Synodi impostura Theodori . . . corrupta esse," says Binius. "Admitto ego," says Molkenbuhr, "si epistolæ Honorii quæ nunc extant sint genuinæ." But Mr. Renouf declines to analyse the mental condition of his opponents, and refuses to see any symptom more serious than artless inaccuracy. He protests that it was far from his intention to accuse Perrone of untruth. It would be interesting to know his opinion of Perrone's remarks on the character of the Reformers and on the Roman Inquisition, and of his references to Origen and Cyril to prove that the Greek Church believed the Popes infallible. Quoting from the *Liber Diurnus* the passage where the Popes promised to observe "cuncta quæ hujus apostolicæ sedis præfati Pontifices apostolici prædecessores nostri synodali ter statuerunt," he says that the word "præfati" excludes all possible reference to Honorius. We believe that the passage is really even more to the point; for the famous manuscript of the Vatican has "probatî" instead of "præfati."

8. Two years ago Dr. Friedrich published the first volume of his *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*. The work was intended to come down to the Reformation, and to be completed in five years, and in three volumes. From the method adopted, and the exhaustive way in which the different topics were treated,



this design appeared at the time impracticable; and the first half of the second volume, which has recently appeared, justifies the doubts which were then expressed. In 670 pages the author only embraces a part of the Merovingian period, omitting Bavaria, Franconia, Thuringia, and Friesland, as well as the discussion of general Ecclesiastical questions. He still, as in the first volume, constantly forsakes the path of clear and simple exposition, and wanders into the region of incidental polemics. In one place (p. 140) he stops to remonstrate against the latitudinarianism of a body of Swiss pastors—a matter which is certainly far enough from any connection with the Merovingian Church.

These aberrations are the more unfortunate, because the author brings a store of profound learning to his task. He has examined an abundant collection of dissertations and monographs, and made use of inscriptions and other antiquities; and in many instances he justifies his opposition to the destructive criticism of Rettberg. For, as he explained at the beginning, his aim is to produce a conservative history. Every legend that he thinks capable of being retained, he retains; or, if he is obliged to reject one-half of it as fabulous, he still keeps the other half. This is a very hazardous method, and one which, *e.g.* in the case of the legend of St. Fridolin, can scarcely be admitted. On the other hand, his refutation of Ebrard's absurd fancies about the Culdees is conclusive. He has obtained some new matter from the acts of the three Councils, which he formerly edited from a Munich ms., and which, though he did not originally discover them, he was the first to use for historical purposes. At page 108, however, there is no mention, as there should be, of the two Synods under Childeric II., which were discovered by Professor F. Maassen.

The section devoted to the general position, importance, and influence of the Church in the Merovingian Empire, is followed by another which deals specially with those bishoprics in Lorraine, the Rhine Provinces, and Swabia, which later on belonged to Germany. Here the author examines in detail the succession of the Bishops, and what is known of their lives and works; and he then gives an account of the particular ecclesiastical foundations in these bishoprics, with the historical information that exists about them. The whole is certainly a valuable result of careful study. But the author has still a long way to travel before he reaches Boniface; and as the mass of these ecclesiastical foundations becomes greater as time goes on, the completion of the book on its present method seems impossible. It is clear that the author has not formed in his own mind any general plan of his subject.

9. HERR KEINZ, an official of the public library at Munich, has re-edited some old documents relating to the Church of Salzburg, correcting the text by comparison with mss., and explaining the local names and some other matters. The work deserves praise for its careful execution; and the documents, though

primarily of local significance only, acquire wider interest from a particular circumstance. St. Rupert was the founder of the Church of Salzburg, and the apostle of Bavaria; and though it may not be important to know precisely what possessions he and his successors obtained from the dukes and nobles of the country, it is a considerable point in ecclesiastical history whether a man of such energy and influence lived 100 years sooner or later. The sources of our knowledge of that period are so defective, that it has for some time been a matter of controversy between German scholars whether he belonged to the end of the seventh, or the first half of the sixth century. The opinion generally received amongst scholars of late has been that sustained by Hansiz, Rettberg, and Wattenbach, namely, that St. Rupert came to Bavaria in 696 as a missionary, on the invitation of Duke Theodo. Dr. Friedrich has recently endeavoured to establish 536 as the correct date; and for the decision of this question the documents which Herr Keinz has re-edited, as well as an old legend of the saint, are of considerable weight. It there appears that Bishop Virgilius, one of the Irish monks of whom so many at that time came into Germany, and who was raised to the bishopric of Salzburg by Duke Odilo in 745, had a law-suit respecting certain property, in which law-suit the witnesses who were heard remembered the time of St. Rupert. A transcript hitherto unknown, which has been discovered by Herr Keinz, not only confirms these particulars, but completes the list of witnesses, which was defective in the only copy previously known. Among them are two godsons of Chuniald and Gisilar, who are known to have been assistants of St. Rupert. We find several "Monachi S. Ruodberti," that is, monks who had received the habit from St. Rupert; and the same names occur in the old mortuary of the convent of St. Peter in Salzburg. In the face of this evidence, it is difficult to see how there can be any further doubt as to the time when St. Rupert lived. It is an altogether different question whether, as the Salzburg legend says, the duke and people of Bavaria first received Christian baptism at that time. It is not only possible, but probable, that Christianity had been regularly established in Bavaria 100 years before, but that the Church had seriously decayed in the interval, in consequence of the Agilolfingians having thrown off their allegiance to the Frankish kings.

10. THE fifth volume of M. Barbier de Meynard's translation of Maqûdi's *Golden Meadows* contains the greater part of the history of the Omyad Khaliphs, from the abdication of Hacıan and the accession of Moâwiah I. to the end of the reign of Hishâm, son of Abd el Melik. The readers of Maqûdi are aware that he perpetually refers to his *Akhbar ez Zemân*, or *Annals*, as his great historical work, and considers the *Golden Meadows* as a mere series of supplementary notes. Although the loss of the writings to which he attached so much importance must be considered an irreparable



misfortune, it is doubtful whether they would have enabled us to penetrate as thoroughly into the life and character of the personages described as we can through the inexhaustible profusion of characteristic anecdotes and other information which the *Golden Meadows* furnish. The most interesting parts of the present volume are the chapters on the Moāviah (particularly that which describes the daily life of the Khaliph), Abd el Melik, Haddadj, Suleiman, and Omar II. The pitiful death of Hocein, the son of Ali, is already well known from other sources. The digressions which occur from time to time on the heterodox sects are unfortunately very short, the reader being referred for additional information to lost works of the author. The extracts from poetical compositions are numerous, and often full of interest.

11. THE great collection of the *Monumenta Germaniæ historica*, begun some fifty years ago, moves slowly forward under the editorship of Dr. Pertz. Up to the present time four volumes of the *Leges* have been completed. Of the *Scriptores*, the 21st volume has just appeared; but the series lacks its 13th, 14th, and 15th volumes. Moreover, Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, Paulus Diaconus, and all the oldest annals, are still wanting, as well as all the sources for the Merovingian period, which entered into the plan of the work, and the old contemporary biographies of the Popes, known under the name of Anastasius. These gaps are the more serious, because it was precisely here, according to previous statements of the editor, that so many new results were to be looked for. The section of deeds and letters has not yet been even begun. It may be a question whether these delays are a necessary consequence of the extent and difficulty of the undertaking, or whether they might not be in some degree avoided if the editor allowed greater freedom of action to competent and trustworthy fellow-labourers. But it is obvious to remark that the volumes of the Hohenstaufen period have of late years followed one another in rapid succession. One part of what has just appeared had long been ready for publication, having been prepared by Lappenberg, who has dealt with the materials for the history of the Baltic provinces. His work comprises the chronicles of Helmold and Arnold, which describe the conquest of the Slavonic population, the advance of the German chiefs and colonists, and the acts of Henry the Lion. He also supplies a more recent chronicle of Holstein. The volume closes with the valuable chronicle of Gislebert, Chancellor of Baldwin V. of Hainault, who became Count of Flanders, and Margrave of Namur, and played an important part in politics in the time of Frederick Barbarossa. The editor has been obliged to omit the chronicle of the once famous convent of Lobbes in Belgium, in consequence of the refusal of M. Vos, the Vicar of the church of Lobbes, to give any information with regard to the manuscript. An edition of it was published some time ago by M. Vos

himself; and his present refusal cannot but throw grave suspicion on the character of his own work.

12. PROFESSOR KÖPKE of Berlin, a scholar of Ranke, has for thirty years been engaged in those researches into the annals of the Saxon Emperors which were begun under Ranke's immediate supervision, and introduced into Germany a more solid and conscientious historical treatment. When Maximilian of Bavaria, at Ranke's instance, founded the Historical Commission of Munich, Professor Köpke undertook to revise his own annals of Otho I.; and, as an introduction, he has published some dissertations on the principal historical sources of that epoch, under the title of *Ottonische Studien*. The first essay is on Widukind, the Chronicler, a monk of Corvey; the second is on Hrotsuit, the nun of Gandersheim, commonly called Roswitha. The author goes very completely and circumstantially into all questions which arise, however minute, such as whether Widukind was acquainted with the works of Roswitha, or Roswitha with Widukind's Chronicle, and whether they knew one another personally. Roswitha herself is more widely interesting, not only for her epic poem on the acts of Otho I., but still more for her other works. It is very remarkable that a Saxon nun of the tenth century should have had the learning necessary to write, and should have written, fairly good dramas, in imitation of Terence, on events of sacred history, and on old legends, in order to substitute such reading for the profane works of the Roman poet. Professor Aschbach of Vienna recently put forward a theory that the dramas were not really Roswitha's, but only forgeries of Conrad Celtis and his friends, composed at the time of their publication in 1501. This hypothesis was much opposed; but it also found warm supporters. Herr Köpke has now once more gone over the evidence most carefully; and, after his investigation, it can scarcely be doubted that Professor Aschbach's theory is erroneous. Roswitha, though a brilliant and extraordinary phenomenon, is not unique in her learning. During the tenth century it was by no means a rare occurrence in nunneries for Virgil, Terence, and some few other writers, to occupy the attention of the inmates. Roswitha knew much more of legends than Celtis and his friends; but her Latin is far inferior to any that the Latin scholars of the Renaissance would have published. Its character is identical with that of other writings of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The frankness with which carnal sins are spoken of, while at the same time licentious suggestions are avoided, is also characteristic of that period. In nunneries there was only too frequent occasion for mentioning such things, and warning against them. The ultimate and strongest proof of the authenticity of the dramas is furnished by the MS. of the eleventh century still existing at Munich, which no expert could consider a forgery. Professor Köpke gives a photograph of one page, with the additions and corrections made

by Celtis before sending it to the printer. This demonstrates that Celtis did not rightly understand the text. While thus establishing the authenticity of Roswitha, Herr Köpke has pointed out a real forgery by Conrad Celtis, and has proved the spuriousness of his *Ligurinus*, a professedly contemporary poem on the acts of Frederick Barbarossa, which has often been regarded and quoted as genuine. It was this forgery which suggested to Professor Aschbach his doubts of the authenticity of Roswitha; but Herr Köpke shows how great is the difference between the two works. On the other hand, he endeavours to fix the note of forgery on an epic poem of the eleventh century, relating to the war between the Emperor Henry IV. and the Saxons. Herr Pertz had previously taken the same view; but it was refuted by Professor Waitz, who is now issuing a new edition of the Poem in question.

13. MR. COBBE'S purpose in writing a new *History of the Norman Kings of England* may best be given in some of his own words. "I refer almost exclusively to those annalists who lived among the people and scenes they describe. . . . And I discharge myself of unwarranted augmentations by later chroniclers, of the so-called philosophies of history, and of rhetorical flourishes, which involve the false with the true. I seek to be accurate and clear rather than true." Mr. Cobbe's performance corresponds very fairly to what might be expected from this programme. He has a clear judgment and a vivid power of realizing past scenes and characters; he has saturated himself, as it were, with the early chronicles; and the narrative parts of his book are many-coloured, intense, and a real addition to history. The fault of his style is not so much that it is not elegant as that it is quaint even to affectation, and that its structure is highly elliptical; but it bears the impress of a thoughtful mind, and rises at times into strains of intrinsic power and pathos, almost always, it is true, marred by a false taste. The real defect in a good book is the author's want of critical acquaintance with the institutions he describes. His contempt for philosophies of history seems to have led him deliberately to disregard, not only the knowledge that has been acquired since Kemble wrote, but all that a very ordinary man, with less than Mr. Cobbe's reading, might easily work out for himself. Hence the present volume is singularly one-sided; so good in the purely narrative parts that it will repay any man's reading, and so weak in occasional chapters and paragraphs that the student imbibes a certain distrust for the work altogether.

Of the Saxon period, Mr. Cobbe's slight introductory notice takes very much the same view as that with which the world has been familiarized by the writings of Lingard, Lappenberg, and Palgrave. It is sensible and good as far as it goes, but adds nothing to existing knowledge, and must be regarded merely as a preface. The history of William I. is the weakest part of the book. Mr. Cobbe seems to know nothing of Domesday-Book,

except through Sir Henry Ellis's introduction, and trusts too much to Ordericus Vitalis, an invaluable but very dangerous authority, as his great source of knowledge was from the recollections of old men, and he manifestly confuses different epochs in the settlement of the country. But the reigns of William II., Henry I., and Stephen, are in some respects better told by Mr. Cobbe than by any English historian. They cover a period of history from which most writers have shrunk as dreary and profitless,—the epoch of feudal nobles struggling for power against the king. Mr. Cobbe has worked out the genealogies of the great families, the history of castles, and the details of different campaigns, with real love for his subject, and with a fulness for which all who come after him will be grateful. Yet his genealogies in particular must not be implicitly trusted. At p. lxxxiv he speaks of Godwin's wife, Gytha, as "Jarl Ulf's widow," and "daughter of Astrith, King Cnut's sister. Munch and Lappenberg agree in representing Gytha as sister to Jarl Ulf, and consequently sister-in-law to Astrith. Even if this be wrong, the widow of Jarl Ulf, who died in 1027, could scarcely have been mother, by Godwin, of Swegen, a second son, who was Earl in 1044, or even of Edith, probably a fourth or fifth child, yet married in 1044, and able to sign charters in 1045. In the first Table, Mr. Cobbe makes Aldred the son of Uhtred by Ælfgifu, daughter of Æthelred. He was really son by Egfrida, the daughter of Bishop Aldun, who was Uhtred's first wife. But the strangest of all mistakes, and one which perhaps is only a clerical error, is that which makes Siward Aldred's son instead of his son-in-law. Nevertheless, a few mistakes of this sort in very difficult and intricate matters do not seriously affect the value of Mr. Cobbe's twelve Tables, which give much that has never been given elsewhere with equal fulness.

At page 63 Mr. Cobbe says, "The return which we possess in Domesday Book records his [the Conqueror's] revenue at a sum equal to £23,250,500 a year of our money, exclusive of escheats, forfeitures, mulcts, wardships." In other words, he deliberately believes that the people, whom he estimates at 1,200,000 (a number, it is true, proveably below the mark), paid about £20 a head, or £100 a household, the average of the highest taxed countries being now from £2 to £3 a head, and wealth having increased indefinitely. Domesday-Book, of course, says nothing of the kind; and Mr. Cobbe is really quoting the passage in which Ordericus Vitalis puts the royal revenue at £1061, 10s. 1½d. a day. Ordericus has confounded days and weeks. Mr. Cobbe confuses his authority, and multiplies by the enormous factor of 60. Domesday-Book, in fact, tells us, as has been proved by an analysis of more than twenty counties, that the income from land of all England was under £100,000 a year, perhaps under £80,000, and that the King's part of this was about a fifth. We know from Giraldu Cambrensis that the whole royal revenue, from all sources,

under the Confessor, was £40,000, and from the Pipe-Rolls of Henry I. that it was under £70,000 in that reign, and that only £12,000 of this was derived from the crown demesne. There is a smaller mistake of the same kind at p. 43, where it is said that "William parcelled almost the whole land of England into knights' fees, each of about £20 in annual value." As a fact, the knight's fee in Domesday-Book very seldom rises above £10, and is more often as low as £5, or even £2. The higher value given by Mr. Cobbe is an anachronism, and belongs rather to the thirteenth century than to the eleventh. Nor is it correct to speak of the hide as 3½ acres, even under cover of Mr. Kemble's authority. Such passages as that in Domesday (ii. f. 94), which speaks of 280 acres as constituting a part only of five hides, or that which speaks of half-a-hide and 30 acres (ii. f. 75 a), are conclusive as to the practice in the eastern counties; the notice in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* of the hide as a measure of 100 acres seems to prove that this was the current estimate. But a much more serious error is when Mr. Cobbe speaks of the Norman conquest as the "domination of a wholly feudalized people over a race of freemen," and proceeds to speak of "ceorls" as if a free yeomanry, either owing allegiance to no man, or, at least, able to transfer service and land, still formed the great bulk of the population. As a fact, we know from the Domesday survey that five men in seven were either villans or bordars and cottars; in both cases, that is, bound down to the soil and fixed labour, but having in one case heritable property, in the other only a life interest in it. Of the remainder of the population, as recorded, nearly one-third were slaves. The very name "ceorl" almost disappears from England after the ninth century. William added nothing to the feudalism he found existing in England, except that he gave new titles, and so destroyed the small class of allodial proprietors, and that he enforced the oath of homage from all military tenants. But even this latter regulation, the most important of all, was only the enforcement of an old Saxon law framed by Edmund.

14. WHETHER it was so urgently necessary that *The Chronicles of Roger de Hoveden* should be reprinted as to justify the setting aside of that ordinary rule of the Record Series which forbids the republication of printed matter, is a question which may perhaps be fairly raised. Savile's edition has been twice printed, and is neither very bad nor very scarce. Of the four parts into which Professor Stubbs divides the work, the first, he tells us, is "an exact copy from an older original," and the third "a re-written and annotated copy of the work known as the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough;" the second is "an awkward compilation from several sources;" and only the fourth represents the author's personal knowledge, or is in any sense original. In other words, the two published volumes do not come down to the part

which is really Hoveden's. It would be most unfortunate if an idea should get abroad that the Record Commission has by this time completed the publication of all valuable manuscripts, and is compelled to make work for editors by setting them to do over again what has been once done. The charters, official documents, and Royal letters, that have not yet been printed are to be counted literally by thousands; and if it be thought inexpedient to resume their publications in extenso, though few scholars would be of this opinion, selections, such as Professor Shirley made for the reign of Henry III., would be invaluable. Yet, if the present edition of Hoveden was a little superfluous, Professor Stubbs deserves the credit of having enriched it with sound and valuable work; and in this case, as with Richard of Cirencester, the Prefaces are the most valuable part of the book. Indeed, the history of the reign of Henry II. has been in several particulars completely re-written in these pages, and in the Prefaces, by the same author, to Benedictus Abbas.

The Preface to the first volume is chiefly a searching examination of Hoveden's sources of knowledge and historical value. It adds, however, incidentally a discussion on Anglo-Saxon chronology, and fixes the dates of Egbert's and Ethelwulf's reigns in the ninth century. The Preface to the second volume takes a wider range; and one point discussed is the authenticity of the accepted forms of the laws of the Conqueror, which were transcribed by Hoveden together with those of the Confessor, with Glanville's tractate, and with the Assizes of Woodstock and Clarendon. By comparison with an early ms. and with Hoveden's text, and by an analysis of the diplomatic peculiarities, Professor Stubbs proves that William's laws were remodelled and largely interpolated in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The chief results are that the article in which the Conqueror abolishes tallages, except by the common council of the realm, the peculiar form of the law of watch and ward, and the law emancipating a serf if he remains a year and a day in a city, are all to be discarded as spurious, and probably as anachronisms. The importance of this rectification can hardly be over-estimated. It is true, the right of the English kings to tax at pleasure was never admitted at any period of history; and within eighty years, at least probably within fifty, of the Conqueror's death, certain privileged towns were able to protect the serf who, after a year and a day's residence, had been taken up into the civic guild. But matters that concern the right of taxation and personal freedom are the very last on which any vagueness is tolerable. It is a minor but a valuable discovery that the legislation referred by Palgrave to the Assize of Northampton in 1176 really belongs to the Assize of Clarendon in 1166. Gradual as the acts were by which Henry II. consolidated the royal authority, they are evidences of a purpose which never left him, and which he more than any other man was fitted to work out among a generation that remembered the

horrors of civil war. His signal success in carrying through the Assizes of Clarendon, which contributed to substitute royal for local jurisdiction throughout the country, was probably due to Becket's absence on the Continent. An interesting sketch of the last days of Henry closes that part of the Preface which deals exclusively with Hoveden.

Before concluding, Professor Stubbs points out "very briefly the way in which the foreign policy of England during the middle ages was affected by the circumstances, the acts, and the alliances, of the first king of the House of Anjou." To the first part of his argument, that if the Anglo-Norman monarchs had owned nothing more than the duchy on the Continent, their connection with France would have been very slight and unimportant, most students will readily assent. But in bringing together, as he does very fully, the scattered evidences of a wide-spread connection with foreign countries during the reign of Henry II., he seems to overrate the permanency of the influence exercised. Precisely because Henry II. and his sons were foreigners in feeling and interest, seeking alliances in Germany, Spain, and Italy, mixing themselves in Papal quarrels, and perhaps regarding Paris as an eventual prize, did public feeling in England become passionately insular. Probably half the thinking men of the country, under John, were glad to be rid of Normandy, even at the price of some national disgrace. Least of all can it be said that "the wars of Edward III. and Henry V. would have been impossible without that training in the hatred of foreigners, which reached its maximum during the thirteenth century." Not to mention, what Mr. Stubbs admits, that half England accepted the Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, as a leader, it is certain that, during the long interval between John's death and the accession of Edward III., nothing was more unpopular than the prospect of a French war. True, the foreign favourites of Henry III. were detested, the Gascon troops of Edward I. were unpopular, and the English sailors were bitterly jealous of their French rivals. But an English king and nobles chose a French king for their arbiter; English soldiers served freely in the French ranks in Crusades; and the French language and literature became household words in England. Even when the spell of a long peace was broken by the quarrels at sea, and the treacherous seizure of Guienne, England readily renounced the war; and the set purpose and anger of its people were for many years directed steadily against Scotland. Of that anti-Gallican sentiment which caused the disuse of French as a spoken tongue, and almost led the country to renounce the Pope, and which, at a much later period, caused an English nobleman to tell a Frenchman in his company that if he had a rascally French word in his body he would cut it out with a knife, there seems scarcely any trace before the lamentable wars of Edward III. Yet those who differ from Mr. Stubbs's conclusions may consult his summary with profit. It treats a

subject that is too often passed over altogether; and it treats it with singular fulness and precision.

15. THE Berlin archives possess a valuable deed-book of the Teutonic Order, which, besides the general privileges of the Order, contains a great quantity of documents relative to its possessions in the Holy Land, Armenia, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy. Extracts from it have often been obtained by persons occupied on the history of the Crusades and of the Latin Empire in the East; but the Prussian Government lately resolved to have the entire collection printed, and intrusted the task to Dr. Ernst Strehlke, a young scholar of established reputation. He died before accomplishing the work, which has been finished by Professor Jaffé. Dr. Strehlke has not confined himself to the mere printing of the original, but has also collected all available documents of the same kind, and with their assistance corrected the text of his manuscript, and supplied its deficiencies. What had already been correctly printed elsewhere is only given in an abridged form; but in such cases it is carefully pointed out where the original is to be found. The most important part of the work is that which refers to the Levant. This part is as full as possible. All the documents are given in extenso; and they comprise a large number which have never been published before. An accurate table of contents facilitates the use of the book, which will be extremely valuable to all students of the history of the Holy Land.

16. THE *Speculum Historiale* by Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster Abbey, is a good specimen of the type which history was assuming in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The mere chronicle, however excellent and full, was felt to be insufficient; and, as men were no longer content to describe contemporary events in the style of the Saxon Chronicle, they also aspired to something more than a transcript of any single work for a record of the past. Neither was the type originated by Malmesbury regarded as satisfactory. Mere excerpts or flowers of history, however tastefully selected and elegantly narrated, seemed inadequate by the side of the vast stores which had been accumulated in different centuries. The polish, and what may be almost called the critical acumen, of the twelfth century, had been replaced by a crude voracity for facts; and in Higden, in Richard of Cirencester, and in the author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, we get more or less strongly marked a tendency to digest all records into a single compact and encyclopædic narrative. The result is mostly unfortunate. As a rule, the material used by these writers is drawn altogether from originals that we possess, or differs only where the author has misunderstood a sentence or misspelt a word. Of Richard of Cirencester in particular it may be said that history would have sustained no real loss if he had perished altogether. Of course it is satisfactory to be

assured of this; and the two or three new pieces which he contributes,—the tract on the coronation of the English Kings, the spurious charters of Westminster Abbey, and the little passionate outburst against those presumptuous moderns who assailed the liberties of the Abbey,—were perhaps worth printing in a pamphlet by themselves. But the book itself was unnecessary, as it deals only with the times before the Conquest, of which the author probably knew least; and its publication in the Record Series must be regarded as a mistake. The editor's work, however, has been done with such singular care as to confer on the present volume a certain secondary value. He has given in almost every case references to the authors whom Richard of Cirencester transcribes; and to this we have only noticed one material exception, in Lib. iii. c. 82, where the authority for a worthless but poetical legend of Eadric Streona's death has not been ascertained. To a certain extent, therefore, the book will serve as a compendious one of reference for those who wish to see at a glance the sources of much of the popular history of England. The index is very full, and seems to be thoroughly reliable. The glossary is a little less perfect. "Frodos" is spoken of as corrupted from *ἀφρός*. It is really nothing but the English word "froth." The translation of "dominicatus," "owned, held as property," though correct, would scarcely give much information to those ignorant of the distinction between "demesne" and "assized lands." Perhaps such a word as "clausuræ" should have been explained. These, however, are very slight matters.

The chief value of this volume, however, is in the very admirable exposure of Bertram's forgery, *De Situ Britannia*, which Mr. Mayor has contributed. How Bertram, a young student at Copenhagen, came to palm off his invention on one of the best known antiquaries of the time, Dr. Stukeley, is scarcely intelligible even now. It seems strange that the student should have been so easily taken in; and the impostor did not follow up his success by any fresh speculation on learned credulity. Bertram's plan was substantially that adopted by Dr. Simonides, when he *discovered* a manuscript of Homer, embodying all the last results of German criticism, except that the English artist, though cautious enough never to produce his manuscript, was so rash as to construct an elaborate narrative, instead of confining himself to a mere catalogue of names. The result naturally was that he entangled himself in many difficulties. For instance, he perpetually adopts a different orthography from that which the genuine Richard of Cirencester employs, transforming "Dovers" into "Dubra," and "Rofecestre" into "Durobrovæ," or "Durobrobi." His Latin style is that "of the preface-writers of the eighteenth century," not of a mediæval work; and he is ignorant of genuine mediæval forms, such as "braccio," "sequutus," "tempto," which occur in the real Richard. He inserts improbable incidents,—for instance, making several brethren

of his order pay an antiquarian visit to the battle-field of Agricola and Galgacus. He quotes extant Druid documents, and glides into modern speculations, whether the ancient Britons were governed by a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. That his text should be a patchwork from Cæsar, Solinus, and other ancient writers might be only natural. The genuine Richard lived in times when men were not ashamed to copy literally and freely. But a knowledge of Peutinger's Table or of the Ravenna geographer, though perhaps just possible, as both were in existence at the time, is barely conceivable, as neither was known in England; and plagiarisms from Camden and Baxter speak for themselves. A single specimen will show Bertram's style and Mr. Mayor's work. "Cantiis," says Bertram, "proximi et ut putant nonnulli, subjecti Bibroci, qui et alius Rhemi dicuntur." "Bibroci," says Mr. Mayor, "... are conjecturally placed by Camden, 207 in the hundred of Bray, co. Berks. The Rhemi come from Baxter glossar. s. v. Bibroci. 'Equidem crediderim Bibrocos nostros Coloniam fuisse e Remis deductam,' etc. Of course Bertram's forgeries are not always of this elaborate kind. Often he only inserts a name slightly altered from the Ravenna geographer; or, as in the case of Heriri, Snowdon, from Nennius, whom he afterwards edited. Sometimes such a name as "ad fines," which occurs in other parts of the Itinerary, but not in Britain, is inserted at the boundary of a shire, which Bertram evidently regards as of Roman original. Mr. Mayor's analysis of those signs of spuriousness is perhaps the most complete thing of its kind in English literature. Mr. Riley's analysis of Ingulf will bear comparison with it; but Mr. Riley unhappily omitted to account for the genuine parts of Ingulf, such as his story of the fire, and has thus misled some of his less wary readers into supposing that the whole book was worthless. Now, of Bertram's production not a line is genuine; and the critic's only work in demolishing was to show how the knowledge had been derived which so far coloured and excused the clumsier parts as to impose on a host of antiquaries, and even on Gibbon.

17. THE third volume of the *Annals of St. Albans* is principally occupied by the biography of Abbot Thomas de la Mare, one of the ablest Englishmen who ever presided over a monastery, and whose life, vividly told by Walsingham, might serve by itself as a picture of the relations of Church and State in the fourteenth century. Seldom has any man better united the qualities that acquire favour with those which command respect in turbulent times. His ready wit, comeliness, and reputation for sanctity, recommended him in the first instance for preferment; and he stood so high in the Black Prince's estimation, that the Prince took some personal trouble to keep him from resigning. To the monks of St. Albans he was a kind and liberal head, winning their reverence and love in no ordinary

degree. But one of his claims upon their gratitude was a zeal for the temporal well-being of the Abbey, which involved him in constant litigation with all his neighbours. He had law-suits with the Kings of England, the Dukes of Lancaster, the two Primates, three bishops, four earls, and a countess, and some twenty gentlemen, priors, and citizens, of sufficient importance to be named, as well as against many others. He was especially energetic in repressing all usurpations of rights by his villains, and in reclaiming bondmen into servitude. In one case he recovered a Manor which had been alienated for two hundred years or more. He was at law with one of his neighbours for six and twenty years; and one incident of the quarrel was the starving of fifty beasts whom their owner would not release out of the pound. Altogether Thomas raised the Abbey rental by £100 a year; but the sum spent every year on law proceedings was considerable. Yet even this champion of the Church was at times weary or fearful of litigation; and his friendly biographer records sorrowfully that several properties were lost through his superior's carnal affections or timidity, and that many serfs made interest with the Roman Curia, and obtained their freedom. It is not wonderful if monastic corporations were unpopular in England.

How much he was hated outside the convent walls, Abbot Thomas almost learned by terrible experience. When it was known in St. Albans that the commons of Kent and Essex, under Wat Tyler, were in possession of London, the inhabitants of twenty or more villas confederated to extort concessions from the Abbey. The Prior, and several monks and legal advisers of the Abbey, fled as they best could, and never halted till they reached the cell at Tynemouth. Meanwhile, the rioters, many of whom had been in London, and saw Tyler, indulged in all the license of freed bondsmen. They broke open the gaols, and released some of the prisoners and beheaded others. They destroyed the folds in the Abbey woods, demolished the hedges of a field taken from the commonage, gave one another formal seisin of the Abbey's property, and fastened a rabbit upon the pillory in sign that they had acquired right of warren. Some damage was done to the Abbey buildings, and some money extorted violently from the Abbot, while a general quittance of debts to the Monastery was proclaimed. Yet, on the whole, it is wonderful that they acted with so much moderation; and an evident sense of legality is distinguishable throughout all their proceedings. They succeeded in obtaining a formal surrender by deeds, to the different villas, of the franchises they desired. They destroyed the stones which recorded the Abbey's triumph at law on the specially obnoxious point of multure. Above all, they were instant with threats that an imaginary charter from Offa, giving civic rights to the burgesses who had not existed in his day, should be handed over to them. The Abbot, who could neither produce it nor disabuse them of their tradition, was compelled to give

a bond of £1000, that he would either find it or swear on the Eucharist with the twelve senior monks of the Abbey that it was not in their possession. But it was soon known that Wat Tyler had been slain. One by one, nobles and gentlemen appeared, to defend the rights of property; and, when the burgesses of St. Albans still sturdily refused to give up their charters, the King came down in person with his Justiciary, Tresilian. It required some strategy to induce the local juries to indict offenders; but Tresilian summoned several at a time, and played them off one against the other. Fifteen persons were hanged, and eighty thrown into prison; but the general feeling was one of sullen indignation, and the dead bodies were carried off and privately buried. Altogether the Abbot had to pay more than a hundred pounds for the King's support; and for some time afterwards the farm-buildings on parts of the property were fired by secret incendiaries.

Mr. Riley's Preface is chiefly occupied with a summary of the more remarkable events recorded in the three volumes of the Chronicle. There is one curious mistake at p. lxiv, where he translates "*duci circa colligistrum*," as "going round upon the pillory;" and he omits in his Glossary a peculiar use of "*Oriolum*" (iii. p. 462), seemingly for the senior monks having the right to sit at the dais or high table. Generally his Preface is not quite equal to the importance of the book; but the side-notes are good, and the Index full.

18. THE splendid edition of Froissart published by the Belgian Academy is already superseded by that which M. Luce has prepared for the Société de l'Histoire de France. In a long Introduction he explains the extraordinary difficulty of his task, and justifies the method he has followed in the first book. The received text, which is preserved by fifty mss. and appears in innumerable editions, does not contain the book in the form in which Froissart finally left it, but as it was first composed, in the midst of English influences, and under the patronage of Queen Philippa. It is the work of an English partisan. The campaigns of Crecy and Poitiers are described as Froissart had received them from the lips of men who had fought under the Black Prince. The narrative glows with martial spirit; but the facts are mostly taken from Jean le Bel. Some years later Froissart wrote the book over again; and his second text is preserved in a ms. at Amiens. It contains the French version. Froissart was living among new friends, he caught their feelings, and repeated what they told him. Again, after the lapse of years, early in the fifteenth century, he composed a third narrative, which exists only at the Vatican, and was brought to light by the eminent Belgian historian Kervyn de Lettenhove. The strong English feeling of the early text had quite disappeared. Froissart writes as a bitter enemy of the English people, and as a contemptuous aristocrat. The change which French patrons had begun was completed by the catastrophe of Richard II. The

three texts cannot be reconciled; and their differences are so characteristic that it is desirable to compare them all, in order to appreciate fully the nature of the man. It would be interesting to have them printed successively, after the example of Calvin's Institutes in the Strasburg edition of his works. M. Luce has preferred to make the first the basis of his edition, and to give copious extracts from the others. Bekker himself never bestowed greater care on the text of an author. M. Luce has seen with his own eyes every ms. that it was important to consult, and has made all his notes with his own hand. The result has been that Baron Kervyn's copy of the Vatican ms. is proved to be perfectly valueless, while the importance of its readings is proportionately raised; and the authority of Froissart as a historian, already shaken by the publication of many contemporary documents, suffers still more from the study of his variations. M. Luce deprives us of somewhat that was considered authentic history, but supplies a new and most interesting piece of literary biography. He applauds even the prejudices of Froissart, and heartily endorses the hatred which he ended by feeling for the English, and which he always felt for the Germans.

19. THE archives of Toulon contain 100,000 official documents and 10,000 letters, out of which M. Teissier has undertaken to compile a history of the town. They begin with the thirteenth century; and the first volume comes down to the end of the fourteenth, and gives a plan and description of Toulon in the middle ages, so minute and so exact that few towns possess anything like it. The only point of general interest is the constitutional history. Toulon at that time belonged not to the kingdom of France, but to the dominions of the Counts of Provence, whose elevation to the throne of Naples, and long absence from their home, favoured the progress of municipal liberties. It passed rapidly through the typical changes which gave unity and regularity to the numberless variations of Italian history. At first a general assembly of the inhabitants regulated the common affairs. In the year 1314 a council of twelve was appointed, to be elected equally by the upper, middle, and lower class, so as to give four representatives to each. The theory of representative government was better understood at that time than since; but the centripetal force which belongs to aristocracies soon prevailed. In 1367 the whole municipal authority was concentrated in two syndics, and the patrician order established its supremacy. Of the religious and the commercial history of Toulon in those early days little is known. There was the common struggle between clergy and laity; and in 1285 the clergy were made subject to taxation. The mariners of Toulon supplied the place with grain by a mild sort of piracy. When there was a scarcity they stopped ships bound for other ports, and caused the cargo to be sold in their own market. The later volumes of M. Teissier's work promise to be valuable for the history of Mediterranean commerce.

20. NEITHER the impulse nor the assistance given to historical studies by Maximilian I. of Bavaria has ceased, for he directed in his will that all sums which he had once granted for the purpose should be payable out of his private property. He had especial regard for the history of his own house; and his deepest interest was reserved for the checkered existence of Jacobæa of Holland. She was the granddaughter of one of the sons of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. This son had inherited through his mother the provinces of Holland, Zealand, and Hainault; and as an heiress Jacobæa had many suitors. At times she led the ordinary life of a princess; at others she was in prison or in exile. Having been the wife of three princes, she died in 1436, at the age of thirty-five, the wife of a noble. Though exposed to much obloquy, and not without fault, her conduct shows to advantage beside that of the princes with whom her lot was cast; and her qualities endeared her to the people, as well as to those who were immediately about her. A number of fables have grown up round her history; and no scientific biography had been written when the King committed the charge to Herr Franz von Löher, the present Director of the Munich archives. He has published his researches in the Acts of the Bavarian Academy, and completed the history in two volumes, of which the first appeared seven years ago, and the second last year. The work carries us into the midst of a confused din of wars, arising partly from small local feuds, partly from the rapidly growing power of the Dukes of Burgundy, who conquered the inheritance of Jacobæa, and partly from the course of the great Anglo-French struggle. A prominent part is played by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who was for a time the husband of Jacobæa, and who, while the dominion of Henry VI. in France depended chiefly on the Burgundian confederation, endeavoured to recover his wife's inheritance from the Duke of Burgundy. The narrative is life-like; and the author has especially endeavoured to depict the manners of the time and country. It is difficult in these days to realize a state of things in which the ambition and mere caprice of princes over and again involved their people in the horrors of war. In these conflicts their enemy's territory was mercilessly laid waste with fire and sword, and their own fared little better. Multitudes of starved and fugitive peasants haunted the woods, and lived on plunder, or perished miserably, while princes and knights displayed an extravagant splendour. It is perhaps a little wearisome to follow the heroine step by step through such a chaos of events; but it gives at least a vivid glimpse of a period, the barbarism of which, in spite of all its artistic imaginativeness, contrasts very unfavourably with the austere positivism of the present epoch.

21. THE reign which M. de Cherrier investigates in his *Histoire de Charles VIII.* has an importance of its own which is not measured by the personal insignificance of the King. It falls into two distinctly marked periods, the



first of which was decisive from an internal, and the second from an external, point of view. In the first period, Charles having attained his legal majority, but being still too young to govern, the possession of power was disputed between the Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, and Anne of Beaujeu, the King's elder sister. Their rivalry brought the question before the States-General, who were called in by common accord as arbiters. The States-General, though divided into six nations and separated into three orders, had common complaints against the proceedings of the previous reign. Having drawn up separate memorials, they formed a joint commission to construct a general memorial; and instead of three spokesmen for the three orders, a single one was appointed. So far, it might seem that the assembly had become national, and that the nation thus collectively assembled was about to reform the State, commencing with the supreme power itself. But this was by no means the case. The Court was left to dispose of the government between Anne of Beaujeu and the Duke of Orleans; and all the promised reforms were easily eluded. The States demanded, indeed, to be convoked every second year; but they neglected the measure that was indispensable to enforce their demand. Instead of limiting the duration of the taxes, they merely reduced the quota. And thus France, instead of entering upon the path which England had already pointed out, remained for centuries at the mercy of an arbitrary power. This great error was attended with the most fatal consequences. It left the country exposed to civil war; but that was the least evil that followed for Anne of Beaujeu soon triumphed over the Duke of Orleans, and governed wisely. What was more serious was that, when Charles took the government into his own hands, the country had no means of checking his adventurous fancies. By the conquest of the kingdom of Naples the young King soon threw France into those Italian wars into which she dragged half Europe after her. It was the beginning of those general conflicts which have occupied so much of modern history, and the consequences of which have lasted to the present time. The especial value of M. de Cherrier's book is the new sources from which his account of this second period of the reign is derived.

During the years that preceded the expedition of Charles VIII., Italy was far from apprehending a new era of invasion and servitude. After the conclusion of the struggle between the Church and the Empire, she believed the danger of foreign invasion to be at an end. The victory of Rome had been the triumph of the national cause; but the peninsula, instead of being united thereby, was only delivered over to its internal rivalries. It contained fewer States; but they were stronger, and their mutual jealousies were greater. To the south were Naples and Sicily, in the centre were Rome and Florence, to the north Milan and the two great maritime republics—Genoa and Venice. Their mutual

rivalry led the Italians to make trial of that system of the balance of power which Europe was soon after compelled to adopt. Of all the States, that of the Church seemed the most formidable; but the Popes did not claim to impose their dominion on the other Italian powers, but only sought to have their mediation accepted. This policy had been pursued by Nicolas v., Calixtus III., Pius II., and Paul II.; but it was abandoned by Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. The next rank to that of Rome was disputed between Naples and Milan. But at Naples the rivalry of the two houses of Anjou and Aragon had been attended by disastrous consequences. If the house of Aragon triumphed, that of Anjou continued to hold it in check, and had bequeathed its rights to a representative who was only too well able to enforce them. Milan, formerly the mainstay of Italian resistance to the ambition of the emperors, had fallen into the hands of the Visconti, and then of the Sforzas; and having aggrandized itself at the expense of most of the neighbouring cities, it could only inspire them with distrust. Among the republics, Genoa and Venice were the two most important. But Genoa, the home of perpetual revolutions, was equally unable to govern itself, or to endure a master. Venice, on the other hand, occupied in the peninsula a position something like that which England occupied in Europe; but it was with this difference that England, excluded from the Continent, was turning to the sea, where she was to achieve her future greatness, while Venice, in proportion as she lost her Levantine colonies, increased her continental possessions, and thereby made herself more vulnerable, and, at the same time, an object of greater suspicion to the Italians at large. Florence, which had surpassed the other States in civilization, aspired to a pre-eminence, especially in Tuscany. With Lorenzo de' Medici she had endeavoured to assume among the Italian powers that part of mediator which the Papacy had lost through the personal ambition of Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. Florence was the natural link between Naples and Milan. But after the death of Lorenzo the connection became easier to break, and a particular circumstance sufficed to break it. This was the ambition of Lodovico Sforza, or Luigi il Moro, uncle to young Gian Galeazzo, who reigned at Milan. The whole authority was in the hands of Lodovico; but he desired something more. Naples was his obstacle; for Gian Galeazzo had married Isabella, daughter of Alfonso, son of King Ferdinand of Naples. Lodovico therefore allied himself with Venice and Rome as against Florence and Naples; but, distrusting Rome and not relying much on Venice, he turned his thoughts towards foreign aid, and addressed himself to France.

The French King, indeed, was already marked out as the enemy of the King of Naples. The house of Anjou had left him the inheritance of its claims; and he was urged to maintain them by the chiefs of the Angevin party,



who had been expelled from Naples. His mind, fed on the romances of chivalry, was filled with visions of crusades, adventures, and brilliant feats of arms. Lodovico's embassy, therefore, found him well prepared. But there were difficulties in the way of a distant expedition for a monarch who was surrounded by enemies nearer home. The King of Spain was urging his claim to Roussillon and Cerdania; the King of England required his lost provinces, or money in compensation. Maximilian, whose betrothed (the Duchess of Bretagne) Charles had married, and whose daughter, betrothed to himself, he had sent back, demanded at least the restitution of his daughter's dowry, Artois and Franche-Comté. Charles did not hesitate for such matters as these. He yielded all round. The King of Spain obtained Roussillon and Cerdania, the King of England his money claims, and Maximilian Artois and Franche-Comté. Meanwhile Charles sent ambassadors to the various States of Italy, to prepare the ground, and then, without much troubling himself about the welcome they received, set out on his own expedition.

M. de Cherrier has carefully studied these preparatory negotiations, and has added several new particulars to the known history of the expedition of Charles VIII. It is notorious how rapidly the conquest was made, and how rapidly it melted away. The young King met with no obstacles on his way; he was welcomed in the friendly cities, Turin, Casale, and Pavia, and received in triumph in the doubtful ones, Pisa, Florence, and even Rome. The conquest of Naples was achieved without an effort; but he supposed its preservation would be equally easy, and thereby lost it. While he was at Naples, dreaming of a crusade against Constantinople, the storm was gathering in his rear at Venice. He was obliged to turn back. But the league which had been formed against him endeavoured to cut off his retreat; and thus he found the opportunity for a battle and a victory at Fornuovo, though it only secured his retreat. It would have been well if his departure had been without thought of a return, and if that brilliant and sterile adventure had for ever disgusted France with foreign conquest, and taught the Italians to unite in earnest and shut their country to invaders. But the lesson was lost for both parties, as M. de Cherrier shows in the two appendices which close his work. The Italians grew more divided than ever; and, though Charles died without an opportunity of recurring to his projects, they were adopted and pursued by his successors Louis XII. and Francis I. Louis XII., who laid claim to both Naples and Milan, only succeeded in introducing into the south and the north of Italy the two powers which it was specially his interest to keep out—Spain and Austria; and Francis I. contributed more than any one else to the establishment of the supremacy of Charles v.

22. THE Government of Hungary lately sent a literary agent to Italy, to collect materials for Hungarian history; and the commission

has borne fruit in a volume called *Trois Documents de l'Eglise du XV. Siècle*. These documents are taken from a collection of papers which found their way from the Vatican to the archives of Venice. It is supposed that they were bought by the ambassador Gasparo Contarini, after the sack of Rome; and a passage to this effect is quoted from his despatches in a note to the Italian translation of Mr. Rawdon Brown's Introduction to the Venetian Calendar. But Contarini speaks only of certain papers of Leo x.; and there is no good reason to believe that he made the whole collection. It is to be hoped that the editor of the present volume, M. de Baratos, knows the history of his own country better than that of Italy. He imagines that the Vatican was pillaged "by the partisans of the Bourbons, when the Bourbons claimed the Neapolitan throne, and were opposed by the Holy See." Clearly he has never heard that a Bourbon commanded the army of Charles v. He calls the King of France the Most Catholic King, and declares that Mathias Corvinus "annula l'Empire d'Allemagne," and that the Church was preserved from the attacks of the reformers by the three Popes, Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. Hungary appears to have been unfortunate in the choice of her literary representative.

23. M. GACHARD's volume on the manuscripts of the Corsini Library contains several letters by Cardinal Pole, which were unpublished, although copies exist in England. The editor has omitted some of the most important, because he found nothing in them for the history of Charles v. He acknowledges in becoming terms the liberality with which the treasures of the library are made accessible, and does not appear to know that Ranke, Lämmer, and others, who came before him, enjoyed the same opportunities, and made excellent use of them. M. Gachard is justly renowned, not only as a man of vast research, but as one of the most faithful and trustworthy analysts of unprinted documents. He appears to be less exact as a transcriber. He gives "la bonté" where the ms. has "alla bontà" (p. 14), "l'allegrezza" for "la alligata" (p. 119), and "Rocaforo," which he translates "Rochefort" instead of "Roccafoco," Rochefoucauld (p. 53). There is a gap at p. 157, where the omitted words are "in certe materie me," and at p. 160, where he has not been able to read the word "contrario." There is also much confusion in the chronology of Pole's letters, where M. Gachard has been deceived partly by Quirini, and partly, it would appear, by the incorrectness of the copy which he has used. He has not taken the trouble to find out who was the personage whom he calls "Monsignor de Vigornia (Henrico Peningo)," and devotes forty pages to the letters of Mendoza, without inquiring whether they are all unknown. Speaking of certain letters of Bentivoglio, he quietly says that they are "probablement toutes imprimées aussi." That is precisely the sort of information which the readers of M. Gachard's book will expect him to furnish. It is, in fact, a collection of

first of and the view. I obtained h young to disputed Prince of King's c the ques were call The Stat nations a common c the previo rate mem sion to cor stead of th a single on seem that and that t bled was al cing with th was by no left to disp Anne of Be and all the p ded. The convoked ev glected the m enforce their the duration o the quota. Ar tering upon th ready pointed o the mercy of an error was attend quences. It left war; but that wa for Anne of Bea the Duke of Orle What was more Charles took the hands, the country ing his adventurous quest of the kingdo. King soon threw Fr wars into which she dr her. It was the begi conflicts which have o modern history, and t which have lasted to the especial value of M. de Cha new sources from which h second period of the reign is.

During the years that pro dition of Charles VIII., Italy wa prebending a new era of invasi tude. After the conclusion of between the Church and the Emp lieved the danger of foreign invasion an end. The victory of Rome had triumph of the national cause; but the sula, instead of being united thereby, only delivered over to its internal rival. It contained fewer States; but they stronger, and their mutual jealousies greater. To the south were Naples and Sicily, in the centre were Rome and Florence, to the north Milan and the two great maritime republics—Genoa and Venice. Their mutual

Jar.

...futility of many emendations, ... pamphlet remains as a useful ... Friedrichmann's incorrectly printed ... fully justified in repelling the im ... of collusion between himself and ... He admits that he was fir ... a key to a large portion of the ... he does not deny that he ... Friedrichmann's essay in *Morn* ... His merit is real, though ... very kind. His vindication ... if he had shown more ... the skill displayed ... discovery. Instead of a ... four gentlemen to testi ... in their presence his ... Michel. The paper is dated ... At that time it was wel ... that the key had been found ... at the archives while the ... to decipher were in the ... printer, and had already ... had. It is very ... Friedrichmann's ... was ...

rone in inducing the Pope to acquiesce in the loss of the church-lands in England, and quotes his letter of November 7, 1554, in which he informs Pole of the favourable decision of the Court of Rome. On this question, indeed, Morone was more liberal and sagacious than his friend. The unpublished correspondence between them shows that the English Cardinal was disposed to take a strict and rigorous course in the question of the church property, and was overruled by Rome.

Morone is not quite worthy of the praises which his biographer lavishes on his character. He was undoubtedly gifted with the qualities of a great diplomatist, with moderation, dexterity, and experience. But he was rather a statesman than a scholar or a divine; and he wavered deplorably in the German controversy. By his own confession, the liberality which he showed to Protestants was laden with deceit. No other Roman prelate despaired so utterly of the prospects of his Church, or was so much overawed by the Reformation. His despondency and want of discretion in adversity were succeeded by such subservience to Rome, and such fertile ingenuity in the management of the Council of Trent, that he was suspected of aiming at the papal throne. It may be regretted that a man so able, and so free from the taint of fanaticism, was foiled in his ambition.

26. The work lately published by Dr. van Raemdonck on *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, bears witness to a careful study of the works of the great geographer; but it is chiefly interesting for the new light which it throws on many parts of his comparatively unknown life. Mercator's family name was Kremer, signifying merchant, which, following a custom of his time, he translated into the Latin equivalent. Dr. Van Raemdonck has investigated his family relations, and the circumstances of his birth at Rupelmonde in 1512; and he gives details, which are for the most part new, relative to his life at the University of Louvain, where he applied zealously to mathematical studies. It was in that city that he first established himself, as an engraver and colourer of maps. He also set up as a smith, and a maker of astrolabes, globes, mathematical instruments, etc. In 1541 he issued a terrestrial globe, which he dedicated to Nicolas Perrenot; his celestial globe came out ten years later. In 1536 he was married at Louvain. At that time the ideas of the Reformation had spread widely, though secretly, in the Low Countries; and in 1544 the law was invoked against a number of the citizens of Louvain, who were accused of having embraced the new doctrines. Among them was Mercator. He was arrested at Rupelmonde, and was kept in prison for four months. The testimony and intercession of several influential persons was employed in his favour; but the investigation took its course, and was long and minute. The accusation, however, was not substantiated; and at last he was released. A few years afterwards he left the country, and settled at Duisburg, where he remained till his death in 1594. Dr.

van Raemdonck traces the course of his life at Duisburg, where he spent his time in improving his maps, and keeping up his relations with the scholars of Europe. His sons assisted him in his undertakings; and the eldest of them, Arnold, is known in connection with the manuscript Bible of Ulphilas, which was found in an abbey near Duisburg, and is now in the library at Upsala. Dr. van Raemdonck has added to his biography an excellent appendix, in which he considers Mercator's works in logical order. He then prints his letters, and concludes with some genealogical and biographical details, which are not without interest, relative to his children and descendants.

27. Of the two parts of Mr. French's *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, one is superfluous, and the other, in its main position, wrong. He considers that his great discovery is to have supplied all the missing links between Mary Arden, Shakespeare's mother, and Walter Arden of Park Hall, whose sons were Sir John, Esquire of the body to Henry VII., and Thomas, which Thomas was the father of Robert Arden, who was, according to Mr. French, and the general mass of authorities, the father of Mary Arden, the mother of William Shakespeare.

The great difficulty in the way of the theory is this. Shakespeare's father had already received a grant of arms about the year 1568. In 1596, doubtless at the request of the poet, the grant was renewed. In 1599 there was a fresh application, this time reciting the pretensions of Mrs. Shakespeare, who was a co-heir of her father. This third grant, therefore, gives a right to the elder Shakespeare to impale, and to his son to quarter the Arden arms. In the grant, the arms of the Warwickshire Ardens were first of all inserted; then they were erased, and instead of them the arms of the Ardens of Alvanley, in Cheshire, were put in, with the slight modern difference of a martlet to show that it was not from the eldest, but from a younger branch of the family that the coat was derived. In the time of Henry VI., Ralph Arden of Alvanley married Catherine, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton; their children were Sir John Arden of Alvanley, Thomas, the ancestor of the Ardens of Leicestershire, Robert, Hugh, and Ralph. Mrs. Shakespeare's father, Robert, might have been son of this Thomas of Leicestershire. There are some slight traditions of a special connection of the poet with the town of Leicester; and there are indications of an early connection with the Stanleys. Spenser the poet, in his "Tears of the Muses," dedicated to his kinswoman, Lady Strange, the wife of Ferdinando, afterwards the fifth Earl of Derby, spoke of him as "our tuneful Willy;" and according to Dugdale, he wrote the beautiful epitaph on Sir Thomas Stanley, the brother of Ferdinando, in Tonge church. And Mr. Bohn, in the biography of Shakespeare which he presented to the Philobiblion Society, points out that this Stanley was married to Margaret Vernon, a relation of the Vernon who was afterwards wife of Lord Southampton, who was Shake-

speare's greatest friend. Moreover, as the Ardens of Alvanley claimed descent from the Dukes of Normandy, whose arms with those of the Earls of Arundel and Mercia they were entitled to quarter, this pedigree adds a new point to the story told by Manningham, in which Shakespeare figures as William the Conqueror; and it throws some light on the construction of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, where Shakespeare, under the guise of William Rufus, administers to Ben Jonson the correction referred to in the *Return from Parnassus*. Whether or not this was the real pedigree of Shakespeare's mother, the erasure and substitution on the grant of 1597 shows that the poet wished it to be considered so; and the anecdotes of 1600 show that he was then known to claim some connection with the Norman dukes. It may be guessed that Shakespeare, who, according to Rowe, had so signally befriended Jonson in 1598, was introduced by him to his friend Camden, the Garter King, in 1599, and was afterwards, in 1600, ridiculed for his pretensions to birth in Jonson's description of Crispinus's arms in the *Poetaster*. This would account for the authenticated fact that Shakespeare was angry with Jonson for this play, and inflicted upon him condign punishment. At any rate, the connection of the poet with the Cheshire Ardens seems to open out more veins of biographic and poetic illustration than the connection with the Ardens of Park Hall, which Mr. French so elaborately, and so inconclusively, defends.

28. MR. GARDINER has edited for the Camden Society the manuscript which was his own principal guide for the history of the Spanish match. The author, Francisco de Jesus, was a friar of great repute at Court, who was employed in the negotiation, and had full command of the best sources of information in composing his narrative. He is otherwise known in literature as the compiler of the great Spanish Index, which bears the name of Sandoval. The account is tediously minute, but very useful to the historian, by reason of the original documents which are interwoven in it. Mr. Gardiner says he has always found them faithfully reproduced; and he thinks that the statements of the author may be relied on. Francisco, however, was not so deeply trusted with the secrets of State as with the theological part of the question; and the real policy of Olivarez, and the reasons of the breach, must be learned elsewhere. Mr. Gardiner has accompanied the work with a very readable translation. Apart from punctuation, the Spanish original is accurately printed. There is an error at p. 59, which has led to a curious misinterpretation. In the description of the interview between Charles and the Spanish divines, Mr. Gardiner reads "Comenzó el Padre con favor," and translates "The Father, after a complimentary introduction:" it should be, "el Padre confessor." At p. 53 are the words: "y luego dió su Mag<sup>d</sup>. de mano propia." Mr. Gardiner understands them to mean: "Immediately after this his Majesty was to add in his own hand," which implies that the despatch

was not really written. It does not appear that there is any ground for such a supposition.

29. IN the Preface to his *Gustaf Adolf*, Herr G. Droysen disclaims any intention of adding one more to the numerous biographies of the great Swede. Holding that political sagacity had a far larger place in his mind than religious enthusiasm, he wishes to set forth his position in European history, and to calculate the force of his impact upon Continental politics. The present instalment of his work, reaching down to the Peace of Lübeck, is the result of careful study, not so much of unpublished mss. as of evidence buried in little read and out of the way books. Thus, though the main part of the materials of the book were already before the world, the result of the labour bestowed upon them is to give a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the work done by the Swedish King. The real history of the designs of Spain and Austria upon the commercial and political domination of the Northern Seas is more thoroughly told here than it has been by any other writer. But the most interesting part of the book is the narrative, for which Geijer and Gfrörer may be searched in vain, of the negotiations carried on by Gustavus with England and Brandenburg, in 1624 and 1625, in the hope of placing himself at the head of the German party of resistance. If the scheme failed for the time, it was, as Herr Droysen conclusively shows, simply because the King refused to take part in the war except upon conditions which his own judgment assured him to be indispensable to success. He must have so much support in men and money. He must have the moral certainty that a considerable body of allies would really stand by him. He must have in his hands certain German ports as a basis of operations. Rather than recede for an instant from the terms once laid down, he chose to turn aside to the Polish war, leaving Christian of Denmark to deal as he could with the German difficulty. In this part of his work, Herr Droysen has made judicious use of Rusdorf's *Memoirs*, and of the correspondence of Oxenstiern and Camerarius printed in Moser's *Patriotisches Archiv*. It is a pity that he had not before him an unpublished letter from Gustavus to Sir James Spens, which is preserved amongst the State-papers at the English Record Office, in which he finally announced his decision. If any one, he characteristically wrote, thinks it an easy matter to overthrow the united strength of Catholic Europe, "nos hanc illi gloriam, cæteraque quæ illam comitari possunt commoda, non iniviti concederemus."

As an account of the relations of Gustavus to European politics, of the dangers against which he strove, and of his method of dealing with the difficulties of his time, Herr Droysen's book leaves little to be desired. But it is evident that, in his wish to bring into prominence the political character of the war, he has been somewhat forgetful of the close connection which, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, existed between politics and religion. In one place (p. 195, note) he lays stress upon the

words used by the Swedish diplomatists to express the object at which they aimed. "Bald heiszt es," he says, "salutem ac restitutionem rei collapsæ Evangelicæ ac imprimis Regis Bohemæ;" bald 'restituendo res Germanica;' bald 'restitutio rerum amissarum;' bald 'S.R.A. hoc unicum ac solum medium putat, Pontificios cogendi ad sanioiorem mentem;' solche Wendungen jedoch meist in Verbindung mit habsburgischem Unwesen wie: 'potentia Pontificiorum ac domus Austriæ.' Auch solche Ausdrücke zeigen wie wenig es ein Religionskrieg, wie sehr es ein politischer Krieg war, um den es sich handelte." The inference would rather seem to be how impossible it was, in those days, to talk of politics without reference to religion, or of religion without reference to politics. A far graver fault in Herr Droysen is his incapacity to comprehend the character and motives of men whom he dislikes. His account of the intentions of Austria, as he calls it by anticipation,—contemporaries would have said, of the House of Austria, or, of the Emperor,—is a mere caricature. He may plead that he is in good company in abusing Ferdinand II. to the uttermost. But it is unjust to introduce him upon the stage (p. 121), not by any account drawn from trustworthy sources, but by a quotation from a partisan pamphlet written in 1629, at the height of the indignation caused by the issue of the Edict of Restitution, to the effect that his object had long been "die Spanische Universalmonarchie, und also das geschlossene tridentinische consilium zu anfangs und vors allererste per Europam, und folgens durch die andern Theile der ganzen Welt zu effectuiren." Ferdinand himself always said that his object was to see to the execution of the laws of the Empire; and, whatever may be thought of the interpretation which he put upon those laws, the question of his sincerity at all events deserves a serious discussion.

30. In the Preface to his *Geschichte Wallensteins*, Professor Ranke justly lays stress upon his researches at Brussels and Dresden as likely to present the subject of his work in truer colours than those which have been employed by writers who rely too exclusively upon the evidence left in the Munich archives. Wallenstein's character as a statesman grows in his hands. He is seen bent upon strengthening Germany against foreign aggression, by putting an end to the religious intolerance that was weakening the nation. His policy is on a higher level than the sectional aims of Maximilian of Bavaria or Frederick of the Palatinate. Professor Ranke has shown, as conclusively as anything can be established by indirect evidence, that Wallenstein, upon his recall to power after the victories of Gustavus, distinctly stipulated for the withdrawal of the obnoxious Edict of Restitution. As far as can be gathered from the very full and impartial narrative which follows, it does not appear that there was any breach of faith on the part of the Emperor. Ferdinand would probably have agreed to yield to circumstances in the particular case, if the principle of his authority were maintained intact. But this could not

be. Even the Elector of Saxony, the least revolutionary of men, perceived that the axe must be laid to the root of the Imperialist system from which such bitter fruits had sprung. Nothing speaks more highly for Wallenstein's statesmanship than the rapidity with which he saw that the claims he had hitherto put forward on behalf of the Emperor must be abandoned, and that the one thing needful at the moment was the conciliation of the Protestant Electors, even though it cost him the abandonment of a great part of his original programme. He had thus, as Professor Ranke points out, taken up the position occupied in the preceding century by Maurice of Saxony. At the head of John George's troops, he might have exercised an overwhelming authority. Where he was, he was in a thoroughly false position, a position which became desperate, when, foreseeing apparently the impossibility of reconciling Ferdinand to an abandonment of his claims, he entered into an intrigue with France and Sweden, the object of which would have been to place him at the head of the anti-Austrian alliance. He was now attempting to pass from the position of Maurice to that of Gustavus, and that too by means of his authority acquired as commander of the Emperor's army. The scheme came to the knowledge of Oñate, the Spanish ambassador; and Wallenstein's ruin and assassination was the result.

The chief causes of Wallenstein's failure are found by Professor Ranke (p. 350) in the general distrust caused by the unpopular nature of his schemes, which took no note of the prejudices and bigotries of the day, and (p. 423) in the respect paid by the army to its oath of fidelity to the Emperor. There can be little doubt that this view is the true one. But it is not the whole truth. The adverb in Schiller's well-known line, "sein Lager nur erkläret sein Verbrechen," must be abandoned as incorrect; but it was a true historical instinct which led Schiller to bring the "Lager" into special prominence. Professor Ranke, on the other hand, thrusts it out of sight as much as he can. But for a few parenthetical observations hardly any thing would be known from him of that evil system in which "Der Bürger gilt nichts mehr, der Krieger alles." It was this system, however, which had a distinct influence upon Wallenstein's failure. Generals who have been able to make use of armies against constituted authorities, have always been supported by sentiments prevailing in the nation to which the army belongs. When Wallenstein called upon his soldiers to follow him in defence of the national cause, he forgot how completely he had separated the army from the nation. He had made it a mere military machine; and to a military machine the oath of allegiance was everything, and the needs of Germany were nothing.

The key to Wallenstein's life is to be found in the circumstances of his youth. Sprung from a younger branch of an old Czech family, he had little to hope for from the aristocratic institutions of Bohemia; and a residence of some years under the strict Puritan rule of

the Bohemian Brothers at the house of his uncle disgusted him with the religion of his country. But he did not, like many converts, throw himself heart and soul into the system most opposite to that which he had abandoned. To the Church and Crown for which he drew his sword, he stood in much the same relation as that in which so many English statesmen who had passed through the Puritan domination stood to the political and ecclesiastical principles of the Restoration. His devotion to Ferdinand was as great as, and no greater than, Churchill's devotion to the Stuarts. He took no root on German soil. If he cared nothing for its princes and its laws, neither did he care anything for its citizens and its peasants. His failure was the failure of high intellect to command permanent success when uncombined with moral sympathy. Here was the mark of separation between him and his great rival; "Bei ihm," is the judgment of Professor Ranke (p. 268),—"war alles bedachter Plan, umfassende Combination, ein immer höher strebender Ehrgeiz. Wenn auch der König ein weiteres Ziel verfolgte, so trat das doch vor den freien populären Impulsen zurück, denen er jeden Augenblick Raum gab, . . . Niemand verliesz sich auf Wallenstein; zu Gustav Adolf hatte Jedermann Vertrauen."

31. HERR ERDMANNSDÖRFER is a member of a Commission at Berlin, which has for some years been occupied in preparing the materials for a history of the great Prince-Elector; and his book on Waldeck is, in the main, a fruit of these researches. It is a work of diligence and ability, and is agreeably written; but its characteristic contents belong to the category of mere partisan literature. The author is of opinion that Professor Droysen, in his History of the Prince-Elector, has overlooked the secondary personages, and regarded the course of events as though everything were due to the personal exertion of the Prince, and the ministers went for nothing. Accordingly, he shows how important a part was played by Count Waldeck, whom he proposes as a model Prussian statesman. But though his views thus far differ from those of Professor Droysen, their general ideas on the history of Prussia are essentially the same; and the bias of the disciple is even more marked than that of the master. Count Waldeck, who entered the Brandenburg service in 1651, was a bitter enemy of the House of Habsburg, and strove, by the assistance of France, to destroy its influence in Germany, and so to effect a radical change in the existing constitution of the empire. He endeavoured to gain the Prince-Elector to his views, by holding out to him the prospect of a hegemony. In the pursuit of his object he evinced dexterity, energy, and a thorough contempt of right, which rendered him for a certain time eminently successful. Herr Erdmannsdörfer gives a very vivid description of the course of events; but by continual parallels drawn from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he anticipates projects which belong only to a period later than his hero, and throws a completely

false light on the history. In his conception, Count Waldeck changes into a Count Bismarck; and he obviously desires to exalt the minister whom he regards as the destined representative of Waldeck's policy. The two men have really some points of resemblance; but the author's zeal makes him forget that the results of his parallel are not always flattering to the living statesman. Waldeck left the service of the Prince-Elector in 1658, and his policy, after a short success, ended in complete failure. Herr Erdmannsdörfer relates how he admitted his error, and reversed his ideas. Instead of agitating against Austria, and seeking the aid of France, he came to found his schemes on Austria, whom, later on, he served as a general; and he worked earnestly to induce the German princes, and especially his former master, the Prince-Elector, to enter into a combination against France.

32. THE life of Rembrandt was almost entirely unknown till 1852, when Mr. Scheltema, the archivist of Amsterdam, published the result of his investigations on the subject, in the form of a discourse written on occasion of the erection of a statue of the artist. He cleared up many obscure points, corrected many misapprehensions, and brought to light many new particulars. His work, which created considerable interest, was followed in 1863 by the first part of M. Vosmaer's book. This part deals with the precursors of Rembrandt, and the years of his apprenticeship with Van Swanenburch and Peter Lastman. It gives minute details about his family, derived from authentic documents, and succeeds in determining the date and place of his birth, which Mr. Scheltema had not been able to do. Rembrandt was born at Leyden, on the 15th of July, 1607.

M. Vosmaer has just published the second and concluding part of his book, which follows the life of the painter from his first entrance on his career in 1627, illustrating it by reference to his works. In 1632, Bol, Flinck, Backer, de Weth, and de Poorter, were his pupils; from 1635 to 1640, Victor, Eckhout, and Philip Koninck. These were succeeded during the next two or three years by Ovens, Verdoel, Heerschop, Drost, Fabritius, and others. The year 1641 is memorable in Rembrandt's life for the beginning of his connection with John Six, whose name has become inseparable from his own. M. Vosmaer has studied Rembrandt's paintings, sketches, etchings, and drawings, and succeeds in classifying them completely, and thus giving a full view of his career. The celebrated piece known as "The Hundred Florins" he assigns to the period between 1648 and 1650. In the four following years the list of pupils includes Maes, Renesse, Dul-laert, Willemans, and G. Ulenburgh. M. Vosmaer devotes a chapter to Rembrandt as a landscape-painter, and to the artists who followed his instruction or inspirations in that branch of the art—such as Farnerius, Leupenius, Esselens, and Erkelens. In the year

1656, Rembrandt became insolvent; and his property was sold by public auction at Amsterdam. But this trouble did not abate his energy. He applied himself to work with even increased ardour; and his labours did not cease till the month of October 1669, when he died. M. Vosmaer supports all his facts by authorities, for the most part unpublished; and he rejects a great many anecdotes of Rembrandt, which are current in Dutch and other books, both old and new. In an appendix he gives a chronological catalogue of the painter's works, with information as to the sales at which they have been offered, and the collections in which they are now to be found. This catalogue is a work of great patience and labour, and is worthy of a book which ranks high in the history of art.

83. THE Preface to Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's *Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera* consists mainly of two parts—a life of Rymer, the first editor of the *Fœdera*, and a bibliographical account of the different editions. The biography of Rymer is one of such singular pathos as to give interest to what is otherwise the somewhat monotonous history of a student's pursuits. He was the son of a Cavalier Yorkshire gentleman, was educated at Cambridge and called to the bar (1673), and in a fatal hour for himself took the prevalent epidemic, and wrote a tragedy (1677). After fifteen years of unavailing literary work in different fields, for which he is now chiefly remembered by Lord Macaulay's description of him as "the worst critic that ever lived," he succeeded another bad poet, Shadwell, as Historiographer-Royal (1672), Tate, the perverter of the Psalms, being made Poet-Laureate on the same day. By this time Rymer was over fifty, was, it is said, a married man with a family, and was in such circumstances of poverty as to be the butt of a scurrilous satire on the "Garreteer Poet." His new appointment, giving him a fixed income of £200 a year, ought to have secured him from want. But, unhappily for himself, he was commissioned to edit the National Records; and from the publication of the first volume obloquy and poverty never left his threshold. He made an unfortunate mistake at first, by printing a spurious homage from Malcolm III. to Edward the Confessor, and drew down the wrath and criticisms of the whole Scottish nation upon his head. His volumes, though praised in France, and eagerly bought up and reproduced in England, on the whole disappointed general expectation; for the public had hoped that history would be reconstructed; and the faults incidental to every great work in its first beginnings, a certain confusedness of plan and trifling blunders of execution, were detected and exaggerated in critical circles. Even if Ayloffe's report on this head be a little coloured, as Sir Thomas Hardy thinks, it seems certain that the book was never adequately esteemed in the author's lifetime, and has been steadily depreciated since his death. But, above all, Rymer was transcribing and printing at his own cost, and could not get his

expenses reimbursed by the Treasury. No regular provision was made for the publication. The first hundred pounds paid were derived from the forfeiture of a Catholic priest. In 1697, he spent £210 for the Government, and received from the Lords of the Treasury "£200 in lottery tickets, of which I made about £160." Up to August 1698, he had expended £1253, and had received only £500. Even when Queen Anne took his case up, the Treasury reduced his just claim of £600 to £200. To the day of his death (1713) he never received any recompense for his labours as editor; and Sir Thomas Hardy infers, from the haste with which probate of his will was obtained, that it was found necessary to sell some of his effects in order to bury him. Prior's epigram on Mezeray might have been transferred with terrible fitness to Rymer: and it may well be asked "what beggar in the Invalides" would have changed places with the man who did so much to make England famous?

Of Rymer's work, Sir Thomas Hardy judges on the whole very favourably, passing a just censure on him for quoting excerpts from Leibnitz as *ex originali*, but considering him on the whole a judicious and careful editor, whose omissions and mistakes are of little moment. The worst part of his work is the first volume, which is undoubtedly too meagre; but throughout, many valuable documents published in Leonard's *Recueil* have been omitted. The criticism of the New Rymer Sir Thomas Hardy defers to his second volume; but apparently it will not be favourable. He himself proposes a supplement to the *Fœdera*, in the shape of "a brief but complete calendar of all authentic documents to be found amongst English Records, necessary for the verification and illustration of the political, ecclesiastical, civil, and military history of Great Britain." There can be no doubt that such a work is a desideratum; and no one could do it better than Sir Thomas Hardy.

In his Index, to test the execution would be a labour of many days, and we can only criticise the plan. It seems all that can be desired, giving a brief title or statement of the contents in every document, with the references to the three editions, the Original, the Hague, and the Record or New Rymer. One excellent feature is that Sir Thomas Hardy invariably gives the date of each document, and the place where it was signed, thus doing for every reign what he did for one in his *Itinerary of King John*, and enabling the reader to see at a glance where the King was on any given day of the year.

84. PROFESSOR DROYSEN is known as the head of that section of German historians which assigns to Prussia the providential mission of establishing German unity, by reducing the smaller States under her own dominion, and separating Austria from the rest of the nation. He traces this mission back to the Mark of Brandenburg, and conceives the whole history of the Brandenburg Princes,

and afterwards of the Kings of Prussia, to be nothing else but its gradual fulfilment. It was to establish this view that he many years ago undertook his *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, of which two new volumes have just appeared. These volumes embrace the period from 1713 to 1740, and form an independent work, under the title of *Frederick William I., King of Prussia*. In reality, however, they only deal with the King's foreign policy; and this was the weakest side of a government which in other respects may justly claim to constitute an epoch. "It was at this time," says the author, "that Prussia first took that sharp hard stamp which has remained characteristic of her: the army, the administration, and the finances then received a shape and organization the outlines of which have endured to the present day." But instead of showing the real grounds and method of this process, the two volumes merely exhibit a series of political transactions. These the author gives from his researches in the Berlin Archives, following every turn of diplomacy with minuteness, but failing lucidity and condensation. His habit of considering questions from an exclusively Prussian point of view leads him into many errors in dealing with German affairs, the interest of which at that time did not centre in Berlin; and the same defect is still more striking in his treatment of matters belonging to the general politics of Europe, in which Prussia then bore no considerable part. He often represents events as though the whole politics of the day had been revolving round Berlin: and in one place he says that the new era of Europe was inaugurated in Prussia. In the same tone of exaggeration, speaking of the treaty of Schwedt, which Prussia concluded with Russia in 1713, and by which she gained a portion of what was then Swedish Pomerania, he declares that since then the centre of gravity for the Baltic countries has lain in Prussia. The truth is rather that the preponderance of Russia on the Baltic dates from that time, and that Prussia, instead of hindering, has promoted it. Later on, the author does not deny this; he recognises the threatening position Russia has occupied from that time, but attributes the fault to the other States of Europe rather than to Prussia. The fact, however, remains, that Prussia, to further her schemes of aggrandizement, allied herself persistently with Russia; and Herr Droysen relates how repeatedly and how vainly England and Austria endeavoured to bring the King to an anti-Russian policy. The two powers no doubt were actuated only by self-interest, and not by great ideas, or by any sense of moral obligation. But this was according to the genius of the eighteenth century; and the motives of the Prussian policy were not of a higher order. Frederick William was chiefly bent on the acquisition of new territory, so that right scarcely entered into the question. Conquest seemed to him the best of rights. When Russia proposed to him an alliance against Poland, with the prospect of gaining what is now called West Prussia, he wrote on the draft with his own hand, "Paratissimus sum." On another occasion he

showed an equal readiness to seize Silesia, provided he received assistance, and was guaranteed in the possession of the province; for he did not love to run great risks. Nevertheless he had a sort of soldier-like honourableness, to which the byways of diplomacy were strange and distasteful. Hence he was often baffled by political intrigues; and if he afterwards became conscious of having been misled, he gave way to violent fits of anger, which often in their turn drove him into false positions.

As Prussia at that time played a small part amongst the powers of Europe, her relations with the Empire and the Emperor were the main subject of Prussian politics. The chief point was the claim of succession to the Duchy of Juliers. It was in the nature of things that the Emperor should be unfavourable to the growing power of Prussia, which was a danger for Austria, while it threatened the constitution of the empire. The young kingdom had possessions scattered over Northern Germany, and an army of the disproportionate strength of 80,000 men to a population of only two and a half millions. It thus presented the aspect of a military State, bent on conquest, and became an object of suspicion and offence to most other North-German States, especially to Saxony and Hanover, whose interests were at that time connected with the policy of England. It is not surprising that all these States should have been more disposed to hinder than to promote the aggrandizement of a dangerous neighbour. But it was an evil day when the Emperor attempted to play a double game, and, while he formally recognised the King's claim to the inheritance, at the same time promised it to another house. The King, betrayed by the Emperor, was thrown into the arms of France, and concluded an agreement with that power in 1789, upon the subject of his inheritance. Thus the Silesian war of Frederick the Great may be said to have been already prepared. The King himself had designated the Crown Prince as his avenger. A little before his death he explained to him that the root ideas of his policy had been "the honour and advancement of his house, and the prosperity of his provinces." There is no mention of rights, but only of interests. Nothing is said of the German empire or the German nation, which was only regarded as material for the aggrandizement of the House of Hohenzollern. It is a falsification of history to see in this anything but a self-seeking dynastic policy, differing from that of the Emperor and the other German Princes only by its greater energy. By the aid of a considerable army, to which all the resources of the country were devoted, this policy naturally succeeded; and Prussia accordingly rose, while other German States sank in proportion. The German nation became no greater by the change: but it had to bear the burden of the wars which the Prussian policy of aggrandizement brought forth.

85. THE French Jesuit Carayon is honourably known as the compiler of a bibliography



of the Society; but it is not so generally known that he has printed some two dozen volumes of documents relative to its history. Many of them are at the British Museum; but a complete set probably does not exist except in the houses of the order. Father Carayon prints only a small number of copies; and the matter is commonly of a kind more interesting to the Jesuits themselves than to the public. His volumes do not invite general attention; and the canons of literary criticism would be misapplied in the case of works reserved for a select and special circulation. A volume which has just appeared is more important than the rest, and claims wider notice. It contains a life of Ricci, the General of the Jesuits at the time of their suppression, which was printed soon after his death, but has never been published, and 150 pages of correspondence concerning the election and the pontificate of Ganganelli. Most of the letters have already appeared. Some are taken from the archives of the Jesuits. The collection is highly valuable for the purpose of tracing the last decisive stage of that great intrigue.

When Clement XIII. died, in 1769, the Bourbons resolved to exclude every Cardinal of whom they had no assurance that he would suppress the Order. The stimulus came from Charles III. of Spain; but he carried with him Portugal and the Bourbon courts of France, Naples, and Parma. Austria was neutral. The Jesuits had friends in Sardinia, and among the German Princes. Prussia and Russia were on their side; and even George III. made efforts to save them. As early as the 14th of March, Choiseul recommends Caraccioli and Ganganelli, and says of the latter, in particular, that he, of all men, is not a friend of the Jesuits. The French ambassador at Rome, Aubeterre, was of opinion that there was not one of the Italian Cardinals who would not promise to suppress them, in order to be Pope. The French party in the Conclave was led by Bernis. Bernis desired the destruction of the Society; he also desired the Roman embassy, money to pay his debts, a pension, and a company for his nephew. But he would not hear of a simoniacal promise. A Cardinal who would make it, he said, would be sure to break it. He admits the necessity of gaining the object; but he hopes it may be gained by fair means—"par des moyens convenables." "Il n'y a que les moyens qui répugnent." He was studious of the appearance of respectability: "Je ne suis point dévot, je suis décent, et j'aime à remplir ma place d'évêque." When it became known that the Spanish Cardinals were not deterred by the scruples which made Bernis miserable, but meant to exact a written promise before they would accept a candidate, he declared that no respectable Cardinal would dishonour himself by consenting to such a compact. On the 3d of May he explained his position to the Spaniards. He would be no party to a corrupt bargain. It was their affair. If they persisted, he would not oppose, he would not even dissuade them. But he would not be their accomplice. The Spanish Cardinals consulted

him no more, and did the rest themselves. They bought off those whom they feared, and proceeded to tempt the two men who had been named by Choiseul. On the 10th of May it was known that Caraccioli had already given the required pledge, and that Ganganelli would do the same. On the 16th, Bernis was still denouncing Ganganelli, when he learned that the Spaniards had secured him. At first, his joy was mixed with a good deal of contempt. "Nous sommes bien aises de n'avoir rien su des moyens." "Fripou pour fripon, il vaut mieux remplir les intentions de nos cours que de disputer sur le degré d'insuffisance ou de ruse." He hastened to put into the hands of the new Pope a memoir showing that he owed his elevation to France. They soon became good friends. The urgent Spaniards were odious to Clement XIV., who feared to fulfil his engagement, lest it should appear to have been his stepping-stone to the Papacy. He was grateful to Bernis for his conduct in the matter, and confided to him the nature of his promise. According to Bernis, it was of such a tenor that it enabled the Spaniards to apply a pressure which the Pope could not resist, but yet it did not amount to a corrupt engagement. On the 28th of June he wrote, "L'écrit qu'ils ont fait signer au Pape n'est nullement obligatoire; le Pape lui-même m'en a dit la teneur." And on the 23d of November, "Le Saint-Père me répéta plusieurs fois qu'il n'avait pas promis d'éteindre *hic et nunc* cette compagnie, mais seulement lorsque les circonstances le permettraient."

The evidence contained in these letters is very strong, and might have been decisive against Ganganelli, if Father Carayon, instead of writing for readers convinced before they read, had observed due precaution and criticism. Contemplating only a very restricted publicity, his confidence in the favour of his public has caused him to weaken his case. The selection of the letters, portions of letters, and parts of sentences, is unsatisfactory in the extreme. The Conclave was controlled by the Spaniards; and there are masses of Spanish correspondence in the works of Ferrer del Rio and Lafuente, and in the three volumes of the *Espiritu de Azara*. Father Carayon relies almost entirely on the papers of Bernis. He appears to have trusted inaccurate transcripts. Several of his letters have been printed by M. Crétineau-Joly, who writes in the same interest. Verbal differences in the two texts are very frequent. They will be found, among the rest, in the letters numbered 31, 35, 69, 82, 103, 125, 150, 172, 173. They are trifling, and certainly unintentional; but they do not inspire confidence in those cases where letters are translated from other languages into French. A graver fault is the omission of important papers. Father Carayon gives the instructions of the French Government for the Conclave of 1774. Those of the Conclave of 1769 were equally accessible, and more to the purpose; yet they are not in this volume. It is both interesting and germane to the purpose of the work to know the opinions of Clement XIV. in suppressing the society. He caused

them to be communicated to France by Bernis, in a despatch of March 16, 1774. In this paper he authorizes it to be stated that he would have preferred reformation to suppression, if reformation had been possible. "Si Clément xiv. n'a jamais eu de doute que la société des jésuites méritât d'être réformée, il a été longtemps bien éloigné de penser qu'il fût sage de la supprimer. . . . Si les jésuites, au lieu de montrer la plus grande audace, au lieu de se présenter toujours l'épée à la main, au lieu de fabriquer des libelles séditieux et des estampes insultantes, se fussent humiliés devant les rois d'Espagne et de Portugal, s'ils avaient respecté davantage le saint-siège et les décrets de la congrégation des rites, s'ils n'avaient pas continuellement manœuvré et intrigué, sa sainteté n'aurait jamais pris la résolution de supprimer cet ordre, quoiqu'elle en connût les dangers; elle l'aurait réformé. . . . Il a cru que des religieux proscrits des États les plus catholiques, violemment soupçonnés d'être entrés autrefois, et récemment, dans des trames criminelles, n'ayant en leur faveur que l'extérieur de la régularité, décriés dans leurs maximes, livrés pour se rendre plus puissants et plus redoutables, au commerce, à l'agiotage et à la politique, ne pouvaient produire que des fruits de dissensions et de discorde." This despatch omits the most important point of all. It does not say that the predecessors of Clement had armed the society with privileges which made reform impossible. But as a statement of one side of the case in this celebrated conflict, it deserves attention. It has been published more than forty years; but it is omitted by Father Carayon. In another despatch Bernis positively says that Ganganelli had not committed himself by any distinct pledge during the Conclave. "J'ai reconnu que le pape s'étoit encore moins engagé du côté d'Espagne que du nôtre, et que nous n'avions d'autres ressources avec lui, que les espérances générales qu'il m'avoit données dans le Conclave." These words, published by Father Theiner, have led the ablest and most impartial Protestant who has written on the subject to absolve Clement xiv.; but they also are omitted. It would appear that whatever relates to the vain project of reform is distasteful to the author. A despatch of Bernis, of January 17, 1772, breaks off with the words, "on peut croire que Clément xiv. se rabattra sur une réforme." One is curious to know the particular reforms suggested; and it is easy to find them out, for the continuation of the despatch has already been published. Indeed, there is one letter, of August 26, 1778, in which a passage has been left out which Father Carayon himself has printed in another work. In all these cases the omissions are faithfully indicated by dots. In one very important passage this precaution has been unfortunately neglected. Father Carayon quotes a passage in which Cordara, the secretary of the General, Ricci, describes the character of Clement xiv. There is no sign of any omission; but in the middle of the passage the following words have been struck out:—"Nunquam fama laboravit adversa. Sunt qui

vere sanctum deprædicant, ejusque sanctitatem miraculis affirmatam volunt; sed hæc studio partium dici arbitror, aliis attollere supra modum conantibus, quem alii plus nimio deprimunt. Ego nullum ei gradum sanctitatis supra communem modum attribuo. . . . Si qui ergo solutioris vitæ Ganganellum accusant, nã ii mentiuntur insigniter, sequæ ex mera malevolentia innocentem calumniari fateantur necesse est." Possibly Father Carayon has been led astray by M. Crétineau-Joly; but it is hard that the Jesuits should be dupes of their own advocate. The manuscript of Cordara must be known to them, as it has been used, not only by M. Crétineau, but by Ravignan. There are other passages which deserved to be extracted, for the honour of the Pope, and for the still greater honour of the historian:—"Sic vitam, sic brevem pontificatum clausit Clemens xiv., si vere loqui fas est, infelix magis quam malus, et optimus etiam futurus, si meliora in tempora incidisset. Multis enim nec vulgaribus ingenii, doctrinæ, virtutisque ornamentis spectabatur. Mira inprimis viro sagacitas, quæ laus principis, meo quidem judicio prima, uti qua minus dolis aulicorum et insidiis patet. Par illi in summo honore demissio, par modestia. Mitis, affabilis, frugi, sibi semper constans, nunquam in consiliis præceps, nunquam animi nimius. . . . Satiùs Ganganello visum condonare ultro aliquid, quam omnia in discrimen ultimum dare. Male demum si egit, haud mala egit mente. . . . At vias omnes declinandæ suppressionis exquisivit. At fecit invitus, non volutate sed necessitate fecit. . . . Suppressit tamen societatem, at ita demum suppressit, ut mitiore honestioreque modo non posset. . . . Scio equidem futuros e Jesuitis, qui me quasi degenerem, aut etiam Societatis desertorem impium coarguent, quod hanc Ganganelli defensionem susceperim."

86. For a right understanding of Schelling's philosophy, which flowed on in an almost uninterrupted development, a biography exhibiting the internal process of his mental life would be very valuable. The philosopher's son, who edited his father's complete works, had undertaken to write such a book, but was prevented by death, leaving a fragment in manuscript, which described only the earlier stages of the philosophy. This instructive and well-written fragment has lately been edited by Professor Plitt, with the addition of a number of letters from Schelling's correspondence. The volume extends to the year 1803, and is to be followed by another. Besides Schelling's letters, it contains letters of Hegel, Steffens, Schlegel, Eschenmayer, Windischmann, Marcus, Goethe, and Schiller.

Schelling was the son of a pastor in the small town of Leonberg, lying in a romantic valley of Württemberg, where, two hundred years before, Kepler had passed his infancy. The father was a man of serious character, and an oriental scholar; and the boy's extraordinary capacity was developed by an excellent training. At the age of fourteen he wrote both Greek and Latin verses with great ease.

He also knew several oriental languages, and made an attempt in historiographical inquiries. Soon afterwards he was sent to study theology at Tübingen, where he met Hegel, by some five years his senior, with whom he contracted a close friendship. At the age of seventeen he was an accomplished scholar.

His researches led him chiefly to the historical and critical side of theology; and his Dissertation, *Antiquissimi de prima malorum humanorum origine philosophematis Gen. III. explicandi tentamen criticum et philosophicum*, shows what hard questions pre-occupied his young head. This was followed by an essay, *Ueber Mythen, historische Sagen und Philosopheme der ältesten Zeit*, which is noteworthy as being quoted, forty years later, by Strauss in his *Leben Jesu*. Schelling, in his youthful essay, touched on the mythical elements of religion with much more historical perception and spirituality than Strauss, though also in a rationalistic direction. These mythico-theological researches which occupied his youth attracted him again in his old age: they form the chief contents of the *Philosophie der Mythologie und der Offenbarung*. In like manner, being originally intended for the clerical state, he became a Doctor of Theology quite late in life. The end answered to the beginning, with this distinction, that the old man retracted the rationalism of the youth, and devoted himself to investigating the positive foundations of religion and spiritual life. Hence his whole development is dramatic, and only in the last act arrives at its complete solution. His career ought to be considered in this light, which exhibits, as the fruit of his long life of thinking, the final acknowledgment of the value of positive facts, and the ultimate creation of a positive philosophy, as a contrast to the philosophy of his youth, which, in his after years, he regarded as a negative one.

The novel teaching of Fichte made a deep impression on the mind of young Schelling, and led him to acknowledge philosophy as the true vocation of his life. His first philosophical treatise, *Ueber die Möglichkeit einer Form der Philosophie*, is still considered very abstract. It contains the following remarkable passage: "I desire that none of my readers may be a stranger to the great consciousness which the prospect of a finally attainable unity of knowledge, faith, and will (the ultimate inheritance of mankind, which will soon be demanded more loudly than before) must call forth in every one worthy to have heard the voice of truth." These were bold words for a youth of nineteen. They betoken a lofty enthusiasm for the search after truth, a tendency towards regarding things in their totality, and an unflinching confidence in his own power of thinking. Moreover, they contain the fundamental note of all his philosophical works, which always aim at setting forth philosophy as a whole, but each time from a new and peculiar point of view, *ἐν καὶ πᾶσι*. His next work, *Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie*, beginning with Fichte, soon passed beyond him. The Ich is here not simply Fichte's Ich of human consciousness,

but is made a universal form, whereby it becomes the simple act of positing itself, that is, absolute activity, or self-activity, with no motor outside itself—actus purus. The Ich thus conceived was in one respect identical with the absolute substance of Spinoza, and in another was its pure opposite. For the absolute substance of Spinoza, though absolutely causa sui, and containing nothing but itself, is conceived in esse as object or reality, while the Ich of Schelling is not esse but a pure activity, not object and real, but pure subject and ideal. Thus Spinoza and Fichte became for Schelling the two poles of philosophy—the one representing absolute subjectivity, the other absolute objectivity; and his whole thoughts were absorbed in this contrast. But, having perceived and understood the duality, he felt the want of a higher unity; and this impulse called his own system into being. He thought that the Ich ought no longer to remain an empty abstraction as in Fichte, and the absolute substance no longer an inactive essence as in Spinoza. He wanted somehow to give concrete reality to Fichte, and life and spirit to Spinoza, and thus, if possible, to amalgamate the two.

In 1796 he went as a private tutor to Leipzig, where he zealously studied mathematics and the natural sciences, and made them the objects of his thought. In the next year he published his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Natur*, and shortly afterwards, *Die Weltseele, eine Hypothese zur Erklärung des allgemeinen Organismus*. These books attracted much attention, and laid the foundations of his fame. In both of them he starts with empirical inductions, whence he afterwards draws ample deductions. Long before electro-magnetism had been discovered, he maintained a close relationship between magnetism, electricity, and chemism. Magnetism, he said, is line-force; electricity is surface-force; and chemism is body-force: thus developing the whole physical process of nature out of the three dimensions of space. His *Entwurf eines Systemes der Naturphilosophie* (1799) was in a more speculative form. In it the doctrine of nature definitely became a branch of philosophy. Schelling at that time had much influence on natural researches in Germany; and his philosophy of nature found many adherents. It afterwards fell in repute, when his earnest research degenerated, in the hands of superficial followers, into a frivolous paradox.

There was still a theorem to demonstrate:—How does nature, as the real, through the gradual process of its manifestations, become ideal, till it reaches its ultimate subjectivity in man? For with Schelling man is the microcosm in which the whole macrocosm is centralized and reproduced—a thought which Oken has since worked out in detail. For an empirical proof of this process of the gradual idealizing of nature, Schelling made special use of the phenomenon of light, as something unreal, and, in contrast with matter, almost ideal, so that it has always served as an emblem of spirit. Again, as in the philosophy of nature the real by degrees becomes ideal, so,

on the other hand, it was to be shown how the ideal in its turn gradually becomes real. This Schelling endeavoured to do in his *Systeme des transcendentalen Idealismus* (1800), the word transcendental being understood after the manner of Kant, to denote an inquiry which passes beyond the phenomenon into the noumenon. In this work, from the Ich as a purely ideal principle he deduces a new world, the highest elevation of which he makes the region of art, where the ideal becomes wholly real, and thought invests itself with bodily form. Natural philosophy and transcendental idealism are accordingly the main branches of this system. But the central point of all his speculation is the absolute, which, considered in itself, is neither ideal nor real, but is an indifference, raised above all opposites, which may variously manifest itself either as ideal or as real, and yet remains unaltered, and only identical with itself. Hence Schelling's philosophy has been called the philosophy of identity.

Of course, it was a pantheistic doctrine. It openly professed to be so, and in this respect advantageously contrasted with Hegel's system, in which the pantheism is veiled under dialectic formulas. Hegel borrowed from Schelling his most relevant thoughts, his original part being his dialectic method. Schelling's method was constructive; for the creative force of his mind lay chiefly in his intuition, which he called intellectual contemplation. This was rejected by Hegel, who was weak in intuition but powerful in reflection. The philosophy of Schelling was a product of enthusiasm, springing from the sense of oneness with the universe. Hence his marvellous facility and assurance in embracing the deepest and most comprehensive combinations, which his mind pours forth with an exhaustless abundance; hence also the bold swing of his style, the pregnant language, the lightning-like effect of his thoughts, and his dictatorial and oracular manner, which suffers no objections, but thunders down his adversaries with a single bolt. In order to understand all this rightly his times have to be taken into account. It was the period of the revolution. As in France all institutions had been overthrown, and new constitutions were springing up every year, so in Germany there was a great fermentation in the world of ideas; a great change had come over poetry and philosophy, and system was supplanting system. In the midst of this agitation Schelling stood forth the most gifted and comprehensive amongst the thinkers of the time, as Goethe did amongst the poets. The affinity of the two men comes out strikingly in the fact that they both had such teeming minds as scarcely to appear twice in the same aspect. Each in his old age became quite different from what he had been. The first part of *Faust* is as different from the last as Schelling's earlier philosophy from that of his later years. It was through the influence of Goethe that Schelling was appointed in 1798 to a Professorship at Jena. This University was then at the height of its renown. Here Schelling lived in con-

stant intercourse with the highest minds of the time; and his lectures were attended by hundreds from all quarters, and of all ages. It was the noontide of his fame. For the propagation of his theories he founded the *Journal für speculative Physik*, and in union with Hegel, who about that time had settled in Jena, the *Kritische Journal der Philosophie*. He also published his *Bruno oder über das natürliche und göttliche Princip in den Dingen*, and his *Vorlesungen über die Methode des academischen Studiums*, one of the best known of his works. In style these lectures are amongst the very best that the scientific prose of Germany can boast.

It was but natural that the philosophy of nature should lead its founder into the region of medicine. To study medical practice he went for a time to Bamberg, where there was a renowned clinical school. After being initiated into the system of the English Doctor Brown, he made an attempt at connecting its theory of organic excitements with his own philosophical system. The University of Landshut in Bavaria (afterwards transferred to Munich) rewarded him with the honorary title of Doctor in Medicine. Meanwhile events occurred at Jena which made his position unbearable. After the departure of Fichte the University had rapidly decayed; and Schelling wished also to go. Accordingly in 1803 he accepted the invitation of the University of Würzburg, where, with his friend Marcus, he proposed to devote himself to the reform of medicine. There the present volume of his correspondence ends, leaving the greater portion of his career still to be illustrated.

37. THE authentic documents relative to the great French political trials, from the overthrow of the old monarchy to the establishment of the present Empire, have hitherto remained scattered through the various official papers of the time. Extracts from them have been produced by various writers, but only for the purpose of establishing particular conclusions; and historical students who have desired to obtain an accurate knowledge of this page in the history of France have been obliged to go through the arduous labour of personally verifying all their materials. M. de Ketschendorf has endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience by his *Recueil complet des discussions législatives et des débats résultant des grands procès politiques jugés en France de 1793 à 1840*. The six great trials it contains point, as it were, the history of France for half a century. The first part gives the debates with regard to Lewis xvi., Marie Antoinette, Marie Elizabeth, and Philippe d'Orléans, with an additional chapter relative to the general banishment of the Bourbons; the next refers to the impeachment of the Ministers of Charles x.; and the third, which concludes the work, is concerned with the trial of the present Emperor after the Strasburg and Boulogne attempts. The first part is the most important: it includes the discussions on the questions whether the King could be tried, and what were the forms to be observed in the

trial, as well as on the question of the appeal to the people, with the results of the divisions, and the reports on the documents cited in the case of Lewis xvi. M. de Ketschendorf has rightly refrained from all expression of his own opinions, and limited himself to a brief statement of the position of affairs immediately before or after each trial.

38. M. LAVOLLÉE'S *Portalis, sa vie et ses œuvres*, contains a careful biography, and on the whole a just estimate of the most statesmanlike of the French jurists. In the eighteenth century a school of writers, among whom Montesquieu was foremost, rescued the study of the law from the proverbial pedantry of the older civilians, and refreshed it with literary culture and philosophical principles. Portalis showed himself from the first an apt disciple of this school. His first speech, delivered at the age of nineteen, broke through the traditions and scandalized the Court. A friend told him that it would be necessary to change his manner. "Sir," he replied, "the bar must change, not I." He rose rapidly to the top of his profession in Provence; and his speeches and opinions on political and ecclesiastical questions carried his reputation through the whole of France. Always a zealous and enlightened Catholic, he defended religion against scepticism and against intolerance. The province to which he belonged was united but loosely with the rest of France; and Portalis was a strenuous assertor of its privileges, and of its particular laws. He was at that time opposed to artificial uniformity in legislation whilst variety prevailed in custom, and wished the laws to be fitted to the ways and traditions of the several parts of the country. As he thus claimed the legislative power for the people, he looked on the monarchy as essentially limited in its authority, and held that the king was responsible to his subjects. On the question of constitutional liberty, though not on that of social equality, his creed was the creed of 1789; but, like Burke, he shrank from the violence with which it was put in action. It is a greater evil, he said, to destroy than to suffer. This temper of mind spoiled his efficiency during the Revolution, and kept him on the inoperative side. The coup d'état of Fructidor drove him into exile, where he wrote an elegant but slightly superficial book on the philosophy of the eighteenth century. On his return during the Consulate he rose immediately to the highest honours and the greatest influence. He was one of the chief authors of the Civil Code, and of the measures for the restoration of the Church in France. In preparing the *Code Napoléon*, Portalis, who had renounced his early aversion for uniformity of law, contended for the Roman code in preference to the national legislation. His opinions did not always prevail: but the preliminary Discourse was his work. It contains a maxim which has been often quoted: "Il est utile de conserver tout ce qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de détruire." He was less distinguished for depth and solidity of legal knowledge than for practical

experience, and especially for a sonorous and majestic eloquence, in which brevity and force were sometimes wanting. "Portalis," said Napoleon, "would be our finest and most eloquent orator, if he knew how to stop." He took a prominent part in the settlement of religion, and in all the measures which secured the influence of the national will over the national faith—of the State over the Church. The statement of principles in his speeches on these questions is so lucid that they still enjoy an almost classical authority. The last discussion in which he took part was that on capital punishment. The King of Holland wished to abolish it. Portalis convinced him that it ought to be retained, but mitigated by a frequent use of the prerogative of mercy. He did not understand the great maxim of criminal law, that punishment ought to be neither uncertain nor arbitrary.

M. Lavollée writes well; and his admiration for Portalis leads him into no excess of praise. He admits that his character was deficient in force and independence, and that he sometimes defended what he could not approve. On most points his remarks are sound. Here is what he says of Primogeniture:—"Sur tous les territoires habités par la race anglo-saxonne, la liberté de tester a conservé la grande propriété, développé la grande industrie; elle a permis de porter au plus haut degré de perfection l'agriculture et les arts mécaniques; elle a stimulé l'activité des déshérités, développé leur esprit d'entreprise, et favorisé une émigration qui couvre le quart de la terre habitable; elle a, enfin, maintenu dans sa puissance l'aristocratie territoriale Anglaise. . . . Sous l'ancien régime, en effet, les résultats de la liberté testamentaire étaient analogues en France: l'agriculture et l'industrie y avaient, il est vrai, peu progressé; mais, comme en Angleterre, l'aristocratie se perpétuait, et comme l'Angleterre, la France portait en elle une sève surabondante qui répandait dans le monde de vaillants colons et d'aventureux émigrants. Depuis que l'égalité des partages a prévalu dans notre pays, la situation a changé. L'aristocratie disparaît; la France, loin de coloniser, comble avec peine les vides de sa population; mais, d'un autre côté, la division des héritages a multiplié presque à l'infini la petite propriété, et, par là, elle a donné une base solide à la démocratie moderne, elle a créé des citoyens là où, il y a cent ans, existaient à peine des hommes, elle a fait entrer dans les mœurs, l'égalité civile, elle a cimenté l'union nationale et accru, dans une proportion énorme, la valeur du sol." It is disappointing to find a man who can write this affirming that the doctrine of passive obedience is inculcated by the New Testament and by the Church.

39. THE life of General Scharnhorst has hitherto been presented to the world in short sketches only. Herr Klippel has now undertaken a detailed biography of him; and the two published volumes of it trace his career from his birth at Bordenau in Hanover, in 1755, to his entrance into the Prussian service in 1801. Hardenberg was also born in Hano-

ver; and Stein was a native of the Duchy of Nassau: so that the three men to whom the salvation and reorganization of the Prussian Monarchy after 1806 is chiefly due were none of them Prussians, but all belonged to the provinces that have been lately annexed. Similarly, Blücher was not a Prussian, but a Mecklenburger, and Gneisenau a Saxon. Scharnhorst's father had been a soldier in the ranks, and married the daughter of a Bordenau farmer; and the boy, with his brothers, used to work in the fields, and had no other instruction than that of the village school. But he read eagerly the books lent him by the minister of the parish, especially when they related to military history. His earnest desire was to enter a military school; and at last the death of his maternal grandfather provided the means for the accomplishment of his wish.

At a little distance from Bordenau is a large lake, called the Steinhudermeer, the southern shores of which belonged to the county (now principality) of Lippe Schaumburg. Here at that time reigned the celebrated Count William, whose personal qualities entitle him to rank amongst the greatest of German princes. Possessing military genius, and full of enthusiasm for a soldier's life, he was nevertheless a wise and beneficent as well as an energetic ruler, and consulted the welfare of his little territory with an almost paternal solicitude. In the Seven Years' War he served for some time as a General under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards proceeded to Portugal, where he re-organized the army, and, at the head of the allied English and Portuguese, successfully defended the country against the Spaniards. On the conclusion of peace he returned home, and devoted himself to the administration of his county, and to military studies. He wrote a work on Military Defence, which was printed but not published, and in which he endeavoured to show how wars might be averted by a proper system of defence in the different countries. To illustrate his ideas, he built on an artificial islet in the Steinhudermeer, a little fortress—the still-existing Wilhelmstein—where military science was taught, both theoretically and practically, and where he lived for a part of each year, superintending the military exercises of his young garrison. In this school Scharnhorst became a pupil; and all that he afterwards accomplished may be traced back to the teaching he received there. The idea of a general popular armament, the principle of the subsequent Prussian Landwehr, had been put forward by the Count, and practically introduced into his little dominion. The same spirit of German patriotism which later on inspired the pupil's military schemes had also lived in the master. And even the local situation of Wilhelmstein was not without its influence; for the neighbourhood of the Steinhudermeer is classic ground in German history, from its having been the scene of a defeat sustained by the legions of Germanicus. Scharnhorst was seventeen when he entered this school. By vigorous efforts he supplied the defects of his former knowledge, and soon

acquired the special favour of the Count, which he retained to the end. The Count died in 1777; and Scharnhorst then entered the Hanoverian service, where he soon distinguished himself as a scientific instructor and writer.

His first laurels were won during the campaign of 1798 in the Netherlands, at the battle of Handschoote; and to Walmoden, whose interest he there engaged, he afterwards owed many advantages—amongst others, the acquaintance of Stein. In the following year came the defence of Menin, under Hammerstein, who held out for several days against overwhelming forces, and at last cut his way through the enemy's camp. The plan of these operations was due to Scharnhorst, who took an active part in their execution, as well as in the further movements of the campaign which ended with the retreat of the Anglo-Hanoverian army. To learn and to teach were his essential characteristics; and the Dutch war afforded him a wealth of experience by which he profited in later years. His remarkable firmness of mind and power of abstract thought remained with him through the toils and dangers of actual service. While he was commanding his corps amidst the shower of missiles at Menin, he was also busy with scientific observations on the effect of the missiles themselves; and one of his scientific works was completed in the camp. Not the least instructive lesson of the war to such a man was derived from the variety of the nations whose armies took part in it. With the Hanoverians were English, Dutch, and Austrian troops; and opposed to them were the soldiers of the French Republic. Scharnhorst's observation convinced him of the necessity of a complete change in the old military tactics. The peace of Basil, which was the result of Prussian policy, established the historical precedent for the present "Main line" partition, by separating the north from the rest of Germany, and declaring it neutral. To protect this neutrality a corps of observation was formed under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, to which Hanover contributed some 15,000 men; and Scharnhorst became Quartermaster-General. His capacity and energy in this position commended him to the Duke, who endeavoured to win him for the Prussian service; and overtures were also made to him from Denmark. All these offers were put aside. But he had enemies at the Hanoverian Court, who were jealous of his success, and unwilling to see a man of low extraction preferred to high appointments. Scharnhorst was anxious for advancement, and made an application which was not granted. Justly indignant at this refusal he accepted the repeated invitation from Berlin, and at the beginning of 1801 entered the Prussian service. From this point begins that portion of his life which acquired him a general European fame. Herr Klippel's very instructive but rather prolix volumes explain the circumstances that formed his character and determined his wider career.

40. Of all the creations of the Congress of Vienna, the least stable was the one that had

awakened the most sanguine hopes of European diplomacy, and the special sympathy of British statesmen. After an agitated and discontented existence of fifteen years, the kingdom of the Netherlands was dissolved by the successful insurrection of the Belgians; and the Cabinets of the great Powers were soon compelled to sanction the revolution. But the period of union between Holland and Belgium after 1815, though it only represents an episode in the political history of Europe, is nevertheless of general interest. There is no clearer example of the inevitable reaction of historical and national differences against the arbitrary combination which characterized the statemanship of that time. The history of these fifteen years is the key to a right understanding of the Belgian revolution, and the political development of the independent kingdom. For when the Belgian provinces, which had formerly been so distinct from one another, joined together to resist the Dutch tendencies of the Government, and the Dutch members of the States-General, not only was their own cohesion and sense of unity strengthened, but the nation acquired the requisite training for parliamentary life, and both the great parties which had existed in the country since the close of the last century arrived at identical conclusions as to the necessity of a constitutional and liberal basis for the modern Belgian State.

Yet the historical literature of the Belgians has hitherto neglected this period of their political union with Holland, or at least underrated its significance. None of the existing works on it can be considered adequate. Nothomb, in his able *Essai historique et politique sur la Révolution Belge*, has only combined the Belgian grievances against the Netherlands Government into a skilful plea. Gerlache, in his voluminous *Histoire du Royaume des Pays-Bas depuis 1814 jusqu'en 1830*, gives many interesting particulars, but no regular or complete exposition; and his ecclesiastical absolutism, which becomes more conspicuous in every new edition, is adverse to a just appreciation of facts and motives, even as regards his own political activity, which at that time was the expression of a liberal Catholicism. Huybrecht, whom Gervinus has followed in this part of his history of the nineteenth century, has given a brilliant sketch in the *Revue Trimestrielle* (vol. xiii.) of the government of William I. in Belgium; but it is not sufficiently worked out, and is tinged with Orange sympathies. The account of the kingdom of the Netherlands which has been given by the Dutch historian Bosch Kemper, in his *Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland*, surpasses all Belgian publications on the subject in the depth of its historical research, though the author has principally relied on Dutch materials, and has written with a special view to Holland.

To supply this want, the well-known Belgian publicist, M. Louis Hymans, has undertaken his *Histoire politique et parlementaire de la Belgique de 1814-1830*. The first volume, which has recently appeared, contains the

foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands. The author, a member of the House of Representatives, and editor of the principal ministerial organ, has already shown his powers as a popular historian by well-known works on general Belgian history, and one on the government of Leopold I. Though a zealous partisan both in the Chambers and in the Press, he has always striven after impartiality in his historical works. The present volume justifies the expectations thus raised. Not only is the style clear and the plan evident, but the author has made valuable additions to our knowledge, by his researches amongst the political pamphlets in the library of the House of Representatives, and the Belgian periodicals for the years 1814 and 1815. His patriotic feelings, though often expressed, have not betrayed him into any unjust attacks on the Dutch or on William I.; nor has his liberal stand-point made him bitter against the Catholic leaders. These merits, however, are combined with serious defects. The author's knowledge is not equal to the requirements of his work. He is insufficiently acquainted with the history and conditions of other States, and with the foreign literature which bears on his subject. Outside the limits of purely Belgian affairs, he is sometimes extraordinarily inaccurate:—The establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine is transferred to the end of the year 1807 (p. 88); the 4th of April is given as the day of the entrance of the Allies into Paris (p. 50); a totally wrong account of the clause in the constitution of the German Bund relating to ecclesiastical affairs is copied from Raepsaet (p. 232); and the House of Nassau is made to lose a "throne" by the Dutch Revolution of 1795 (p. 81 and 82). Of the sources from which such a history should be drawn, the author has only made use of the Belgian and Dutch publications, adding to them a few popular French works. He has altogether overlooked Lord Castlereagh's correspondence and despatches, as well as Gagern's *Mein Antheil an der Politik*. This narrowness in the range of his studies has of course affected his conception on this subject. His ignorance of the constitutional law of the Republic of the United Netherlands makes him slur over the foundation of the monarchical government, on the return of the Prince of Orange in December 1813, though it has an important bearing on the method by which, and the terms on which, the union with Belgium was effected. Being a stranger to the correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, he does not know that the contents of the eight articles of the London Protocol of the 20th of June 1814 were determined almost exclusively by the views of William I. and his diplomatists, so that, as regards the Belgians, the King was not entitled to allege any obligations imposed on him by Europe. But even where the author possesses the knowledge on which to found a correct judgment he seems to lack the necessary critical power. Instead of giving an independent character of the King whose reign in Belgium forms the subject of his work, he merely puts side by side a



panegyric written on occasion by a Belgian publicist, and some unfavourable remarks by a Dutch statesman who was on intimate terms with the King. In spite of the merits which the book possesses it cannot be considered to promise a satisfactory account of what the author rightly described as "one of the most interesting, and yet one of the least known, periods of Belgian history."

41. In Russia the men who took part in the military conspiracy of 1825 are known as the Decembrists, or men of December. One of them, Baron Rosen, an Esthonian, and formerly a lieutenant in the Finland Jäger Guard, has published an account of the affair, derived from his private memoranda—*Aus den Memoiren eines Russischen Dekabristen*. Though not one of the leaders of the movement, he assisted actively in its development, and took part in the conflict at St. Petersburg. On the failure of the conspiracy, he was sent to Siberia, where he underwent ten years of hard labour, followed by four years of compulsory residence, at the end of which time he was allowed, though the intercession of the present Emperor, to return to his country. Of the 121 condemned Decembrists, only fourteen were living when he prepared his memoir for the press: and of these only three had taken an active part in the struggle of the 14th (26th) of December. The memoir itself contributes little to the secret history of the plot, which the author thinks has already been sufficiently explained and illustrated. His object is rather to bear witness to the truth of a historical fact, and to furnish those who are interested in the fate of the Decembrists with an authentic account of their character and conduct. This task, undertaken chiefly in the interest of his own countrymen, he has performed exhaustively and well. A natural moderation of temperament, and the effects of a long experience, are apparent in the objectivity with which he judges the persons, and recites the strange occurrences, of his story. He does not attempt to influence the reader's mind in one direction or another; but, as is natural in a man who has lived on into the new epoch inaugurated by the present Emperor, he appears to perceive that the movement of 1825 had no root in the popular sympathies, and could only have resulted in practical failure, even if it had attained an apparent success. Its leaders understood neither the aim, the limits, nor the instrumental means of the political change that floated before their imagination. At the conferences of delegates no common plans of operation or of mutual assistance were agreed on; and no idea of any kind was put forward to animate the soldiers, whose mere blind obedience was reckoned on for the moment of action. It is observable, in contrast to the present time, that in the Russian associations of that period no difference appears between the national Russians and the non-Russians, while the Poles, on the other hand, stand aloof from every sort of alliance. The author states the relations of these parties clearly and concisely; and the chief interest

of his book is in this section, and in his account of the operations of the 14th (26th) of December, and of the trial of the prisoners. The record of his life, and that of his intimate companions in Siberia and the Caucasus, tends to confirm preceding accounts of the horrors endured at that time; but it adds nothing essentially new to what was already before the world.

42. THE sensible and unpretending little book which Mr. Booth has published on *Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England*, is avowedly designed rather to stimulate than to satisfy curiosity; and the author's aim has been, not so much to write a memoir of Owen, as to sketch the various social movements with which he was connected. The great English Socialist, after some thirty years of notoriety, sank into comparative obscurity in his later life, and seems in some danger of being forgotten by the present generation. Yet his name must always fill a large space in the social history of England. Nor was his influence so ephemeral as it would at first sight appear. The extravagance of his later views, and the collapse of his more ambitious prospects, ought not to obscure the fact that New Lanark was for many years, even financially, an undeniable success, and that he was early and honourably associated with measures of such permanent importance as the Factory Acts and Infant Education. Nor were his wilder speculations wholly without result. The ruins of his castles in the air have supplied the materials for many more humble but more durable edifices. He was a born organizer and ruler of men; and he entered the industrial world at the most critical period of its history. The introduction of machinery had revolutionized industry, by crushing individual craftsmen, and concentrating power in the hands of great capitalists. The first effects of this important change were ominous and discouraging. The workmen found themselves deprived of their independence, and had not yet learnt the strength which lies in combination. The masters abused the power of capital, and ignored its responsibilities. To this must be added the effects of a long and ruinous war, the shock given to credit by a sudden change from paper currency to cash payments, taxes imposed in defiance of all principles of political economy, and a poor-law which flooded the country with paupers. To Owen is due the credit of having been among the first, if not quite the first, to realize the enormous powers for good which are placed in the hands of the master manufacturer. Full of his theories as to the absolute plasticity of human nature, and animated by a disinterested enthusiasm for the welfare of his fellow-men, he set to work vigorously at New Lanark to form the circumstances which should mould the character of his community. Liquor-shops were proscribed; schools were founded, to which the workmen's children were sent from their earliest years; purchasers were emancipated from the tyranny of the retail dealer, by the institution of stores at which goods were sold



at wholesale prices. Before long, public kitchens, a library, reading-room, and ball-room were built; and finally, a strict supervision was exercised over the morals of the whole society. The effects of these reforms were as magical as the experiment was novel. Dazzled by the brilliancy of his success, Owen imagined that he had found the key to universal happiness and prosperity. His superficial culture and his insensibility to the spiritual side of human nature fostered the delusion. In an evil hour he plunged into the sea of metaphysical speculation, and published, in 1809, his *Essays on the Formation of Character*. Their philosophy is simple: Man is the creature of circumstances; mould these properly, and you insure happiness and virtue. "Withdraw the circumstances which tend to create crime in the human character, and crime will not be created. Replace them with such as are calculated to form habits of order, regularity, temperance, industry, and these qualities will be produced." Hitherto society has devoted its efforts to the repression of crime; henceforward they should be directed to its prevention. But the causes of crime are two—ignorance and poverty. Therefore Government should educate the poor, and provide them with work. His speculations brought him into collision with the current theology, which he found opposed both to his theory and his practice. His belief in the omnipotence of circumstances was incompatible with the doctrine of moral responsibility; and religious differences appeared to him likely to impart a fatal element of discord into his new community. Other despots, feeling the same difficulty, have attempted to utilize religion; Owen was more sincere, but less politic, and his crusade against it involved him in perpetual discussions with his partners, with the philanthropic world, and with society at large. Yet, in spite of the odium which he thus drew upon himself, his practical success could not fail to excite admiration; and fresh attention was drawn to his social theories by the Report on the causes of poverty, which, in 1817, he communicated, by request, to the Committee then sitting on the Poor-laws. The remedy which he proposed was shortly that every county or union should establish a farm, and, if possible, a manufactory in addition, for the employment of their poor. His views soon assumed gigantic proportions, and he proposed to reconstruct society on the same principles which he had applied to the alleviation of poverty. In his imagination the civilised world was mapped out into rectangular farms, inhabited by a happy, peaceful, and industrious society, content with their legitimate earnings, free from the bane of competition, and from the miseries caused by theological strife. After preaching the new doctrine in different countries of Europe, he crossed the Atlantic, in 1825, and founded in Indiana, on the basis of Socialism, a community which he christened New Harmony. But like other ingenious speculators who have attempted to reconstruct society on a mechanical basis, he failed to discover the secret of

perpetual harmonious and equable motion. The legislator was reluctantly forced, by the clamours of his citizens, to concede to them at once absolute communism,—a system which, from their imperfect training, they were unfitted to practise or comprehend; but as soon as his personal supervision was withdrawn, individual selfishness reasserted its sway, and the elaborate fabric fell to pieces. Its fate was speedily shared by other communities, which had parted from, and had been founded on the model of, the original society.

Owen's flagrant contempt for the plainest truths of political economy proved the ruin of all his projects. But the experience of their failure prepared the soil for more genuine and healthy crops; and the modern co-operative movements are indebted to him in no mean degree for such success as they have obtained. He lived to a great age, and did not die till 1858. He never ceased to believe in and preach his social theories; but towards the end of his life the instincts which his theological views had suppressed found an outlet in spiritualism, to which he became a convert.

43. THE value of Gervinus's great work on the history of the nineteenth century is attested by Dr. Honegger's *Grundriss einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*. If the later author ever rises to a general idea, or furnishes any broad outline or clear view of his subject, it is when he follows in the track of the earlier one. His severe though perhaps just sentence on the romantic school—on men like Gentz and the Schlegels in Germany, Scott in England, and Chateaubriand in France—has already been anticipated by his predecessor; and even the exceptions he admits, *e.g.*, with regard to the Swabian school of poetry, Uhland, Schwab, etc., have equally been taken from Gervinus. Indeed, he sometimes copies whole passages from that author. This is the case at vol. i. page 280, and vol. ii. page 82, though the source from which the passages are derived is not mentioned. He differs, however, from his model, in the profession of a cosmopolitan justice which in reality is only a cloak for particular national prejudices. His Introduction and his first chapter seem to be written on the assumption that the history of the world revolves round France and Paris. The general titles of his volumes—"Period of the First Empire," and "Period of the Restoration"—are as though the root question of European development was whether France owned the sway of a Bonaparte or a Bourbon. The chapters on political affairs contain little more than extracts from Vaulabelle, the author's own remarks being mere declamatory commonplaces against the Restoration and the reaction, against Metternich, Villèle, and Castlereagh. His exaggerated estimate of French affairs is paralleled by his local Swiss patriotism. He raises Usteri to the rank of a great poet, and rejects Arndt for his unfavourable opinion of the Swiss. It is only natural, considering the vast amount of material he has had to digest, that a good many inaccuracies should occur. Thus, he compares Bentham with Rousseau in point of precocity,

forgetting that Rousseau's maturity came late, and that he published little before the age of forty. With regard to Gentz he gives a string of judgments, which show that he is not acquainted with Gentz's later correspondence. His style is incorrect, discursive, and confused. He uses many foreign and many illiterate expressions, as, for instance, in vol. ii. p. 262, "um den Fortschritt beluxen;" and he sometimes falls into great irregularities of syntax, as in vol. i. page 23, 24, 35, 36, 40. If his arduous researches are to entitle him to public gratitude, the future volumes of the work must be much more thoroughly worked out than the two which are now before the world.

44. "THE fact is, we have so many authors that they succeed one another like the figures in a magic lantern, glitter and pass, and are forgotten." So Miss Mitford wrote in 1811, of a greater letter-writer than herself; and if comparative neglect was the lot of Horace Walpole only fourteen years after his death, it is not surprising that the same interval should have been long enough for something very like positive oblivion to overtake the authoress of *Our Village*. The struggle for life is as fierce in the literary as in the animal world; and of those who succumb to it, many might seem, if they stood alone, deserving of a better fate. Miss Mitford, at any rate, has a right to whatever renewal of her popularity may be procured by the *Life* of her which has first been related in a *Selection from her Letters to her Friends*. The title of the collection is peculiarly apt. Few memoirs paint their subject so clearly as these letters do their writer, from the sharp school-girl of eleven, who patronizes her parents, and criticises Dryden and Pope's translations, to the maiden of twenty-four, the height of whose ambition was "to be, some time or other, the best English poetess." Then she appears for some years as a lively and sensible woman, whose letters, for the most part addressed to Sir William Elford, or Haydon, touch in succession upon all the topics, literary, social, and political, of the day. A little later, family embarrassments induce her to try her pen again, first in magazines, then in the drama, where, strange to say, she met with real, if brief success, until, still under the pressure of pecuniary difficulties, the publication of *Our Village* brought her into the front rank of English authoresses of the moment. After this the letters become scantier, as the writer's health gives way under literary labours too continuous for her strength either of body or mind; but to the last they are full of intelligent sympathy with the succeeding phases and rising schools of feeling and thought. Miss Mitford—this is the most favourable trait in her intellectual character—was not one of those who wait to recognise dawning merit until a majority has already been found to proclaim it. She was numbered amongst Wordsworth's admirers as soon as she had any literary tastes at all; while the Byron fever was raging she remained staunch to Campbell and Joanna Baillie; she foretold the success of *Ion* before it was written, and of Talfourd before he was called

to the bar, Bishop Cotton's eminence while he was a Westminster schoolboy, and Keats's immortality before his death. She waited till after Waterloo to take up the cudgels for Napoleon; and her admiration for Tennyson only cooled when his name became the watchword of a school. In 1836 a series of letters begins, addressed to a "sweet young woman," Miss Barrett, whose opinions rarely prove too advanced for the elderly authoress. Miss Mitford, in spite of the milder habits of her own pen, was a great admirer of Balzac's genius, and of Victor Hugo's early works. But the transition from Fox to Carlyle is almost too abrupt for one lifetime; and it is interesting, merely as a point of literary history, to find in 1852 the last utterance of a taste formed virtually on eighteenth-century models. Miss Strickland, the Howitts, Carlyle, Emerson, and the serious parts of Dickens, alike fail to satisfy Miss Mitford's expectation that "a book which pretends to be written in our language should be English." The general impression left by the correspondence is that of a sensible and intelligent woman, with an amiable weakness for greyhounds and prize-geraniums, a talent for letter-writing which she was not disposed to underrate, and enough literary power to make a creditable figure in literary society, but by no means enough to carry the fame of her writings into a third generation. As she says of her old friend Talfourd: "We all know how soon the world forgets. Is it not strange that since the poor Judge's death not one copy of his works has been sold?" But the popular authors of forgotten works—and neither *Our Village* nor *Ion* is yet quite forgotten—are just those whose lives or letters are sure to be full of characteristic traits and anecdotes of the last generation. In volume ii. p. 153, there is an instance of the stories which used to circulate about Lord Byron during his lifetime; and the fair Almira, otherwise Sarah, who "does not know what other girls might do, but she cannot think of marrying a young man whom she adores just as she has lost one who was dearer to her than her existence," is a curiosity worth preserving. There is an amusing account of a visit paid by Hannah More to Jeremy Bentham. The philosopher had a few moments' warning, and, retiring to a corner of his library, made the servant brick him up with folios, out of sight and hearing of his discomfited visitor.

45. ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT lived to the age of ninety, and wrote between three and four thousand letters a year. Of this correspondence a very small portion has been given to the world. Humboldt's letters to Varnhagen, though they showed the frivolous side of his character, are full of curious matter for the history of literature at Berlin: his *Letters to Bunsen*, which have just appeared, are written in a different tone. He and Bunsen were not intimate; and, in addressing a celebrated scholar and dilettante divine, the light gossip that suited Varnhagen would have been out of place. There is another phase of Humboldt in his letters to Berghaus, and yet another in

his letters to Cancrine. His intercourse with Bunsen brought to the surface the religious element. The letters are charged with expressions implying a belief in God; and Humboldt takes pains to make it clear that he is not an atheist. His anxiety on this point coincides in a remarkable way with his wish to stand well with English readers, and with his dread of a censorious orthodoxy. But he must have been secretly laughing at Bunsen when he wrote: "The quotation from the very Christian Kant, and the words, 'ce qui est au delà appartient à un autre genre de spéculations plus élevées,' vindicate me sufficiently" (p. 73). Humboldt and Bunsen are both remembered with gratitude for their readiness to encourage and to assist young literary men; and the present volume contains many proofs of this generous quality. The political judgments are more serious and thoughtful than was commonly the case with Humboldt; and there is much good nature in the personal remarks. In the long intrigue of the disciples of Hegel to exclude Schelling from the professorship which had belonged to their master, we find Humboldt actively opposing them. When it was urged that experimental science would suffer detriment from the speculative treatment of nature which was characteristic of the school of Schelling, he scouted the idea. At the same time he shows himself fully conscious of that inaptitude for metaphysics which was his reproach in Germany, as his indifference to religion was the cause of his long unpopularity in England.

46. M. ASSELINEAU has written the life of his friend Charles Baudelaire, whom he calls "le seul écrivain de ce temps, à propos duquel on ait pu prononcer sans ridicule le mot de génie." A eulogy so exceptional is perhaps scarcely deserved by a poet who has merely sung, however mournfully and passionately, of ennui and of its distractions. But it is only in this passage that M. Asselineau yields to the natural partiality of a friend, and to the ordinary weakness of a biographer. He has treated a very difficult subject with reticence and completeness, concealing no essential trait of temperament or character, revealing no petty gossip, and, on the whole, representing Baudelaire as he was at his best. His book is at once a curious study of character, an indispensable aid to criticism, and an apology for the author of *Les Fleurs du Mal*. An apology was not unneeded; for Baudelaire seems to have been a living embodiment of the perversity which his favourite Poe considered the neglected force in the ordinary estimates of human nature. His opinions—convictions he had none—were merely the contradiction of what others were thinking; and the paradoxes of his conversation offended listeners whom the tone of his writings did not conciliate. His life, like his opinions, was an evolution by antagonism. Respectability drove him into Bohemia: among Bohemians he was an exquisite. But behind the vagaries of an exaggerated self-consciousness his friends recognised, and M. Asselineau has depicted, an artist who

in his devotion to art was never influenced by love of gain, a kindly humourist who would present the children of the poorer streets with toys in order to enjoy their innocent amazement, a friend with "le don inappréciable de l'encouragement." The artistic side of Baudelaire's nature was indeed the most influential, and the most apparent to the world. His confession that his enthusiasm in 1848 was an artistic intoxication is like Clough's declaration of love for "the dear blouse, and red trimmings" of the Garde Mobile. His affectation of Satanic wickedness appears to have been little more than a reminiscence of Byron. He slandered himself, and was never so grieved and surprised as when he was taken for that which he was at such pains to appear to be. That it is possible to think thus of the author of *Les Fleurs du Mal* is due to M. Asselineau, whose work, less valuable perhaps as a criticism than M. Théophile Gautier's essay, has the interest of the story of a life, written with skill and with affectionate care.

47. RELIGIOUS biographies generally exhibit the development of one or other of two tendencies, either of which engrosses the religious mind, though never entirely suppressing its antagonistic element. One of these follows the logic of pure reason: the other the logic of the affections. Reason fixes its gaze on the infinite and absolute attributes of the Divine nature; the affections rather embrace God's condescension to His creatures. Pure reason inculcates two loves, God being sole centre and object of one of them, while of the other self is the centre, but not the sole object. It approaches God in a special way, and by an act appropriate to Him alone; and it embraces the neighbour by the distinct way of self-love, which multiplies self in other selves. Emotional love, on the other hand, recognises but one affection for God and for man. It loves God with a transcendent act; but this act, in embracing Him, embraces all He loves, in the order in which He loves them, and is at once given totally to Him, and proportionally to all these others. One school tends to separate and isolate God; the other tends to confuse Him with His creatures. One is the witness against a degraded polytheism; the other, the reaction against a grim rationalism.

These two tendencies seem to have been curiously balanced in Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan, whose biography therefore possesses more than usual interest, as a study of a very complete and very complex character. Beginning life as an Irish orphan in the wilderness of London, half-educated in poor-schools, and living in domestic service till she was forty years old, in the last twenty years of her life she exhibited on a more ample field the qualities which she had been nursing in obscurity, and became a public character amongst the English Catholics, a founder of convents, and the centre of a large circle of workers and friends. Although her birth and bringing up enhance the wonder of her success, it is not likely that any widely different circumstances would have formed her character so well. The strong and hearty child, thrown on her own

resources, without education, or with only the conventional routine of an elementary instruction, was forced, while conforming herself to her hard external condition, to deliver her soul from its thralldom, and to assert her internal freedom in proportion as she felt the outward yoke. The fifteen years which she passed in service at Bruges, under the direction of a rigid Belgian ecclesiastic, were to her a school of freedom. When her director first advised a particular course, and then, on its seeming failure, disowned his advice, she learned in Whom in the last resort she must exclusively trust, and obtained a freedom of soul which she had never known before. With her chaotic education and unsystematic method of thought, she both yearned for system, and criticised all systems from the point of view of one whose practice was exempt from routine. On the one hand, she said, "I have never been taught to practise virtue, and how can I teach it to others?" "My character has never been formed;" and she feared the bad example that her energetic and impulsive ways might give. She felt that her nature was "contrary to obedience," that she was unfit to command, unfit even to keep school; and therefore she was always on the watch for criticism upon her conduct. But, on the other hand, when criticism came, she generally found reason to set it aside, and often she resented it. If she had a theoretical admiration for routine she felt that her strong wayward nature did not fit her to be its administrator. She would attribute her weaknesses and failures to want of system, and exhibited an alternate attraction towards, and repulsion from it, which culminated in a compromise. Acting by instinct rather than reason, judging rather than analysing, she both disparaged reason and analysis, and surrounded herself, whenever she could, with reasoning and analytical minds. Under their direction she lived, with the demure profession that women ought always to be governed by men. But she laughed in her sleeve at the whole male sex, and openly said that men could not understand her. As long as her director's injunctions touched only outward things, she was docile enough. When they concerned her health, she gave them a modified obedience; when they affected her plans and aspirations, she was neutral about them; if they were contrary to her "inspirations" she would not entertain them; but when they touched her soul or its intercourse with God, it was her principle that no creature, not even the confessor, might interfere. Yet she never compromised her loyalty; her resistance was without hostility; and she asserted her own views without an open show of disobedience. Though it was her special mission to do pioneer's work, and to make humble beginnings in garrets and cellars, she disparaged her labours, and thought that what she did was only the first rough makeshift, and set her heart upon the future perfection. "We beginners are the rubbish at the foundation," she would say, "God will find good stones to build with." Her ideal was system, her real was impulse.

Though the attainment of what at a distance seemed an ideal disappointed her, yet there were two systems which bound her conscience under the sense of sin, and which, therefore, she never conceived the possibility of criticising. The Catholic faith and the rule of St. Dominic became to her a second conscience. Irksome and constraining as all laws are when unwillingly received, these strict rules only resulted, in her case, in a very graceful freedom. They may have increased the feminine prejudices, common to the women of her time, against gigantic undertakings like the Exhibition of 1851, and may have added zest to her vicious joy at the failure of a railway bridge or a tunnel, and pointed her moral that pride will have a fall, and that it is good "to show the gentlemen who make these things that God is master, and that they have need of Him." She was conscious of a certain ludicrous side to this phase of her character, and used to say apologetically, "Thank God I am a bigot." But outside these sentiments, Mother Margaret's acceptance of the Catholic and Dominican systems left her as free as a bird. No one could display more hatred of "fiddle-faddle," of set ways of doing things, of fixed arbitrary rules. A rule became to her a principle, which might be embodied in a variety of results. She required freedom; but she only knew freedom of will and of action; of freedom of intellect she had no knowledge, but all a woman's fears. It never struck her that any one could imagine that either of her systems unjustly curtailed liberty of thought. Her attachment to them was double. She had entire faith in their dogmas and rules, and enthusiasm for the persons who administered them. And she would have been more tolerant in matters of faith than of feeling. Her doctrine of prayer would have edified the most abstracted contemplative; her interpretation, that not the mere usages of devotion, but work, either of soul or body, was prayer, would have satisfied the most active philanthropist. She made her nuns prove their fitness for their state, not by their kneeling power, but by their patience when under the discipline of saucepan and scrubbing-brush. Thus she "put solid Christianity in, and took the nonsense out" of them. But she never tried to give them a supernatural demeanour. She let her novices run about like colts, and was not shocked at the proposal of a rat-hunt. She encouraged natural affections, and hated "shim-sham piety." "Deliver me from the devout," was one of her formulas. She did not allow asceticism to degenerate into starvation, nor recollection to shut up the senses to what was going on. Valetudinarians she accused of "faddiness;" but she was always an ailing woman. With her vast strength and energy, she was yet tortured with incurable complaints, which her companions only discovered by accident, and which she never allowed to be known publicly till they had brought her to her death-bed.

Part of her work was the prescribed round of observances and ceremonies. These she performed with the exactness of an artisan at his work, and with the relish of a schoolboy

at his play. But there often came over her times of trouble which wanted other remedies. Questions arose too deep for the confessor, darkness and depression which no creature could enlighten. Under the stress of such storms she had learned a lesson which she embodied in her motto, "God, alone." It was the interjection of her hours of desolation. With her the feeling of her own nothingness was always supplemented by that of God's infinity; the one suggested the other. On the other hand, she was more cast down by the thought of God's goodness than by any humiliation. Hence it came to pass that her moments of greatest energy and devotion were always moments of greatest agony. Temporal anxieties had their depressing influence; but it was the pressure of the infinite that most tortured her. At such times the highest expression of her religion was wrung out: "I see only the naked cross, without anything to support nature." The flowers of devotion withered in her hands, and gave place to a spiritual abstraction which rejected all that intervened between the soul and God—books, pictures, images, antitheses of ideas, picked sentences, everything but the barest expression of the soul's want, unadorned by human invention. At other times her joyous nature overflowed in the ceremonial of devotion, and she revelled in processions and functions, in rosaries and vestments and ornaments. She was even once caught dancing before her favourite image of the Madonna. She joked familiarly about things which she could only regard as secondarily sacred; and there was an occasional broadness in her jests which might have astonished fastidious people. Her motherly instincts were expansive, and far transcended the family. They embraced every one who came within her influence. She governed wisely, because her common sense told her to confine her absolutism within narrow limits, and to allow her crude opinions to be questioned and laughed at by her subjects. Her fierce words had gentle meanings. She hated wealth, but founded Mendicant Societies which could only be dependants and satellites of a wealthy society. Living on alms, she disliked all gifts except such as came spontaneously, and seemed to be products of a sudden inspiration. Promises and legacies she came to distrust, then to think unlucky, then to hate. She was as ignorant and careless of politics as of political economy, but believed in the Queen's divine right, and suspected that all popular government came from the devil. She prescribed care, first of the Church, then of the poor; but under the impulse of charity she would certainly have sold the altar vessels to feed the starving, and contented herself with temporary makeshifts. In her latest years she was a great scribe; and in many of her thousands of letters, beauty of thought and expression stands in curious contrast with illiterate spelling. But it is not her words that will account for her influence. Her presence and manner were the weapons of her strength. She had the faculty of impressing the most lonely misanthrope with the idea that

there was at least one person in the world who cared for him, and was ready to make any sacrifices for the good of his soul.

The book which contains these details is noteworthy, both for the curiosity and freshness of the psychological study, and for the wholesomeness of the example. It is tinged with manifold suggestions of the miraculous, and with a controversial depreciation of the new sisterhoods in comparison with Mother Margaret's old order. But the feminine prejudices of her biographers form a kindly setting to the picture of the grand old woman whom it has been their fortune to know and to describe.

48. If the French public were in the habit of reading other books than scandalous novels and virulent pamphlets, M. Cucheval-Clarigny's *Histoire de la Constitution de 1852* ought at this moment to have a large circulation in his own country. The nation has just obtained a certain measure of liberty, and is asking for more; and a short and clear exposition of the alterations which the Constitution has undergone since 1852 is singularly opportune. But the Paris bourgeois, who hides himself when there is a riot, prefers for his political reading the most violent newspapers, partly because they amuse him, and partly because his fears make him curious to know what the Reds are planning. M. Cucheval-Clarigny is too reasonable and moderate a writer to be successful in such a competition. The method and execution of his book are simple. He first exhibits the general character of the Constitution of 1852, and points out how all its dispositions favour despotism, by removing whatever could act as a counterpoise to its overwhelming power. He then shows how the Council of State, the Senate, the Corps Législatif, and the Press, have been reduced to subjection or nullity. All this he conveys by a few rapid touches, which, while they leave no time for weariness, prove him to be thoroughly acquainted with his subject. These chapters complete the view of the situation at the moment when Napoleon III., by his own spontaneous act, effected the first breach in his constitutional stronghold. This first breach was the decree of the 24th of November 1860, by which the Chambers were authorized to vote an address to the Emperor. M. Cucheval-Clarigny then passes in review the several acts which followed this initial step. Amongst them is the important *Senatus Consultum* of the 31st December 1861, which suppressed "extraordinary credits," that is, the right possessed by the Executive of spending, on the plea of urgency, money not voted by the Chamber, without the obligation of bringing in a bill of indemnity. The decree of the 19th of January 1867 suppressed the address, and substituted a very limited right of interpellation; it also restored the ministers to the Chambers, from which the Constitution of 1852 had excluded them. The next period extends to the 12th of July 1869, after which the author considers the effects produced by the message of that date. The last chapter is

devoted to "les questions pendantes." M. Cucheval-Clarigny belongs to the left centre; and his demands are certainly not excessive.

49. THE opening of the Canal which at last unites the Mediterranean and the Red Sea has inspired M. Ritt to narrate the progress and accomplishment of the work. His *Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez* has been written for the public rather than for engineers and financiers. Himself a superior functionary of the Company, he seems never to have conceived the possibility of anything short of complete success; and his attention is given, not to the interests of the shareholders, but solely to the execution of the works. As he watches their progress day by day, and sees one obstacle after another give way before them, he grows enthusiastic; and when the waters meet at last in the Bitter Lakes, the triumph seems to him complete. This simple-minded optimism gives a charm to his book, and carries the reader through its pages as easily as through a novel. After some historical reference to the early attempts to unite the two seas, M. Ritt comes to the preliminaries of the present enterprise, in which connection he fails to give due prominence to the labours of M. Arles Dufour, M. Enfantin, and M. Talabot. He then passes to the organization and progress of the works; and, as far as picturesqueness goes, his account is admirable. The works were begun on the 25th of April 1859, and completed on the 17th of November 1869. M. Ritt makes his readers thoroughly appreciate the difficulties, material and moral, which had to be overcome. He makes them spectators of a great struggle. The engines work before their eyes; and they look on at the process by which a new arm of the sea is being formed. The political and financial difficulties of the enterprise have not been wholly forgotten; but they are treated superficially. The chief official documents ought to have found a place in an appendix. M. Ritt is a fervent worshipper of M. F. de Lesseps, who appears in his pages as a being exempt from error and from human weakness; and though he renders a sort of justice to the Viceroys of Egypt, Said and Ismael, he does not bring out the fact, that it is especially to these two men that the existence of the Canal is due. If they had not taken shares to the extent of 80 millions of francs, and presented the Company with some 120 millions more, the whole enterprise must have failed.

50. It is a boast of the present age that it has declared war against war itself. Its sense right, its habits, and its interests, are at one on the subject; and such a coalition of moral and material forces cannot be wholly without result. M. Leroy-Beaulieu has furnished the advocates of peace with a handy weapon. In his *Recherches économiques, historiques et statistiques sur les guerres contemporaines*, he has set himself to prove that all the wars between 1853 and 1866 might have been avoided if those concerned had cared to avoid them.

His argument is by no means wanting in force; but it is obvious to remark that the mere fact of wars occurring on such slight occasion would show them to be grounded in those passions which are an inseparable element of human nature. The author is on surer ground in his second part, where he estimates what recent wars have cost in men and money. From careful researches, and to some extent from the evidence of official documents, he concludes that in about fifteen years war has cost the lives of 1,743,491 men, including, besides those killed in battle, those who have afterwards died either of their wounds or of sickness contracted in the field. To the same scourge he attributes an unproductive expenditure of 47 milliards, 830 millions of francs, i. e. more than £1,913,000,000. The exact figures are as follows:—

War.	Men killed.	Millards of francs expended.
Crimean, . . .	784,991	8,500
Italian, . . .	45,000	1,500
Danish, . . .	3,500	180
American (North),	281,000	23,500
American (South),	519,000	11,500
Austro-Prussian,	45,000	1,650
Various, . . .	65,000	1,000
Total,	1,743,491	47,830

Some of these figures are taken from authoritative sources, while the rest are the result of an intelligent calculation, and are little if at all exaggerated. The third part of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's work, which deals with the means of diminishing the evils of war, contains some ideas worthy of consideration. The fourth part is devoted to an exposition of the writer's "Politique de la Paix."

51. LIVONIA for a long time fared tolerably well under the Russian sway. Its privileges and local self-government were respected; and the Baltic nobility filled some of the highest offices at St. Petersburg. Without the assistance of these elements Russia would not have been able to make such progress in civilisation as she has made. Under the Czar Nicholas, however, commenced a series of violent efforts for the Russification of the Baltic provinces. The Livonians and Esthonians, who form the main population of the country, were used for this purpose; the peasants were enticed into the Greek Church by false representations, and then forbidden under penalties to leave it. These proceedings, indeed, were reprobated by the Government itself; but their effects still remain. Since the Polish revolution the power and influence of the national Russian party have been in the ascendant; and, after several violent measures and arbitrary Ukases, it was thought desirable to attempt a written vindication of the tyranny that had been practised, and to put forward a theoretical claim for the abolition of local privileges and the Russification of the country. The work was performed by Samarin with some dialectic skill and plausibility; and it has called forth the *Livländische Antwort* of Herr Schirren, the

best historical scholar of the country, and up to that time a successful Professor of History in the University of Dorpat. Mildness and discretion have hitherto been the rule of defensive political controversy in the Baltic provinces: but Herr Schirren puts aside this tradition and speaks out boldly. With the Russian Government, indeed, he deals gently, on the assumption that it has only blundered through false representations; and, as is just, he dwells on the unalterable fidelity of these provinces, and on the fact, that they only claim the restoration of that normal condition in which alone they can be of any real value to the Government and the Empire. But he does not spare Russians of the stamp of his antagonist, in contrast with whom his solid learning and culture give him a manifest superiority. His style is individual, nervous, and forcible, and bears the mark of an inexorable logic, and of a cold and quiet scorn. He passes in complete review the oppression inflicted on the Baltic provinces; and a thorough acquaintance with their existing relations is necessary to the right understanding of his argument. Some of his countrymen have regretted the publication of the work, fearing the political consequences; but, in reality, the present condition of things leaves nothing to be endangered by openness of speech. The book escaped the Russian censure at first, from the fact of its being merely an appeal to the Emperor's wisdom, honour, and sense of justice. But shortly afterwards it was prohibited; and the author was dismissed from his professorship, and compelled to leave Russia.

52. THE two lectures on *France*, delivered before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, by M. Prévost-Paradol, contain some useful information on the political and social condition of that country. Upon some points he is a little superficial—notably so in his remarks on socialism. On the other hand his description of the mental attitude of French society towards revolutions is extremely happy. They have come so often, he says, that they no longer excite much fear, and they have done so little that no one views them with any hope. "You cannot live in France, even in the middle of the most conservative classes, without being reminded that you are in a revolutionary land, quite as in far regions the lightness of the constructions, and the general aspect of the soil, warn you that you are in a volcanic country." And Frenchmen have come to regard a revolution just as the inhabitants of volcanic countries regard an earthquake or an eruption—as something unpleasant and inevitable, which will create a good deal of disturbance, and end by leaving things much as they were before. Of course this only applies to political revolutions. The social revolution effected in 1789 "has proved unmovable and above transformation, except by the slow course of nature." The principal features of the social order left by it are sketched in the second lecture. Of this, the best part, perhaps, is the description of the

French peasantry. It brings out with great clearness how certain, and at the same time how uncertain, an element the peasant is in French political calculations. Hitherto he has known but one master. He has no lord to fear; and, though he has a priest, he does not for the most part reverence him. But his submission to the Executive is absolute and unquestioning. The State has inherited all the obedience and fear which, in the days of feudal despotism, he paid to the noble; and to this it has added the influence which springs from constant and ubiquitous supervision. It is the State that chooses the peasant's magistrate and schoolmaster, that first educates his child and then takes it to make a soldier of, that sends the tax-collector to him, and sometimes gives him back a part of the tax if he has suffered more than usual from hail or floods, that gives or refuses his church, his road, his bridge. It is not wonderful that, when universal suffrage gave the peasant a vote, it never entered his head to use it against this all-powerful Executive, "under the hand of which he spent his humble life, and which he respected and feared in the humblest of its officials." He does not care in whose hands the government is; for all governments have to him the same character—they exact money and military service. In so far therefore as they are always on the side of the Government, the peasantry are a conservative force in France. But it is a force which a Government can only reckon on so long as it is a Government. If a revolution be only rapid enough to transfer the supreme power to new hands before the peasant has had time to understand what is going on, his devotion will be transferred too. Whoever can command the mayor, the prefect, and the gendarmes, has hitherto commanded the peasant as a matter of course.

53. THE Blue-Book issued by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the laws of naturalization and allegiance is interesting and important; but its contents are diffuse and undigested. Those who wish to learn the state of the law in foreign countries are referred to an appendix, where they have to extract their information from a number of voluminous despatches. Inasmuch as the object in view is to make legislation not merely rational but uniform, this is a serious defect of arrangement. Sir Alexander Cockburn's lucid and concise little treatise on *Nationality* will materially assist the general comprehension of the subject. He has summarized the existing state of the laws of different countries respecting nationality, has illustrated the complications arising from their conflict, and has criticised the amendments proposed by the Commission. The criterion by which nationality of birth is determined, the terms on which nationality may be acquired and abandoned, the duties and privileges which it involves, and the position of aliens—these are natural divisions into which the subject falls. On each of these points the existing English law is defective. The English test of nationality of birth differs from that of all continental nations. The



English law takes no measures to secure that naturalized aliens shall renounce their allegiance to foreign sovereigns, whilst the nationality which it affects to grant them is incomplete, inasmuch as they are excluded from certain important political privileges—a remnant of the old jealousy of William III.'s Dutch followers,—and acquire no right to protection beyond the limits of Her Majesty's dominions. It refuses to renounce claims of allegiance from those who desire to abandon their nationality. And finally, it prohibits aliens from holding British land, except for a term not exceeding twenty-one years. Some of these defects it is in the power of the Legislature to remedy, whilst others are dependent on the harmonious co-operation of foreign countries. Where Sir Alexander Cockburn dissents from the recommendations of the Commissioners, it is usually in preferring bolder changes. Thus the English (and American) test of nationality of birth is, mainly, place of birth: the Continental, parentage. The majority of the Commissioners would retain the English test. Sir Alexander Cockburn warmly supports Mr. Vernon Harcourt in recommending its abandonment. Many ingenious arguments may be advanced on behalf of the superior fitness of either criterion. But, after all, the most cogent is that derived from the advantage of uniformity. In legislating on this subject, two main principles require to be steadily kept in view: first, to avoid the possibility of a double nationality; and secondly, to provide a ready and authentic mode by which he who wishes may wholly divest himself of one nationality, with its duties and privileges, and clothe himself with another. The maxim "*Nemo potest exuere patriam*" is unsuited to an age of emigration and free commercial intercourse. And every State should know from whom it can claim an undivided allegiance; every individual, to whom it is due.

54. MR. BRACE has not the practised fluency of his fellow-countryman, Mr. Bayard Taylor; but his book on *The New West* is full of solid information. His aim has been "to sketch such features of California, and her process of development, as most travellers have thus far neglected." He has therefore given less prominence to mining enterprise, and more to the production of corn, wine, and silk. The soil, from its very natural wealth, is abused rather than used. A semicircle of 120 miles radiating from San Francisco, produced, in 1866, 14,000,000 bushels of wheat, on 690,000 acres. This, as an average yield, is seemingly poor, but, in truth, wonderfully large when it is added that the fields have neither rest nor manure, that the straw is burned and the cattle turned in; to say nothing of self-sown crops, allowed to grow for as much as three years in succession. Recklessness is the rule, good farming the exception; and much evil is likely to be incurred before the lesson so painfully learned in older countries is taught to the Californian farmer. A readier and more certain market will probably not be without its

influence; and this he will have, to some extent, when the incomplete Pacific Railway system is developed. Wine ought to rank next to wheat in the exports of the New Western States; but it does nothing of the kind. There is abundance of volcanic soil in the Sierras admirably adapted for the cultivation of the grape, and the production is over three million gallons; but the Washington Department of Agriculture, and even the Committee of the local State Agricultural Society, condemn the quality of the wines and the frauds of the makers. In the Sonoma Valley, the vines are reckoned at about two millions and a half, and the average produce is two or three times that of France or Germany. What is wanting appears to be the skill which experience alone can give, combined with honesty of treatment. At present, experiments are being tried on a variety of grapes, and in some cases, under competent persons trained by an apprenticeship in France; but until New York accepts Californian wines they can scarcely make their way into British America, or into Europe. In the former they ought to find an extensive market. Silk growing labours under fewer difficulties, and is likely in a few years to form an important portion of the wealth of the Far West. The conditions are all favourable. Disease has rendered the European supply insufficient and irregular; and manufacturers are looking in every direction for a certain reliable source of raw material. The results obtained by M. Prevost, a French gentleman of S. José, give every hope that this may be obtained from California. The mulberry grows freely; the climate is equable; and the worm goes through its changes nearly as rapidly as in India.

California needs a large immigration of agricultural settlers uninfected by the fever of speculation which still consumes the greater part of her people, incapacitates them for steady and progressive labour, and renders them incapable of organizing society on any durable basis. The whole population is about half a million, of which San Francisco claims a quarter. In the city itself rowdiness has, to a great extent, been checked; but in the outlying districts neither life nor property is safe. The Chinese are treated with gross inhumanity; and the law gives them no redress, as their testimony is legally inadmissible. In the words of Mr. Brace, "the State Assembly has put itself deliberately in the position that any white ruffian might plunder and murder any half-dozen decent and honest Chinese labourers; and unless his deeds were seen by other white men, no Court could convict him." The case is not a mere hypothesis, but one continually occurring in the gold districts.

Mr. Brace devotes two chapters of advice to emigrants; and his remarks are short and sensible. Of course he went to see the Big Trees (*sequoia gigantea*) in the Valley of the Yosemite; and it is satisfactory to learn that they are under the care of a Forest Master appointed by the State Commission, under an Act which makes it penal to affix a business notice in the valley or among the trees. A lit-



the more diligence should have been used in correcting the figures in the book, particularly in seeing that simple additions were properly made. In p. 240 the totals for 1866 and 1867, instead of 690,475 and 684,376, should be 690,745 and 846,377. The latter blunder stultifies the text.

55. PROFESSOR RIEHL'S *Wanderbuch* lets us into the secret of his very refined and artistic method of social observation. He is distinguished amongst political writers by his habit of avoiding theory and never alluding to public affairs. He turns away from Cabinets and Parliaments to study the ways and the wants of the people, the working of old customs, and the influences which are the deposit of centuries, in remote country places, and among the nameless masses of the poor. He examines, not the designs of States or the principles of government, but the material on which they have to act, the conditions which legislation must accept but cannot change, the dull inactive forces which ultimately determine the national fate. He detects whatever is significant in the humblest details; no contrast, no diversity escapes him. His descriptions are made up of many individual touches, which are never indifferent; and he rarely attributes characteristic value to things merely accidental. His studies in popular life are as instructive historically as politically; and it has long been reported that he was writing a history of civilisation. He is familiar with the vestiges of the society that has passed away. In those regions where change is slow, where the soil is tenacious, and the beliefs and superstitions, the prejudices and habits, of one age survive far into another, he has found materials of a kind which literature does not record, and which do not reveal themselves by action on the public scene. In his present volume he lays down the maxims which he follows in his expeditions, and shows, in a few slight sketches, how they should be applied. A passage on the position of wooden shoes in the process of civilisation, and another in which he shows why in Holland the country villages resemble Germany, and in Switzerland the towns, are good examples of the way in which he explains the present by the past, and illustrates the past by the present. He is a Federalist, and imagines a future confederation which shall unite the German race from Rotterdam to Lucerne.

56. It has always seemed an incongruity that the active teaching of Oxford should flow so largely through liberal and rational channels, when the passive judgment of its great constituency rejected Mr. Gladstone with horror, and regarded even Sir Roundell Palmer with eyes more than half averted. But the University may now be congratulated on having its passive intelligence aptly represented in the Chair of the Chichele Professor of Modern History. Mr. Burrows's seven lectures on *Constitutional Progress* are all characteristic, though only in the last of them does he rise to the full height of his vocation. He

rightly disclaims for them any mutual connection, except that they all more or less run on the idea which he calls Constitutional progress, an expression which for him has no philosophical meaning, and is only intended as an echo of the name assumed by the Tory party on the eve of the last general election. This intention was so strong as to make the last lecture a mere electioneering speech; and there is no need of observing the date of its delivery, November 7, 1868, in order to recognise its connection with what was then the great question of the day. Most of the other lectures are of the same ephemeral character. In November 1855, Church Establishments are discussed, and the man who wishes them dissolved reminds the lecturer of the fox who had lost his tail. In 1866, it is the temporal power of the Pope; in 1867, on occasion of Sir John Coleridge's University Bill, the lecturer maintains that the English Universities, in connection with the Bishops, are the great guardians of English liberties, and promoters of English progress; and in 1868, the lecture is a mere party manifesto.

The idea of this essay is much the same as that of most of the rest, namely, that English politics have always turned on religious questions, and that the nation, in spite of periodical dissemblings of its love, has ever been at one with the National Church. The Bishops and the Universities, Mr. Burrows says, were the real leaders in the Revolution of 1688; the Whig nobles were only their tools. The heart of the people, always beating in unison with the Church, spoke out in the Sacheverell trial, and in the Lord George Gordon riots, and, as the speaker hinted but did not say, was then about to speak in equally decisive tones on the question of the Irish Church Establishment. For that was to be the great solvent of the menacing but factitious Liberal conspiracy, cemented for the moment by the cry against it. It is almost a law of nature for Mr. Burrows that, in order to balance the party of Church and State, the opposite party should always call in the aid of Scotland and Ireland, of Nonconformists and Romanists. But no sooner are its forces marshalled than the different squadrons have begun to attack one another. The opposition to the relief of Romanists came in 1780 first from the Scottish Presbyterians, and soon gathered up those lower sections of the Whig party whose Protestantism was stronger than party ties. "United with the party of the Church, the movement becomes irresistible." The conclusion of this prophetic synthesis was stated in Guildhall by Mr. Disraeli two days after the delivery of the lecture.

Even if it were decent to make a Professor's Chair the pulpit of ephemeral politics, it would not follow that the lecturer would be justified in going out of his way to carry his party spirit into mere literary questions. Yet Mr. Burrows over and over again rejects the authority of Hallam, on the ground that he was a Whig partisan, while, at the same time, he hails an announcement of a coming history of Queen Anne by Lord Stanhope as certain to

remove the reproach that that reign has been too little "elucidated by the pen of philosophical history." Again, any Tory success, even when brought about by the intrigues of Harley, St. John, and Mrs. Masham, is for him the voice of the nation, simply because it is Tory success. But if the Whigs keep in office for two reigns, it is "distasteful to the nation no doubt." All these inconsistencies are quite innocent in the mouth of a Professor who cannot see the difficulties of his own position, and will only admit the faults of his party on condition that he is allowed to refer them to the conspiracies and wickedness of their opponents. A man who thinks that the Bishops and Universities are the natural leaders of the English people ought to have seen that the following statement requires more to account for it than merely "the policy of Walpole:" "The more decided Churchmen shrink away into the country, or vegetate in the Universities, at this time at their lowest ebb." Illustrious exiles generally upraise, not degrade, the places of their sojourn. But in spite of his innocence, there is a subtlety of contrivance about Mr. Burrows which deserves to be noted. Only a dullard could fail to read between the lines of his justification of the Gordon riots a reflected justification of Lord Derby's ministry in making concessions under somewhat analogous circumstances. "There is no doubt that, however shocking the effect of the demonstration, these riots did in fact represent in their wild way the same instinctive dread of Romanism, and distrust in the statesmanship which was once more bringing it back into political power, as was witnessed in the reign of Charles II.;" it was "the dread of seeing Romanism set up in a position of political equality with the Establishments of England and Scotland" which actuated the incendiaries.

Mr. Burrows is a faithful disciple of Mr. Disraeli; but he gives the master's historical theories in a schoolboy's rendering, revised and corrected by a clerical hand. There is the same wonderful estimate of Bolingbroke's political sagacity; but it is tempered with an appropriate rebuke of his scepticism. There are the same marvellous propositions about an Establishment being necessary to render the State religious which are so familiar in Mr. Disraeli's speeches. Mr. Burrows has evidently learnt much, and that the more amusing part, of his history out of Mr. Disraeli's novels, which, however, he only refers to as having the merit of first rescuing Bolingbroke from his undeserved oblivion. There is an old saying, that without an admixture of chaff the horse is apt to bolt his oats: no doubt, in the order of Providence, Mr. Burrows's lectures are intended to provide a wholesome check upon the intellectual voracity of the students of his University.

57. UNDER the rather unfortunate name of *Typical Selections*, a volume of select extracts from the works of classical English authors has been issued for the Clarendon Press Series. There is little doubt that a good reading-book

for the use of the higher classes in schools has long been urgently needed; and the present volume is on a generally sound plan, has been carefully edited, and seems in all respects but one to be of singular merit. The introductory notices are said in the Preface to be the work of many different hands, and are mostly very good indeed,—short, well written, and to the point, giving the cardinal facts in the lives of the respective authors, and indicating the chief merits and defects of their styles. The passages chosen, if not always the best, are with very few exceptions sufficiently good to do justice to the writer's reputation, and to serve with proper limitations as models of style. The book therefore represents a real and very great advance in the class of educational manuals, and may be read with pleasure as a Golden Treasury, so to speak, of prose literature, by others than students at schools and colleges.

Where, however, so much has been done well, it is unfortunate that a single fault in the design should run through the whole book, and keep it below the standard it might have reached. If the name *Typical Selections* means anything, it implies that the passages chosen represent the thoughts of great authors, and not merely their style and tricks of expression. No doubt, in a book which is to be used largely by young people, the impure allusions and jests that occur in the writings of Swift, Arbuthnot, or Sterne, and the passages in which Hume and Gibbon assailed the Christian belief, ought not to be reproduced. But to go into the other extreme, and choose passages which are only typical of what the authors were not, is at least equally undesirable; and precisely this has been done. In the case of Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* and the *Sentimental Journey* have been tabooed, to the evident indignation of the author of the excellent notice on him; and the extracts made are from the *Sermons*, Sterne's most worthless and least "typical" production. Similarly with Fielding, the *Voyage to Lisbon* and the *Essay on Conversation* are the only parts quoted. A caution against Bolingbroke's views is inserted in the prefatory notice; but he appears in the extracts a devout Christian, who declares that "far from fearing my Creator, that all-perfect Being whom I adore, I should fear to be no longer his creature." Shaftesbury, not always accounted orthodox, is typically represented by a fervid effusion on "God in the Universe." Why Mandeville should have been omitted is inexplicable. It is true, Mandeville's great work was publicly burned by the hangman, and has many awkward passages; but his *Essay on Charity Schools* contains a very quotable passage on bringing up the children of the poor in the fear of God, in order, as he afterwards explains, that they may not rob their employers. Of course, on this system, Richardson, the most moral in purpose of our early novelists, finds no place in the list, because even Sir Charles Grandison contains pages that would not now be thought edifying. Yet it may surely be questioned whether the clever boy

who is captivated by Sterne's style will confine himself to reading the Sermons, when he takes down Sterne's works. It is impossible to recommend an author, and put his best writings into the Index Expurgatorius. The editorial prudery has been even stronger in matters touching religion; and there is not a passage in illustration of the strong irony with which Swift scathed the freethinkers of his time. The refutations of Tindal and Collins are sound in purpose and excellent in workmanship; but they touch on irreverence, and are proscribed. On the other hand, several passages that display the most rancorous political passion have been admitted into the manual. Bolingbroke's attack on Harley, extracts from the letters of Junius insulting the Duke of Grafton, and a passage in which Cobbett inquires whether hell has a torment surpassing the wickedness of the man who invented paper money, are very properly given among the typical selections. By all means let them remain. That Bolingbroke was malignant, Junius and Cobbett brutal, are facts to be borne at mind by all who read them. But the student ought also to understand from typical illustrations that Bolingbroke's pious fervour was the cloak of Deism, and that Swift's jests were the weapons of a confident faith.

Of minor mistakes and blemishes there are very few that deserve special notice. The article on De Foe is so far inaccurate that it represents him as abandoning politics at the accession of the House of Hanover, a statement which Mr. Lee's book has abundantly disproved. "Wharton," at p. 197, should be Warton. The year of Atterbury's death is not a matter of conjecture. Gibbon's commissionership of the Board of Trade ought perhaps to have been noticed, as his service in the militia has been. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, and Roper's of Sir Thomas More, are better examples of style than Sidney, and ought to have been quoted for the sixteenth century. Barrow's famous description of wit is a higher specimen of his powers than any given; and De Quincey's description of the Vision of Sudden Death from "The English Mail Coach," might perhaps be added to the extracts given from his works. One of the two passages taken to illustrate Macaulay is from an essay which he hesitated to republish, and in a style which he deliberately censured as "overloaded with gaudy and ungraceful ornament." It is excellent, and ought to be retained; but it is not sufficiently typical to represent the author as he was in nine-tenths of his writings. The two works by which Cobbett now lives, his *English Grammar* and the *History of the Reformation*, are not mentioned or quoted. But these are trifling matters. Such as it is, the book is a very good one; and if it be only remodelled, so as to make it really typical, it ought to have as good a chance of perpetuity as any school-book can deserve. The necessary changes do not affect more than forty out of four hundred pages. Two slight additions are, however, desirable. The works from which the extracts are taken ought to be indicated; and a little

bibliographical list of the best editions of every author might, with advantage, be appended to the bibliographical notices.

58. *The History of the Fisherman Khaliph and the Khaliph Harun al Rashid* is a really valuable contribution to the stock of genuine Eastern Tales. Most persons who take an interest in the subject are aware that there are different recensions of the collection known under the name of *The Thousand and One Nights*. The same tale has been preserved by oral tradition, and handed down with very great variations both in style and details. The tales are very variously distributed over the thousand and one nights; and some of the recensions contain tales which are not found in the others. The one now published at Jerusalem by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is extracted from the Turkish version of *The Thousand and One Nights*, as a pleasant text-book for students of the Turkish language. The manner in which it is written renders it eminently suitable for the purpose of initiating strangers into the niceties, not indeed of the classical writers, but of the ordinary colloquial style. The book, however, is likely to have a wider circulation than its editor seems to anticipate. The tale, now made accessible to European readers, is worth reading for its own sake, though, like most stories of the kind, it would suffer from analysis or abridgement.

59. THE last volume of M. Sainte-Beuve's *Nouveaux Lundis* differs from its predecessors in nothing save that it is the last. The inexhaustible stream of scrupulous and sympathetic criticism has ceased to flow; but the hand of death was necessary to arrest it. The author's powers were scarcely impaired, and the limits of his materials far from reached. The present volume contains reprints of articles on Count Beugnot, best known to history as the real author of the Count d'Artois's phrase, "Il n'y a rien de changé en France, il n'y a qu'un Français de plus;" on Marshal Saxe as a diplomatist, on some points of Orthography, on some French editions of Virgil, on Lamennais's Correspondence, and on two or three more or less forgotten worthies, including P. Hyacinthe's uncle, the Charles Loyson of whom it was written, "Même quand l'oiseau vole, on voit qu'il a des pattes." M. Sainte-Beuve has the courage to quote Balzac's remarks on his weakness for abortive reputations; but there is some truth in the irritable novelist's charges. A bat-like ghoulishness indeed is not the prominent characteristic of Sainte-Beuve's muse; she does not roam about in the dark like a jackal; but it is impossible to deny that she sometimes "enters into cemeteries, and returns with estimable corpses, which have never done anything to the author to deserve being thus disturbed." Count Gisors who was killed at the battle of Crefeld in 1758, and Count Clermont who lost the same battle, and corresponded with his friends in as arrant slang as any produced by the nineteenth century, scarcely deserve the space devoted to them. On the other hand, General Franceschi-

Delonne, a brilliant cavalry officer, who died in a Spanish prison, before having consolidated his reputation, is a man whom it is agreeable to see at full length in M. Sainte-Beuve's extracts. Even the unfortunate Loyson owes the indulgence with which he is treated to an amiable generosity rather than an abstract preference for the task of literary resurrectionist. The eminent critic has never forgotten the days when he was himself a poet and novelist, something less than eminent.

In orthography M. Sainte-Beuve gives rather too little weight to the etymological argument, and too much to the notion of consistency. The third Dictionary of the Academy, published in 1740, marks an epoch in French spelling by the abolition of the *s* in *teste*, *masle*, etc., and whatever other changes it suited the Abbé d'Olivet to consecrate; but the same body, which exercised an irresponsible dictatorship over the usage of the (narrow) literary class, refused, until 1835, to adopt Voltaire's substitution of the *a* for the *o* where the former is pronounced. *Capitaliser*, *émotionner*, *baser*, *formuler*, *absolutisme*, are words which the Academy, two years ago, could scarcely bring itself to sanction. That some restriction upon the multiplication of meaningless syllables is needed, the example of a zealous official proves: like other people, he derived a verb *régler* from the noun *règle*; from *régler* comes *règlement*, and from *règlement* *règlementer*, at which the process of derivation might have stopped; but *règlementer* supplied *règlementation*, and *règlementation* swelled into *règlementationner* before the linguistic genius of M. Ducos rested from its labours.

The notice of Lamennais is less appreciative than is usual with the critic. Undue stress is laid upon the reluctance with which he originally entered the priesthood; and it is not quite clear whether he is condemned for yielding too easily to the influence of his nearest friends, or for accepting the post of guide to others while still amenable to such influence. The judgments passed on him seem the more severe because, with their author, criticism was apt to take the form of measured and judicious praise of undeniable merits which, however, would not have been discovered but for him: praise is the rule, and even urbane dissent the exception. It is difficult to say whether, as a whole, M. Sainte-Beuve's work gained or lost by this eulogistic tendency. It probably lost in breadth, the breadth of fixed principles, tried by which it is not easy for every one to be right at once; but it probably gained in variety, and perhaps in some respects in accuracy, for in so far as it is a part of the critic's function to interpret, he will not interpret the worse for assuming, chameleon-like, the colour of the work on which he rests while speaking.

60. THE Preface to Mr. Calverley's translation of Theocritus is devoted to an apology for blank verse, and for not Latinizing Greek proper names; he also says that he has never deviated from the text of Briggs, where it was possible to extract a sense from it. The text of Briggs hardly stands on the same level as the Textus

Receptus; and the suggestion that it is as easy to write satisfactory blank verse as rhyme, does not take into account that the effects of rhyme are obvious, and produced by definite means, while the effects of blank verse are subtle, and produced by complex means. It would have been as well if Mr. Calverley had explained upon what ground he has altered the sex of the beloved in two or three of the idylls, which, after all, are quite capable of an innocent interpretation, while he has gone straight through the twenty-seventh idyll, which cannot be reconciled with either ancient or modern standards of morality. Whenever any patchwork of this kind is attempted, there are sure to be traces of the join. For instance, in the twelfth idyll, the reference to Ganymede loses all its fitness; yet it was impossible to discover a substitute.

The translation is always scholarly and readable, though once or twice Mr. Calverley might have been more literal with advantage. In the fifteenth idyll, Praxinoë quotes a proverb about the man who said, "All in, ladies," and shut out his daughter-in-law; this loses a good deal of its point when translated—

"'We're all in now,'"

As quoth the goodman, and shut out his wife."

Again, in the song in the same idyll, the Hours are called soft-footed, in reference to their silent passage: Mr. Calverley calls them "dainty-footed," which is pretty, but just perceptibly false. A more serious fault is that he has not caught the tone of Theocritus's fresh feeling for nature and common life. His version of the second idyll is full of a spurious romanticism: through the first part we have the following burden—

"Turn, magic wheel, and draw my hero home; "

which girlish sentimentality is supposed to be an equivalent for "You, wry-neck, draw that man to my house." There are further faults of keeping, like—

"Theucharile, the sainted Thracian nurse  
(My next-door neighbour),"

and

"On they came,

With beards that rivalled the laburnum's gold,  
And breasts more sheeny than thyself, O moon,  
*Fresh from the stern delights of tournament.*"

In the eleventh idyll we have the following strange piece of frigidity—

"Go, plait rush baskets, lop the olive-boughs  
To feed thy lambkins, *that were rational.*"

It is curious that Mr. Calverley, with his overstrained refinement, should be most successful in the scolding-matches which form the staple of so many idylls. Perhaps there the tone is unmistakable, or at least a matter of perception, not of feeling; perhaps also it is something that the construction of the original almost forced the translator to abandon his colourless blank verse. The following extract is the beginning of the *Bridal of Helen*—

"Whilome, in Lacedæmon,  
 Tripped many a maiden fair,  
 To gold-tressed Menelaus' halls,  
 With hyacinths in her hair;  
 Twelve to the Painted Chamber,  
 The queenliest in the land,  
 The clustered loveliness of Greece  
 Came dancing hand in hand.  
 For Helen, Tyndarus' daughter,  
 Had just been wooed and won,  
 Helen, the darling of the world,  
 By Atreus' younger son:  
 For this with woven footsteps  
 They beat the floor, and sang  
 Their bridal hymn of triumph  
 Till all the palace rang."

These lines have merit of a kind which does not need analysis. They are perhaps the prettiest single passage in the volume, though the translator, and, it must be added, the author, maintain a more equable excellence elsewhere.

61. M. PAUL LACROIX, in his book on *Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'Époque de la Renaissance*, again traverses part of the ground occupied by his great work in five quarto volumes, published twenty years ago in conjunction with M. Ferdinand Seré. That important illustrated publication had a more extensive field than the present single though bulky volume, limited, as it mainly is, to the material developments of the arts and handicrafts down to the age when printing, maritime discovery, and the Reformation initiated a period of new motives and methods. M. Seré died some years ago; and M. Lacroix has taken as his fellow-labourer one of the most expert chromo-lithographers now living. The illustrations are 400 engravings on wood, and nineteen coloured pictures, many of them of such excellence as to warrant the highest estimate of M. Kellerhoven, even apart from any consideration of his previous publications, *Chefs d'Œuvres des Grand Maîtres, Légende de S. Ursule*, and others. The literary part of the undertaking is nearly as able, and similar in character. As the coloured pictures are facsimile reproductions, so the historical and descriptive text, from the first subject brought before the reader, "Ameublement civil et religieux," to the last in the book, "Imprimerie," has been in great part skilfully reproduced from specific writers, Alfred Michiels, Mérimée, Riocreux, De Saulcy, and a host of others. In an encyclopædia the twenty subjects treated would have been distributed to different hands; and the result might have shown varied fields of learning and new researches in history. Here some of the subjects, which are less within M. Lacroix's tastes and line of study, are made up of comparatively hackneyed materials; while others, such as "Instruments de Musique," "Manuscrits," and "Miniatures des MSS.," are very fresh and interesting. The chapter on "Parochemin et Papier" is very meagre in the notice of the last-mentioned material; and the few dates that are known in the early manufacture of

paper, 1818, 1890 for example, are not mentioned.

In the chapter on Engraving on Wood and Copper a current mistake is repeated and carried a stage further. M. Lacroix gives a description nearly a page in length of a small print by Winceläus of Olmütz, in which a monstrous creature, having a cloven hoof and a griffin's claw instead of feet, and a human female body with an ass's head, stands on the bank of a stream, inscribed "Tavere." Above the head is "Roma Caput Mundi," and elsewhere appears "Januarii 1496." This print is described as an etching, and is said to set aside all the artists usually brought forward as claimants for the honour of inventing at a later time this artistic species of engraving. Authority for this statement is not given; but it is Passavant who first describes the print in question in his *Peintre-Graveur*, ii. 136, and who affirms it to be an "eau forte." The print exists in the British Museum, and is not etched, but cut by the burin. And this is not the only mis-statement in the matter. The date 1496, if it were the date of the execution of the print, would have a curious importance in another way; for Winceläus of Olmütz copied no less than seven of Albert Dürer's finest inventions, and this early date would go towards proving Dürer to be the copyist, as indeed some writers have suggested. In Lomazzo, *Trattato della Pittura* (4to, Milan, 1585), the monster is described as having been found in the Tiber at the date on the print: and the engraving is manifestly a blow aimed at Rome after the fermentation of the Reformation had begun. Passavant does not advance the date as of any importance. Having taken the pains to ascertain the facts, we correct this mistake in order that it may not be repeated, and without implying that M. Lacroix has been guilty of any serious laxity in his investigation. On the contrary, his handsome volume shows practised ability, and wide acquaintance with books and antiquities.

62. THE places in which ceramic art has been cultivated are especially numerous in France; and French literature is accordingly rich in works of local bearing on the subject. The most important of them which has recently appeared is a posthumous *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*, by M. André Pottier, curator of the Library and Ceramic Museum of that city. It is adorned with chromo-lithograph illustrations of remarkable fidelity by M. Silbermann of Strasburg. The Rouen manufacture may be traced by means of specimens to the middle of the fourteenth century; the earliest example, however, which M. Pottier gives is an enamelled tile found at Ecouen, and marked "A. Rouen, 1542." The book, however, is mainly devoted to the falence proper, which dates from the early years of the seventeenth century, and continues without interruption to the end of the eighteenth. The author shows by the text of letters-patent issued in 1678, that Louis Poterat had at that time, twenty-two years before the discoveries made at St. Cloud,

established a manufactory of porcelain in a suburb of Rouen. An excellent specimen of this early manufacture exists in the museum at Sévres. The history of Poterat's family and descendants has a place in M. Pottier's investigations, side by side with the different phases and conditions of the manufacture down to the French Revolution. From the *Documents sur les fabriques de faïence de Rouen recueillis par Hailliet de Couronne*, published in 1866, by M. Leopold Delisle, it appears that Poterat's father had a manufactory at St. Sever at Rouen, as early as 1650.

63. THE Belgian musician, M. Fétis, has just issued a second volume of his *Histoire générale de la Musique*. Like the preceding one, it is characterized by felicitous theories and clear descriptions of instruments, which throw a new light on the condition of music among different nations. It continues the author's researches on the Semitic peoples, adding some new information relative to the Aryans and Turanians; and the Preface answers some criticisms which were made on the first volume. M. Fétis disavows the opinion attributed to him, that the Arab chant proceeds by thirds of tones, and explains his real theory, namely, that the chromatic change, which with us proceeds by semitones, proceeds in Arab music by thirds of tones, so that their gamut would show intervals of three comas, if it were arranged according to our rules, which, however, are unknown to the Semitic peoples. In opposition to M. Fétis's remarks on the Arab scale, and to show the emptiness of his theory, the European scale, which was called the natural scale, was produced. M. Fétis, after remarking that the same argument was used a century ago against the Abbé Toderini, affirms that the Arab gamut, or progression by thirds of tones, and the Turanian gamut, or progression by a mixture of thirds of tones and quarter tones, are quite as natural as the European scale for the people who employ them; and he adds that the difference depends chiefly on the diversity of race. The result of this would be that a person of one race would be incapable of understanding the popular music of another race, merely because of this diversity of blood, and not because he is habituated to his own scale. But M. Fétis often takes the effects of education for those of race or nature. Again, he cannot admit the existence of any rhythmical music (and for him all music is rhythmical) which is not built upon one of the binary or ternary measures; and he regards the quinary measure ( $\frac{5}{4}$ ) of the Finns and the septenary measure ( $\frac{7}{4}$ ) of the Serbs as composite modes, which ought to be decomposed into  $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{2}{4}$  and  $\frac{2}{4} + \frac{3}{4}$ . This view seems to be an effect of the refinement of his European musical education, which prevents his abstracting himself from the measures derived from the binary and ternary systems with which his mind is entirely engrossed. He remarks the striking universality of the *la* as the initial or tonic note of a great number of musical systems; and he regards this as a point common to all human

organizations, of whatever race. He continues his researches into Arab music, assisted by the works of de Hammer, Kosegarten, Villo-teau, Kiesewetter, Lane, and Daniel; while his researches on the music of Hindostan and India beyond the Ganges are based almost exclusively on the works of Jones, Patterson, Willand, and Parsons. In the part of his works relating to the music of the Aryans, he resolves the question regarding the origin of the viola d'amore and the barytone. He finds the same sympathetic accord which is the vital principle of both these instruments apparent in the double disposition of the chords of two Indian sarangis used at Delhi, Benares, and Mourshed. From India he supposes this principle of harmony to have passed, perhaps by means of the gipsies, into Persia, Turkey, Hungary, and so into Germany.

64. M. CARO chooses for his sphere of thought the fringes of the moral world, where the dark soul supplants the light soul, where the ordinary moral sanity, acknowledged as such by ethical philosophies founded on Aristotle, gives place to exceptional manifestations, and where reason and demonstration are lost in mysticism and the vague of the infinite and indefinite. He began with an essay on Saint Martin and the mysticism of the eighteenth century, gained a prize at the Academy for an essay on the idea of God in contemporary criticism, and has since published works on Goethe and the pantheism of the nineteenth century, and on the relations between materialism and science. His *Nouvelles études morales sur le temps présent* continue in the same realm of thought. He discusses suicide in its relations to civilisation, the moral aspect of health and the power of the will over the morbid tendencies of the body, the direction of souls in the seventeenth century, and the ethics of literary men of the present day. Two men, whose moral biographies he constructs out of their correspondence, engage his attention because they strictly belong to the ethical realms which he treats as the sphere of his studies. Lamennais is discussed not as a philosopher or a divine, but as a mystic, who from his eighth year believed he saw the infinite, and felt God, and who said of others, "They behold what I behold, but see not what I see." Heine, too, comes into his arena, not as a poet, nor as a satirist, except so far as his poetry and his satire expressed his moral qualities, but as one of those numerous Germans who about the year 1820 "by the grace of Hegel, came to know they were God." Hence the essay on him has the appropriate title of "The Calamities of a God in the Nineteenth Century." There is a fresh consciousness of rude healthiness visible in M. Caro's morbid anatomy, which makes a pleasant contrast; and he succeeds in giving admirable clearness to matters which in themselves are dark and deep. But much of this clearness is due to the shortness of his sounding-line, and the consequent inadequacy of his criticism, which rather skims the surface than reaches to the bottom. For instance, his

investigation of those characteristics of Heine which may be traced to the special influence of his race is entirely inadequate. But he writes with brilliancy and good sense.

65. THE special province of M. Henri Martin is the archaeology of cosmical science. His essay on the *Timæus* of Plato, his history of physical sciences in ancient times, his inquiry into the opinion of the ancients on thunder, electricity, and magnetism, and even his book on Galileo, are all of this class. But he has also pushed his investigation into another sphere—that of Christian philosophy, and the principles involved in Christian dogmas. He has written on the future life according to Christian teaching. He went a step nearer to modern physical science in his essay on the spiritualist conception of natural philosophy; and now, in *Les sciences et la philosophie*, he boldly attacks modern positive sciences, and criticises not only the metaphysical consequences which their adepts seem to deduce from them, but even their own physical conclusions, which are obviously within their limits. Here his special capacity and preparation seem to fail him. As a historian of the different systems of cosmology and psychology which the human mind has evolved, as an expounder of their analogies and their dissidences, he has gained a foremost place. It is impossible to read the distinct descriptions of ancient psychological systems in the essay on "the soul and the life of the body," or the criticism and brief description of various mystical systems in the essay on "superstitions dangerous to science," without admiration for both his knowledge and his expository power. But when he leaves literature and touches the positive sciences he stumbles. The design of the present volume is one which enhances his danger. It is, he says, a work of conciliation; its design is to reconcile Christian philosophy and Catholic dogmatism with the secure results of modern science and modern philosophy. For this purpose he first proposes certain canons, such as "never to give as certain anything but what is either self-evident or proved," "never to reject as false anything that is not certainly contrary to a self-evident or proved truth," and so on, with several practical axioms, whose good sense is self-evident when the subject-matter to which they relate is all within the operation of the same kind of proof. But, in the present case, he has to reconcile dogmas which rest on authority with generalizations which rest on positive induction; and, in consequence of the diversity of proof, the canons of conciliation prove inapplicable to the total mass. For instance, he says authority teaches that Adam was the first man, but palæontology decides that the human remains found in association with those of the mammoth and cave-bear are anterior to any date that can possibly be assigned to an historical Adam. And he conciliates this difference by a denial that those primitive bimanies were men at all, on the ground that their remains furnish no proof at all of distinctive human intelligence, will, or

soul. Such an argument, destructive as it is of the whole analogy of sciences, belongs to the pleading of the advocate, not to the impartial summing up of the judge. Again, as he considers it necessary to refute "Darwinism" in order to cut away the ground of materialism, he adopts with alacrity the arguments of Agassiz, although they are based on the violent geological assumption that we know the first traces of life on the earth—an opinion which is entirely a matter of controversy among geologists. In fact, then, his canons, admirable for regulating a controversy upon homogeneous subject-matters, are found to be not altogether applicable to the heterogeneous field on which he marshals them. In a work of conciliation it is necessary to be an acknowledged spokesman for both sides. The mediator rejected by even one side would be no mediator at all. But while M. Martin would hardly be acknowledged by the natural philosophers, neither would his interpretations be accepted by divines. When he settles that the Index, registering the Pope's condemnation of Galileo, is a fallible congregation, and that a proposition emanating from a Council is more authoritative than one emanating from a Pope, he uses tests of authority which are too wide for one school of Catholics and too narrow for another, and are altogether rejected as arbitrary by Protestants. In order to succeed in the work of conciliation, it is requisite first to determine with great accuracy what the things are that have to be reconciled.

66. PROFESSOR BENFEY'S *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland*, which forms the eighth volume of the History of Sciences in Germany during the more recent period, now being published by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, covers a much wider field than might at first sight be expected from its programme. The first part of the book, comprising nearly 300 pages, gives a complete history of the Science of Language down to the beginning of the present century. After a short section on the earliest traces of philological speculation comes an admirable account of the Indian schools of philology. The merits and deficiencies of Pāṇini's grammatical system are pointed out in detail. Another section is devoted to the philology of the Greeks and Romans; and justice is done to the theories of the Sophists, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, the Stoics, the Alexandrians, Quintilian, and the Grammarians. Another section treats of the influence of Christianity, of the labours of mediæval writers, and of the Buddhists. A full account is then given of the Arabian and Jewish schools of philology. A sixth section, occupying more than 100 pages, gives an accurate summary of the progress of philology during the period comprised between the revival of letters and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Every writer in that period who produced an important philological work, whose efforts were directed towards philological culture, is mentioned in his proper place. The ideas of men like Scaliger, Bacon,



Relandus, the Port-Royalists, Leibnitz, Wilkins, Adelung, Court de Gebelin, de Brosse, Monbodo, Harris, Horne Tooke, and Bernhardt, which tended each in its way towards a general theory of language or languages, are described as fully as possible. Professor Benfey quotes from these writers a number of passages which are remarkable as containing in themselves the germs of important truths which were only acknowledged later on, as when Horne Tooke says: "Is not the Latin verb *Ibo* an assertion? Yes indeed is it, and in three letters. But those three letters contain three words: two verbs and a pronoun." "All those common terminations in any language; of which all Nouns or Verbs in that language equally partake (under the notion of declension or conjugation) are themselves separate words with distinct meanings. . . . These terminations are all explicable, and ought all to be explained; or there will be no end of such fantastical writers as this Mr. Harris, who takes fiction for philosophy." In these remarkable words a problem is proposed which in the days of Horne Tooke was premature, and in fact was simply insoluble until the study of Sanskrit opened a new world to philological inquiry. The solution of Horne Tooke's problem is the very subject which is so successfully treated in Bopp's Comparative Grammar, and in the essays of more recent scholars. The second part of Professor Benfey's work describes the revolution produced in science through the study of Sanskrit; and his most interesting chapters are devoted to an account of the labours of Friedrich Schlegel, Bopp, Jacob Grimm, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. The more recent developments of the science are then described. In the last part of his work Professor Benfey divides the languages of the earth into their different families and groups, and briefly catalogues the writers who have contributed to the knowledge of each language. This portion of the book unfortunately suffers in consequence of the limits imposed upon it; within those limits it has all the completeness which might be expected in the work of a scholar who is not surpassed by any in the foremost ranks of the science of language.

67. THE first part of the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* which Mr. Vigfusson has arranged, chiefly from the collections of the late Mr. Cleasby, and partly from his own stores, is an instalment of what promises to be a complete glossary of the old and classical language of Scandinavia. The wide field of Icelandic literature between the years 900 to 1262 has been carefully travelled over; but the work has been chiefly founded on the prose writings of the twelfth and two following centuries. The classified list of works and authors cited shows the extent and variety of these sources; but Mr. Vigfusson is right in saying that the old literature, however rich, does not give the whole language, but requires to be supplemented and illustrated by the living tongue. The old literature of Iceland, notwithstanding the rapid decay of the commonwealth after 1262, did not

end before A.D. 1400; and supposing even the next 100 or 150 years to have been a blank, as far as prose was concerned, no essential changes could have occurred in the language of an isolated community, living exclusively in its own past. The changes of other Teutonic languages were owing to circumstances altogether different from those of Iceland. In Germany, during the middle age, the language emerged from a lower stage, and rose to a more robust and definite form; while in Scandinavia all national traditions were lost sight of, foreign influences prevailed, and the language dwindled down from manifestly higher to weaker forms. Norway, however, which had taken an active part in the literary movement of the North, and was also the most secluded of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, preserved its old language longer than the rest, down to the thirteenth century. The modern Icelandic literature has fixed the form of the language, and winnowed away the superfluous chaff from its vowel system, without essentially altering the original form. This operation began at an earlier period of the language, and accompanied its successive stages of growth. The oldest Icelandic grammarians, as Thorodd Gamlason in the beginning of the twelfth century, perceived the necessity of fixing the floating vowel system by some additional signs. These, however, grew obsolete; and Icelandic orthography is not even yet definitely settled. The modern literature, beginning about the time of the Reformation, is, with the exception of its religious branch, wholly modelled on the past. This tendency seems a growing one, and the most modern poets are often the most archaic. Hence the modern literature has little or nothing in common with that of other Teutonic languages; but it possesses its own local interest, and illustrates both the history of the language and the genius of the small community to which it owes its character.

In the outlines of Icelandic grammar prefixed to the present work, Mr. Vigfusson treats of the simple vowel change or umlaut, which he distinguishes into two chief categories, the *i*- and the *u*-umlaut. The vowel change is a characteristic feature of all Indo-Germanic languages, and not, as Mr. Vigfusson seems to think, an invention of Grimm's. Its most definite forms are certainly the Guna and Vrddhi, and the rest of the Sandhi of the Sanskrit, wherein *a* and *ā*, with the semi-vowels *i*, *r*, *l*, *u*, become *ē*, *ar*, *āl*, *ō*, and *di*, *dr*, *āl*, *du*. In Icelandic, *a*, *ā*, *au*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, *jo*, *jū*, are changed by the *i* umlaut into *e*, *æ*, *ey*, *y*, *æ*, *y* *ý* *φ*; and by the *u* umlaut *a*, *ā* become *ō*, *ö*. But even these categories are still vague and indefinite, and do not settle the orthography. Mr. Vigfusson traces seven lost vowels, or rather semi-vowels, showing how the process of amalgamation and transfusion is essential to the progress of a language, and how it may even apply to the categories above mentioned, as being, in the physiology of language, no symptom of decay or collapse, but rather one of strength and vitality. It is worth observing that not only Sanskrit, but even several



Slavonic languages, as Lithuanian and Russian, illustrate the vowel system of the Icelandic far better than many Teutonic languages.

The etymological authorities used are chiefly represented by Grimm, Dr. Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, the *Ormulum* for early English, and Schmeller's *Glossary to Heliand* for old Saxon. However valuable Grimm's etymological remarks may be, it is possible to use them immoderately. They are always suggestive; but they often verge on the points of conflict between South-German and Scandinavian or Icelandic philology, and consequently are out of place in an Icelandic-English dictionary. Mr. Vigfusson frequently indulges in this sort of relaxation, a striking instance of which occurs in the article on the conjunction *enda* (Engl. *and*). This is a test word to distinguish the Scandinavian from the Saxon-German; but in Icelandic it bears a very wide construction, and notwithstanding a multitude of references from texts of every kind, we are still left without means of determining its true grammatical import, whether conjunctive, disjunctive, or emphatic. Notwithstanding the copious illustration of many words, others are slurred over; and the letters of the alphabet give occasion for rather prolix observations on their pronunciation, spelling, changes, and interchanges. The prepositions are admirably treated, and give legitimate occasion for interesting comparative remarks; in the case of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, such remarks should have occurred more sparingly. The Icelandic words are illustrated by parallels from the Teutonic, Slavonic, neo-Latin, and classical languages—in a few instances also from the Sanskrit. Parallelism is useful, though it does not constitute the principle of modern comparative philology. But in the present case the parallels are mostly superfluous, besides often being loose and inexact. On the other hand, sufficient use has not been made of the sources for the dialects of Great Britain. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the work is one of great importance, and deserves very high praise.

68. MR. MURPHY'S book on *Habit and Intelligence* is written with a vivid sense of the connection of sciences, and of the method of treating them according to their genetic process, which shows what things are by showing how they came to be, and tracing them from their origin through their internal development to their perfect form. But the former of these convictions should not lead to the confusion of physical and metaphysical speculations; nor does any amount of protestation that the language is popular justify a writer in allowing the latter conviction to express itself in such terms as these: "Sensation, and, I doubt not, consciousness also, are due to the mutual action of a nerve-fibre and a ganglion." It is a convenient profession that non-scientific language should be used in a book addressed to the general public; but that profession is too often only a conventional apology for non-scientific thought. It is not

difficult to find examples of this in Mr. Murphy's volumes. He refuses to define mind. "It would be plausible to define mind as conscious life; but there are mental actions which are not conscious." And then he goes on to say that mind is developed out of sensation, but that sensation alone does not constitute mind, which requires also consciousness; yet he has just said that mental acts are possible in the absence of one of the necessary constituent elements of mind. He has sufficient accuracy for the rough work of the generalizations of material science; but the objects of metaphysical thought are too subtle for his analysis.

He considers habit and intelligence to be the two great characteristics of life. Habit, he says, is an unconscious tendency to repeat all actions once performed, and is transmitted to offspring. Intelligence is also for the most part unconscious; for it comprises the organizing power, co-extensive with life, which adapts the eye for seeing, as well as that higher intelligence which first becomes active and conscious in the brain of man. What special school of philosophy he belongs to it is difficult to discover, as he does not enter into the question of personality; and it would be dangerous to affirm that he held either to any form of pantheism or to the doctrine of the secretion of life from the material organization. For although it is his system to trace the genesis of the objects he investigates, he does not go behind phenomena, or attempt to explain the residuum which does not yield to his analysis.

But he has the merit of recognising the existence of this insoluble residuum; and on this ground he criticises Mr. Darwin, with the main features of whose theory he agrees, while he differs from him inasmuch as he believes that the facts of organic adaptation required the guiding hand of intelligence for their development, and could not have been produced by unintelligent natural selection. In the same way, though agreeing in the main with the theory represented by Mr. Mill, Mr. Bain, and Mr. Herbert Spencer, he refuses to believe that all mental developments can be accounted for by the single principle of the association of ideas, but maintains that there is in them all an element not derived from habit, and not resolvable into any unintelligent force whatsoever. He is an ontologist, reasoning in the language and terms of a contrary school. There is much that is original and good in the volumes; but the author lacks the extensive cultivation which is necessary to a man who would organize all the sciences into one philosophy.

69. THE absolute co-ordination of a large number of the lines in the solar spectrum with those in the spectra of the simple bodies cannot be made until the wave-lengths of the several rays have been accurately determined. Several physicists have lately occupied themselves with such determinations. Professor Angström, in a memoir on Fraunhofer's lines, presented to the Academy of Stockholm in

1861, announced his intention of undertaking to revise the determinations made by Fraunhofer by means of the fringes or diffraction spectra produced by gratings, and to determine also those of the other remarkable lines of the solar spectrum. His object was to obtain data for the construction of what he calls a normal spectrum founded on the lengths of the waves, and not, on the indices of refraction. In 1863 he published determinations of the length of the principal lines of Fraunhofer. Mr. Gibbs of Boston used these, and other determinations, to the number of 111, to construct a table, by means of which the wave-lengths of all the lines of Fraunhofer, which are given on the plates of Professor Kirchhoff's spectrum-maps, might be determined. This was the first attempt to construct a normal spectrum; but the determinations which Mr. Gibbs had at his disposal were not numerous or exact enough. Even those of Professor Angström were incorrect, the assumed size of the grating, which he had not determined himself, being incorrect. He has now, however, published a remarkable work, in which he gives the wave-length of about 1000 rays of the solar spectrum; and upon these measurements, which he considers sufficient for the purpose, he has founded a normal spectrum in which the lines from *a* to *H* are laid down. This spectrum is given in an atlas designed by Professor Thalén, consisting of six plates. The absolute determinations of the wave-lengths were made principally with two gratings traced by a diamond-point on glass; one had 4501 lines in the space of 9 Paris lines, and the other 2701 lines. The greatest care was taken to determine the distance of the lines of the gratings: a new copy of the "Mètre Prototype" of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, made by MM. Brunner of Paris, and verified by Professor Angström and M. Tresca of the Conservatoire, having been procured. The measurements of the wave-lengths of all the principal lines of Fraunhofer, which were the basis of all the other micrometric measurements, were exclusively made with the grating No. 2, because, although the bars were not so numerous, it gave the lines of the spectrum more distinctly than the other; in other respects also he finds that it is not desirable to use too fine gratings. The results obtained are perhaps accurate to  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of their value, or even more. Along the margin of the spectrum in the atlas is a scale, a division of which corresponds to the ten-millionth of a millimetre of the length of the wave; so that it is possible to measure the lengths of the waves of individual rays to one hundred millionth of a millimetre. The scale gives immediately—if we omit the three ciphers which follow the decimal point—the four first decimal figures, and the fifth figure by estimation of the tenth of a millimetre. Professor Angström thinks "the atlas very nearly as accurate as the tables themselves. Some errors have, however, crept into the engraving, amounting to 1-10th, and sometimes to 2-10ths of a millimetre; but, as the actual measures of the feeble lines are doubtful per-

haps to that extent, all these errors are insignificant. An attempt has also been made to express the relative intensity of the rays on the plates. All the rays between *c* and *b* given in the atlas have been measured directly; they are about the same in number as those of Professor Kirchhoff. In order, however, to make the violet end of the spectrum correspond as much as possible with the natural one, some rays have been added here and there, whose wave-lengths were not directly determined, owing to the feeble dispersion of that part of the spectrum. Professor Angström was anxious to introduce into his map every ray derived from substances whose real existence in the atmosphere of the sun has been proved. Certain lines which appear double in the refraction spectrum are so expressed on the map, although in the diffraction spectra they could not be so distinguished; as for example, the double line to the right of *B*.

Fraunhofer, in his experiments on diffraction spectra produced by gratings, used in the first instance a narrow rectangular parallelogram, the shorter sides of which were formed of screws tapped in the same die. The grating was formed by wires stretched from screw to screw, in the consecutive intervals between the threads. In order to produce finer gratings, he drew a system of parallel equidistant lines on plates of glass coated with gold leaf. Not being able to draw more than 1000 lines in an inch on such a plate, without tearing the gold leaf, he next tried an extremely thin film of grease. Lastly, he tried lines drawn on transparent glass with a diamond point. The measurements of wave-lengths which he published were made with two such gratings. One had 3601, the distance between the lines being 0.0001223 of an inch, which would give about 8200 to an inch. The lines in the second were 0.0005919 of an inch apart. In order to measure the spaces between the lines he was obliged to retrace some of the outside ones which were too faint. Professor Angström fears that in this delicate operation errors were made. The determinations of wave-lengths made by Professor Angström lie between those made by the two gratings of Fraunhofer, but approach more near those made with the second or untouched grating. The number 5888, given by Fraunhofer for the line *D*, was made with the first or retouched grating. Professor Angström says that it ought to be 5886, and that it corresponds to the middle of the two rays, and not, as some physicists have supposed, to the stronger of the two lines.

The correspondence of the lines of the spectra of the metals is also indicated upon the normal spectrum. The co-ordination is based chiefly upon the observations of Professor Angström and Professor Thalén, made conjointly or separately. The number of lines of this kind amounts to about 800, of which 450 belong to iron. Professor Angström gives 118 for titanium, based upon the researches of Professor Thalén, who has, however detected as many as 200 belonging to

that metal. The lines of iron, which are not symmetrically distributed over the whole of the spectrum, present two maxima, one of which is situated near E, and the other near G. Some appear to be common with calcium, but such a coincidence of the rays of two metals Professor Angström thinks is only apparent. He gives an example which shows that much has to be done before we can in every case positively affirm the identity between the lines of the metallic spectra and those of the solar and stellar spectra. The strong line of iron between E and  $\delta$ , the wave-length of which is given as 5226, and which is drawn as a single line, both on the maps of Professor Kirchhoff and of Professor Angström, has been shown by Professor Thalén, by using six prisms of flint glass of  $60^\circ$ , to be triple. One of them belongs to iron, and another to titanium.

Professor Angström has several valuable observations on the subject of the co-ordination of the metallic spectra with the solar spectrum; but an immediate interest attaches to the very important question raised by him in connection with the spectra of the metalloids, as well as another feature of his spectral map. He thinks that hydrogen is the only metalloid which spectral analysis can show to exist in the sun, and that oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon can never be really discovered in the sun by this process. In his map he gives the principal lines of the electric spectrum of air under the solar one, for the purpose of showing that there is no coincidence between them, and to bear out the view which has just been stated. He thinks, however, that the almost complete want of coincidence between the spectra does not entitle us to pronounce definitely on the absence of the metalloids in question from the sun. As the voltaic arch produced by a battery of fifty plates does not, he says, produce the true spectrum of carbon, the temperature cannot be high enough to volatilize that body. In the sun the temperature must be too high to allow of the existence of such combinations of carbon as cyanogen, acetylene, etc., and too low to vaporize carbon. He therefore thinks that the carbon exists in the solid state in the photosphere of the sun, and that, conformably to the remarkable theory of M. Faye, it is from the incandescence principally of this substance that the continuous solar spectrum is derived. Mr. Huggins, however, concluded from his spectral analysis of the comet discovered on the 13th of June 1868, independently by Dr. Wunnecke and M. Becquet, that its light was due to incandescent carbon vapour. Mr. Watts, who has been making some interesting experiments on the carbon spectrum, seems not only to agree with Mr. Huggins, but to believe that the temperature of the carbon vapour must have been  $1500^\circ$  Cent. The opinion that a mere cloud of matter spread through cosmical space could attain such a temperature is so startling that, before accepting it as a fact, we are entitled to ask for more evidence. Professor Angström states that the experiments which he has made with Professor Thalén,

and which are given in another memoir, now, we believe, published, completely contradict the view of Professor Plücker, that a simple body could give, according as temperature was more or less elevated, totally different spectra. As we have not seen this new memoir, we cannot judge of the evidence upon which his opinion is based; but Professor Angström admits that, in successively increasing the temperature, the intensity of the lines varies in a very complicated way, and that even new lines may present themselves, if the temperature be elevated sufficiently high. He adds that, independently of all these mutations, the spectrum of any given body will always preserve its individual character. This implies that the complicated changes in intensity are due to changes within the molecule. If this were so, the molecule must consist of many atoms; and, at a still higher temperature, why should not the molecule break up into simpler ones? The tendency of chemical science at present is certainly towards unity of matter. It may be that the bodies we now call simple are only condensed molecules of cosmical ether. We are no doubt very far from being able to test such a hypothesis; but the possibility that these several condensed molecules might be separated into simpler systems should make us cautious of coming too hastily to a conclusion respecting the absolute identity of lines in stellar and cometary spectra. The character of the iron and titanium spectra, the points raised by Professor Angström, M. Faye, Mr. Huggins, and Mr. Watt, respecting the carbon spectrum, and also the peculiarity of the spectrum of cyanogen—of all the compound radicles the one which possesses a stability not unlike a simple body,—show that much remains to be done before we can say with certainty that some at least of the lines in the solar, planetary, cometary, stellar, and nebular spectra are due to the telluric simple bodies with which we are acquainted. Professor Angström's determination of the wave-lengths is, therefore, among the most valuable contributions recently made to this branch of science. His tables supply a firm foundation. It should be remembered, however, that his determinations give the wave-lengths in air, and that the true constants wanted in molecular physics are the wave-lengths in vacuo. It is to be hoped that Professor Angström, or some one else, will supply the desideratum, which the present tables will render a comparatively easy task.

70. THE great change which has taken place in notation, and to some extent in nomenclature also, in order to express the present state of chemical theory, has compelled chemists to pay so much attention to the historical development of the science that a very great defect in the teaching, not only of chemistry, but of every other branch of physical science, is likely to be remedied. Manuals of chemistry present the subject to the mind of the student as a completed whole, with no reference to the past or the future. The successive steps by which it reached its present development are not shown

him, nor is his mind trained to discern the direction in which the science is moving. The chemical student, who is likely to spend a good deal of his life in a laboratory, and to be always moving along with the current of thought in the science, may not miss this historical training. But it is otherwise with those who cultivate other sciences, such as geology or biology, which are more or less dependent on chemistry. The result is that chemistry is apt to be taken as a fixed and unchangeable doctrine. Dr. Ladenburg's *Vorträge über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten Hundert Jahren* is an epitome which will be of use to all students who desire to understand the present condition of the science. He starts from Lavoisier; and in order to make clear the exact condition in which Lavoisier found the subject, he prefaces his account of the labours of the founder of modern chemistry with an account of the phlogiston theory, then universally believed in, and of the knowledge possessed by the phlogisticians. The publication by the French Government of all the works of Lavoisier enables us to judge better of the true position which the labours of that great man hold in the history of science. While giving Priestley and Scheele the credit of having discovered oxygen, and especially recognising the singular experimental merits of the latter, Dr. Ladenburg has brought into strong relief on the one hand the unfruitfulness of the ideas of those two last upholders of phlogiston, and on the other the new era opened up more perhaps by the views than by the experimental discoveries of Lavoisier. No mention is made of the name of Bayen in connection with the discovery of oxygen; and yet there can be no doubt that he decomposed mercuric oxide into a gas and metallic mercury before Priestley's experiments. He did not, however, examine the properties of the gas. Priestley did; and to him and Scheele, who made the gas independently, belong consequently the honour of the discovery. But Bayen's experiment must have had some influence both on Priestley and Lavoisier. It sometimes happens that important discoveries have been long foreshadowed, and almost fully anticipated, yet remain unnoticed, either because the author himself is not fully conscious of the value of his results, or because the experiments have been made too soon. It does not detract from the merit of the subsequent discovery to do justice to such pioneers. Dr. Ladenburg mentions William Higgins in connection with the atomic theory, and says that he sought to claim a share in the discovery. He refers in a foot-note to his *Comparative View*, the first edition of which appeared in 1789, and the second in 1791; but he does not appear to have ever seen the book. He is however right in saying that Higgins did not speak of atomic weights; that idea is entirely Dalton's. That Higgins had some very advanced ideas, for his time, on the subjects of combination, and that he conceived the several compounds formed by the same simple bodies to have taken place in the way afterwards expressed by the law of multiple proportion, no one who has read the original work can doubt. This does not detract from

the merit of Dalton. Another example of an important discovery having been partially anticipated is the conclusion drawn by Professor Kirchhoff from his mathematical investigations, that burning bodies only absorb rays of light of the same wave-length as those which they emit. This very important conclusion, upon which mainly rests the chemistry of the solar spectrum, had however been already clearly stated by Professor Angström in 1853. Nevertheless it is Professor Kirchhoff who must be considered as the discoverer.

Dr. Ladenburg's account of the development of organic chemistry and its influence upon chemical theory is clear and simple; and the labours of those who mainly contributed to the advancement of the latter are criticised in a calm and unbiassed spirit. The lectures devoted to the discussions concerning the doctrine of substitution, and the overthrow of the electro-chemical theory, in which Berzelius, Liebig, Dumas, Laurent, and Gerhardt were the principal champions, are very impartially written. Though the subject is briefly treated, they give a good and intelligible account of this transition period, during which so many of the seeds of future discoveries were sown broadcast.

71. PROFESSOR MICÉ, who has lately at different times brought before the Bordeaux Society of Physical and Natural Sciences notices of the principal investigations in Organic Chemistry made during the year, has at the request of the Society put them into the form of a Report, and published it among their Memoirs, as well as separately. He classifies his notices under three heads. In the first he treats of homologous series, commencing with generalities on homology, then alcohols, aldehydes, acids, conjugate sulpho-acids, tannins and glucosides, and nitrogenous compounds. The second includes isologous or condensed bodies, all those containing the same number of carbon atoms in their radicles being placed in the same group. The third is devoted to unclassified bodies, resins, special chemistry of certain plants, organized matter (e.g. cellulose), transformation of organized matters into organic matters of feeble atomicity, or saccharification, transformations into oligatomic alcohols or acids, or fermentations, physiological and pathological chemistry. This classification seems convenient for the object in view; and a good index makes it possible to find any particular body at once. The accounts of each body are almost exclusively confined to its mode of genesis, transformations, and relations to other bodies. Descriptions of the processes of preparation and the physical properties of the bodies are not given. This is a great advantage, because such a report would be rendered too voluminous by an attempt to give full accounts of the preparation and properties of the bodies. No one wanting to prepare a body ever thinks of referring to such annual reports for an account of the process; for this purpose the only authority is the original memoir. The idea of the author was to describe each new body or new reaction so that it could fit

at once into its proper place in the lecture-notes of a Professor, and thus enable him to work up to the level of the subject at the moment. He has succeeded thoroughly in this object. He purposes to make such a report annually, and hopes to be able to bring it out in the month of January or February, so as to render it directly useful to Professors in their courses. He also purposes to include all chemistry in the one for 1870. All his references are to French periodicals, probably because those of other countries are not available to him. It would add greatly to the value of the report if the journal or other place where the memoir first appeared were also indicated.

72. PROFESSOR ODLING'S *Outlines of Chemistry* is unlike perhaps any other chemical textbook in the hands of students. It consists, as the title-page states, of notes, some being fully descriptive of the body or reaction, others merely mnemonic or suggestive of reference to larger books. They are all such as a Professor would use at his own lectures, or a student make. The book possesses the characteristics of the author's other works (one of which he has left unfinished so long), especially clearness and order. All important reactions are represented by equations; and graphic notation is wisely avoided. Graphic notation may be used occasionally by a Professor in his lectures, or by an author in a paper when he wishes to express the constitution of a particular compound with reference to its genesis or transformation, but not systematically, or at all in text-books; for it inevitably produces false impressions on the minds of students. It is satisfactory to find that Professor Odling no longer recognises the distinction between inorganic and organic chemistry, all the so-called organic compounds being merely regarded as carbon compounds. It is time that this unscientific distinction should disappear not only from text-books but from examination-papers, and that men's minds should not be prejudiced at the threshold of the science by an error which is especially injurious to biological students.

73. THE basin of the Mississippi and of its tributaries is so prominent a feature of North America that the study of its rocks, minerals, soils, hydrology, climatology, and flora and fauna, must possess special interest, not only for the American people, but for all students of natural and political science. To the student of natural science especially it is interesting, as affording the largest and most complete typical region perhaps in the world, wherein to study the causes which produce climate, govern the distribution of organic life, or wear away the face of the land into hills and valleys, bluffs and cañons, alluvial flats and rolling prairies. A vast amount of information has been gradually collected about this region, beginning with the accounts of early expeditions of Lewis and Clarke, Pike, Long, Fremont, Wilkes, Stansbury, and others. The geology has been well worked out in the various settled States by the State Surveys, while Meek and

Hayden have laid the foundation of a thorough knowledge of the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. In 1819 a great system of meteorological observations was instituted at all the military posts, under the direction of the Minister for War; and other persons have added to them. All these observations have been worked up by Mr. Lorin Blodget in his *Climatology of the United States*. The Smithsonian Institution has continued to collect meteorological observations on an extensive scale, and will, no doubt, get them reduced hereafter. The hydrology of the basin has been in part done by Messrs. Humphreys and Abbot, in *The Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River*. The distribution of the forest-trees has been studied, among others, by Professor Asa Gray and Dr. J. G. Cooper. Dr. Foster, who has himself contributed to our knowledge of parts of the region of the Mississippi, has now endeavoured, in *The Mississippi Valley*, to summarize all that is known of the physical aspects of the whole basin, in such a form as to be intelligible to the general public.

Maury, in his *Physical Geography of the Sea*, derives the vapour which waters the North-American continent from the Pacific Ocean. In Johnston's edition of Berghaus's *Physical Atlas*, as well as in the original edition, the United States are put in great part within a belt of south-west winds. Again, Coffin has endeavoured to establish the existence of a great westerly current, north of the parallel of  $85^{\circ}$ , and about  $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  wide, encircling the globe. Dr. Foster, on the other hand, considers that the moisture is derived from the north-east trade-winds, which, hot and moist from the equatorial zone, as they enter the Caribbean Sea, are deflected by the lofty chain of the Andes which girds the coast, and then pass into the Gulf of Mexico, where they become inland breezes on the coast of Texas. As they penetrate the interior they are gradually deflected east, until they reach about lat.  $39^{\circ}$ , when they assume the direction of the great south-west aerial current. Volney was the first who noticed this deflection; but the facts deduced by Mr. Blodget from observation lead to the same conclusion. Mr. Redfield admits that this deflected current is the cause of the fertility of the Mississippi Valley, an opinion also shared by Mr. Russel, author of a work of considerable authority on American agriculture, especially in relation to climatology. Dr. Foster thinks that, by regarding the Gulf of Mexico as the proximate source of the rains which water the Valley of the Mississippi, a number of phenomena otherwise inexplicable may be fully accounted for, viz.: (1.) that the greatest precipitation takes place along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico; (2.) that the Llano Estacado, the Colorado Deserts, and the Great Basin, almost wholly within the zone of the south-west winds, are dry; (3.) that the Western plains during the spring and summer are nearly as profusely watered as the Atlantic slope; (4.) that the Valley of the Mississippi, during the prevalence of these winds, has an almost tropical climate; and (5.) that the Atlantic slope, instead of being the most arid,

as it would be if the south-west winds furnished the moisture, is within the region of equally distributed rains. This theory possesses considerable geological interest, first in connection with the supposed American glacial period, and, secondly, as an illustration of the effect of geographical changes on climate.

74. IN the second edition of Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times* there is not only a considerable increase of new matter, in some cases to such an extent as to have led him to recast his chapters, but also an increase of caution, and a diminution of that kind of scientific dogmatism which has latterly become common, especially in the cultivators of this department of knowledge. Indeed, considering that the author had only made, as it were, an excursion from his own special field of inquiry, biology, his first edition was a fair and candid statement of the new views of the history of man, which have resulted from the alliance of physical science and archæology. Physicists, or, more strictly speaking, geologists and biologists, having suddenly entered the unknown land of archæology, work on inductively from their own standpoint, not heeding in many cases what has been done by the previous occupiers of the territory. Many of these have no doubt worked in a very unscientific way; but it is also true that everything done of any real value in archæology and ancient history has been the result of researches carried out as strictly in accordance with the principles of inductive philosophy as those of the branches which have hitherto monopolized the title. To such an extent have some of the new scientific colonists ignored the results of archæological and historical investigations, that the commonest and best known facts seem unknown to them. But while the methods of investigation in history and geology are alike in principle, there is this difference, that the geologist carries his light with him, and can see only as far as it illuminates, while the historian, besides his own light, has often the advantage of light shining out of the darkness, and voices indicating the road to him. It is true such lights are often deceptive, and such voices lead him astray if he trusts too much to them; but he can generally find his road the better thereby. Now although Sir John Lubbock always writes in the spirit of an inquirer after truth, he undoubtedly works occasionally as a mere geologist, where he might profit by history also. This is the case chiefly in his views about a bronze age, and the contrast between it and the so-called iron age.

No one who is at all competent to speak on the subject will deny the progressive development of the arts, or that metallurgy, like the domestication of animals, the cultivation of cereal grasses, and the use of letters, is an invention which forms an era in that development. Without saying that an invention once made could not be lost, it may be admitted that the history of the growth of civilization exhibits no evidence of degradation, and that no valid reasons can be urged against the possibility of mankind making the same simple

inventions in different places independently. But, on the other hand, there is considerable difficulty in allowing that the invention of bronze necessarily preceded that of iron. The statement that it did so is a mere assertion, and has not been proved. The often-quoted passage of Lucretius, may or may not be the expression of the facts for Italy; but it is not necessarily true of all places, or even of Italy, because it happened to have been said 2000 years ago. Sir John Lubbock does not accept the theory of M. Wibel, that ancient bronze was made by fusing ores containing the two metals, and has given in his appendix several letters from persons competent to speak on the subject. Perhaps this was the true course to pursue in the interest of science; but every guess made by good archæologists or good geologists concerning things they know nothing about should not be elaborately answered. It is possible that stannic oxide and malachite, or red oxide of copper, might yield bronze by being smelted together; but such ores are not found associated in nature in such quantities as would explain the profusion of bronze in ancient times. Again, it would be impossible to account for the uniformity of composition which the bronzes found over a large area of Europe possess if they were made with ores of various degrees of purity. As to making bronze directly with the usual ores of copper, it is wholly out of the question. And even if it could be made, the composition of every sample would differ from every other; besides, traces of other substances derived from the ores should be found in the bronze, which is not the case. That the art was fully developed before its introduction into Europe is proved by the absence of specimens of an imperfect stage of it. The so-called "copper age" is a myth as far as Europe is concerned. Sir John Lubbock is quite right in doubting the existence of any copper weapons in Ireland or in Western Europe free from tin. The existence of copper weapons on the Danube is much more naturally explained by its distance from the sources of the tin.

Not only is there no proof that the invention of bronze preceded that of iron, but it may be asserted that the probability is the other way. No argument can be drawn from America, because the copper tools of North America are made from native copper, the existence of which might have suggested the attempt to obtain it from its ores elsewhere. With the exception of malachite and red copper, which are no doubt found here and there, the reduction of the ores of copper is a far more difficult metallurgical problem than the reduction of iron from its ores. Even now, in Central and Northern Asia, and in Africa, the making of iron is more diffused and frequent among rude tribes than the making of copper, which is looked upon as a special and higher art. The general use of bronze, even when iron was well known, is easily accounted for by the facility with which broken swords and spears could be remade. Travelling tinkers, with no more apparatus than fitted in their wallets, could a few generations ago, and in some parts of

Europe can still, cast cocks and many other articles of brass on the side of the road. They could not have made the simplest articles in iron under the same circumstances. That this is the true position of the use of the two metals is proved by the Northern nations continuing to use bronze long after it had been discarded as a material for cutting instruments by the Mediterranean nations. The Greeks of the Homeric age still used largely, if not exclusively, bronze weapons, while there can be little doubt that they used iron in making ploughs and other agricultural implements. With the growth of cities forges improved, and iron could be used for weapons more cheaply and more effectively than bronze, which in a very short time it replaced for making cutting instruments. The facility of casting copper and bronze even led to its use for making anvils. We find in the *Kaliwala*, or Finnish National Epos, that the smith *Ilmarinen's* anvil and tongs are described as made of copper, although in Finnish mythology iron forms one of the elements out of which the world was made, and the Scandinavian Sagas always speak of the cunning of the Finns in making iron. It seems indeed as if the Scandinavians got their iron weapons originally from the Finns.

In one sense, no doubt, it may be admitted that in Middle and North-Western Europe there was a period during which bronze was almost exclusively used for weapons and cutting instruments. That this bronze age, where it existed, succeeded a period in which stone was exclusively used, may be also admitted. But it has not been proved that there was an abrupt passage from a stone age to a bronze one, and from the latter to an iron one. Indeed, there is evidence of the contrary; and it is satisfactory to see that, strongly as Sir John Lubbock insists "that the use of bronze weapons is characteristic of a particular phase in the history of European civilisation, and one which was anterior to the discovery of iron, or at any rate to the general use of that metal for cutting purposes," he nevertheless freely admits that the transition was gradual. In Ireland, the "bronze age" came down certainly to the seventh century, and probably to the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. But while all the most ancient Irish tales speak of bronze weapons, iron was also used for other purposes. There is evidence in these tales of the simultaneous use of stone, bronze, and iron weapons. The people of Scandinavia had no proper bronze age; all the bronze articles found there must have been introduced from the South and West. Even in the twelfth century, the Scandinavians imported their best swords, and perhaps all their defensive iron armour, from England and France. The iron manufacture is in fact altogether new to the Scandinavians. Worsaae and others suppose the bronze weapons to have belonged to the Celts, whoever they were, who preceded the Germanic races. According to archaeologists of this school, the Suevi, Goths, and other Germanic races, were armed with iron weapons, with which they were able to exterminate the bronze-armed Celts—the latter, in their turn, having exterminated the stone-

weaponed people. Indeed, it is not long since the prevailing idea among amateurs of Northern archaeology was that the inventors of iron were the Germans. It is doubtful whether in north-east Germany, and among the northern Slavonians, bronze was ever in general use. There stone and iron were contemporaneous, and were in use as late at least as the eighth century. The oldest German poem now in existence, Hildebrand's Song, proves this:—"Good commoners, be judges which it is who flinches in the field, and which it is who ought to have our two coats of mail." "Then they let fly their ashen spears with such force that they stuck in the shields. Then they struck together their stone axes, and uplifted hostilely their white shields till their loins and bellies quivered" (Weber's *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities: Ancient Teutonic Poetry and Romance*); or, as the Grimms (*Die beiden ältesten deutschen Gedichte aus dem achten Jahrhundert*) have more correctly paraphrased the last line, "dass ihr Gebände schütterte, aber fest standen ihre Leiber." The Bohemian *Mlat* was a similar stone hammer, which in later times was made of iron. When we find an Aryan people, the East Prussians, using stone hammers, burning their dead chiefs with their horses, harness, arms, and servants, and perhaps their wives, and sacrificing their prisoners of war to their gods, so late as the thirteenth century (Alnpeke, *Reimchronik: Script. rer. Liv. Bd. i. 2.* Grewingk, *Das Steinalter der Ostsee Provinzen. Schriften der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft*, No. 4), we should be very cautious in drawing conclusions from the facts observed in one country as to the age of certain objects found in another. The observations of Herr Ramsauer at Hallstadt, near Salzburg, mentioned by Sir John Lubbock, show clearly that, as the Roman power and commerce advanced northward, iron began to replace bronze among the limitanean people at an early period, and only reached the North slowly, just as the commerce in bronze went eastward very slowly, and was so scarce on the Baltic that in some places it was hardly in advance of the iron from the South.

Sir John Lubbock does not favour Nilsson's theory of the Phœnician origin of North and West European bronze. Phœnician theories were at one time current in Ireland; and most people interested in ethnology have heard of, if they have not read, the absurdities of Sir William Betham on the subject. But these theories were exploded the moment the Irish language and the Irish records began to be seriously studied. Nilsson's theory looks like a revival of these exploded views in the garb of science. He has put forward and defended his views with skill, and has thus given the theory an air of plausibility. The hypothesis is nevertheless groundless. Sir John Lubbock, in discussing the Phœnician theory, treats at some length of the voyage of Pytheas to the north of Europe; and as an apology for so doing he says:—"The memory of great men is a precious legacy, which we cannot afford lightly to surrender, and not the least valuable part of Professor Nilsson's work on the 'Bronze Age' "



is the chapter in which he has rescued the memory of Pytheas from the cloud by which it has been so long and so unjustly obscured." Professor Nilsson's labours on this point are no doubt valuable; but as the attack of Sir George Cornwall Lewis was made with ancient weapons, some of which were not unfamiliar to M. Gosselin, so the defence of Professor Nilsson has not added much to what Joachim Lelewel, the Polish historian, did in the same cause forty years ago (Lelewel, *Die Entdeckungen der Carthager und Griechen auf dem Atlantischen Ocean*). Uckert and other writers of note on ancient geography also have not rejected the voyage of Pytheas.

If by Roman times Sir John Lubbock means the period when the Romans had extended their empire into the centre of Europe, the positive use of bronze weapons in Ireland down to certainly the seventh century is a sufficient answer to his statement that our bronze weapons cannot be referred to Roman times. That they were not of Roman origin is unquestionable. Although it is quite true that evidence of letters is generally absent from bronze "finds," it does not follow therefore that letters were unknown. It is more than probable that the Irish Ogham inscriptions belong to the earliest bronze period in Ireland. Of the gold ornaments found in Ireland, Sir John Lubbock says there is "as yet no evidence as to their origin, and it is more than probable that they belong to a much later period." There is, however, plenty of evidence, even written story, that gold and bronze were contemporaneous, not merely in Christian times, but at much earlier periods. In the same way, probably, his opinion that the potter's wheel and soldering were unknown during the "bronze period," should be qualified.

The "bronze age" of Europe belongs to a period which extends back at least some centuries before Homer. In Southern Europe bronze weapons and cutting instruments were wholly replaced by iron long before the Christian era. From the time of the second Punic War iron began to come into use among the southern Gauls and the Germans bordering on the Roman territories, as is shown by the remains found at Halstadt already mentioned; and very soon after it totally replaced the bronze in North Germany. The poorer persons still however continued to be armed with stone weapons down even to the battle of Hastings; and even chiefs, as has been already shown, retained their stone hammers. In Ireland the "bronze age" remained down to the seventh century, and outlived cremation of the dead, although some traces of that custom occur in Irish tales; while in Eastern Europe cremation of the dead outlived the "bronze age." Bronze weapons then appear to have been in use at an early period in Europe, and to have been characteristic of certain parts of it. But during all this period iron was known, though not much in use among people who had no towns. On the whole, then, it would not be justifiable to speak of a "bronze age," and much less to ascribe to it the antiquity and definiteness which Sir John Lubbock seems disposed to give it.

Perhaps it is due to this tendency to ascribe

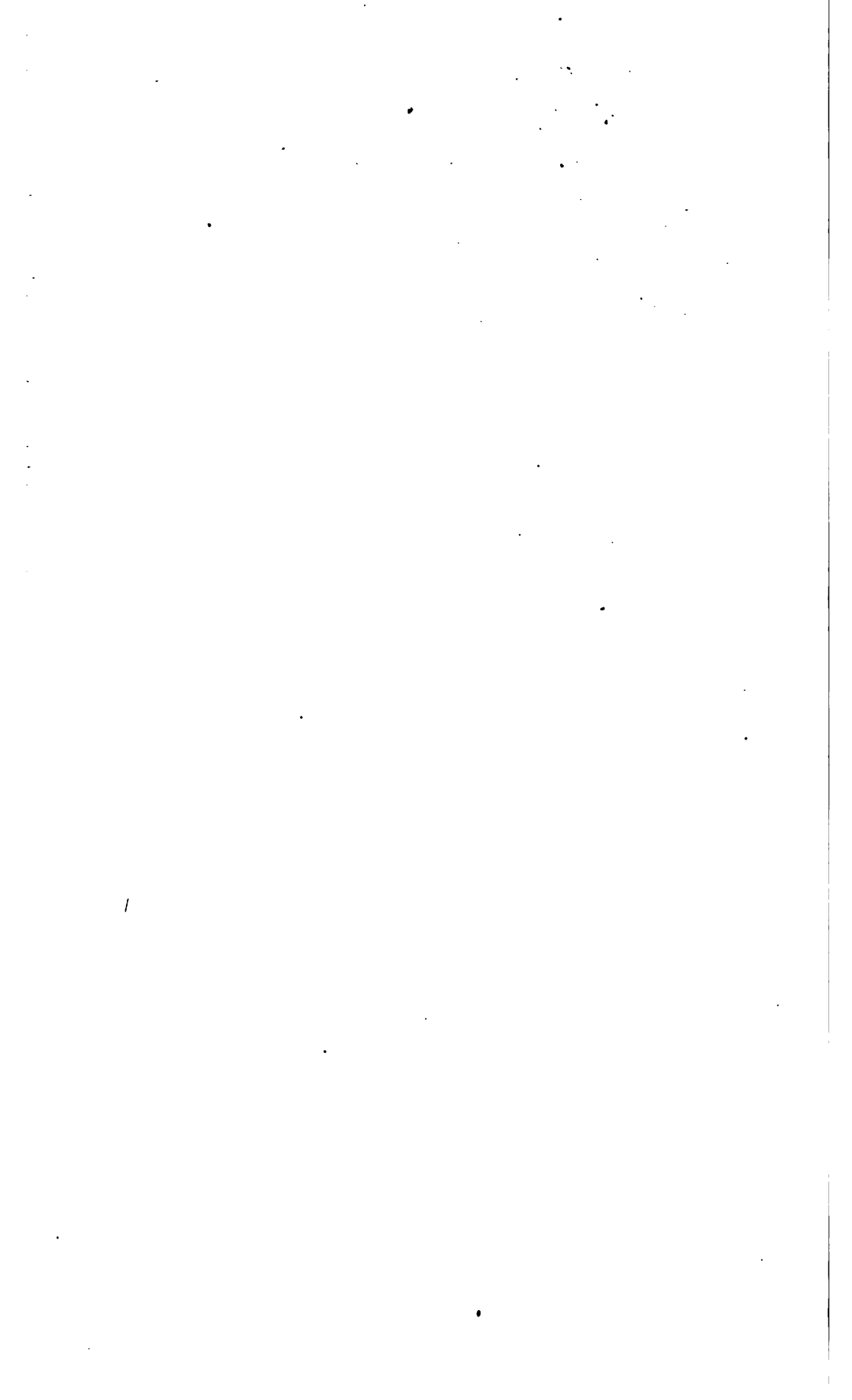
a high antiquity to the "bronze age," and consequently to the lake dwellings which are assigned to that period, that writers seem to have overlooked a very simple but complete explanation of the fact that a large number of these lake villages have been found burnt, especially those in which bronze implements were discovered. This explanation is contained in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the First Book of Cæsar's Gallic War. We are there told that the Helvetians, finding that their country was too narrow for them—being separated from Germany by a deep river, the Rhine, from Sequania by the Jura mountains, and from the Roman province by the Lake of Geneva—were encouraged by the most powerful of their chiefs, Orgetorix, to leave it. He had plotted with two other Gaulish nobles, with a view of using his countrymen to assist in subjugating the whole of Gaul; his plot was discovered; and to avoid the punishment to which he was liable he is said to have died by his own hand. This event did not however alter their design of leaving Helvetia; so when they considered themselves sufficiently prepared they set fire to all their towns (Oppida), to the number of twelve, their villages to the number of four hundred, and all their private houses. They burned all the corn they could not carry with them, in order that, the hope of returning home being taken away, they might be the better prepared to undergo dangers. They ordered that each should carry from home with him food for three months. They also persuaded their neighbours, the Rauraci, the Tulingi, and the Latobrigi, to adopt their advice, and, having burned their towns and villages, to march with them. We do not remember to have seen these important facts mentioned in connection with the Swiss lake dwellings; and yet they afford a complete explanation of the absence of many valuable articles in metal, of the burnt corn, half-burnt piles, broken pottery, and in fact all the circumstances for the explanation of which the most ingenious theories have been invented.

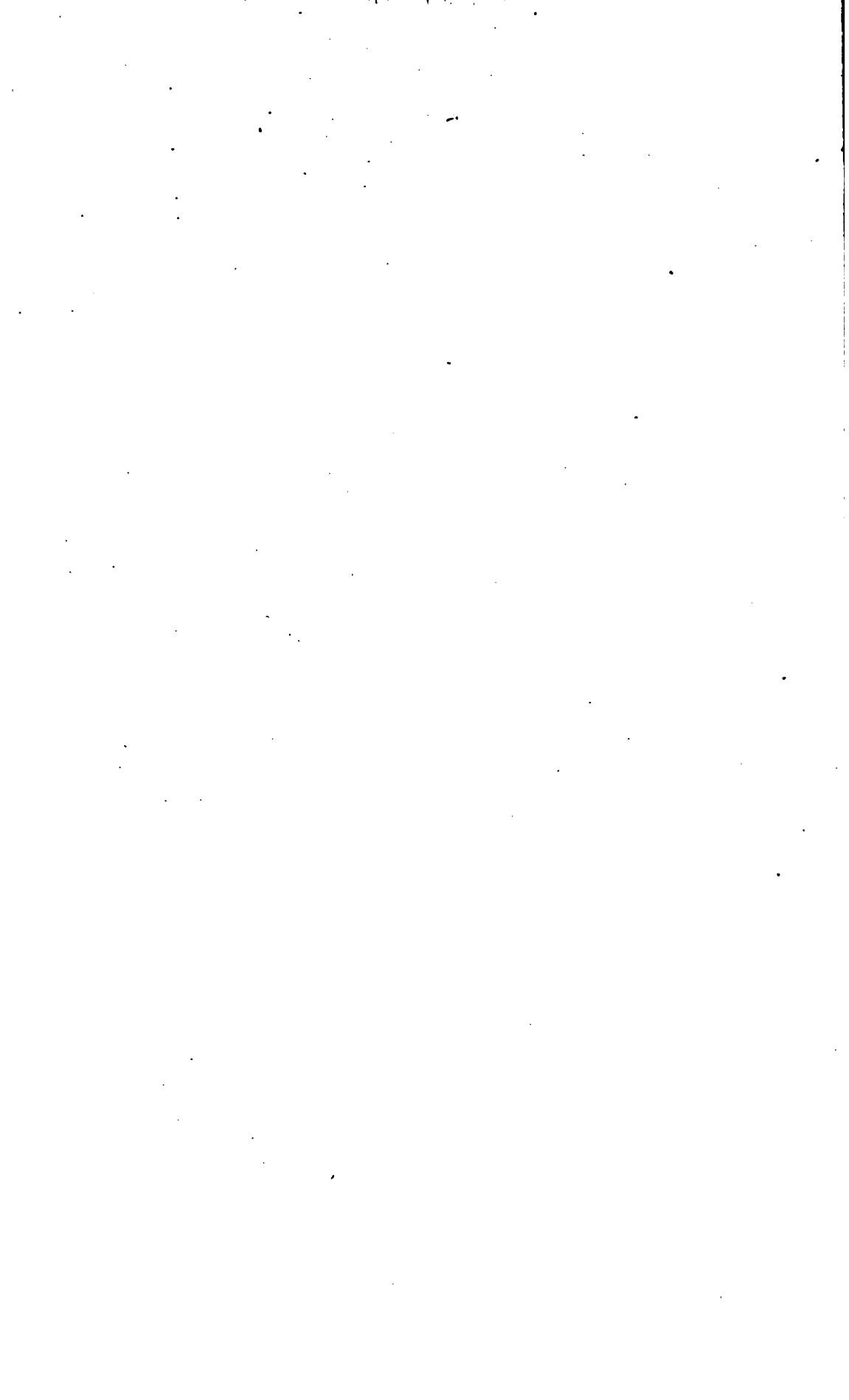
75. "ONE eye to the caterpillar and another to the perfect insect," was the motto which Denis and Schiffermüller, Austrian officers, adopted, when, in 1776, they published an anonymous work on the Lepidoptera found in the vicinity of Vienna. With such a precedent, it might seem strange that British entomologists should have so long persisted in paying almost exclusive attention to one stage in the existence of the creature they pretended to describe. To neglect the life-history of Lepidoptera, whilst proceeding to classify them, is not to comply with the dictates of science. Hence, it is not wonderful that, when the labours of continental entomologists forced English writers to adopt a different course, some of them borrowed their illustrations, and blundered in applying them. "Every English entomologist," writes Mr. Newman, referring to the *Limenitis sibylla*, "has accompanied the perfect butterfly with the caterpillar of another species," being misled by names used diversely. In his *Illustrated Natural History of British Moths*,

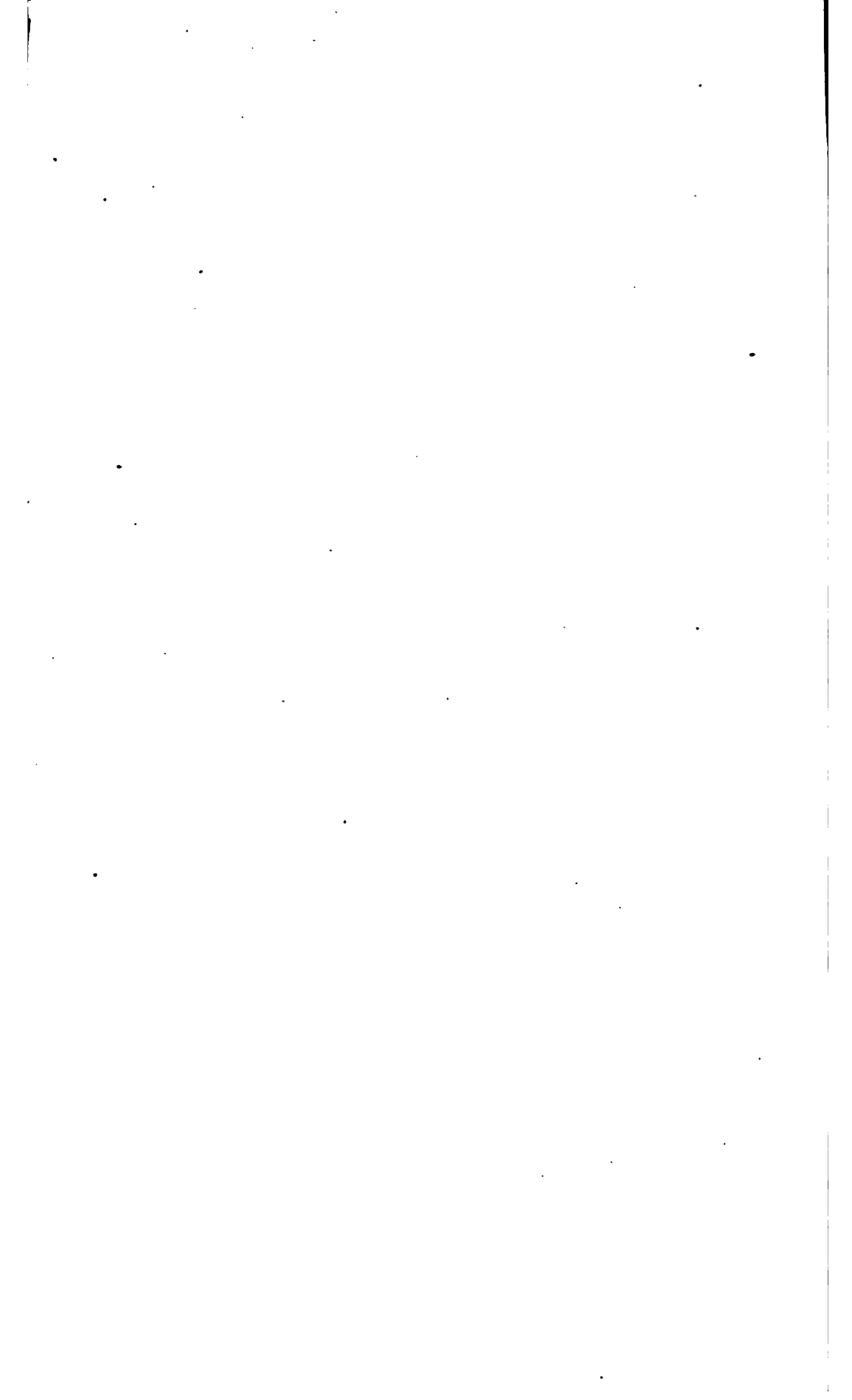


Mr. Newman has aimed at scientific breadth and accuracy, and deserves the praise which belongs to a man who has laboured well, long, and successfully. Of course, a work which is an innovation to a great extent is not altogether faultless; but the defects are comparatively inconspicuous. Take, for instance, his description of the caterpillar of the Emperor Moth (*Saturnia carpinii*), p. 48. He says: "The caterpillar is of the most delicate green colour, the segments being very distinct, and each being adorned by pink tubercles, each [tubercle] surrounded by a black ring, and emitting a few short black bristles. It feeds in August and September, on willow, black-thorn, heath, and a number of other plants, and before winter spins a brown, pearl-shaped cocoon, open at one end, amongst its food. The moth appears in April." With so truthful a description, it would not be easy to mistake the caterpillar, although its green is not only delicate but vivid. The cocoon, however, has but a light shade of brown; and what is the meaning of "pearl-shaped"? If "pear-shaped" were intended, the epithet would be quite accurate. It would have been well, however, to state that the opening is at the small end. But if the cocoon be really

"open at one end," what protection does it afford its inhabitants? When this apparent opening is looked into, it is found to be only an outer portal; and there is an inner closed portal, curiously contrived in a second or double wall, which is united to the exterior wall at the anterior third. The outer wall is film-like, but tough, with downy hairs surrounding it, which look like spun glass under a low power of the microscope. Bringing together the finger-tips of both hands will give the plan of the interior portal, where comparatively thick, strong, birse-like processes meet, forming an apex directed towards the exterior aperture. The young moth will be able to press out through them from within; but an enemy entering the outer portal would be misled into a cul de sac, or find entrance into the real cavity arrested by a species of *chevaux de frise*, very strong and tough. Mr. Newman, although he describes the caterpillars, gives no illustrations of them; this, and the absence of coloured figures, will be felt by beginners. But the wood-cuts are excellent; and their fidelity of shading and marking, together with the apt accuracy of the descriptions, would almost supply the place of colouring, if that could be supplied.









THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
GRADUATE LIBRARY

DATE DUE

ONE WEEK

OCT 6 1972

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 03009 7326

**DO NOT REMOVE  
OR  
MUTILATE CARD**





B

966,379



COURIER

BOOK BINDERY,

Ann Arbor, Mich



AP  
4  
7.786



**COURIER**

**BOOK BINDERY,**

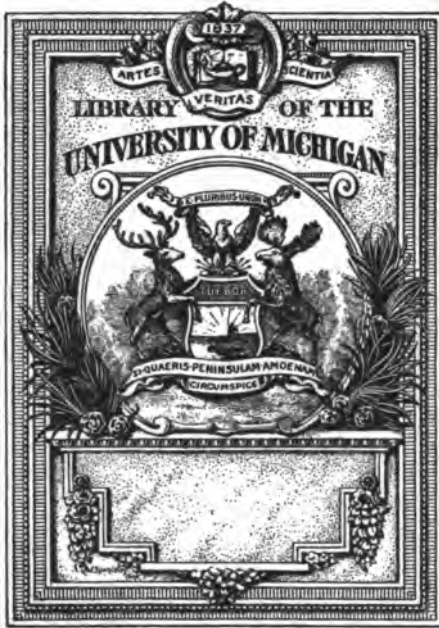
Ann Arbor, Mich



**COURIER**

**BOOK BINDERY,**

Ann Arbor, Mich



AP  
4

7786

COURIER

BOOK BINDERY,

Ann Arbor, Mich



AP  
4  
7786



**COURIER**

**BOOK BINDERY,**

Ann Arbor, Mich



AP  
4  
7786



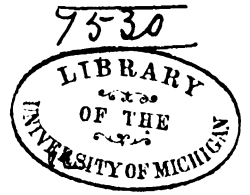








THE



# NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

=

APRIL AND JULY, 1870.

VOLUME LII.

---

AMERICAN EDITION.

---

NEW YORK:  
PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY.

140 FULTON STREET, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND NASSAU STREET.

---

1870.



---

S. W. GREEN,  
PRINTER, STEREOTYPES, AND BINDER.  
16 and 18 Jacob St., N. Y.

---

## INDEX TO VOLUME LII.

ABYSSINIA, 321.

Anne, Queen, reign of, 286.

Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xiv.: The Writings of Methodius, Alexander of Lycopolis, Peter of Alexandria, and several Fragments, 269.

Arian controversy, 13.

Arnold (Matthew), St. Paul and Protestantism, with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England, 311.

Assyrian Annals, B.C. 681-625, pp 169-188; invasion of the surrounding countries by early Assyrian monarchs, and the deportation of tribes introduced by Tiglath-Pileser, 169; Syria and Judea, ib.; extent of the empire at the accession of Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, ib.; disputes with his brothers for the crown, 170; his subjugation of Babylon, 170, 171; his conquest of Syria, 171; invasion of Asia Minor, 171, 172; and of Arabia, 172, 173; he undertakes the conquest of Egypt, 173; penetrates to Thebes, 173, 174; list of the kings he appointed, and their districts, 174; return home from the Egyptian expedition, ib.; his son's narrative of these events, 174, 175; Tirhakah re-conquers Egypt, 175; Esarhaddon's public works, ib.; his policy towards Babylonia, ib.; Assyrian commerce, 176, and literature, ib.; Esarhaddon's family, 177; his son Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus) subjugates Egypt, ib.; a second campaign necessary, 178; siege of Tyre, ib.; dealings with Gyges of Lydia, 178, 179; Harbit, Mannai, and Elam, 179-182; states in revolt, 182-187; literature of the reign of Assur-bani-pal, 187; his patronage of the arts, ib.; characteristics of his reign, 188.

Audigaigne (A.), *La Morale dans les Campagnes*, 302.

Austen (Jane), 67-80; her place in literature, 67; circumstances amidst which she wrote her novels, 68; the critical spirit underlying her artistic faculty, ib.; her notable deficiency in the poetic faculty, 69; didactic purpose of her novels, ib.; their characteristics, 69, 70; her descriptions of the perturbations of love, 70; her writings as compared with those of Lamb and Thackeray, 71; the action of her critical faculty in her power of composing characters, 72; her circumscribed sphere, and its influence on her works, 72, 73; similarity in her views with those of Cowper, 73; the power she had over her wit, ib.; inspiration and judgment, 74; her six stories divisible into two trilogies, ib.; her tales had avowedly a moral purpose, 74, 75; how this is shown in each, 75, 76; Macaulay on her characters, 76; her fools, 77, 78; analogy between her own character and the characteristics of her novels, 79; her naval officers, 80; conclusion, ib.

Austria—The Cisleithan Constitutional Crisis,

255-265; policy of Schimmerling and Belcredi,—dualism the only system which could re-establish the monarchy on its natural and historical base, 255; difficulty of determining the precise limits between the autonomy of the provinces and the prerogatives of the ruling power,—the problem in Hungary, ib.; and in the Cisleithan portion of the Empire, ib.; Belcredi and the manifesto of September 1865,—the tide of opposition rising, 256, 257; the war of 1866, 257; measures of the new premier, Count Beust, 258; the first sessions of the Cisleithan Reichsrath, 259; influence of the proceedings on the hopes of nationalities, ib.; the local Parliaments disapproving the dualistic organization of the Empire, 260; the question of electoral reform,—division in the Cabinet, 261; the Cisleithan council of ministers ordered to prepare a scheme of reform, 262; dissolution of the first parliamentary ministry, ib.; the short-lived Hassner Cabinet, 262, 263; formation of a new ministry under Count Potocki, 263; difficulty of his task, 263, 264; the result, the first step towards a reconciliation of nationalities achieved in Austria, 265.

Babington (Prof.), *Polychronicon* Ranulph Higden: vols. i. and ii. 124.

Bacon, Francis, *Life and Letters of*, vol. v. 131.

Bagnenault de Purchèse (G.), *Jean de Morvillier, évêque d'Orléans, Garde des Sceaux de France (1508-1577)*, 277.

Bain (Dr. Alex.), *Logic*, 312.

Bartsch (Prof.), *Sancta Agnes: Provenzalisches geistliches Schauspiel*, 274.

Bartsch (Prof.), *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles*, 123.

Beale (L.), *Protoplasm, or Life, Matter, and Mind*, (second edition), 165.

Bell.—*Letters of Sir Charles Bell: selected from his Correspondence with his brothers George and Joseph Bell*, 139.

Bell (W. A.), *New Tracks in North America*, 151.

Bénard (Th. L.), *Le Socialisme d'Hier et celui d'Aujourd'hui*, 315.

Bernard (M.), *A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War*, 299.

Bienemann (F.), *Aus Baltischer Vorzeit. Sechs Vorträge über die Geschichte der Ostseeprovinzen*, 285.

Blanford (W. T.), *Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia, made during the progress of the British Expedition to the Country in 1867-68*, 321.

Bonnet (Victor), *Etudes sur la Monnaie*, 34.

Bonwick (J.), *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, 316.

Brazil, ornithology of, 319.

- Brewster, Sir David, *Home Life of*, 148.  
 Buchanan (R.), *The Book of Orm: A Prelude to the Epic*, 308.  
 Burress (W. R.), *The Relation of Language to Thought*, 158.  
 Burton (Capt. R. F.), *Letters from the Battle Fields of Paraguay*, 300.  
 Busson (Dr. A.), *Die Florentinische Geschichte der Malespini und deren Benutzung durch Dante*, 277.
- CHABAS (F.), *Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'Année Egyptienne*, Traduction complète du Papyrus Sallier IV., 110-112.  
 Chacellier (A. du), *Administrations Collectives de la France avant et depuis 1789*, 292.  
 Church Policy of Constantine, 1-15; the three great Revolutions of ancient history, 1; the recognition of Christianity by Constantine the greatest of the three, 1; Constantine's predecessors, 1, 2; division of the empire under Diocletian,—his persecution of the Christians, 2, 3; position in which Christianity outwardly stood towards Paganism at the time of Constantine's conversion, 3, 4; motives of the Western Cæsar for preferring the Christian to the Pagan cause, 5; Constantine's collisions with and defeat of Maxentius, 5, 6; his compromise between Paganism and Christianity, 6; the edict of Milan, ib.; the toleration allowed by Polytheism, 7; Roman policy towards Christianity, ib.; fruits of the Christian victory of the Milvian Bridge, 8; effects of the recognition of Christianity on the legislation of the first Christian Emperors, ib.; civil reforms of Constantine, 9; the Christian priesthood, ib.; attitude assumed by Constantine towards Paganism, 10, and towards the interests and government of the Church, 10, 11; schism of the Donatists, 11; appeal to the Emperor, 12; Council of Arles, 13, and result of its decision, ib.; the Arian controversy, ib.; the Council of Niceæ, 14; subsequent policy of Constantine, ib.; the first Council of Constantinople, ib.  
 Cirencester Agricultural College.—*Practice with Science. A Series of Agricultural Papers*, vol. ii. 163.  
 Cobbold (Dr.), *Entozoa: Being a Supplement to the Introduction to the Study of Helminthology*, 166.  
 Conches (T. Feullet de), Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, et Madame Elisabeth. *Lettres et Documents inédits*, vol. v. 135.  
 Constantine, the Emperor; see Church Policy.  
 Councils, Early, 12-14.  
 Cowper, the poet, 73.  
 Crimean War, the, 81, 90.  
 Curtis (G. T.), *Life of Daniel Webster*, vol. i. 140; vol. ii. 295.
- DAHLMANN'S (F. C.), *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte*. 3<sup>te</sup> Auflage. Quellen und Bearbeitungen der Deutschen Geschichte neu zusammengestellt von G. Waitz, 122. See Springer.  
 Der-nibourg (H.), *Le Diwân de Nâbîga Dhobyâni*. Texte Arabe publié pour la première fois suivi d'une traduction Française, et précédé d'une introduction historique, 122.  
 Desjardins (A.), *Les Moralistes français du Seizième Siècle*, 279.  
 Dix (W. H.), *Free Russia*, 302.  
 Dodd (P. P.), *The Epigrammatists: a Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times, with Notes, Observations, Illustrations, and an Introduction*, 307.
- Dämichen (Joh.), *Eine vor 3000 Jahren abgefasste Getreiderechnung, copirt an der südlichen Russenmauer des Tempels von Medinet-Habu in Oberägypten und mit Ergänzung und Berichtigung sammtlicher an der Wand zerstörten oder fehlerhaft eingemeisselten Stellen in ihrem Zusammenhange erklärt*, 110, 113.  
 Dunoyer (Prof. A.).—*Œuvres de Charles Dunoyer; notices d'économie sociale*, 294.
- Earl Godwin and Earl Harold, 15-36; historical characters as judged by posterity, 15; estimates formed of Godwin and Harold by different historians, 15, 16; the question of Godwin's parentage, 16-20; bearing of this genealogical inquiry on a correct estimate of his character, 21; inaccuracy in William of Malmesbury's notice of Godwin's family connections, 23; Godwin gains a place in the new peerage under Canute, ib.; state of England consequent on Canute's death, 23; the Æthelings invited over from Normandy,—the fate of Alfred, 23, 24; Godwin's share in the tragedy, 24; Harald and Hardicanute, 25; Edward the Confessor chosen king, 26; marries Edith, Godwin's daughter, 27; Godwin becomes alienated, ib.; his son, Swegen, is outlawed for seducing a nun, ib.; an open rupture with the king, 28; Godwin's flight, ib.; and subsequent restoration, 29; his death, ib.; charges brought against him, 30; Harold, Godwin's son, ib.; the case of the Ætheling Edward, 31; Harold's quarrel with Tostig, and his oath to William of Normandy, 32-34; last days of the Confessor, 34, 35; Harold made king, 35; sketch of his short career, 35, 36; concluding remarks, 36.  
 Eastlake (Sir C.), *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts: Second Series. With a Memoir by Lady Eastlake*, 146.  
 Ebeling (Dr.), Friedrich Ferdinand Graf von Beust. *Sein Leben und vornehmlich Staatsmännisches Wirken*, vol. i. 145.  
 Eckardt (Dr.), *Baltische und russische Culturstudien aus zwei Jahrhunderten*, 148.  
 Education bill of 1870; see Home Policy.  
 Emblem-Literature, 281.  
 England, History of, by Froude, vols. v. and vi. 128.  
 Epigrammatic Literature, 306.  
 Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, events of his reign, 169-177.
- Fairfax, Lord, *Life of*, 282.  
 Fano (E.), *Della Carità preventiva e dell'ordinamento delle società di mutuo soccorso in Italia*, 147.  
 France, University of, 106.  
 Frederick the Great, 134.  
 Freitag (G.), *Carl Mathy: Geschichte seines Lebens*, 144.  
 Froude (J. A.), *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada: Reign of Elizabeth*. Vols v. and vi. 128.
- Galileo, *Private life of*, 132.  
 Gayangos (P. de), *Cinco cartas de D. Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, primer Conde de Gondomar*, 132.  
 Geibel, Emanuel, 145.  
 Giles (H.), *Human Life in Shakespeare*, 156.  
 Godwin; see Earl Godwin.  
 Goedeke (Karl), Emanuel Geibel, 145.  
 Gordon (Mrs.), *The Home Life of Sir David Brewster*, 143.  
 Green (H.), *Shakespeare and the Emblem writers; an Exposition of the Similarities of their*

Thought and Expression : Preceded by a View of Emblem-Literature down to A.D. 1616, 281.  
 Gregg (W. R.), Political Problems for our Age and Country, 152.

Hamilton, Sir W., 60.

Haneberg (Dr.), *Canones S. Hippolyti Arabice e Codicibus Romanis cum versione Latina Annotationibus et Prolegomenis*, 117.

Hannah (Dr. J.) *The Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose*, 280.

Harold, Earl; see Earl Godwin.

Hazard (R. G.), *Two Letters on Causation and Freedom in Willing*, addressed to John Stuart Mill, 158.

Hirsch (Dr. T.), *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum, oder die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit*: herausgegeben von Dr. Theodor Hirsch, Dr. Max Toeppen, and Dr. Ernst Strehlke, 123.

Hitzig (Dr. F.), *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im Jahre 72 nach Christus*, 116.

Holland Kingdom of, 203.

Home Policy of the Session (1869-70), 95-110; legal reforms, 96; finance, ib.;—the Irish Land Bill, ib.; conflict between the system long dominant in Ireland, and alien legislation, ib.; the Norman invasion, ib.; the English Revolution of 1688, 97; subsequent legislative enactments, ib.; customs recognised by the Bill, 98; its fundamental principles, ib.; freedom of contract, 99; Tory opposition, ib.; objections and amendments, 99, 100; results of these on the Government scheme, 100, 101; Irish land laws the constant cause of tumult—agrarian crime, 101; the relation between landlord and tenant—provisions of the Bill as to contracts, 102; misinterpretations and their results, ib.; the Peace Preservation Act, necessary as an adjunct, 103, 104;—the Education Bill, 104; opposition from a section of the Liberal party, ib.; the Secularists and their claims, 105, 106; Napoleon I. and the University of France, 106; secular *versus* clerical education, 107; schemes of the semi-secularists, 108; Prussia and Holland, ib.; Lord Russell, ib.; principles of the Bill:—rating, 108, 109; local-agency, 109; the conscience clause, ib.; the compulsory provisions, ib.; the question of fees, 109, 110;—University tests, 110; characteristics of the Government policy, ib.

Hüffer (Franz), *Der Troubadour Guillem de Cabestanh sein Leben und seine Werke*, 124.

Ireland, Ancient Laws of. *Senchus Mor*. Part II. Law of Distress, (completed); Laws of Hostages, Fosterage, Saer-stock Tenure, Dac-stock Tenure, and of Social Connections, vol. ii. 120.

Irish Land Bill, the (1870); see Home Policy.

James (Henry), *The Secret of Swedenborg*: being an Elucidation of his Doctrine of the Divine Natural Humanity, 156.

Joanne (A.), *Dictionnaire Géographique de la France*, 160.

Jonson's (Ben) Quarrel with Shakespeare, 203-221; the histrionic element in many of the literary quarrels of the Elizabethan age, 204; Jonson's duel with Gabriel Spenser, ib.; his relations with Shakespeare, ib.; Jonson's early plays, and the theatres for which they were written, 204, 205; he is thrown into prison for his "Poetaster," 205; his severe criticism of the Dramatists of other theatres than that to which he was attached, and their revenge on

him in the "Satiro-mastix," ib.; the "purge" administered by Shakespeare, ib.; endeavour to trace the antagonism between him and Jonson, ib.; his attacks on Shakespeare, both as to the form and the matter of his plays, 206, 207; he accuses Shakespeare of want of art, 207; literary side of Jonson's moral divergence from him, ib.; the remarkable place Jonson assigns to himself in some of his plays, 208; attack on Marston and Dekker in "Cynthia's Revels," ib.; the composition of the responsive drama, the "Satiro-mastix," 208, 209; account of matter of offence to Shakespeare and his company, 209; the theatres acting in the interest of the Earl of Essex, a rival company (the Children of the Chapel), is set up by the Court, and Jonson engaged to write a play for it (Cynthia's Revels), 209, 210; Jonson's purpose in this play, 210; Amorphus probably intended for Shakespeare, 210, 211; Jonson's next play, the "Poetaster,"—its plot, 211; how he treats Shakespeare in it, 212; allusion to his pedigree, 212-214; Malvolio (in "Twelfth Night") Shakespeare's first "purge" to Jonson, 215, 216; allusions to a ridiculous custom of courtship, 216, 217; "Troilus and Cressida" Shakespeare's reply to the "Poetaster," 217-219; Jonson's attack on new words, 219; list of unusual terms in "Troilus and Cressida," 219, 220; characteristics of the satire of Jonson, Dekker, and Shakespeare respectively, 220.

Juste (T.), *Le Soulèvement de la Hollande en 1813, et la Fondation du Royaume des Pays-Bas, précédés d'une Introduction sur le Règne de Louis Bonaparte, 1806-1817*, 293.

Kelchner (E.) und Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Dr. K.), *Briefe des Königlich Preussischen Staatsminister Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler an einen Staatsbeamten*, 141.

Klinkowström (K. von), *Aus der alten Registratur der Staatskanzlei: Briefe politischen Inhalts von und an F. von Gentz*, 292.

Kopp (H.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie* (second part), 119.

Lacordaire, Père, 297.

Laveleye (Emile de), *Etudes et Essais*, 152.

Lavergne (L. de), *Les Economistes français du 18 Siècle*, 287.

Leibniz, see Pfeleiderer; Pichler.

Lennepe (Dr. Van), *Travels in little known Parts of Asia Minor*, 299.

Lepsius (R.), *Ueber den Chronologischen Werth der Assyrischen Eponymen und einige Berührungspunkte mit der Aegyptischen Chronologie*, 114.

Lewis (Sir Gilbert), *Letters of the Right Honourable Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., to various Friends*, 297.

Lipsius (Dr. R. A.), *Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, 118.

Locker (F.), *London Lyrics*, 308.

Lothair, 234-244; its political side, ib.; difference between this and Mr. Disraeli's other romances in historical value, ib.; this, no new philosophy, ib.; the contention of three sibyls for the soul of Lothair—the battle-ground religious, 235; Mr. Disraeli and Catholicism, ib.; rivalries in religion, antagonisms of rival principles, 236; Lothair and his position introduced, 236, 237; development of the conspiracy, 237 seq.; sarcasm of the book, 238, 239; the character of Phœbus, 240; Corisande and her court, 241; the book carries its own refutation on the face

- of it, 242, 243; its style, 243, 244; comparison with the author's other novels, 244.
- Lowell (J. R.), *Among my Books: Six Essays*, 306.
- Magyars, the, 148.
- Markham (C. R.), *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, 282.
- Mätzner (E.), *Altenglische Sprachproben, nebst einem Wörterbuche*, Part II., 274.
- Maurice (F. D.), *Social Morality: Twenty-one Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge*, 157.
- Menant (M. J.), *Le Syllabaire Assyrien: Mémoire présenté à l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres de l'Institut Impérial de France*, 267.
- Meyer (Dr. Leo), *Die Gothische Sprache: Ihre Lautgestaltung insbesondere im Verhältniss zum Altindischen, Griechischen, und Lateinischen*, 118.
- Mill, J. S., 58, 59, 65 et seq., 158.
- Montalembert (Comte de), *Le Testament du P. Lacordaire*, 297.
- Morinerie (M. de la), *Souvenirs d'Emigration de Madame la Marquise de Lège de Volude, Dame S. A. S. Madame la Princesse de Lamballe, 1792-1794. Lettres à Madame la Comtesse de Montejo*, 288.
- Morris (William), *The Earthly Paradise: a Poem*. Part III., 153.
- Morvillier, Jean de, Bishop of Orleans, *Life of*, 278.
- Müller (Max); see Rogers.
- Musset, Alfred de, 296.
- Napoleon I. and the University of France, 106.
- Natural Selection, *Essays on the theory of*, 317.
- Newman's (Dr.) *Grammar of Assent*, 221-233; what the book professes to be, 221; its object, 221, 222; the author's style of writing, 222; the purpose of the book, to justify the logical method of faith by comparing it with the logical methods of prudence and philosophy, ib.; Newman, Hegel, and Butler, 223; the argument psychological.—the author's terminology, ib.; what he means by 'assent,' 'notional assent,' 'real assent,' and 'certitude,' 223, 224; assent and inference, 224-226; the genesis of certitude from assent, 227, 228; the indefectibility of certitude, 228; "religious assents,"—his chapters on "Natural Religion" and "Revealed Religion," 229; analysis of an idea, ib.; three periods through which the idea has to pass in the general mind of man, 230; progress of assent to the idea, ib.; faith as a venture—as a reason for acting, distinguished from theological faith, ib.; the duty of inquiry in reference to things to which assent is given, 231, 232; this book intended to recommend a system separated by a broad margin of absence of proof from the author's proved conclusions, 232; similarity in some points between Newman and Descartes and Kant, 232, 233; importance of his investigation as to the genesis of religious and moral assents, 233.
- Nohl (Ludwig), *Gluck und Wagner: Ueber die Entwicklung des Musikdramas*, 310.
- Norris (Edwin), *Assyrian Dictionary*; intended to further the study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. Part II., 115.
- Ompfeda (F. von), *Politischer Nachlass des hannoverschen Staats und Kabinetministers Ludwig von Ompfeda aus den Jahren 1804 bis 1813*, 137.
- Paraguay, the war in, 300.
- Parieu (E. de), *Principes de la science politique*, 314.
- Parpaglia's Mission to Queen Elizabeth, 188-203; historical accounts of Elizabeth's policy irreconcilable, 188, 189; her character, 189; comparison with her sister Mary, ib.; her feelings towards the clergy unfriendly, ib.; her view of her father's marriage with Catherine of Aragon, 190; this, with her, not a question of vanity, but of vital importance, ib.; dilemma in which she was placed by opposite opinions on the subject, ib.; state of the country when she ascended the throne, ib.; Philip II. of Spain and Pope Paul IV., ib.; terms of the peace concluded between France and England, left Elizabeth free to reconstitute the Church of Henry VIII., 191; allegiance to Rome thrown over, and the Queen legitimated, ib.; disordered condition of the Church when Pius IV. became Pope, ib.; importance, to him, of regaining England, 191, 192; his consultation with different parties in Rome—English Catholics, and Italians who had been in England—as to the course to be pursued, 192; appointment of Vincenzo Parpaglia as nuncio, 193; his previous history, ib.; state of Europe in the early part of the sixteenth century, 194;—Charles V., Clement VII., and Pius IV., ib.; Francis II. and Mary, and their plots and intrigues, 195; policy of Philip II. of Spain, ib.; his ambassador in England, Alvaro de Quadra, ib.; apprehensions of evils to ensue on the conflicting influences exercised by him and the Papal nuncio, 196; Vargas remonstrates with the Pope as to the mission of Parpaglia, ib.; his interview with Cardinal Borromeo there, 196, 197; Vargas still remonstrates, 197; Parpaglia's return to Rome, ib.; the English malcontents at Rome, ib.; John Shers, the English agent at Venice, communicates with Elizabeth, ib.; her policy with regard to Scotland—siege of Leith, 197, 198; effect on the Queen of the news from Italy, 198; her suspicion that Philip had to do with Parpaglia's mission, and the various courses open for her had it been fulfilled, 198, 199; her religious policy the cause of her chief embarrassments, 199; Sir William Cecil despatched to Scotland to treat of peace, 199, 200; De Quadra's interview with the Queen, and her pliancy with him, 200; her mistake as to Philip's attitude with regard to Parpaglia's mission, 200, 201; Philip's answer to Vargas, approving of his opposition to that mission, and ordering him to persevere in it, 201; Philip's order to the Duchess of Parma to detain the nuncio at Brussels, ib.; Parpaglia's eagerness to go to London, 202; he is hindered by De Quadra, ib.; the Queen surmounts her difficulties through Philip's timely help, ib.; suspicions of Philip's orthodoxy, 203; Parpaglia's recall, ib.; consolidation of Elizabeth's power, and her subsequent treatment of Philip, ib.
- Patterson (A. J.), *The Magyars: their Country and Institutions*, 148.
- Paul (St.) and Protestantism, by M. Arnold, 311.
- Pauli (Dr.), *Aufsätze zur Englischen Geschichte*, 142.
- Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 103, 104.
- Peacock (R. A.), *Physical and Historical Evidences of Vast Sinkings of Land on the North and West Coasts of France and South Western Coasts of England within the Historical Period*, 162.
- Pelzelin (August von), *Zur Ornithologie Brasili-*

- liens: Resultate von Johann Natterer's Reisen in den Jahren 1817 bis 1835, 319.
- Pertz (G. H.), Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau, vol. iii., 138.
- Pfleiderer (Dr. E.), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungs-träger, 133.
- Pichler (Dr. A.), Die Theologie des Leibniz, vol. i., 285.
- Polish insurrection of 1863, 84, 85, 88, 92.
- Pontifical Decrees against the Motion of the Earth, considered in their bearing on the Theory of advanced Ultramontaniam, 282.
- Predestination and Freewill, 61.
- Probyn (J. W.), National Self-Government in Europe and America, 305.
- Prussia, Agriculture and Agrarian Laws in, 245-255; political and social reforms undertaken in 1807, 245; Frank and Saxon colonization in Germany, and the regions which each occupied, ib.; division of land in territorial communities, ib.; evils thence resulting, 246; ignorance of cultivators, ib.; universal subjection of the peasantry, ib.; the peace of Tilsit, and its beneficial agricultural results to Prussia, ib.; suppression of serfdom, 247; the edict of Stein, ib.; arrangements for freeing the land, ib.; recent legislative enactments bearing on the subject, and the results of their operation, 247, 248; re-settlement of the commons-lands (Gemeinheits-Theilungen), 248; fundamental principle of the resettlements, 249; the partition of commons in France and Germany respectively, ib.; laws on the dismemberment of farms, 249, 250; tabular statistics, 250; the reunion of parcels of land, 251; laws regulating associations for drainage, irrigation, etc., ib.; the question as to whether these measures have produced the desired results, ib.; agricultural doctrines of Thaer, 252; criticism of Liebig, ib.; proof that advance has been made through the operation of the agrarian laws, 252, 253; breeding and feeding of cattle, 253; the industrial accessories of agriculture, ib.; decreasing number of distilleries, and increasing size, 253, 254; advance of prosperity amongst the agricultural population, 254.
- Pumpelly (R.), Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey around the World, and of Residence in Arizona, Japan, and China, 150.
- Rambaud (A.), De Byzantino Hippodromo et Circensibus factionibus, 271.
- Rambaud (A.), L'Empire Grec au X<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Constantin Porphyrogénète, 270.
- Ranks (Prof.) Briefwechsel Friedrich des Grossen mit dem Prinzen Wilhelm iv. Von Oranien und dessen Gemahlin, 134.
- Riley (H. T.), Annales Monasterii S. Albani a Johanne Amundesham Monacho, 275.
- Rivet (Felix), Influence des Idées Economiques sur la Civilisation, 315.
- Robert (Ch.), La Suppression des Grèves par l'Association aux Bénéfices, 316.
- Rogers (Thorold), Historical Gleanings: a Series of Sketches (Second Series), 305.
- Rogers (Capt.), Buddhaghosha's Parables; translated from Burmese, with an Introduction containing Buddha's Dhammapada or "Path of Virtue," translated from Pāli by F. Max Müller, 116.
- Rolleston (Dr. G.), Forms of Animal Life; being Outlines of Zoological Classification based upon Anatomical Investigation and illustrated by Descriptions of Specimens and of Figures, 319.
- Roman Empire (The) and Christianity, 6-8, 10, 11.
- Rossetti (Dante G.), Poems, 309.
- Russia (Modern), Parties and Politics of, 80-95; character of the relations between Russia and the rest of Europe, 80; Alexander II. and the present position of the Russian question, 80, 81; Karamsin—peculiarity of Russian history, 81; the policy of Alexander II., ib.; how it affected the position of the nobles and of the serfs, 81, 82; the Emancipation measures, 82; Russian journalism and the Government political programme, 83; the Government and the Nihilists, ib.; consequences of the emancipation of the serfs, 84; the Polish insurrection of 1863, and the results of its suppression on the state of parties in Russia, 84, 85; Russification, 85; the Panslavists and their principles, 86; the new watchword of "nationality," 87, and its bearing on the relations of Russia and Europe, 88; recent proceedings of the Russian government, 89; foreign policy of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, 90; moral advantages which Russia claims to have reaped from her defeat in the Crimean war, ib.; European indifference to the Russian conquests in Asia, 91; Prussia's co-operation in the overthrow of Poland, 92; Russification of the western provinces, ib.; the Eastern question, 92, 93; General Fadejew's pamphlet disclaimed by the government, 93; the annexation of Turkey the fixed aim of all Moscovite policy, ib.; Asiatic Turkey, 93, 94; the Anglo-Indian Empire, 94; the internal condition of Russia, 95; her European allies, ib.; the Russian Church, ib.
- Sardanapalus, King of Assyria, events of his reign, 177-188.
- Saunders, (W. Wilson), Refugium Botanicum, or Figures and Descriptions of little-known or new Plants of Botanical interest, 320.
- Schmoller (G.), Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe in 19ten Jahrhundert, 147.
- Shakespeare, Early Authorship of, 36-49; the "first heir of his invention" not his first poem, 36; the first undoubted reference to him in the literature of his day (Greene's attack), 36, 37; Chettle the publisher's apology, 37; indications of early date of writing found in "The Comedy of Errors," 38, 39; other indications found in the construction of the drama, 39; evidence showing that several other plays were written at an early age, 41-43; reference in Spenser to Shakespeare, 43, 44; Greene's accusation, 45; Shakespeare's retorts, 46; the drama in Elizabeth's day, 47; importance of the line of investigation here pointed out, and its promising results, 48.
- Skeat (Rev. W.), The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, 60.
- Smyth (R. B.), the Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria, 125.
- Spedding (J.), The Life and Letters of Francis Bacon, vol. v. 131.
- Springer (A.), Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, 293.
- Stanhope (Earl), the Reign of Queen Anne, 286.
- Stanley (Dean), Supplement to the First and Second Editions of Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 271.
- Stoughton (Dr.), Ecclesiastical History of England: The Church of the Restoration, 284.
- Strehlke (Dr. E.); see Hirsch.
- Sybel (Prof.) Polens Untergang und der Revolutionskrieg; Historische Zeitschrift, (Band xxxiii.) 239.

Tasmania, 316.  
 Taylor (A.), *Papers on the Ancient Topography of the Eastern Counties*, 269.  
 Tennyson (Alfred), *The Holy Grail and other Poems*, 155.  
 Tobler (Prof.), *Mittheilungen aus Altfranzösischen Handschriften; Chanson de Geste von Auberi*, 273.  
 Toeppen (Dr. Max); see Hirsch.  
 Tschermak (Dr. G.) *Die Porphyrgesteine Oesterreichs, aus der Mittleren Geologischen Epoche*, 322.  
 Ujfalvy (Prof.), *Alfred de Musset: eine Etude*, 296.  
 University tests, 110.  
 Vermehren (Prof.), *Platonische Studien*, reviewed, 268.  
 Victoria, gold-fields of, 160.  
 Vivenot (Dr. A. von), *Korsakoff und die Betheiligung der Russen an der Schlacht bei Zürich 25 und 26 September 1799*, 291.  
 Voigt (Prof. G.), *Die Denkwürdigkeiten (1207-1238) des Minoriten Jordanus von Giano*, 273.  
 Vrail (Jules de), *Etude sur Clicquot-Blervache, économiste du 18<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 136.  
 Waddington (Dr.), *Congregational History, 1200-1567*, 127.  
 Waitz (Prof.); see Dahlmann.  
 Wallace (A. R.), *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection: a Series of Essays*, 327.  
 Wattenbach (Prof.), *Peter Luder, der erste humanistische Lehrer in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, Basel*, 277.  
 Webster, Daniel, *Life of*, 295.  
 Westminster Abbey, *Memorials of*, 271; *Will (The) and Freewill*, 49-67; controversy on the *Freedom of the Will*, 49; the point at issue, ib.;

account of the real scope of the controversy, 49-50; notion of moral desert, 51; only two theories of the will possible, 52; the four opinions on the question, 53:—Asiatic Fatalism, ib.; Modified Fatalism, 54; Determinism, and Freewill, 54, 55; points proved at this stage of the inquiry, 55;—examination of the arguments alleged on both (Determinist and Libertarian) sides of the controversy, ib.; first as to the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert, 56; second, as to the analysis of the facts of volition, 57; third, as to the antagonism between prescience and liberty, 58; Mill on the bearing of Omnipotence upon Freewill, 59, 60; Hamilton on the impossibility of directly reconciling between Prescience and Liberty, 60; general ground, on which some get over this difficulty, 60, 61; fallacy of Cudworth and Copleston in their argument on this point, 56, 61; Dawson of Sedburgh, 61; the doctrine of Predestination and wherein it differs from Determinism, 62;—criticism of the arguments of the Determinist, (1.) as to the analysis of the facts of volition, (a) that it is incomplete, 63; (b) that the assumption of Freewill supplies what is needed to complete it, 63, 64; (2.) the account given by Determinism of the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert, 64; the Doctrine of Inseparable Association, *ib et seq.*; Mr. Mill's theory of the genesis of moral desert, 65; the evidence in favour of Inseparable Association examined, 65, 66; the three parts of which this doctrine consists, 66; the Law of Modification, and what it explains, ib.; the Law of Parsimony, 67; close of the proof that Determinism fails to account for the existence of the vulgar notion of moral desert, ib.  
 Whipple (Edwin P.), *The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth*, 280.

Zoological classification, 818

THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CIII.

APRIL, 1870.

ART. I.—THE CHURCH POLICY OF CONSTANTINE.

ANCIENT history records three great Revolutions; it may be doubted whether modern history can parallel them for magnitude and importance. They are the conquest of the East by Alexander, the establishment of the Roman Empire by Cæsar and Augustus, and the recognition of Christianity by Constantine. In each of these cases a simple and definite course of action, if not a single act, produced immediate results which changed the whole face of human civilization, not for the time only, but for a long course of centuries. The first made the culture of Greece commensurate with the whole civilized world; the second established on a lasting basis the polity of Rome and Western Europe; the last still constitutes the deep and broad foundation of all Christian society. The institution of feudalism under the banners of the northern nations, the overthrow of feudalism and construction of the balance of power between the federated States of Europe in more modern times, the revival of learning, the Reformation, and the enfranchisement, still more recently, of human thought—these, and possibly some others, may be adduced as the great revolutions of the later ages of the world's history; but these were, each and all, the complex and chronic development of ideas and circumstances, and have little of the definite unity of the most conspicuous events of antiquity.

Of the three great revolutions of ancient history, the last was assuredly the greatest. Surely no single event, no connected series of political transformations, has occurred, before or since, to equal it in importance even for the temporal interests of mankind.

It secured to man the right to worship God after the highest and noblest conception of the divinity, to construct his system of morality upon the principles of a pure and vital religion, to found human society upon laws, as he believes, divinely revealed to him. Upon this basis all Christian civilization has been established; and the Christian is still commensurate with nearly all of human civilization.

But of the far-reaching ideas which spring up from the momentary contemplation of the magnitude of this event, the recognition of Christianity by Constantine, we will allow ourselves a glimpse only. Let us rather go back to their historical origin, and confine ourselves to an examination into the character and motives of Constantine himself, and into the political significance of the institutions which have rendered him historically illustrious. Let us realise the recognition of Christianity, by a review of the circumstances and the agency by which it was brought about. There was a moment when this revolution was actually seen in event and progress, when men's views of it were not formed and modified by the consciousness of its results, as ours cannot but be. Constantine had his contemporaries: how did Constantine regard his own work, and how did his contemporaries regard it? Putting aside, then, the theological considerations with which this famous event is shaded or reflected in the aspect which it most commonly presents to us, let us rather regard it in the character and the policy of its historical author.

The immediate predecessors of Constantine had divided the inheritance of the Cæsars among a number of rulers, studiously connected together by blood or marriage,



and bound to maintain, as by a kind of family compact, the substantial unity of the Empire, of which each one governed his allotted portion with conjoint or delegated authority. Diocletian had obtained the purple alone. He had been no other than a common soldier, an Illyrian by birth, raised to power by the acclamations of the most numerous or the most energetic of the Roman armies on the frontiers. For at least two generations the soldiers had assumed without disguise the choice of their Emperors, and imposed them without hesitation upon the Senate and the subject. The Senate had often murmured, and more than once rebelled; but the soldiers had acted as the legitimate authority, and promptly put down and punished the rebellion. The subject had generally been quiescent. The army was too strong for both together; circumstances were too strong for them. For a hundred years the Empire had been face to face with the barbarians; and once at least within the memory of the living generation the brigands of the north had penetrated into Italy, and had revived the terrors of a Gaulish invasion within the immediate precincts of the capital. But the army was recruited from the tribes of the frontier, even from the barbarians themselves. It was nothing new, then, that the Emperor should be a rude soldier, a provincial, a stranger, utterly devoid of all Roman sympathies. Such is the declaration of our written histories; and these seem even now to be curiously attested and illustrated by existing remains, which are not without their historical significance. We may still learn something about the progress of these events from the vast series of busts and statues collected in the museums of Italy. The images of the Cæsars and of their contemporaries faithfully preserve the well-known type of the true Roman physiognomy. The great men of the generations that succeed them are no longer genuine Romans by birth; they are provincials by extraction; their countenances are more cosmopolite in expression, but still noble and intellectual. Nerva, Hadrian, and Verus, and the Antonines, are still nature's noblemen. To them succeeds, from Severus to Constantine, a type of countenance no longer Roman, no longer provincial, but barbarian merely. Rude and vigorous animals these later Emperors generally were; but they have for the most part lost all intellectual expression, unless it be that of craft and dissimulation. But besides these statues and busts and medals, to which names can be attached, and from which this illustration of recorded history may be drawn, there exists a multitude of similar remains,

utterly ownerless and nameless, which can only be generally described as portraits of the Lower Empire. For the most part these are of the meanest and most commonplace character. They have lost all resemblance to the old Roman type. They are devoid of the beauty of the high-class provincials, even of the animal vigour of the barbarian soldiers. They seem to represent the degenerate, mongrel race which had succeeded to the inheritance of the old families at Rome, engraved with all the skill which in those days money could buy, and so as to satisfy, no doubt, the vanity and the taste of the highest class of Romans under the heel of the barbarian Emperors. The history of the subjection of the Senate to the Emperors, of the choice of the Emperors by the army, of the recruitment of the army from among the barbarians, of the decline of the Roman character and fortunes from the Cæsars downwards, may be read at a glance in the long rows of Roman portraits in the Conservators' Palace at modern Rome.

It was by the deep and active sympathies, by the national feeling of its sons, that the power of Rome had been secured, extended, and upheld for many centuries. This was now past. New ideas demanded a new system. Diocletian, besides his military capacity, had the genius to perceive the great want of the times, and to organize a new constitution accordingly. He perceived that the vast Empire, assailed at so many points at once, required for its protection the presence of the sovereign, of the Imperator in the old Roman sense, the commander of its armies, east, west, north, and south simultaneously. To meet this necessity he devised the plan of dividing the sovereignty among four several chiefs—two superior, to whom he assigned the highest authority, together with the highest title, that of Augusti; two subordinate, but still endowed with substantial local powers, whom he designated as Cæsars. The east was taken by Diocletian himself; the west was assigned to Maximian. Diocletian appointed Galerius his Cæsar; Maximian gave that title and office to Constantius Chlorus, with the direct control of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and command of the armies which defended the frontier against the Franks, the Saxons, and other German tribes on the Rhine and the North Sea coast.

Such a division could not be peaceful or permanent. It seems to us, after the event, most strange that it could be expected to prove so; but it is hard for us to realize the undoubting faith of the old Roman world in the perpetuity and intrinsic unity of the Empire. The vast body was indeed torn by the

conflicting pretensions and intestine quarrels of these rival rulers. Once and again it reverted in its entirety to the hands of a single potentate; yet once and again it was deliberately redivided. The need of external defence seemed still to preponderate over the internal dangers of this ill-fated arrangement. It was not till the occurrence of a third distribution by the sons of Theodosius that the East and West became finally separated, as from the first it might readily have been predicted that they would be. Strange to say, this very separation seems to have secured the mutual amity of the two portions of the Empire. Peace reigned between Arcadius and Honorius, and between their successors. The shade of Remus might be appeased, and his slaughter expiated by the fraternal concord of the final dividers of the Empire.

Constantine, of whose career we are about to speak more particularly, was the eldest son of Constantius Chlorus, the Cæsar of the West, by Helena, the Saint Helena of a later date, to whom this Cæsar had first been united when he was himself a simple citizen, but whom he had repudiated for the sake of a second and more splendid alliance with the family of Galerius, the Cæsar of the East. Diocletian had been persuaded, chiefly at the instance of Galerius, to institute a general persecution of the Christians. This persecution—the tenth, as it is reputed—the most severe but the last of the series, had resulted in a strong reaction of popular sentiment in favour of the Christians themselves. Diocletian had abdicated, wearied and probably mortified at the failure of the policy thus forced upon him by his younger subordinate. Galerius himself eventually, stung by remorse or alarmed at the progress of a fatal illness, retracted the edict he had issued, and assured the Christians of a legal toleration. At this moment Constantine was in the hands of Galerius in the East, detained under specious pretences as a hostage for the loyalty of his father; for Constantius alone of the four chiefs of the Empire had withheld his sanction from the persecution within his own dominions, had continued to show favour to the Christians who were his subjects, and had made himself thereby the personage towards whom alone a notable portion of the population of the Empire in general looked for countenance, for indulgence, and for deliverance.

Our sources of information as to the bare facts and occurrences of this period are scanty, and often liable to question and suspicion. Of the real disposition, the motives, and personal influences which swayed political leaders, we have no certain informa-

tion at all, and can do little better than conjecture. Many are the conjectures that have been made regarding the causes which ultimately induced Constantine, the son of Constantius, to take the Christians under his special protection, to sanction their worship first, and eventually to exalt it to a position of honour and pre-eminence. There will be further occasion to remark some of the circumstances which may have helped to influence him in this policy; but, in fact, those now touched upon, namely, the position of his father and his own early trials from the jealousy of the persecutor Galerius, may seem of themselves not insufficient to account for his early interest in Christianity and his ultimate conversion to the faith.

The motives indeed of this signal conversion have always been the subject of controversy. It may be well, in order to assist us in our estimate of them, to take into consideration the position in which Christianity outwardly stood towards Paganism at this period.

The numerical proportion which the disciples of the new faith bore to the votaries of the old at the beginning of the fourth century has never been even approximately ascertained. The Christian writers, even from an earlier date, had spoken vaguely and rhetorically, and advanced statements which, if they proved anything, would prove a great deal too much. Tertullian, who asserts that if all the faithful were to withdraw from the cities, the fields and the islands, and retire into a country by themselves, they would leave the Roman Empire a frightful solitude: Eusebius, who seems—but this was after the conversion of Constantine—to regard the Pagans as a mere handful of fanatics in the midst of the multitude of the true believers: must be put out of court by the mere extravagance of their testimony, or confronted with the express admission of Origen, that the proportion of the Christians to the Pagans was but small. In the course of the first century after the establishment of the Church, the election of Bishop Damasus at Rome was attended, as we read, by a vast tumult of his own and his rival's supporters, which kept the whole city in an uproar till it was eventually put down by military force; but it does not appear that these vehement partisans were all even nominally Christians. It seems more likely that occasion was seized for a general riot by the whole scum of the population of a great city. Still later, Augustin ventures to declare that the faith was diffused throughout all nations except the people of Rome and still a few of the natives of the West. To him again may

be opposed the admission of Jerome, that both Britain and Gaul were, at the end of the fourth century, still lying under the yoke of Paganism. It seems, however, that Chrysostom, about the same period, could count but one hundred thousand Christians, or about a quarter of the population of the great Christian metropolis of Constantinople; and it appears that in the constant dissensions of the rival communities at Alexandria the Pagans always got the upper hand. At Antioch it may be admitted, on the authority of Chrysostom, that the Christians actually formed the majority in his day; but it was not till after some fifty more years of establishment that Salvian could venture to assert the same of the Roman world in general. If the numbers were thus even nearly balanced a century and a half from the date before us, we may well believe that, at the moment of Constantine's conversion, the Christians, taken throughout the Empire, were in a very feeble minority. And this is the conclusion at which modern enquirers have very generally arrived. We may content ourselves, in the lack of positive data, with the vague supposition that the Christians were more numerous in the towns than in the country districts, though less perhaps in the great metropolitan cities than in the smaller provincial capitals; that they were more numerous in the East than in the West, among the Greek-speaking people than the Latin. If they approached at all nearly to half the population in Syria and Asia Minor, they were no doubt in a decided minority elsewhere, far from numerous in Spain, still less so in Gaul, and but very few in Britain. There were hundreds of bishops in Asia and Africa, but seventy-five in Gaul, possibly only three in Britain. Accordingly, when Constantine escaped from the hands of Galerius, and was associated by Constantius with himself in the sovereignty of the West, he might naturally feel that, master as he already was of the loyal affections of his own quarter of the Empire, there was no way for him so direct to the affection of the other as to declare his sympathy with a section of its inhabitants which was perhaps nearly one-half of the whole population in number, while in zeal, in courage, in energy, and activity, it undoubtedly far outstripped its rivals.

For the difference of habits and temper and moral force between the Christian and the Pagan, now at the end of the third century of Christian faith and practice, might clearly prognosticate the rise of the one and the approaching downfall of the other. The student of the later Imperial history cannot

fail to be struck by the marked superiority in energy of the barbarian over the native element, be it Greek, or Roman, or Syrian, of the population. The men who come to the top in the swift-recurring revolutions of the era are uniformly individuals of the rudest and least Hellenized races. They are Thracians, Illyrians, Africans, Germans, or Britons. They are wholly devoid of the old-world culture of Greece and Rome, of the social and religious ideas of the ancient civilization. The old culture is tainted at the root, and withering; the old ideas are vanishing; the old faiths have lost their sanctions. Christianity undoubtedly presented great attractions to the younger and more vigorous races of the Empire. Among the slaves of the old patrician families, the men who were imported year by year from foreign markets, it made steady progress. It engaged the sympathy of the alien from Rome, of the oppressed by Rome, of the men of hardier nature, of stronger will, of temper self-asserting and resolute, whatever their origin and nurture. The self-control it enjoined, and elevated to the highest of virtues, recommended it to the noblest natures, while it revolted from it all that was sickly, effeminate, and ignoble. The laxity of morals which was unstringing the fibre of the Romans was denounced by Christian rule, and generally rejected in Christian practice. Pagan marriage had become a mere apology for licentiousness; Christian marriage was a school of self-restraint. The Pagans hardly recognized the parental duties. They exposed their infants at caprice or convenience; they limited the number of their families by means scarcely less detestable: and all from wretched habits of self-indulgence, from a cowardly shrinking from care and responsibility. Family life with the Pagans was a school of moral enervation. The Christian, in adopting the bonds of holy wedlock, undertook obligations from which he had no escape. He entered upon a discipline of self-control and self-denial, and therefore of fortitude, of energy, and of perseverance. He must maintain the children he had begotten. He could not cast them off, starve them in infancy, sell them, as they grew up, to the slave-dealer, shuffle them away among the orphans and foundlings to be supported by the charity of aliens. He reaped his reward in the necessity of exertion thus imposed upon him, which strengthened his moral power, and enhanced no doubt even his physical well-being. The Christian became, both in mind and body, twice the man that the Pagan in the same street was. He was braver in war, bolder in council, more in-

genious in labour, more active and intelligent everywhere, more alive to the circumstances of the times and the demands of society about him. Whatever may be the defects of Christian literature, such as remains to us, in this period of general decay and stagnation, we cannot but remark how greatly it is superior to the Pagan—more eloquent, more subtle, more fresh, more vigorous. It bears the promise of growth and development. The Empire, then, is falling to the Christians. It is not every one, as yet, that can perceive it. Who shall be the first to discern the dawn of the new era, from a position in which he can assist the movement which shall follow it with power and effect? A Constantius or a Constantine, bred among the more masculine characters of the North and West, seizes the occasion and guides it to its issue.

The Western Cæsar had then, as we see, two motives for preferring the Christian cause to the Pagan: first, a natural prejudice against the old faith as that of his own foes and persecutors, as the legend inscribed on the banners of Galerius; and secondly, the augury which, as a man of sense and foresight, he could not fail to entertain of the assured victory of the new faith in the struggle which was now hastening to its crisis. But there was a third motive which, we may well believe, had great force with him also. He discovered, no doubt, a pre-sage of the impending triumph of the Cross in the good fortune which had so signally marked the career of his own father, the indulgent patron of the persecuted Christians. The charm of good fortune and worldly success, strong with all men, strong at all times, was peculiarly strong and convincing among a people born and bred in the atmosphere of the old declining Paganism; it was peculiarly strong in an age of gross superstition, in which the visible and material criterion of success bore universal sway over the strongest, no less than the weakest of natures. Of all the Imperial hierarchy of Diocletian, the Cæsars and Augusti both of the East and of the West, Constantius, the father of Constantine, had alone enjoyed unflinching prosperity. His throne had remained unshaken, while theirs had been successively battered and overthrown. Diocletian himself had abdicated the power which had not been absolutely wrested from him, but which was only weariness to him, and fear and disgust. And Constantine himself, in spite of the Pagan divinities whom he hated, had had a marvellous escape, a marvellous preservation, from the toils of the Pagan partisans, his enemies. Long kept as a hostage by Galerius, treated

with great harshness, exposed to imminent peril, he had burst his bonds at the very crisis of his fortunes, and made his way, by an effort of singular energy and ingenuity, from the court of the Augustus of the East to the quarters of his father, the Cæsar of the West. He confessed himself the lucky son of a lucky father; and he made, no doubt, very serious reflections on the circumstance.

Such, then, we may believe, was the disposition of Constantine towards Christianity, curious and expectant, favourable but undetermined, when, after his father's death and a few intervening years of vigorous administration in his own dominions, he found himself involved in war with Maxentius, who was then reigning over Italy and Africa. The forces of this Emperor, who held his seat in Rome, still the acknowledged metropolis of the Roman world, seem to have been very formidable; but fortunately the prince himself was as indolent as he was presumptuous. Constantine boldly crossed the Alps with an invading army in the year 312, defeated Maxentius at Turin, and his lieutenant at Verona, and hastened with energy and activity to crush a third army, assembled by his rival to cover Rome at the passage of the Tiber. It was when elated by these extraordinary successes, and excited to fever perhaps by the ardour of his impetuous movements, that Constantine, advancing on the Flaminian Way, and arrived perhaps in sight of the towers and temples of the great Pagan capital, beheld, or fancied he beheld, a vision of the Cross of Christ, resplendent in the heavens, flashing on his eyes the glorious inscription, "Hereby shalt thou conquer!" So he himself declared. The phenomenon has been eagerly claimed for a miracle. But such an illusion may well have occurred under the circumstances of the case; and we may fairly allow Constantine full credit for sincerity in his avowal and belief, without yielding to his weakness, if such it was, in claiming it for a witness from Heaven.

The great battle which decided, if we may so say, the historical career of Christendom took place within sight of Rome itself. It is an obvious trick of the modern picturesque historians, to describe the scene of the encounter, the lines of the champions of the Cross descending the southern slopes towards the Tiber, and flashing the radiance of their steel upon the walls, the turrets, and the pinnacles of the city—the ensign of the Cross waving before them, and defying the hostile gods of Paganism, whose images might be descried on the temples of the Pagan metropolis. A fine subject no doubt for rhetoric or for poetry; but there is much plain mat-

ter of fact before us, more deeply interesting than any flight of the imagination. The forces of Maxentius had already crossed the river, and had taken up their position on the right, and on the northern bank, beyond the narrow bridge surnamed the Milvian, which gave its name to the famous battle that ensued. A second temporary bridge had been thrown across the stream a few yards above it, to facilitate their passage. But in their defeat and rout these bridges proved inadequate for their retreat; the wooden structure broke down under their pressure; and Maxentius fell into the waters, and was carried to the bottom by the weight of his armour.

This catastrophe sufficed for the entire overthrow of the Pagan Empire, and the dissolution of the party by which it had been maintained and cherished. Rome was undoubtedly still the head-quarters of Paganism; the Senate, the nobility, and all that remained of the old Italian blood in Rome, were generally interested in behalf of the old faith, the old rites, and traditions, and prejudices. In earlier times the converts at Rome, the church of St. Paul, the martyrs under Nero or Domitian, even the disciples of Callistus and Hippolytus in the third century, were foreigners for the most part—Jews and Greeks, freedmen and slaves of all races and nations, rather than sons of Rome herself or of Italy. And so it seems to have been still. The inscriptions in the Catacombs continue, even at this late period, to attest the foreign extraction of the mass of Christian believers at Rome. But the old Pagan stock, though still wealthy and politically important, had itself dwindled in numbers, while in the domain of thought and intellectual exertion its influence was rapidly on the wane. The encroachment of the new faith upon the old, of the new ideas, of the new world, upon the old of Rome, if actually less, was perhaps relatively more significant than at any other spot in the Empire. If the head and heart were thus mortally affected, what dependence could be placed upon the less honourable and less vigorous members of the body?

The considerations have already been weighed which might induce Constantine to favour the Christian party in the Empire. They were immensely enhanced by the victory over Maxentius, which revealed to him the intrinsic weakness of the Pagan faction, and persuaded him, not less strongly perhaps, of the weakness of the Pagan deities, its patrons. It is very probable that he still believed, in some sense, in Jupiter, and Quirinus, and the Goddess Roma, and generally in the powers, however he might designate them, to which Christianity was opposed. He

may have believed also, in a qualified sense, in Christ the God of the Christians, and regarded the world, from the warrior's point of view, as a field contested by two hostile principles. It cannot be doubted, indeed, that in that strange crisis of conflicting dogmas there were multitudes with beliefs at war between themselves, not rejecting but rather combining both, and balancing one against the other, even with no attempt to harmonize them. In such a frame of mind, so wavering and uncertain, so willing to be influenced, so anxious to be decided, Constantine was swayed from day to day by the visible success of the one side or the other. Now at last the day of Christ might seem to have arrived with power; and he began, as we conceive, from this epoch, the close of the year 312, to hold more truly and steadfastly to Christ, while he as yet by no means cast off his adherence to Jupiter. He still thought there might be power on both sides, and therefore truth on both sides; and in his heart he wished to keep on good terms with each. He might be quite sincere, according to his light, and according to the ideas of the times, in this compromise of faith. Such might be the natural issue of the long polemical training of the Greek and Roman intellect. Constantine's compromise between Paganism and Christianity might be the natural result of the repeated compromises of the schools between Zeno and Epicurus, between fate and free-will, between unbelief and superstition.

Early in the ensuing year Constantine issued the celebrated edict of Milan. It was so named from the city to which the Emperor had repaired from Rome; for the old Pagan capital was neither then nor at any subsequent period a place of agreeable residence for him. With favour in his heart, with favour in his mouth, for the Christians, he could breathe more freely at Milan, or anywhere else, than at Rome. This edict, generally designated, though not quite correctly, the first Act of Toleration for the Christian Church, was really a reiteration and extension of the decree before mentioned of Galerius, which had also been echoed still more recently by Constantine himself in conjunction with Licinius. The necessity of showing some indulgence to the rising power of Christianity had not been wholly unrecognized already. Unfortunately, the sources from which our information is derived, however closely examined, seem to afford no satisfactory clue to the exact nature of these recurring edicts, and the precise differences between them. It is pretty clear that the two earlier ones, published in 311 and 312 respectively, failed to give satisfaction to the

Christians, and were even to some extent rejected by them. It would appear that certain "conditions" were imposed upon them; but whether these were special restrictions or disabilities applicable to the Christians, or whether they were directed to restraining all "sects," both Pagan and Christian equally, from changing their opinions and transferring their faith, has never been determined. We are inclined ourselves to adopt the latter solution, as the most agreeable to the circumstances of the case and the character of the Imperial government. We suppose that the earlier edicts were in fact intended to recognize Christianity for the first time as an "allowed religion" in the legal phraseology of the Empire. They conferred upon it a legal sanction and a legal status, upon the footing of other recognized national forms of faith, of which there were so many and diverse.

Polytheism is generally regarded as tolerant in its character. Its principle, as held at least by Greece and Rome, was this: that every people had their own gods, often no less antagonistic to one another than the people who worshipped them respectively. The conquering race allowed the conquered to persist in the worship of their special patrons, just to the same extent as they suffered them to enjoy their own lands and institutions, with regard to which the Romans were generally indulgent. The conquered people acknowledged their subjection by a tribute; the gods of the conquered were supposed to acquiesce in their defeat, and bow before the superior power of the gods of Rome, and took rank perhaps below them on the common Olympus. Hence the religion of a conquered people was generally "allowed;" its gods were admitted to some partial communion with those of Rome herself. The worship of the Druids was exceptionally suppressed, because of the political influence they exercised and the turbulence they were supposed to encourage. The rites of Bacchus and of other Eastern divinities were from time to time interdicted, as pernicious to morals and possibly dangerous to the State. When the Jewish people were finally subdued and expatriated, their religion seems to have been proscribed, though the proscription may have been removed or suffered to fall into abeyance. But the religion of the Christians was not a national one; the Christians were not a subject people with whom Rome had entered into compact; they had no country, no laws and institutions of a national character. Hence Christianity had no *locus standi* in the Empire, no presumptive claim to license or toleration; while on the other hand the hostile attitude it assumed on its own part, the intolerance of Pagan creeds and usages which

it was so little careful to disguise, could not but render it an object of dislike and jealousy. The sharp antagonism in which it had been placed to Polytheism by a series of cruel persecutions pointed it out more and more as an enemy with whom no peace should be made, no terms kept, and which could only win its way to indulgence and toleration by sheer force of numbers and increasing influence.

And this was what it had come to. The time had arrived, on the failure of the Diocletian persecution, when Christianity must be admitted to the common status of all other "allowed religions." Hitherto, even while persecution slumbered, the churches of the Christians were placed under no legal sanction. The property attached to the churches, and the service performed in them, could claim no protection. In ordinary times they might remain unnoticed and undisturbed; but the law could at any time be invoked and enforced against them, and at the best the believers had no defence against the rapacity of local rulers. The institutions held sacred among them, their religious ordinances, their rules for admission or exclusion, their marriages, as far as they were unsanctioned by the use of the civil law, could have no legal validity. The processes of the Roman law-courts were for the most part confirmed by some Pagan ceremonial with which the Christians could not conscientiously comply; and so to the Christians the law-courts were practically closed. They had been early warned not to go to law with one another before the unbelievers. Meanwhile they adopted rules and sanctions among themselves; and the action of the authorities of the church supplied to their own consciences the validity which could not be sought from the law of the country. The edict of Galerius (311) would allow no doubt free worship in the Christian churches; it would secure the churches themselves by law, together with their endowments. Galerius, in the agonies of his fatal illness, which drew this Act of Toleration from him, eagerly solicited the Christians to pray for him. But it would seem that this unprecedented indulgence was marred by a special condition; and this condition was reiterated in the first confirmatory Act of Constantine and Licinius. The great object of these princes was peace—peace between rival creeds as well as between rival princes; and they deemed it within their competence, as supreme rulers of the State, while conferring equal freedom in the exercise of all religions, to prohibit conversion from one to another. If the government had failed to establish unity of opinion, it might at least, they thought, secure harmony in disunion. Such

had been the principle of Roman policy from the first; and the original Edicts of Toleration, which placed Christianity on the footing of an "allowed religion," were exactly in conformity therewith.

But Christianity was not to be thus politically dealt with. It would seem that the Christians, so recently relieved from the terrors of persecution, yet would not consent to surrender their indefeasible right and duty to preach the gospel, to convert and baptize all the nations. Perhaps the victory of their patron at the Milvian bridge emboldened them to be more exacting; perhaps Constantine himself was emboldened by his victory to take their part still more fully, and concede the liberty of aggressive action, without which they refused to accept a mere toleration. Perhaps he already foresaw and acquiesced in the prospect of the exclusive establishment of the Christian Church, which might seem the only way remaining to attain the peace and unity which were no doubt the object of his Imperial ambition. The edict of 313, the edict of Milan, was declared to be an amendment of those preceding it; and it advanced beyond them precisely in this particular, not only allowing the free exercise of the Christian along with other religions, but withdrawing all legal impediment to its utmost diffusion.

Such appears to have been the real spirit and significance of this edict, which has gained it such special distinction in the history of the Christian Church. Such were the fruits of the Christian victory of the Milvian bridge, of the vision, real or imagined, of the luminous cross in the heavens. To the believers, it was the charter of their impending triumph. To the Pagans, it seemed only to extend the sphere of Polytheism to embrace one more phase of spiritual opinions. To them it announced at least no new principle of law or usage. By them it might be regarded as only the crowning of the old religious edifice. It might be hailed by the philosophers as the highest effort of human wisdom and charity enlightened by a ray of divine intelligence. They might pardon Christianity itself for the service thus done to humanity. But they would have been too precipitate. The principle thus launched into the world took no root in it. The service done to humanity was momentary and illusory. The edict of Milan had no permanence. Simple as it appears, and easily as it catches the imagination of the candid and generous, the theory of equal toleration is one which has never long maintained itself in practice; and consideration will show perhaps how impossible it was, in the case before us, that it should do so. The remaining years

of the reign of Constantine, twenty-four in number, sufficed entirely to overthrow its momentary recognition in the Roman Empire. From the persecution of the Christians by the Pagans to the persecution of Christians by one another may seem a long step. It might be expected a priori that, if effected at all, it would at least be the work of centuries, the result of a long series of declensions from the truth, and spiritual corruptions. But in fact it was fully accomplished within the short space of a quarter of a century.

The happy effect of this recognition—the establishment we must not yet call it—of Christianity begins soon to appear in the records of the Imperial legislation. The compilation of the laws of the first Christian Emperors, made about a century later by the younger Theodosius, exhibits various enactments of his great predecessor, with a humane or moral object, in which the influence of the gospel teaching is sufficiently manifest. We are to bear in mind that Polytheism still stood upright; her rites and institutions, still more the prejudices and persuasions of the heathen mind, retained their sway over a large though a diminishing portion of the entire population. We must not forget the old Roman tenacity of form, nor the fact that the Emperor himself, though from henceforth avowing himself a disciple of the new faith, still retained his place at the head of the Pagan establishment, still performed the functions and stamped on his official acts the title of Chief Priest of Jupiter Best and Greatest, was in act an idolater, in heart and understanding at least half a Pagan. Under these circumstances the enactments of Constantine for the suppression of some flagrant vices and disorders, for the maintenance of the poor, for the checking of infanticide, for the protection of the wife, the child, and the slave, together with the facilities he gave for emancipation,—these, and others of like tendency, indicate perhaps quite as strong a sense of the demands of Christian principle as could be expected, and an advance in the path of moral reconstruction as fast as was practicable. The cruelty, indeed, of some of the punishments under Constantine has often been stigmatized. Inhuman they were; but those under his predecessors had been diabolical. The inefficiency of the methods of criminal procedure for the discovery of crime seems to have suggested the necessity of deterring from it by the most frightful penalties. The spirit of the gospel seems to have led the first Christian Emperor to as great a relaxation of these terrors as the security of person and property was supposed to allow. The altered spirit of the times in another respect is curiously indicated by a law to forbid all labour

and all civil procedure, except only the emancipation of a slave, on the "holy day of the Sun." Christian soldiers were to be at liberty to attend on the Sunday at Divine service; while those who had not embraced the faith of Christ were marched out of their quarters in the city into the open country, and there directed to raise their hands and eyes to heaven, and repeat a Latin prayer to the Supreme God, the author of the victories and of the prosperity of the Emperor.

Among the civil reforms of Constantine which seem to owe their origin to a Christian principle was one for establishing equality of all classes before the law. All men were to be subjected to the same laws and penalties. Exemption from the charges of the State was to be conceded only on broad and impartial principles. It is just, said Constantine, in the spirit of the economists of his day, that the rich should sustain the burdens of the State, and the poor be supported by the treasures of the Church. The decurions, the members of the proprietary class throughout the provinces, were bowed to the yoke of this Imperial taxation; but the various priesthoods had succeeded in getting themselves relieved from a share in the burden, in consideration of the charge of the temples and the services and ceremonial, which for the most part was imposed upon them by their devotees. But the Pagan priesthoods were few, and their number small. In the earlier period both of Greece and Rome the sacerdotal castes had been special and limited. The Consul or the Dictator offered the vows of the Roman people in the temples. Every Roman householder paid accustomed rites to the divinities of his own domestic hearth. The sacrificer who actually slew the beast or cut up the carcass was a menial minister. The augur who stood beside him, and noted the tokens presented by the victim, might be a senator or a noble. But it was not so with Christianity. It had not been so with Judaism, nor indeed commonly with the Eastern forms of religion; and no doubt in the latter ages professional priesthood had been much more widely diffused throughout the Empire. Among the Orientals the priesthood was generally a caste, often hereditary, always separated from the rest of the people, and removed by consecration to the sacred office from all worldly employment and responsibilities. Such was certainly the theory of the Jewish priesthood; such, setting aside all question about its original idea, was the Christian priesthood in the fourth century and long before it. As such, the first Christian Emperor understood and accepted it, and stamped it with legal recognition for the ages that were to follow.

Accordingly, following the analogy of the Heathen, the whole caste of the Christian priesthood, from the bishops downwards—a much larger number, we may believe, and socially a more important body—were at once relieved from all civil functions and liabilities. At the same time, they acquired immunity from payment to the Imperial treasury, which in many cases was a composition for personal service. To the clergy was formally intrusted, now for the first time, the spiritual oversight of the people; and, that their minds might be applied without distraction, they were entirely confined to their spiritual ministry. The spiritual and the temporal administration were to be kept distinct, and regarded as co-ordinate but separate elements of government. The Emperor alone, standing at the apex whence these lines diverged, combined in his august person the control and oversight of both. He represented alone the great body of the people, whose interests were both spiritual and temporal, and who required the services both of religious and of civil functionaries. Next to the Emperor ranged, on the one hand, the patriarchs, the metropolitans, the archbishops and bishops, with their inferior clergy of many orders and degrees: on the other, a corresponding hierarchy of secular functionaries, the Prætorian prefects of the great capitals, the prefects of the four quarters of the Empire, the governors of several provinces combined, the governors of single provinces, and the long roll of officers, civil and military, which pervaded in all its completeness every nook and corner of the Empire. As the vast body of these secular officials was, however, limited in number, so a limit was put by law to the inordinate multiplication of the clergy, to which the exemptions accorded them gave a pernicious stimulus. The ecclesiastical and the civil machinery of the government were thus made to correspond with an analogy which marked a dominant idea in the mind of the Imperial organizer. It may be too much, perhaps, to attribute to him any such distinct purpose and determination, but the tendency of his mind is fully traced in the policy by which he transformed the Roman military Empire into a civil and ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

During the first years that followed after the edict of Milan, while Constantine still divided the Empire with his Eastern colleague Licinius, his mind continued but partially opened to the truth of Christianity, and seems rather to have been influenced by devotion to the clergy, and especially to the bishops, than by dogmatic conviction in its favour. The mysterious claims advanced by the ministers of the new faith, and the awe they manifestly inspired in their flocks, seem



to have made a deep impression on his imagination. He allowed them to surround him on all occasions; and to one of their number, Eusebius of Cæsarea, an able writer and speaker, a supple courtier, and probably an astute adviser, he gave no small portion of his confidence. He suffered or encouraged them to assume the airs and the authority of a governing body in the State, to array themselves in the gaudiest costume, and encircle themselves with the paraphernalia of official rank; while he affected to pay the profoundest deference to their spiritual character, and not even to seat himself unbidden in their presence. Among the earliest symptoms of the approaching rupture between himself and his colleague was the restraint which Licinius put upon the pretensions of the bishops, and the slur he studiously cast upon their morals. But the quarrel between the rival Emperors speedily resulted in the victory of Constantine. The peace and unity of the Empire were finally assured by the assassination of the vanquished; and the victor, whose enthusiasm for the Christian faith had been warmed by the perils of the contest, was now free to carry out his religious views under the guidance of his spiritual advisers, with no other restraint than such as his own conscience or his lingering feelings of superstition might supply.

First, then, with respect to the attitude assumed by Constantine towards Paganism, still the religion of a large majority of his subjects, it may be observed that the legislation of the period which succeeded the defeat of Licinius bears marks of great vacillation and uncertainty. On the one hand, it is strongly affirmed by his detractors in modern times, though by the Christians of his own day it was signalized as his greatest merit, that he issued specific edicts for closing the Pagan temples and prohibiting the Pagan services. Constantine has been exalted and denounced in turn as a persecutor of the false religions, as one who did not hesitate to retaliate upon the Pagans in their own spirit, and with hardly less harshness and severity. On the other hand, there appears to be undeniable evidence to the fact that he himself erected certain temples to certain Pagan divinities, that he sanctioned the use of the Pagan auspices and other memorials on certain occasions, that he retained to the last the Pagan title of Pontifex Maximus, that he put off almost to the last the baptism by which he finally enrolled himself in the number of the Christian converts. The medals of Constantine are constantly engraved with the names of Jupiter, Mars, and Minerva; the Christian symbol of the Labarum is placed on them in the hands of a Pagan Victory; the trium-

phal arch he erected at Rome is covered with the representations of Pagan sacrifices; and even in his Christian city on the Bosphorus he set up his famous column of porphyry, on which was exhibited a fragment of the true cross between a statue of Apollo at the top and the Palladium of Æneas at the bottom. But we must not lay too much stress upon any of these apparent contradictions. Constantine does not really deserve the blame or the praise of persecuting the Pagan religions. His conduct towards the Pagans was simply political. Regarding the Pagan deities as demons, real beings with real power, in antagonism to the greater power of the God of the Christians, he did not venture wholly to forbid their worshippers from having recourse to them. He merely stipulated that they should worship them according to open, accustomed, and legally appointed rites. It was the practice of occult worship, of magical rites, such usages as all Pagan governments had long before condemned, that he prohibited, suppressed, and punished. A large portion of the faith of the Pagans centred in these magical practices; they had been perverted, at least they had been always suspected of being perverted, to political ends. The Roman governments had always regarded them with jealous apprehension. Every Roman Emperor from Augustus downwards had fulminated against them, while perhaps every one of them allowed himself to practise the art of magic in person, according to rites which he professed to deem legitimate. Paganism as far as it might seem to be a dangerous political engine Constantine persecuted, as all his predecessors had done; but this was the extent of his persecution, except that in one or two instances he seems to have interdicted forms of worship, and closed temples, which were manifestly perverted to purposes grossly immoral. And in this too he did no more than Roman usage had sanctioned from time immemorial. To the last, indeed, he probably retained a superstitious hankering after some of the forms of Pagan devotion; but his motive for refraining from baptism till the near approach of death was no doubt founded on the belief that the sacred lustration was an actual cleansing from all sin, and the only sure viaticum which the convert could take with him to the grave.

But we must now proceed to examine the position in which Constantine, as the sole ruler of the Empire, placed himself towards the interests and the government of the Church.

Hitherto the common affairs of the Christian believers had been debated in local councils, to which the bishops of a district

or a province had been summoned generally by their own metropolitan. Such synods had been held at Lugdunum in Gaul, at Illiberis in Spain, at Antioch, Ephesus, Iconium, and many other local centres of the Church in Asia. With the spread of the faith and the lapse of time new questions of doctrine and discipline were constantly arising. Diverse tendencies of thought were becoming apparent in different quarters of the Empire. The traditions of the past, the rules of the future, propounded in one province might have little interest for another, or might unhappily conflict with those of another. Amidst a great decline of intellectual culture, and the general corruption of art and literature, it would seem that down to the fourth century there was little or no decay of material civilization. Means of communication and habits of intercourse between remote places were still in full activity. Trade and travelling were never more constant or more widely diffused than at this period. The Churches of the East and West, the North and South, kept up unintermittent communication with one another by letters and messengers. Thus, notwithstanding the increased numbers and wider-diffusion of the believers, the outward tokens of the unity of the Church remained as visible as ever. But it was not so with the inner life of doctrine and opinion. The extension of faith began to do its work in creating divers and conflicting schools of thought. From day to day new heresies and evil schisms were arising; overborne in one place they speedily started up in another. The authority of local decisions had little weight beyond the locality itself. A council of bishops in one province could not attest the tradition of the Church in another. The great need of the Church, as it was felt at that period, was a general authority for declaring the faith of universal Christendom. The Unity of Faith was regarded as the paramount consideration. But to maintain it some new machinery was required.

To effect this object there were, it would seem, two modes that would present themselves. The one was that of a General Council, composed of representatives of the Church from all quarters, to compare the traditions and usages and beliefs of the Christian world, and pronounce accordingly the tradition of the Church universal. If such an idea had hitherto flashed upon the minds of churchmen, it might have seemed to them simply impossible to reduce it to action, from the want of any central authority competent to convene a General Council. Had there been such an authority in the age before Constantine, occa-

sions were quickly recurring on which appeal would undoubtedly have been made to it to issue its fiat, and convene the assembly of the Church universal. But there was none such; and it was not till the Church could see in the Emperor a personage endowed with authority to convene and with power to enforce the decisions of the Christian Council, that the idea of submitting the controversies of the Church to the decision of the Church in general assembly took root among the faithful. But this was after all a difficult and perhaps a hazardous experiment to make. A much shorter and simpler mode of procedure might also present itself. It might be proposed to refer at once to the wisdom and authority of the Emperor himself. As a Christian and a patron of Christianity, he might perhaps be trusted to take discreet counsel in any matter of faith submitted to him, to call for the opinions of the most faithful and learned pastors of the flock of Christ, and to be guided thereby in his decisions. Such were the two courses open at this moment to the choice of the Christian Church, in its earnest solicitude for the unity of faith and practice, in an age of great present trial, amid much cause of apprehension for the future. The first of the two, that of convening General Councils, was the course finally chosen; but the second, that of direct appeal to the Emperor himself, was actually the first to be hazarded.

The first occasion that occurred for making this experiment related to a matter of Church discipline, and indeed of social order, rather than of doctrine. It referred to the schism of the Donatists; and the case, very briefly told, was this:—During the recent persecution under Diocletian, the Pagan authorities, weary of inflicting death on those who refused to abjure the faith by sacrificing to idols, had bethought themselves of a milder, and, as they might think, a surer way of extirpating Christianity, by dismantling the churches, and demanding the surrender of the sacred furniture and the sacred books. Very precious were the copies of the Holy Scriptures, scattered here and there, from parish to parish, and confided to the special guardianship of presbyteries and bishops. Many, no doubt, of these faithful men had submitted to death and torture rather than give up their sacred treasure. But some, not a few perhaps, who would have endured to the utmost rather than sacrifice to an idol or burn incense on a Pagan altar, had yielded so far to the temptation and purchased life on these easier terms. It must be added that there were others, few or many we know not, who had actually recanted the Faith and shrunk altogether from their trial. After

the cessation of the persecution, and the dawn of a brighter day, a question arose, how these two classes of delinquents should be dealt with—the Traditors or Traitors on the one hand, the Lapsi or Relapsed on the other. The authorities of the Church were inclined to treat their cases with lenity, and admit them, both the one and the other, on the expression of their penitence, to communion. But from a certain party there arose a cry for severer measures—for refusing communion, for treating them as mere heathens, and requiring reconversion and rebaptism. This party received the name of Donatists, from Donatus, a bishop of Numidia, who took the lead among them; for it was in Africa that the question came to a crisis, and to Africa it would seem the agitation was confined. The disgust, however, felt by the Donatists towards the actual delinquents was hardly greater than that they soon came to entertain towards the great body of the Church which showed such indulgence towards them. The African character was ever vehement and fanatical. Wordy contention arose, which soon threatened to break into open turbulence. Meanwhile the Donatists elected a bishop of their own at Carthage, declared themselves the true Church, excommunicated their opponents, and defied their hostility. The question was a practical, not a doctrinal one, and threatened the peace of the province no less than the unity of the Church. Both parties, it seems, were equally anxious for a decision between them. Both at the same time turned their eyes to the same quarter. Both appealed to the Emperor, as the centre of secular unity, to maintain for them the principle of ecclesiastical unity also. A Provincial Council would, as they both felt, be nugatory. Neither of them imagined the expedient, hitherto unattempted, of a General Council, to open the mind of the whole Church on a question in which the whole Church was actually concerned; but they flew, with one accord, to Constantine, as the nearest, the readiest, the most powerful, perhaps not the least zealous, arbiter of the Church's quarrel.

Constantine, one would think, must have been somewhat surprised at the appeal thus made to him. But he was a bold, a sanguine, a self-confident man. He had faced many difficulties, and overcome them. He was a practical man, hampered by no theories: and in this case, looking neither to the right hand nor to the left, he saw no difficulties. To a superficial view the case might not seem so novel as it really was. From the time of Augustus, the Emperor of the Romans had always united with his secular supremacy the spiritual functions, if we may

so characterize them, of the chief priesthood of the national religion. He offered the public vows in the temples; he assisted at the most solemn sacrifices; he directed the Haruspices to examine the divine tokens; he consulted the sacred books of the Sibyls; he watched over the holy chastity of the Vestal Virgins. The title of Pontifex Maximus, derived from the venerable founder of the Roman cultus, was dear to the rulers of the State. It moved, as they well knew, the imagination of their Pagan subjects; it formed an easy slope to the summit of the Apotheosis. This title Constantine retained to the last. In his mind it had a political if not a religious significance. Even his next successors, who had been bred in the faith which he only embraced fully in his last moments, continued to cling to it, whatever reserve they might practise in the exercise of the duties pertaining to it. They could not, Christians as they were, divest themselves of the notion that it symbolized the unity of Church and State, and sanctified the temporal power by its spiritual associations. It is not surprising, then, that Constantine should have welcomed the Christian supremacy thus thrust upon him by rival bishops and communions. They assured him that unity of opinion could be maintained by his authority. He was prone to admit the fond delusion; and as he had overcome the principle of disunion in the State "*instinctu divinitatis*," by the motion of a Divine Spirit, as he himself expressed it on his Arch of Triumph, so now he might easily be led to expect to quell, by the same Divine Spirit, the principle of disunion in the Church also.

The rival parties repaired to Rome as the centre of the secular government. Constantine was absent on the frontiers of Gaul. This circumstance may account for his choosing three bishops from that part of the Empire, and sending them to the capital, to confer with the bishop of Rome, and some others, upon the points in controversy. The Council met under the Imperial sanction; the question was discussed in ecclesiastical form; the Donatists were defeated, their intrusion repelled, their party denounced as schismatics. The Catholic bishop of Carthage was sustained in his seat; and the unity of the Church declared inviolable. Constantine was satisfied. He hoped that he had ejected the evil spirit of disunion from the Church, and had at the same time established the principle of moderation in religious opinion, which is dear to practical people generally, and to princes in particular. It must have been a proud day with him when he felt what vigour had been imparted to spiritual

censure by the secular arm. He conceived, we may suppose, a higher idea of the position of a Christian Emperor, supreme in the State, supreme in the Church also. The Pagans themselves appear to have been cast into dismay by it. The decision which he now ratified and enforced occurred at the moment when the Secular Games were to be celebrated; and, for the first time since the establishment of the Empire, the authorities refrained from the celebration, for fear of the Emperor's displeasure. The amphitheatre of Vespasian, the playground of the Pagans, which had so often swum with the blood of the Christians, remained ominously empty.

The experiment of checking ecclesiastical controversies by the secular arm was quite a new one. There have been so many similar attempts, from age to age repeated, that it is interesting to observe the first of the series, and to watch its issue. As in most cases that have followed, it was wholly unsuccessful. The Donatists waxed more zealous, more violent, more contumacious than ever. But Constantine was not discouraged. Something, he thought, perhaps had gone wrong with his machinery. He called for more bishops. He determined to convene a second Council; and he determined that it should have the full weight of numbers. To Arles, in Gaul, he summoned bishops, not of Gaul only, but of various and distant provinces; and to facilitate their meeting he defrayed the expenses of their journey, and placed at their service the relays of the Imperial post. Again the Council decided against the schismatics. They boldly appealed to the Emperor in person, exalting him even above the Council he had himself appointed. Constantine seems to have been staggered by this adroit manœuvre. He hesitated, and for some time delayed to give the Imperial sanction to his Council's decision. But, when at last he too had pronounced judiciously against the Donatists, it was impossible to leave an Imperial sentence unsustained by penal enactments. The schismatics had made a blunder. And had not Constantine made a blunder also? If the recusants, to their surprise and mortification, fell under sentence of confiscation, or deprivation, or exile, the Emperor was committed to the principle of secular persecution. And all to no purpose. The schism of the Donatists spread and flourished under the repeated blows of the secular power; it developed into a series of tumults, disorders, and rebellions; it lasted, with recurring violence, for three centuries, and was only extinguished with the general extinction of Christianity in Africa by the Saracens.

The Emperor, indeed, and the Church learned one lesson from the very dubious success of this first experiment. They discovered that no satisfaction in religious controversy could be obtained by the direct decision of the secular power. On the next occasion when the Church was rent by conflicting opinions, and the judgment of a competent authority seemed to be imperatively required, it was determined to refer, not to the Emperor himself, nor to a commission or local council chosen by him, but to a convention of the Church universal, summoned indeed by him, but left to come to its own conclusions freely, and beyond the suspicion of undue influence.

The controversy with the Donatists had been confined, as we have seen, to the West, and indeed to a single province. It had related to a matter almost purely of discipline. Very different was that to which we have now to refer. For a century past the East had been perplexed by conflicting views upon the highest and most mysterious subject of Christian doctrine—the nature of the Deity in his revelation of Himself as Father, Son, and Spirit. The subtlety of the questions to which this controversy gave rise was congenial to the Greek and the Oriental character. The language of Greece furnished a polemical implement suited above all others to a dispute so delicate and so difficult. Towards the beginning of the fourth century, the Eastern half of Christendom seemed on the eve of a great convulsion in consequence of the differences of opinion diffused upon this momentous subject.

It is in a historical, and not merely in an ecclesiastical sense, that we thus qualify the discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity in the fourth century. It was great in the men it brought into public view, great in the public consequences it produced. It was great in the eyes of the Christians, great in the eyes of the Pagans also. If it seemed superficially to be a contest between the believers, it was felt to be substantially a contest of Christianity with Paganism itself. For the tenets of Arius, which presumed the inferiority of the Son to the Father, especially in regarding Him as created in time, went really to overthrow the unity of the Godhead, and restore the inveterate Pagan principle of a hierarchy of different degrees and orders of Divine Beings. This was the question which was really at stake, than which none could be more historically important, especially at the very moment when Paganism seemed to be tottering to her fall under the blows of her own chief Pontiff. It would have been disastrous indeed if, deserted by her own ancient patrons and protectors, she

had found an asylum in the bosom of her sworn enemies—if Paganism had reappeared in the very centre of Christian doctrine, and rallied round it, under another name, the prejudices and superstitions which still sprang luxuriantly throughout the Roman world.

In the year 325 the new Rome on the Bosphorus, the city of Constantine, was rapidly rising. The Emperor chose, however, the neighbouring city of Nicæa, in Asia Minor, for the place of conference. He summoned a General Council. The Church was anxious that a question of such universal interest should be decided by the united testimony of all its members, represented by their chief pastors. Constantine himself shrank, no doubt, from the appearance of bringing it to a decision by any meaner or weaker authority. The question actually presented to the Council at Nicæa was not a question of texts and readings. It was simply, at least it was primarily, a question of fact. Three hundred and twenty bishops, and a great number of presbyters, met together from all parts of the Empire, and some from even beyond it. Though the delegates of the East far outnumbered those of the West, no one ever disputed the fact that the whole Church was fully and fairly represented. These representatives were invited to declare, as witnesses to the fact, what was the belief on the point at issue of each particular church to which they severally belonged. It was a question of testimony not of criticism, of fact not of interpretation. The bishop of Rome might affirm that the Trinitarian doctrine established in his diocese was received by tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul; the bishop of Ephesus, that it was grounded in his church upon the reputed authority of St. John. Some could appeal to the teaching of apostles, others to that of evangelists; others boasted of the evidence borne to their faith by the most renowned of confessors and martyrs. Everywhere it was a matter of testimony, a vast accumulation altogether of evidence to the primitive teaching of the Church. And such testimony was borne, we are assured, by a proportion of above three hundred bishops on the one side to five on the other. Such at least was the theory of the Council of Nicæa, as of other General Councils—to establish Christian doctrine on the ground of universal tradition. Though other influences came doubtless into play, it may fairly be believed that the Council was true to its theory, and that the doctrine set forth in the Nicene Creed represents the general belief of Christendom at the time, grounded upon immemorial tradition.

And now, the unity of the faith thus ascertained, Constantine undertook to enforce

its reception upon all consciences. The Church believed that unity of faith was essential; and Constantine was ready to support its views by authority. His judicial sentence against recusants was carried out by civil censures and deprivations, and by banishments. The principle of persecution for matters of opinion not only of practice, the principle of enforcing moral belief not merely social discipline, was now avowed and established. Christianity now assumed the weapons of Paganism, and turned them against the weaker brethren in her own communion. While purging herself of all taint of Pagan superstition, she actually adopted the worst principle of Pagan usage. The persecution indeed, in this case, was comparatively mild—so mild that the chief maintainers of the proscribed opinions were able to carry on the war of words, and gradually to recover their position. But it was not the less persecution because it was uncertain and vacillating, and signally failed of its object. The remaining years of Constantine's life were embittered by a renewal of the controversy, in which he was pledged to take an active and authoritative part as the acknowledged champion of the Church. But before the end of his career his own views were subjected to the influence of the heretics. He who had professed himself a humble disciple of the orthodox teachers, and had lent his hand to enforce their decisions, became at last the patron of the arch-heretic Arius, and actually presided at a Council at Constantinople in which the orthodox doctrine was in turn denounced and proscribed. The Arian opinions, thus received into Imperial favour, through the influence, as we are assured, of Court intrigue, were imposed upon Christendom by the same violence with which they had been so lately repudiated, and were maintained, if we may believe the orthodox writers, with even greater severity. They continued, for a generation or more, to retain the upper hand. They were cherished by Emperors, accepted by bishops, revered by new nations of barbarian converts; while they assisted, no doubt, the downward progress of Christian faith and morals, and the marked reaction towards Paganism in the generation that followed. Yet they too, after flourishing in persecution, seem to have been blasted by prosperity. Fifty years later the faith in the Trinity, as it is now held and declared, was re-established in the Court and in the Church, by a second General Council, convened at Constantinople by Theodosius. But, again and again, whichever party triumphed, the same principle of persecution for opinion triumphed with it. It was not peace but a

sword that was brought to the world by the conversion of the Emperor to Christ.

## ART. II.—EARL GODWIN AND EARL HAROLD.

AMONG the many problems of history, none perhaps are so generally interesting, or call out so much passionate advocacy, as those which concern the personal character of distinguished men and women. There are still men who can hardly listen calmly when the purity of Mary Queen of Scots is impugned; and, if Mr. Carlyle's book has for a time inclined the balance of feeling not only against Charles I. but in Cromwell's favour, there is yet no reason to believe that Mr. Carlyle's estimate of the Protector has been accepted in its entirety. It is easy to see why this uncertainty should exist. No man ever lived more in public than Napoleon I.; yet the different verdicts upon him, by M. Thiers and Mr. Goldwin Smith, are only current varieties expressed with more than usual force and pungency. Nor would it be easy for a future historian, if he were deprived of other sources of information, to reconcile the conflicting views which Lord Palmerston and Mr. Kinglake formed, partly from personal knowledge, partly from intimate study, about Napoleon III. It is no argument against the final value of history if different men sum up differently from the review of a complex character, or speak doubtfully where they only know partially. Yet, in general, it may be said that our estimates of the great dead are likely to be more certain and truer than those we form of men living amongst us. Petty jealousies disappear, misconceptions are cleared away by time; we see from a truer perspective as we see from a distance; and the lines which were coarse and blurred in the living man are fashioned into a marble distinctness by death. For a time, indeed, the old confusion of judgment seems to prevail, or even to be intensified, as various writers contribute various estimates. But gradually it is seen that every man who has done honest work has removed some difficulty of detail, or perhaps penetrated, by force of poetic insight, to a more sympathetic intelligence of the human life he describes. Mr. Grote's Cleon or Mr. Carlyle's Cromwell may not be altogether adequately conceived; and the next great writer on these subjects may add a touch here, or strike away a line there, with real gain to historical truth. But it seems safe to pre-

dict that every future history will have to take these characters into account, and to allow much as certain for a little that it may retrench as unsound.

It might have been thought, fifty years ago, that the characters of Earl Godwin and Earl Harold were so well understood as to preclude controversy. There was a general consensus of opinion among all the writers known to us as contemporary, or within reach of contemporary tradition; and all either agreed to damn Godwin by an expressive silence, while they charged him with the commission of violent and treacherous acts, or to associate his name with the epithets of crafty, traitor, and barbarous. Of Harold they spoke more leniently and with some personal favour; but they admitted, almost unconsciously as it were, many statements that told against him in the judgment of a later age. It was just known that as early as Stephen's time there had been Englishmen who treated the charges against Godwin as invented or coloured by Norman prejudice; but the evidence on which they went, and the manner of their advocacy, could only be guessed from a few lines in Malmesbury. With the revival of historical study in Europe, after the great war, English history began to be re-written, and a new view of Godwin's character was suggested. Of Thierry's *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, it is not too much to say that it gave a permanent impulse to the study of early English history. Less learned, and even less critical, than Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, it possessed a charm of style, a fire of narrative description, and a wealth of illustration, that still make it the most fascinating of untrustworthy books. Many of Thierry's faults were due to the fact that he was a pioneer in literature, writing about a foreign country, and drawing from sources which had never been properly sifted. But one fault was his own. He was an ardent politician; and his work is essentially a party pamphlet, in which the Saxons represent the tiers état in France and the Normans the French noblesse of the Restoration. It followed that Godwin and Harold were to be exalted, at any cost, as heroes and patriots. Of course this estimate was not accepted by English or German historians; and Lappenberg and Palgrave keep nearly as much within the old lines as Sharon Turner, Mackintosh, and Lingard, though the influence of Thierry's theory is perceptible in the more moderate judgment which the later writers pass upon Godwin's character. Meanwhile Mr. Kemble had published his invaluable six volumes of Saxon charters, throwing new light on the

events of every reign; and in 1858 Mr. Luard virtually gave to the world a Life of Edward the Confessor, which had hitherto been buried in a hardly known manuscript, and which, as written by a client of Godwin's family, supplies whatever could be said in their defence. Since then Mr. Freeman has published three volumes of a *History of the Norman Conquest*. Writing in a more critical age, and when the labours of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy have popularized a sounder knowledge of our early material, he comes to the same task as Thierry with enormously greater advantages; and it may probably be assumed that his book is an exhaustive advocacy of Godwin and Harold. The object of this article is only to deal with the question of personal character. Whether Godwin was a noble and pure-minded man, the father of his country, as Mr. Freeman maintains throughout, or an ambitious and unscrupulous noble, like Warwick in the Wars of the Roses, or Northumberland under Edward VI., is the issue primarily to be decided; and if any certainty can be obtained on this point the minor differences that still divide Harold's historians will admit of comparatively easy solution.

The first question that will occur is of Godwin's parentage; and here the view usually taken may be best explained and justified by the passages in Florence of Worcester (a historian of sterling value, who died in 1118), and that in the Saxon Chronicle, on which the whole theory has rested hitherto. "In which year" (1007), says Florence,\* "the king made Eadric, the before-mentioned son of Ægelric, Earl of the Mercians, a man of low extraction indeed, but whose tongue had gained him riches and nobility, able in mind, persuasive in speech, and who surpassed all men at that time in jealousy and treachery, in pride and cruelty, whose brothers were Brihtric, Ælfric, Goda, Ægelwin, Ægelward, Ægelmær, the father of Wlnoth, the father of Godwin, the Earl of the West Saxons. . . . At that time, or a little sooner, Brihtric, a brother of the treacherous Earl, Eadric Streona, [and] a slippery, ambitious, and arrogant man, unjustly accused Wlnoth, the reeve of the South Saxons, to the king; and he, that he might not be taken, presently took to flight, and having collected twenty ships, made frequent predatory descents on the sea-coast." The Canterbury text of the Saxon Chronicle tells the same story thus:—"Brihtric, brother of the ealdorman Eadric, accused Wulfnoth, Child of the South Saxons, father of Earl Godwin, to the king." The inference

seems irresistible, and historians generally have assumed or said, that Wulfnoth Eadric's nephew and Wulfnoth Godwin's father were one person.

Mr. Freeman has shown reason for regarding this identification as hasty. His arguments cannot be reproduced in full, but may perhaps be abridged without material injury. He notices (vol. i. p. 374) that Florence does not in the second passage identify Brihtric as Wulfnoth's uncle, that the Chronicles do not speak of Eadric and Godwin as relations, and that the description of Wulfnoth the South Saxon as Godwin's father occurs in the latest and least authoritative text of the Saxon Chronicle. To this he adds (Note F), that the epithet Child seems intended to distinguish one Wulfnoth from another; and he shows that to regard Earl Godwin as Eadric Streona's grand-nephew involves us in one very great chronological difficulty. For, as Eadric married a daughter of Ethelred, while Ethelred's son married Godwin's daughter, we are thus forced to assume that the Confessor married the great-great-niece of his own brother-in-law. On the other hand, a bequest by Æthelstan Ætheling of land at Compton to Godwin Wulfnoth's son, coupled with the fact that two Comptons in Sussex are known from Domesday to have belonged to Godwin or Harold, is accepted by Mr. Freeman as a strong presumption that Earl Godwin was the son of Wulfnoth Child. Yet, as there are various notices of Godwin as a man of low birth, a yeoman's or even a herdsman's son, Mr. Freeman declines to sum up positively on either side, but inclines to the statement of the Canterbury text, in neither case, however, believing him to have been the great-nephew of Eadric.

While I regard this argument as in the highest degree valuable and ingenious, I confess I cannot follow it unreservedly, even without regard to the other evidence which I hope shortly to adduce. The silence of the Chronicles seems to me very natural, if the writers thought that the facts were generally known, and especially if there was any slur on Godwin's parentage, the record of which he might wish buried in oblivion. Matthew Paris in the *Historia Minor* several times perverts history, and disguises his own views, for fear of giving offence at court; and Henry of Huntingdon and Giraldus Cambrensis admit that they wrote falsely about living kings. On the other hand, it was natural that Florence of Worcester and the Canterbury chronicler, writing after the Conquest, should insert such details as they could about the great family that had suddenly been extinguished. Florence from his place

\* Vol. i. p. 16.

of residence knew most about the Earl of the Mercians; the Canterbury writer was best acquainted with what related to Sussex. Nor can I see that the omission in Florence to identify the two Wlnoths proves them to be different persons. It is quite possible that he did not know of their identity, as Wlnoth was the hero of events a century old. But if he is right in his first statement, that Earl Godwin was Eadric's great-nephew, Mr. Freeman's new reasons for regarding him as the son of Child Wulfnoth are rather a corroboration of the Canterbury text than a contradiction of Florence. The only real difficulty that remains will be that of chronology. But it is not insuperable if we assume that Eadric was the younger brother of Ægelmar, that Eadric was past middle life when he married Ethelred's daughter, and that Edith was a child when she married Edward. Anyhow we cannot set difficulties of this kind against the positive statements of a trustworthy writer.

Meanwhile, where historians are at fault or insufficient, we may perhaps glean something from evidence of another kind. Between the accession of Ethelred and the death of the Confessor was a period of something like ninety years, during which the two families of Eadric Streona and Godwin, if they be indeed two, enjoyed office and favour and grants of land. More than four hundred charters and wills have come down to us from this time. Considering that the great families of England were not very numerous, and that our documents refer mostly to the Saxon and Mercian parts of England, with which Eadric and Godwin were connected, it would be strange indeed if their family history derived no illustration from the frequent transfers of land. Of course had the evidence been obvious, it would long ago have been pointed out; and it may be freely granted from the first that the proofs which I think sufficient to confirm Florence's genealogy would not be sufficient to establish it if they stood alone. The most that can be claimed for them is that they all agree with the hypothesis of a connection between Eadric Streona and Godwin, and have no value in any other light. Nor do they make any great demands on the imagination. Only it is necessary to bear in mind two or three simple facts about Anglo-Saxon family names. One is that, in the absence of surnames, the members of a particular family were apt to distinguish themselves by names that were varied from a common stem: thus, for instance, three of Ægelric's sons had names beginning with Ægel, and a Brihtmund had two sons, Brihtnod and Brihtwin. If, therefore, we can

trace such stems as Ægel or Wulf in the members of different families, it is like tracing a common surname in pedigrees, and gives a slight suspicion of interconnection. Next, and even as part of this, it must be borne in mind that family names of this kind were specially favoured and repeated in different generations. Several cases indeed occur where sisters had the same name. Edward the Elder had two daughters, Edith or Adiva, alive at the same time; the History of Ely mentions two Æthelfledas sisters; and Earl Aldred had three daughters Elfredas. Side by side with this confusion was a certain apparent looseness in orthography, the scribe, it would seem, caring more to translate into his local idiom than to preserve provincial differences. In two copies of the same charter,\* we get the various readings of Ægelric and Æthelric, Ægelnoth and Æthelnoth; the king whom we know as Ethelred is called Ægelred by Simeon of Durham and by Florence of Worcester; Æthelwine and Ælfwine are sometimes confounded; and Wlfnoth is variously rendered as Alnod, Elnod, or Ulnod. If, however, these variations make it doubly incumbent on us to be cautious in dealing with names, they also make it doubly probable that where one form is constantly adhered to one person or one family is meant. Lastly, it must be expected that the estates of a man in office will be found widely scattered. An Earl's property would often lie more or less compactly in the province to which his family belonged; and for obvious reasons an obscure thane's also. But a king's reeve was liable to be transferred from district to district; and besides the small properties he begged or bought in the counties he administered, he was undoubtedly paid also in escheats as they fell in from any quarter.

Of Ægelric the father of Eadric and Æthelmar I can find nothing certain. The expression in Florence as to his son's low birth does not perhaps prove more than that Ægelric did not belong to one of the few great families of the country. Mere signatures of "Æthelric minister" to charters are not very valuable. But there are three charters which perhaps concern the man. In the first,† Ethelred gives land in Harewell in Berkshire to his dear reeve Æthelric (A.D. 985). In its present form this charter is spurious; but spurious charters are not necessarily false; they may be modernized transcripts of old deeds with a single clause interpolated. In the second deed‡ Æthelric gives (A.D. 997) all he shall leave after death to

\* *Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonicus*, 778.

† *Cod. Dip.* 648.

‡ *Ibid.* 699.



his wife Leofwin for her days, with reverence to various monasteries after her death, and with mention of certain land rented by Eadric. From the third deed, two or three years later,\* we learn that Ætheric has been guilty of laches in defending Essex against the Danes, and his bequests are consequently invalid; but the king consents to ratify them, at the request of the widow, backed by Æthelmær. A Wulfric, Wulfrun's son, is among the few witnesses. I attach no special value to these deeds, especially the first; and they are unnecessary to my argument. But the connection of the names Æthelric, Leofwyn, Eadric, Æthelmær, and Wulfrun, is at least so curious as to deserve notice; and if Ætheric, reeve of the East Saxons, is the same as Ægelric, father of Eadric and Ægelmær, it would help to explain the rapid rise of his family. From the second deed, settling the disposition of his property after death, we may probably infer that Ætheric was an old man, and expected shortly to die. The deed does not profess to enumerate all his property; so that no particular difficulty is caused by the omission of bequests to his various sons, if we suppose that he was Eadric's father.

More important for our purposes is Æthelmær minister, whom I shall assume to be the Ægelmær of Florence. In 983, an Æthelmær dux receives a grant of land at Clive near Wootton, in Dorsetshire, but the charter is endorsed as a grant from Ethelred to his thane Æthelmer, and Æthelmær signs henceforth as "minister."† In 984 and 988 Æthelmær and Æthelweard miles have estates at Bishopstoke and at Upton booked to them for three lives by Oswald Bishop of Worcester.‡ But though the conjunction is curious, a subsequent charter§ probably shows that the Æthelmær in question was a mere mechanic; and the Æthelweard we may assume, therefore, was nothing but a bishop's bailiff or steward. In 1002 or thereabouts, Æthelric, a new bishop of Ramsbury, sends a rescript to Æthelmær, concerning some property in Dorsetshire, partly situate where Æthelmær dux had obtained grants in 983.|| In 1005, Æthelmær, now we may assume an old man, resolves to make his peace with Heaven, and accordingly endows Ensham monastery.¶ To do this he exchanges three properties, one of which, Little Compton in Lellingce, is almost certainly to be looked for near Lillington in Dorset, that is, on or close to the estate given to Æthelmær dux. He mentions in the re-

cital that he has had a son-in-law, Æthelweard, now dead; and this man we may perhaps identify with a Hampshire thane and owner of land in Dorsetshire, while we know that he was a kinsman of Byrhtelm, once Bishop of Winchester.\* Æthelweard and his wife are both dead, but have left a son, Æthelmær, who is old enough to give away land, and whom we may probably identify as the second of that name who signs a charter in 1004.† Æthelmær speaks also of his cousin Leofwine, in this instance a man, of his kinsman Godwin, and of a kinswoman Wulfrun, who has left him Rameslege, with the harbour belonging to it. The evidence thus far then appears to prove that there was an Æthelmær in favour between 977 and 1005, that he interposed his good offices for Leofwin, widow of an Ætheric, and that he had a cousin of his own, Leofwin, a kinsman Godwin, and a kinswoman Wulfrun or Wulfrun. But names like Æthelmær, Ætheric, Leofwin, and Godwin, do not advance us far in the region of probabilities. Their conjunction is curious and interesting; but by itself it is nothing more.

On the other hand, the name Wulfrun is not a common one. Its first occurrence in a dated charter is I believe in 985, when a doubtful charter of Ethelred's gives land near Wolverhampton "to a woman called Wulfrun," while a genuine charter recites that Bishop Oswald books land at Teddington to his thane Eadric for three lives, and the charter is endorsed to Eadric and Wulfrun.‡ There is also a charter without a date§ which says that Ærnketel and Wulfrun make known to king Ethelred, and to the faithful in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, that they give land at Hickling to Ramsey monastery. Lastly, we have found Wulfric, Wulfrun's son, signing a charter about 1004. If we combine these notices, and add the statement in the History of Ramsey,|| that Ærnketel and Wulfrun lived about Edgar's time, it seems not unlikely that this Wulfrun was the kinswoman of Æthelmær; and it is noticeable that she possessed land in Sussex, for Rameslege was in Guestling Hundred. Otherwise, Northumbria seems to be taking us far away from the counties with which Eadric Streona and Godwin are known to have been connected. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that Earl Godwin had kindred in East Anglia, and kindred whose family names were formed by modifications of Wulf and Ketel. In 1046, a Wulfgyth, widow of Ælfwin, and mother

\* *Cod. Dip.* 704.

† *Ibid.* 648, 668.

‡ *Ibid.* 708.

† *Ibid.* 688.

§ *Ibid.* 678.

¶ *Ibid.* 714.

\* *Cod. Dip.* 642, \*656.

† *Ibid.* \*650, 651.

† *Ibid.* 710.

‡ *Ibid.* 971.

|| *Gale*, iii. p. 419.

of Ælfcytel and Kytel, and of three daughters,—Goda, Bota, and Ælgyth—bequeaths Fritton in Essex to Godwin Earl, and Harold Earl.\* Some years later, a Ketel made a will. He also belongs to East Anglia, bequeaths land to Earl Harold, and speaks of his sisters Bota and Algiva, and of his uncle Wulfric.† Lastly, the Chronicle of Abingdon Monastery tells us that a noble lady, Ælfgiva, bequeathed the vill of Lewknor to her cousin Queen Edith, Earl Godwin's daughter.‡ If the Wulfrun who owned land in Sussex, and was kin to Æthelmær, presumptive grandfather of Godwin, be not one with the Wulfrun, wife of Ærnketel, and presumptive ancestress of people leaving land to Earl Godwin, and Earl Harold, and to Queen Edith, it must at least be said that the coincidences are so remarkable as to be unmatched elsewhere. But, assume her to be one of Ægelric's family, and her conjunction in a lease with Eadric, the name Wulfnōth given to a son of Æthelmær's, the signature of Wulfric as her son to that one special deed which concerned family property, all become easy and intelligible.

I have spoken of Wulfrun as presumptive ancestress of the East Anglian family connected with Godwin and Harold. Her son Wulfric, in 995, gets a grant of land forfeited at Dumaltun; and a Wulfric in 1002 leaves land at Dumaltun (Dumbleton in Gloucestershire) to Archbishop Ælfric.§ It seems reasonable to assume that the names and acts refer to one Wulfric. If so, we have his will,|| and know that he had a brother Ælfhelm (perhaps the Northamptonshire ealdorman of that name), while some of his first bequests are of lands to Ælfhelm and Wulfag. The lands in question are in the north, and are locally situate in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire. Neither in their position nor in the names of his kin, whoever Wulfag may be, is there anything inconsistent with the supposition that this Wulfric was the son of Ærnketel and Wulfrun; and we may perhaps regard one of them as the missing link between Wulfrun and Wulfgyth. Anyhow the argument now stands thus:—Æthelmær's connection with a Wulfrun is certain; and there was a "Wulfgyth's bridge" on the property at Shipford in Oxfordshire, given him by his cousin Leofwin.¶ Earl Godwin's connection with a Wulfgyth is probable, as she and her children left him and his children land. The connection of this latter Wulfgyth, sister of

a Wulfric, with a Wulfrun, mother of a Wulfric, is conjectural, but not unlikely or unnatural. Wulfgyth's daughter Ælgyth had land in Oxfordshire. The descent of Godwin from an Æthelmær rests on the sterling authority of Florence of Worcester. Is it more likely that these coincidences are meaningless, or that the historian was right?

It may now be noticed that there was another Æthelmær, who signs charters as "dux" down to A. 982, and whom we may almost certainly identify with the Æthelmær, ealdorman of Hampshire, whom the Saxon Chronicle speaks of as dying in A. 982. He was buried at New Minster or Hyde Abbey, near Winchester; and his will has been preserved.\* Its principal points are that he leaves land in Tudanworth to his wife, land at Ensham to his elder son, and land at Cotismore to his younger. His son's names unfortunately are not given; but an Æthelwin, son of the ealdorman Æthelmær, is incidentally mentioned in connection with the grant of Dumaltun to Wulfric. The other may be Æthelnoth the Good, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Florence of Worcester identifies as son of "the noble Æthelmar." † Ægelric or Æthelric, Bishop of Selsey, is said to have prayed to God that he might not survive his dear father, the Primate Æthelnoth; and the story seems to imply a blood-relationship between the two.‡ The lands mentioned in Æthelmær's will are naturally not his ancestral inheritance, but outlying properties seemingly in different counties. If Cotismore be the Rutland property of that name, it was held by a Goda under the Confessor. Ensham seems to have passed into the Bishop of Lincoln's hands, probably to complete the endowment of Ensham's monastery; and the circumstance suggests the enquiry whether Æthelweard, the Hampshire thane, owning land at Ensham, and connected with Bishop Byrhtelm of Winchester, was of kin to Æthelmær, the Hampshire ealdorman, as well as connected with Æthelmær minister. If so, it would give the clue why Tudanworth, the Tudeword of Domesday, passed ultimately into Harold's hands, though it was situate in Yorkshire, where he had little property besides. For families died out rapidly during the Danish wars; and it was always a reason for begging a property, that it had belonged to a connection of some kind. These however are mere possibilities, on which nothing can be built.

So far the argument has, I hope, proved that we may distinguish two Æthelmærs, the

\* *Cod. Dip.* 782. † *Ibid.* 1340.

‡ *Hist. Mon. de Abingdon*, i. p. 459.

§ *Cod. Dip.* 692, 1298. *Hist. Mon. de Abingdon*, i. pp. 411, 415.

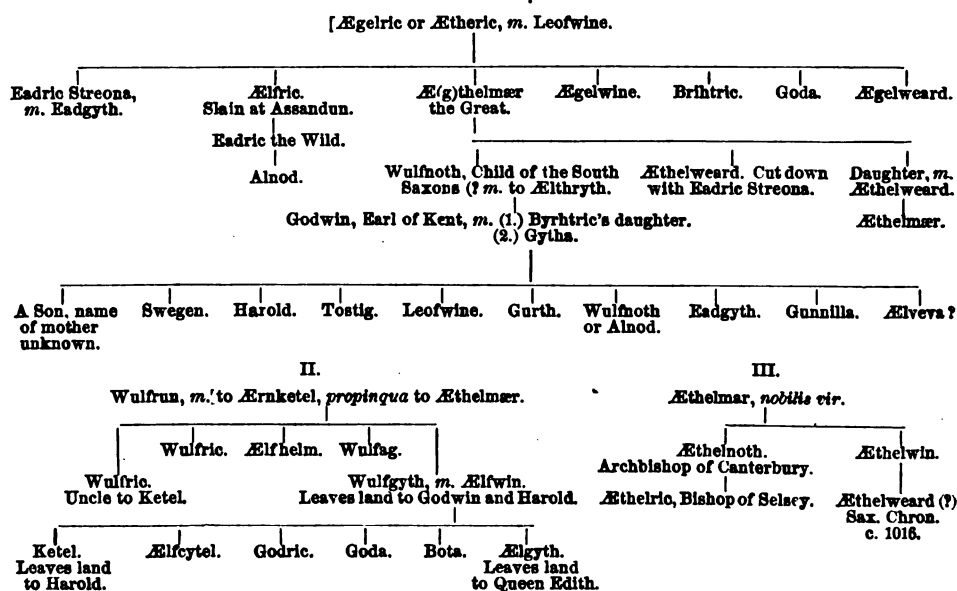
|| *Cod. Lip.* 1298. ¶ *Ibid.* 714.

\* *Liber. Mon. de Hyda*, pp. 254-258.

† *Flor. Wig.* i. pp. 183, 192.

Hampshire ealdorman who died in 982, and the King's thane who endows Ensham in 1005, and may almost certainly look on "Æthelmær minister" as kin to an Anglian family, whose descendants were Godwin's and Harold's relations. One curious point remains. In the year 1017, when the traitor Eadric Streona received the reward of his crimes, among those who were cut down with him was an Æthelweard, whom the Saxon Chronicle distinguishes as the son of "Æthelmær the Great," and Florence of Worcester as son of "Agelmar dux." This can hardly be the son of Æthelmær of Hampshire, both because it would not, I think, be natural to distinguish him as the son of a man thirty-five years dead, and because we should scarcely now hear for the

first time of that Æthelmær's surname. But if we assume this Æthelweard to be the son of Æthelmær minister, named from one uncle, and in attendance on another, all is easily explained; and we may suppose Æthelmær the Great or Big to have got his surname as a distinction between himself and his old contemporary Æthelmær the Noble or Well-born. It is true this forces us to suppose that Florence has given the title "dux" to a man who was only "minister," or perhaps that Æthelmær was made ealdorman in the last years of his life; but neither of these theories is glaringly improbable. Indeed, it will be remembered that the first charter I have quoted concerning Æthelmær calls him "dux" in the body of the deed, and "minister" in the endorsement.



It happens that out of four men of substance and position who bear the name Ægelric between 1000 and 1066, two appear in intimate relations to one or other member of Godwin's family. The Ægelric who was a reeve of Kent\* under Canute may be dismissed, as quite foreign to our purposes. But there was an Ægelric, a Worcestershire thane, a brother of Bishop Aldred, who in 1042 got leases for three lives of Elmley and Bentley from Bishop Lyfing; while in the Domesday Survey Elmley is entered as a former property of Queen Edith's.† If Ægelric was of her kin, nothing more natural than such a bequest to her. His brother Aldred's fortunes involved him still more signally with Godwin's family. In 1050 he procured Swegen's restoration to his earl-

dom. Having bought the see of York in 1061 he was refused the pallium at Rome—by one account for simony and gross incompetence, by another for a slight breach of canonical discipline,\*—and would have returned in dishonour if Earl Tostig had not interposed with threats, which seems to imply a warm personal interest in the nomination. The third Ægelric began life in Peterborough monastery, was made secretary to Edmund, Bishop of Durham, passed seemingly into the service of Ælfric, Archbishop of York, who left him a bequest,† obtained the see of Durham by simony (and it is said by Godwin's aid),‡ and finally, in 1056, procured, by the aid and favour of Earl Tostig,§ that his brother Ægelwine

\* *Cod. Dip.* 1323.

† *Cod. Dip.* 764, 765.

\* Malmesbury, *de Gest. Pont.*, p. 271. *Vita Eadwardi*, p. 411.

† *Inguif*, p. 649.

† *Cod. Dip.* 759.

§ *Sim. Dun.* c. 34.

should be allowed to succeed him. Here the evidence is palpably insufficient to do more than suggest a case for enquiry. But the case of Aldred and Ægelric is a stronger one; and it seems not improbable that Ægelric and his brother may have been sons of Eadric Streona himself or of a brother. I may just add that Eadric the Wild co-operated with Harold's sons in the insurrection of 1068, and that his son and heir was named Alnod.\* And to wind up this catalogue of Ægelrics or Æthelrics, I may notice Ælric, the monk of Christ Church, who was of Godwin's kin, and was once put forward as candidate for the primacy.†

I have gone at great length into this question of genealogy, not so much for its own importance as because it partly involves the question of Florence of Worcester's trustworthiness. Assume that he was mistaken about such a point as Godwin's family, and his estimate of Godwin's character is to some extent impaired. Let it be seen that he possessed accurate local knowledge about an eminent family whose fortunes had powerfully influenced Mercian history, and his words of praise or blame get a fresh significance. The only seeming contradiction to explain is between Florence's description of Ægelmær as a man of low race and bad character, and the high position occupied by the Æthelmær whom I identify with him, and the epithet of "great" given him by the Saxon chroniclers. The difficulty is more apparent than real. If Ægelmær was only son of a small thane, his rise was rapid, and it may be said unexampled, sufficient to rouse the envy against new men; and this may account for some disparaging expressions. But the fact that Eadric married into the royal family is surely inconsistent with the assumption of a servile or base extraction; and it is not unnatural to believe that Godwin owed some of his rise in life and a portion of his vast estates to connection with two old and good families. As to the epithet "great" I believe it merely means that Æthelmær was a big man; but even if we assume that it was applied to his personal character, it would only show that the public differed from Florence in their estimate of a clever glozing man, as men have differed since then about his grandson Godwin. Meanwhile two small points may be noted. If Æthelmær had a grandson of age in 1005, the chronological difficulty which Mr. Freeman has raised disappears; and we must assume, what is far from improbable, that Eadric Streona was a younger brother, though

a man advanced in life, when he married Eadgyth. Next, we may understand why Godwin was not involved in the ruin which followed his father Wulfnoth's quarrel with Brihtric. The first charter he signs in 1012 bears the signatures of his great-uncles Eadric and Ælfric, of his uncle Æthelweard, of an Ulfcytel, who probably belonged to his East Anglian kin, and of his cousin Æthelmær. If he was connected with Ægelnoth and Ægelric he had natural allies in two of the most eminent churchmen of the day. It is just possible that even closer bonds connected him with one member of the royal family. The will of the Ætheling Æthelstan, bequeathing the land at Compton which his father had before him to Godwin Wulfnoth's son, proceeds to make a bequest of land at Westun to "my foster-mother Ælthryth," and of land at Heorulfestun and a sword "to my mass-priest Ælfwin."\*\* We cannot of course strain the evidence of so common a name as Westun; but there was a Westun in Suffolk, part of which belonged to Gurth,† and a Westone in Hertfordshire which belonged to Harold.‡ The properties with names like Heorulfestun belonged to St. Paul's and St. Edmund's, under the Confeessor; but Godwin is known to have had a brother named Ælfwin, who became Abbot of Hyde, and died fighting at Hastings; so that, if this were indeed the man, the bequest of a sword to him was not without a meaning. Summing up, then, I think we may say that Godwin's position during the last years of Ethelred and at Canute's accession was the most desirable of all for a young man: just enough family connection to push him if he appeared capable, and not enough to excite Canute's jealousy. It was that king's policy to promote trustworthy members of the families who had suffered at his hands, instead of perpetuating a blood feud with them. In the same spirit in which he favoured Leofwine and Leofric, the father and brother of Norman, who had perished with Eadric Streona, § he promoted Godwin, whose kinsmen Eadric Streona and Æthelweard had been the victims of a great State necessity.

\* *Cod. Dip.* 722.

† *Domesday*, ii. f. 282, b. 283.

‡ *Ibid.* i. f. 1326.

§ Mr. Freeman observes, "Northman is said, on the most suspicious of all authorities, to have been a special follower of Eadric," and refers accordingly to Ingulf. But the remodeller of Ingulf was merely amplifying the Chronicle of Evesham (p. 84), which says, "with whom too [*i.e.*, Eadric] and with many others of his soldiers, a certain powerful man, Norman by name, is killed." It is possible, but not I think natural, to exclude Norman from the retainers spoken of as Eadric's.

\* Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 81.

† *Vita Eadwardi*, p. 399.

In William of Malmesbury's notice of Godwin's family connections, he says that he was first married to a sister of Canute's, who died by God's judgment for her wickedness in exporting slaves to Denmark, and afterwards to the mother of his surviving children, whose name William of Malmesbury does not know. This account is clearly inaccurate. Munch and Lappenberg, who have been generally followed, agree that Godwin's connection with Canute was through marrying Gytha, the sister of Jarl Ulf, Canute's brother-in-law; and Gytha was alive after the battle of Hastings. Consequently, the story of a former wife has been very generally discarded or ignored. Yet it is difficult to suppose that William of Malmesbury wrote altogether at random; and there is a marriage-contract extant, which perhaps is the very deed of the first marriage.\* By this, Godwin, wishing to marry Byrhtic's daughter, gives her a pound of gold, and a property at Street, and some land at Burhwaramersc, and thirty oxen and twenty cows, and ten horses and ten theowmen. The agreement is made at Kingston before Canute and the Primate, is witnessed by three Godwins and three Leofwins amongst others, makes mention in the formal part of all the "doughty" men in Kent and Sussex as persons who are to be notified, and is to be kept in three copies, one at Christ Church (Canterbury), one at St. Augustine's, and the third by Byrhtic himself. Now, the name Godwin is so common that we can argue nothing at all from it; and even the presence of the name Leofwin does not really advance us. But the Godwins interested especially in Kent and Sussex, and of such importance that their marriage-contracts would be discussed before Canute himself, cannot have been very numerous. The Street and Burhwaramersc in question can be positively identified. The first gave its present name to Street Hundred, and was held by Ulnod, under the Confessor. The second is Burnmarsh in the same Hundred, which belonged at the time of the Survey to St. Augustine's. The want of a link however in this instance is more than compensated by the connection of Street with Ulnod, who is most probably Wulfnoth, Godwin's son. That Godwin did not hold any other property in the district makes it perhaps all the more likely that he would assign this estate as a dower. The fact, though interesting, if we could assume it, does not bear largely upon Godwin's history. Byrhtic's daughter must have died young; and we cannot infer from Malmesbury's confused statement whether she or Gytha was guilty of the

infamous traffic in young girls with Denmark. But the deed, which must be dated between 1016, the year of Canute's accession, and the year 1018, when Godwin would have been described as Earl, may perhaps serve to mark his position under the new dynasty, as a man of rank, but still merely a county notability, and evidently possessed only of a small property.

It was Canute's obvious policy to divide his earldoms between Danes and Englishmen, so as not to rely exclusively upon either race. But the wars of the last few years had been so destructive that the native nobility was reduced to a few great families. Of these, the despicable Eadulf Cudel obtained the earldom of Northumbria. Leofwin, generally called, but on insufficient evidence, Earl of Mercia, was most likely the son or near kinsman of Æthelwin, and grandson of Æthelstan Half-cyng, an East Anglian earldorman of Danish descent. The reasons for this are that Leofwin, Leofric, and Edwin were names in both families; that Leofwin's son's name Norman, and the family history, indicate Norse extraction; that Æthelwin's nickname "God's friend" corresponds eminently to his grandson Leofric's character for personal piety; and that there is no other family with which Leofwin can at all probably be connected, since Dugdale's Leofric, Earl of Chester under Ethelbald, is of course only the creation of a spurious charter. A third Earl Æthelweard, who was soon afterward outlawed for a rebellion in Canute's absence, was perhaps connected with the historian Fabius Quæstor Patricius Æthelweard, and presumed on his royal kindred as a claim to the crown. Of a fourth Æthelred nothing but the name is known; and, as it only occurs in one charter,\* we may perhaps conclude that he was short-lived or unimportant. Godwin was designated by race as much as by ability for a place in the new peerage. His family had been conspicuously before the public ever since Ethelred's accession; and the fact that he belonged to what since Æthelmær's death was the least favoured branch, was a pledge that he was not indissolubly bound to the past. Mr. Freeman says "he had fleshed his sword at Sherstone and Assandun;"† and, though there is, I think, no authority for the assertion, it is not unlikely that the young man had served in those battles, perhaps on the Danish side. He accordingly signs charters as Earl in 1018, being then, we may suppose, between twenty-five and thirty years of age.

Fortune soon gave him an opportunity of

\* *Cod. Dip.* 732.

\* *Cod. Dip.* 729.

† *Vol. ii. p. 328.*

distinction. The English of the eleventh century were something like the Irish of the eighteenth, unconquerable in every country but their own; and Godwin led them to victory over Canute's Slavonian neighbours on the Danish frontier. Lappenberg, Palgrave, and Mr. Freeman agree in referring this expedition to the year 1019, when Canute visited Denmark to secure the throne vacant by his brother Harald's death. Munch clenches this date by a theory which is only not proved. He points out that Godwin's marriage with Gytha may probably be referred to 1019 or soon afterwards, that Ulf Jarl's ancestral estates lay at Jomsborg in the immediate neighbourhood of the Wends, and that the story in the *Knytlinga Saga*, which connects Godwin's rise with a rescue of Ulf Jarl, is easily accounted for if we refer the events to this expedition and divest them of their legendary colouring. From this time then we may regard Godwin as the greatest by connection, position, and capacity, of all the nobles really naturalized in England, and only manifestly inferior to Leofwine's family by descent. His rivals Eric, Thurkil, Hacun, or Ulf, melt, as it were, out of the land. The Earls dwindle down from ten or twelve to six or seven; and Godwin's is the premier province of England, the earldom of the West Saxons. The fact that part of Gytha's "morgonland" or dower from her husband was in Devonshire,\* as well as the vast property afterwards owned there by Godwin's family, seems to show that his connection with this part of England was among the earliest incidents of his rise.

With Canute's death came the trial which was to test of what metal Godwin was made. The dead king, during his early campaigns, in England, had cohabited with Ælfgiva daughter of Ælfelm, ealdorman of Northamptonshire. The union, of whatever kind it may have been, had been practically annulled by Canute's formal marriage with Ethelred's widow. But Ælfgiva and one of her sons, Sven, had been endowed with Norway; and the other son, Harald, had been employed in public business. It is scarcely probable that this arrangement was ever acceptable to Emma; and Danish history represents her as conspiring during Canute's lifetime to seize Denmark for her son Hardicanute. As England was secured to her son by treaty, so far as Canute's good pleasure could secure it, we may perhaps assume that Emma feared lest Denmark should be made a separate kingdom for one of Ælfgiva's

sons. But Canute seems to have desired the permanent union of the two crowns, and, it is said, procured a promise from the English Primate, Ægelnoth the Good, to acknowledge and consecrate only Hardicanute. When, however, the king's death was known, the old division of North and South, Angle and Saxon, broke out again in England. To the Angles, Harald was the son of a countrywoman, fitted by age and presence to assume sovereignty at once, and the pledge of a severance from Denmark, which began to be earnestly desired. But among the Saxons Harald's birth was discredited, and it was said that his barren mother had palmed off a cobbler's son on the late king. Apart from their traditional jealousy of an Anglian candidate, the Saxons were no doubt influenced by their natural leaders. The Primate declared himself bound by a promise to support Hardicanute; Emma could not but desire that her own son should govern England to the exclusion of a rival's issue; and Godwin, as connected with Danish royalty, heartily espoused the cause of his wife's sister-in-law's nephew. The Witan met to deliberate; and Leofric inclined the balance in Harald's favour. England was to be divided again, as it had so often been before; and Harald was to rule north of Thames, while Emma and Godwin administered the provinces south of Thames in trust for Hardicanute.

It was certain that this arrangement could not long be satisfactory. England had outgrown the time when partitions of it for dynastic convenience were possible; and when Harald claimed and carried off his share of the late king's treasure from Winchester, and established a seat of government in the North, the West Saxons began to repent of the arrangement, which excluded them from all the profits and patronage of government. Hardicanute still lingered in Denmark, and seemed careless of his own interests, though Florence says he was begged to show himself. Public feeling veered round in favour of Harald as the one king. But for Emma no reconciliation with her rival's bastard or the cobbler's son was possible. If her Danish son was careless of his English kingdom and his mother's honour, she had sons in Normandy whose claim as English Æthelings might rally a party. It seems she invited them to come over. Edward, by the Norman account, landed in Hampshire, fought a battle, and sailed away again, seeing, we may presume, that he was not welcomed even within a few miles of the royal city, his mother's customary residence. Alfred was less fortunate. He seems to

\* *Cod. Dip.* 926.

have sailed up the Stour to Canterbury,\* perhaps relying on the friendship of Æthelnoth, and then marched across country with a few hundred followers to Guildford. There he and his men were seized during the night. The followers were enslaved or put to death with every circumstance of barbarity,—scalping, blinding, and cutting off the hands and feet. Alfred himself was sent to Ely to be imprisoned, was blinded the moment he landed, and died from the brutal violence with which the eye-balls had been pierced.

What was Godwin's share in this great tragedy? One version of the Saxon Chronicle which is followed by Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, the Flemish author of the *Encomium Emmae*, the Normans, William of Poitou, and William of Jumièges, all agree that he was the main actor, the man who allured and captured Alfred, and who was responsible for his treatment, and only differ as to the amount of perfidy involved. Except Godwin's panegyrist, who shuns the subject, but does not really deny his hero's guilt, every writer of the times who mentions the massacre says that Godwin was reputed its author; and only William of Malmesbury, whose monastery had been saved from ruin by Godwin, and who was perhaps in fear of "the modern English," speaks of it as a little doubtful because "the chronicles are silent." Accordingly Godwin's guilt has been assumed as proved by all historians, except Thierry and Mr. Freeman. Thierry's argument, that Godwin, as a pure-minded Saxon patriot, was disgusted by the number of foreign retainers whom Alfred brought with him, need not detain those who remember that Godwin married a Dane, supported the foreign Hardicanute against the son of an Englishwoman, and finally procured the election of Alfred's brother, the most foreign in heart of all our early kings. Mr. Freeman's arguments are of a more serious kind; and one of them may be allowed from the first, and must be borne in mind throughout. It is that this invasion was in violation of the settlement made by the Witan, and that

Godwin, as party to that pact, and perhaps to some extent under Harald's over-lordship (though this is, I think, more questionable), was bound to stifle the beginnings of civil war. Next, we may dismiss at once the charge made by the Winchester annalist, that Godwin invited the Æthelings to come over, and, which is perhaps remotely connected with the highly improbable story in the *Encomium Emmae*, that Harald forged a letter inveigling them in their mother's name. Godwin's interests at this time might be promoted by Hardicanute's accession, or by making terms promptly with Harald; and it is not unlikely that he had done the latter. But he had nothing to gain by putting forward a candidate from Ethelred's line, or by joining in the commission of an act which, if Harald died or lost the crown, would involve the Earl in difficulties with Emma and her sons. Emma may have thought that she could force Godwin's hand by precipitating an invasion. But Godwin can only have felt annoyance and perplexity when he heard that a royal prince was in the country, whom it was almost equally unprofitable and dangerous to support or to destroy.

The question then narrows itself to two points. Did Godwin go to meet the Ætheling, become his man, and betray him in violation of the most binding oath, and did he take active part in the atrocities afterwards? Mr. Freeman answers substantially that our authorities are confused, and that Godwin was afterwards absolved by formal judgment of the Witan. Now a word may be said as to the confusion of the authorities. "A contemporary writer," says Mr. Freeman of the *Encomiast*, "who wipes out Emma's marriage with Æthelred, who looks on the Æthelings as sons of Cnut, who is ignorant that his heroine was actually Queen Regent over Wessex, is really somewhat of a curiosity." Whether the monk of St. Bertin really wiped out the marriage with Ethelred must be decided by those who can say whether the mention of her as "virgo," a rather vague phrase in monastic Latin, outweighs the title of "Regina," given to the daughter of a Norman duke. But this argument from inaccuracies of detail must not be closely pressed. No man ought to have known more about Godwin's family and the life of Edward the Confessor than the author of the anonymous life, yet he marries Godwin to Canute's sister, and Tostig to Edward's niece, whom he describes as her father's sister; while he speaks of the Danish embassy to claim the English crown as an embassy to acknowledge Edward on his accession. If therefore we

\* Whether Canterbury or Dover is not absolutely certain, as the word used, Dorubernia, means Canterbury in English, and I suppose in other writers, down to the Conquest, while in the twelfth century it is used by William of Jumièges, and perhaps once or twice by other writers, for Dover. But William of Poitou speaks of Dover as Dovera, and ought therefore to mean Canterbury by Dorubernia; and William of Jumièges in the passage in question seems merely to amplify his predecessor. There is no doubt Fordwich near Canterbury was a port in 1037.

reject the evidence of a contemporary who almost certainly derived his story from Emma or her retinue when she fled, after Alfred's murder, into Flanders, we may with equal reason discard Godwin's panegyrist.

However, Mr. Freeman elects on the whole to follow the Encomiast's story as the most probable. It is simple enough. Alfred tries to land and is repulsed, but succeeds at another point, and makes his way toward London to join his mother. "But when he was now close to it Earl Godwin met him, and took him into his faith, and presently became his vassal, with the affirmation of an oath. And leading him away from London, he brought him into the vill called Guildford: and there distributed his soldiers by twenties and twelves and tens in the respective lodgings. . . ." But next morning "the agents of the monstrous usurper Harald appear," and the massacre begins. The guarded and truthful character of this narrative is apparent. The writer nowhere condemns Godwin, though he evidently suspects him; but he simply puts the known facts together in such a way as to warrant an irresistible inference that Godwin was a party to the admission of Harald's troops. Indeed, Emma herself may well have been ignorant of some facts, and have wished to disguise others. After the disastrous failure of the expedition she may naturally have desired to father her own letter on Harald as a forgery: and how far Godwin was deceived or deceiving may long have been unknown to her. Mr. Freeman accordingly sums up that Alfred was seized "against the will or without the knowledge of Godwine," and that the Earl did not then think it worth while to risk a civil war for the sake of a captive. His main reasons appear to be that "every other recorded action of" Godwin's "life is that of an English patriot," a fact which no one but Thierry and Mr. Freeman has ever yet discovered, and next, that "an English Court of Justice" "solemnly pronounced him to be innocent." Altogether he claims "that the great Earl is at least entitled to a verdict of Not Proven if not of Not Guilty."

It is difficult to accept this theory. If Harald's troops really surprised Guildford, they must have found Godwin there in the character of an enemy, who had just acknowledged a new and rival king, and whose life was therefore forfeit, if the settlement by the Witan had any value. Even if we assume Godwin to have escaped, and reject all the English evidence that connects him with the massacre, it is difficult to understand how he could have been trusted or employed afterwards. But the small evidence we have seems to show that he was both. His sig-

nature as "dux" is affixed to the one signed charter of Harald's reign. His friends Lyfing and Stigand obtain Church preferment; and Lyfing's first known use of his new bishopric is to lease Church lands to the Worcestershire Ægelric whom we have seen some reason for connecting with Godwin's family. Lastly, when Hardicanute succeeds to the throne Godwin is brought to trial for what took place at Guildford. Mr. Freeman indeed says that he was solemnly pronounced innocent. But the language of Florence is not nearly so strong, and merely says that Godwin's compurgators swore he did not counsel or wish Alfred's blinding, but did as his Lord King Harald ordered him. This defence, be it observed, does not touch the question of treachery, with which the Witan had nothing to do, nor the barbarous massacre of the prisoners, which statesmen of that age would easily condone, but simply declares Godwin legally justified in obeying his liege lord. The Witan was a court with an unavoidable bias in Godwin's favour. All had acknowledged Harald as king, *de facto* or *de jure*, and could not wish to see the legality of their acts under him impeached; and all undoubtedly felt, as English nobles felt for centuries afterwards, that it would not be wise to arm the Crown with precedents of death or outlawry against their own order. So the matter was patched up with much substantial equity. Godwin is to make "bote" to the king with a magnificent ship as the price of the king's friendship for the future. In other words, the verdict seems to have been:—"We cannot restore your brother; and we cannot condemn Godwin for having acted in the main as most of us would have done, bating some incidental circumstances, which are not charged against him. But it is possible he might have managed to save the Ætheling without ruining himself; and anyhow he has been the cause, though doubtless against his will, of a heavy loss to you. There are fines and penance even for accidental homicide. Let Godwin give you a compensation worthy of a king; and let this matter against him be blotted out." The sentence in this light seems eminently a fair one. Godwin had no share in inviting Alfred; and the men of Godwin's earldom, probably under orders from him, had tried to prevent a landing. But when Alfred was in the country, and it became necessary to side with him or to seize him, the worthy kinsman of Eadric Streona had recourse to a safe treachery, and handed his victim over to the king. We may well believe that he did not anticipate or approve of Harald's vengeance. But in presence of the evidence of the Abingdon Chronicle, whose



writer, be it remembered, lived not more than fifty miles from Guildford, it is impossible to acquit the Earl of the gross barbarities practised on Alfred's bodyguard. They were no doubt designed to remove all suspicion of his own complicity.

Godwin was soon forced to give a similar pledge to the new king. The population of Worcestershire had a specially Danish character; and the thanes of the bishopric are described as Danes and English in two charters.\* Whether from the fierce independence of conquerors, or from a feeling that they of all men ought not to pay Danegeld, the people of the shire rose up in arms and slew two of the king's collectors. Hardicanute seems to have heard of the outrage while the Witan was assembled; for he despatched all the Earls, and amongst them, of course, Godwin, to punish the murder. The people of the shire fled in every direction. The citizens of Worcester defended themselves in the little island of Bevere, and succeeded in obtaining terms which left them their lives and freedom. But the city was fired, and large booty carried off. The story speaks forcibly to the servile condition of England. Hardicanute was a young man, scarcely seated on the throne, and of no great ability; yet men who must have disliked his orders to punish a mere émeute with extreme severity, seem to have felt that they could not refuse obedience. It is the best extenuation of Godwin's conduct at Guildford, that the whole English nobility should have lent themselves so soon afterwards, however reluctantly, to the execution of a cruel and lawless sentence.

At the end of Hardicanute's short and oppressive reign, England was thoroughly weary of the Danish dynasty. The legitimate heir by modern theories, Edward, son of Edmund Ironsides, was absent in Hungary; and his return could not be waited for, even had there been any reason to desire it. But another Edward, Emma's surviving son, had been recalled by Hardicanute, and was living in the country. A Norman account even says that Hardicanute had designated his brother heir to the crown, that is, we must suppose, had discussed the matter with the Witan, and obtained favourable answers. Edward's first impulse, however, was to fly the kingdom; and the account of his conduct is remarkable.† He procured

with some difficulty an interview with Earl Godwin, offered to fall at his feet, and implored a safe passage into Normandy. It seems evident that he feared the fate of Alfred at the hands of the powerful nobleman between whom and himself lay the memory of what might appear an inexpiable wrong. Godwin at once re-assured him. The Earl probably apprehended no danger from a prince whose insignificance he had thoroughly gauged, knew that the feeling of the country would not endure a Dane, and saw the advantage of preferring a candidate who would be backed by the interest and perhaps by the arms of Normandy. It was an immediate sacrifice of the claims which Godwin as premier nobleman of the country might possibly have made valid for his own election; but he was after all a new man, and it was well to wait. As for the blood-feud, it might be appeased if Edward would promise to marry his daughter Edith. "There was no promise," says Malmesbury, "which Edward was not ready to make, considering his urgent necessity;" and the words perhaps imply that he thought his choice lay between death and a throne. It may be also, as he was not very capable, that he yielded to the magic of Godwin's eloquence and accepted the Earl's version of his own innocence. What such a man as Edward thought indeed, and whether he took his views from Godwin or Robert, was very important in those days for England, but is scarcely to be considered evidence in summing up on a matter of history.

Anyhow the election worked well for England at the time; and the new king was soon acknowledged by King Henry of Germany and the King of the French. Mr. Freeman accepts the unsupported statement of the Anonymous Biographer, that Magnus of Denmark waived his own claims and sent an embassy to recognize Edward; though it is certain that two years later Magnus prepared to assert his rights to England sword in hand, and was only prevented by civil war in Denmark. Munch's view seems infinitely the more probable, that Magnus demanded the English crown from the first; and it is con-

think, no real support except from the Anonymous Biographer, whose words, "mittuntur post eum duces et episcopi," may, however, only mean that a deputation waited upon him. There are, it is true, many other authorities; but they are either legendary, like Huntingdon, or coloured by the Norman story, which represented Edward as a king imposed on England by Normandy in order to strengthen William's title to England. As for the charter in Delisle, in the first place it stands alone, and in the next place, if Edward called himself king before he was crowned and anointed, he may as well have done so before he was elected.

\* *Cod. Dip.* 804, 923.

† Malmesbury says (i. 382), "Conventus ille [sc. Godwinus] per legatarios ut pace præfata colloquerentur diu hæsitabundus et cogitans tandem annuit; venientem ad se [Edwardum] et conantem ad genua procumbere allevat." Mr. Freeman's view that Edward was out of England, and that an embassy was sent to him, has, I

firmed by Ailred of Rievaulx. The incident is chiefly important from its connection with the foreign policy of England some years later. Sven Ulfson or Estrithsen, the rival candidate to Magnus, finding himself hard pressed, applied to England for aid against the common enemy. Sven was Godwin's nephew by marriage; and Godwin accordingly proposed that a fleet should be sent to aid him. It is probable, as Mr. Freeman thinks, that "plausible arguments" might be found for such a policy. Plausible arguments are seldom wanting to a clever advocate. But the judgment of the Witan and popular instinct agreed that England had better not be entangled in a foreign war to support one who might use his power in advancing his own claims to the English crown. Yet the circumstance marks the strong influence of Godwin's foreign connections over his actions, when the wariest statesman of the day sustained a political defeat in advocating what were thought un-English counsels.

But Godwin's part in the home administration is that which most nearly concerns us. For a time his influence was supreme; and though Siward and Leofric joined in counselling the act by which the Queen Mother was deprived of her possessions (Nov. 1044), it is likely that Godwin profited most by it. At least it is noteworthy that Edith seems immediately to replace Emma in the attestation of charters, while at a rather later period (1049), when Godwin's influence was declining, Emma is again a signatory.\* It seems not unreasonable to suppose that Emma refused to be reconciled to the Earl, and used her vast property in maintaining a rival Court and perhaps in plotting for a counter-revolution, and that the Witan wisely enough determined to maintain the settlement made at Edward's accession. Probably therefore, though our dates are uncertain, the celebration of the king's marriage to Edith (Jan. 24, 1045) was part of the same policy which condemned his mother to quiet and loss of influence. Edith has been the one member of Godwin's family whom all the historians have delighted to honour—the rose, as an old line expressed it, growing on the bramble Godwin. She was fair in face and well-formed, modest in bearing, and reverent to her pious husband, good to God's people and the poor, fond of reading and needlework, and able to speak French, Irish, and Danish like a native, says the last compiler of her praises.† But she was also accused of contriving a foul murder in Tostig's interest, and thought it

necessary to clear herself on her deathbed from the general suspicion of incontinence. In the first years of her marriage she seems to have had no influence over her husband; later on, she acquired the natural ascendancy of a young woman over an old man. But, for the time, Godwin had only freed himself from one of his enemies by the coup d'état against Emma. A king like Edward was certain to be governed by favourites; and his superstition attached him to Churchmen, the habits of a life to foreigners. Robert of Jumieux, Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was the most prominent of these; but they swarmed at court. They accused Godwin and his sons of treating the king with undisguised contempt; and they brought up the old story of Alfred's murder against the Earl. Godwin's apologists said at a later time that it was true he and his sons had felt a just disgust at the favours showered on parasites and parvenus, but false that they had ever spoken so much as a rough word against the king. The apology seems overstrained and unnecessary. Godwin and his sons would have been wiser men if they had kept their wrath to themselves; but no one can severely blame them if they sometimes displayed a little natural contempt, a little just indignation for the worthless son of Ethelred, especially if, as is likely, his relations with Edith at that time were distant and unpleasant. No man seriously condemns De Montfort for the angry words by which he alienated Henry the Third; and if Godwin was really an English patriot we may readily forgive him for some want of temper in his dealings with an incapable administration. Even on the lower, and I think, truer supposition, that he was simply an ambitious man, desiring his own advancement and that of his family, he was entitled to complain if a king whom he had raised to power steadily disregarded his counsels, and tried to form a party in the country against him.

Accident gave the king a great opportunity. Swegen, Godwin's eldest living son, was a man like the Norse berserkars, sometimes generous in his impulses, but ungovernable in his lusts or his wrath, and quite careless of consequences so long as life and the world lay before him. He committed what under Edward was the inexpiable offence of seducing a nun, and was accordingly deprived of his earldom and outlawed (1046). The Witan may have intended, and Swegen seems to have thought, that this deprivation was only to be temporary, and that sooner or later he would make bote and be restored. As was not unusual, the five shires of his earldom were divided among members of his

\* *Cod. Dip.* 711.

† Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum Historiale*, ii. p. 221.

own family, his brother Harald and his cousin Biörn Ulfson. The arrangement was, in fact, the best that could be made for Swegen's interests; and he seems for a time to have acquiesced in it. But in 1049 Swegen made his peace with the king, and found that his kinsmen—some promises from Biörn, it is said, notwithstanding—were disinclined to resign their new provinces. In his wrath he enticed Biörn to accompany him to court for a conference, and then, on pretence that his sailors would desert if they were left to themselves too long, took him out of the way to Bosham, put him in chains, and foully murdered him. The act struck men with horror. More than thirty years' peace had obliterated the memory of Ethelred's days; and the assassination of a cousin and Danish Prince of the blood by the son and heir of the greatest nobleman in England seemed a crime that could never be atoned. We cannot doubt that it told powerfully against Godwin and his race; and that the stories of Eadric Streona's treachery and murders, of Wulfnoth's quarrel with Brictric and consequent treason, of Godwin's treacherous seizure of the Ætheling Alfred, were liberally commented on at court by Robert and the Normans. It was usual, in the case of a powerful family, to bestow the forfeitures and escheats incurred by one of its members on another. Edward felt himself strong enough to break through this custom; and Herefordshire, a part of Swegen's earldom, seems to have been bestowed on Raoul de Gael, the king's nephew, and a foreigner in feeling, who proceeded to secure himself in it by foreign mercenaries. Nevertheless, and it is characteristic of the times, Swegen procured pardon for the murder more easily than he had done for the seduction. By the mediation of Bishop Aldred of Worcester, whom I have shown some reason for connecting with Godwin's family, and who united a talent for intrigue to skill in simony, the Earl was restored in the very next year (1050) by King and Witan, getting back it would seem all his earldom except Herefordshire, and perhaps having a certain supremacy even in that county.

But the relations of the king and Godwin were by this time almost avowedly hostile: and it was not long before the occasion of an open rupture broke out. Eustace of Boulogne, Edward's nephew, paid a visit to the English court in 1051. While there he probably heard no good of the Earl of the West Saxons and his kin; and having to pass through Dover on his return, he seems to have apprehended insult from a town which the Earl administered, and armed his followers before entering it, as if to resist attack. Naturally enough, bloodshed followed.

The Frenchman tried to seize quarters, always an unpopular demand, and killed a man who resisted on his own hearth; the burghers took up arms and drove them with shame and loss out of the town. They took shelter under the castle at Dover, which Edward had garrisoned with Normans and men of Boulogne, as if in evidence that he distrusted Godwin, and appealed to the king for protection and satisfaction. We do not know their side of the story; but it is likely they were in the wrong; and Edward's demand that Godwin should punish Dover without giving the burghers a fair trial was wholly unjustifiable. Godwin at first disregarded it, and afterwards seems to have thought the time come for procuring a general redress of grievances. He accordingly levied troops, advanced upon Gloucester, where the king was staying, and demanded the surrender of Eustace and all the foreigners at Dover, and the expulsion of the foreign garrison from Richard's castle in Herefordshire. In return he was ready to clear himself from all charges that might be brought against him. It is evident that Edward desired a formal rupture. The time elapsed since the bloodshed at Dover cannot have been very long, for Eustace was still encamped under the walls. Yet all the Earls had been summoned to bring their men in arms to the Witan at Gloucester, which was to try Godwin himself; and Siward had sent the fiery cross through Northumbria. Leofric and Raoul the Gael obeyed with equal alacrity; and Godwin found himself confronted by a powerful army able to give him battle. Counsels of peace prevailed; and it was agreed to adjourn the quarrel for settlement in a future Witan at London. The delay was fatal to Godwin. When the forces of the kingdom were so evenly divided the king's name easily inclined the balance; and a charter still remains testifying how one of Godwin's vassals withdrew his allegiance, and joined himself to the Earls Siward and Leofric.\* Edward took a higher tone, and is said to have used language which showed that Godwin could hope neither justice nor mercy at his hands. The Earl was reduced to fly the country with all his family, outlawed and disinherited. It was an emphatic triumph of the Norman party. But it was also something more. Siward, on whom the blood-feud for Biörn rested, appears the most zealous of Edward's supporters, and received some of Harold's escheated property, † while Mr. Freeman gives probable grounds for assuming that Swegen's outlawry was the first act of the conquerors. We may fairly believe that Swegen's restoration had been due

\* *Cod. Dip.* 930.† *Domesday*, i. f. 208.

to Godwin's influence as well as to Aldred's glozing tongue, and that Siward's partizanship and the defection of Godwin's followers were partly the retribution for this outrage on public opinion. As far as we can judge, Godwin, in the first beginnings of the quarrel, was absolutely right, and Edward absolutely wrong. But men regarded the matter as a question involving many different issues between the Confessor and his over-powerful vassal, and decided that, since a quarrel had come in which one or other must be humiliated, the arrogant subject who had forced the king to restore an outlaw tainted with sacrilege and murder to the highest dignities in the kingdom, was the man who ought to bear the penalty of a rupture.

But the event showed, what is in fact the veriest common-place of experience, that the self-seeking of an able man who knows that the general fortunes are indissolubly bound up with his own is more tolerable than the well-meaning of a fool. We know nothing positive about Edward's government during Godwin's exile, except that he trusted and employed his incompetent kinsman Raoul de Gael, and an Odda who has passed noiselessly out of history. But we know that in less than a year he had completely destroyed his own party, and that London and Southwark, the very places which had witnessed Godwin's discomfiture, were the theatre of his triumphant return. The employment of foreign favourites, the introduction of foreign customs, and the annoyance of the taxation required to protect England from Godwin and his sons, will abundantly account for this result. But it is possible there was another reason. William Duke of Normandy visited England during the months of exile; and M. Prévost and Mr. Freeman think that he was then promised the succession by Edward. The conjecture is highly probable; but there are difficulties against it, even if we set aside Ingulf's evidence as valueless. Why, for instance, if this were the case, did William do nothing to prevent Godwin's return? Was not such a nomination opposed to the strong personal interest of Edward's nephew and right-hand man, Raoul de Gael? Why did Edward afterwards send for another heir in the person of Edward the Outlaw? Assuming, however, that William's succession was discussed or even agreed to in Witan, it goes far to explain the general reaction in Godwin's favour; for there is not the smallest reason to believe that William would ever have been nominated by the free voice of the people, or was better liked by the average Englishman than Eustace of Boulogne had been by the citizens of Dover. Accordingly when Godwin and his sons, in

the summer of 1052, carried out a general attack along the English coast, no doubt in order to dissipate Edward's forces, Harald indeed was resisted in the west, where the authority of the Ealdorman proved supreme, but the more civilized and populous south-east, Sussex, Kent, and London, welcomed Godwin as a deliverer. It was again agreed that the Witan should meet to effect a general arrangement. Godwin and his sons had been schooled by adversity. The Earl made ample submission to his sovereign, and offered to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge. But who were to accuse the general of an unconquered army, the statesman who had recovered popular favour? Not certainly Edward's Norman favourites. With a wise prescience of the fate likely to overtake them, they fled in every direction; and they were pursued by sentences of outlawry. The Witan restored Godwin as unanimously as it had condemned him a year before; and there is not the slightest evidence that a formal trial was held on either occasion. The influence of a few great nobles, the need and the impulse of the moment, decided everything.

The fortunes of Godwin's family were now (1053) firmly established; and it was not among the least, that Godwin and Sweegen died within a short time. Sweegen had gone on pilgrimage in the previous year to expiate his crimes, and died while still on the journey. Godwin's death, coming suddenly, and while he sat at table with the king, gave rise to a crowd of legends in a later time. But men aged prematurely in those days; and the Earl had done his share of hard work, and perhaps, like most of his contemporaries, was a little addicted to the grosser pleasures of the flesh. The Canons against excess in eating and drinking testify to the prevalence of coarse surfeits. In Godwin's own family Harold suffered from gout; and Hardicanute dropped down dead at a feast, where he had over-eaten himself. Godwin's death from a stroke of apoplexy does not therefore need to be explained by a miracle, though there is no intrinsic improbability in supposing that it was preceded by an exchange of angry words with the king.

The Abingdon Chronicler, however, appears to connect Godwin's death with God's judgment upon sacrilege; and Eadmer and William of Malmesbury in particular have repeated the charge against him that he was a spoiler of monasteries. I have gone elsewhere at some length into the evidence,\*

\* Pearson, *Historical Maps of England during the first Thirteen Centuries*, pp. 58, 59.

and will only repeat here that Godwin is accused of having taken land at Berkeley in Gloucestershire, at Salescombe, Plumpton, Itchenor and Steynings in Sussex, and at Folkestone and Plumstead in Kent, from the Church, and that the manors of Rotherfield and Washington passed into his hands, or his son's, from the possession of monasteries, with no record of sale. He is also said in Domesday to have procured a fraudulent transfer of the manor of Stoke, which belonged to the see of Rochester—a charge which rather confirms the character given of him in a thirteenth-century life of the Confessor, that he had “acquired much by fraud more than by chivalry.” The total value of these properties, excluding Rotherfield and Washington, and reckoning Berkeley at the value of the land given in exchange for it, was £262, 1s. 8d., or the income of one of the Conqueror's great barons. As the notices are for the most part incidental, so that in fact in several cases it has required some piecing together to understand them, there is no reason to suppose that they are part of a system for calumniating Godwin; and it is in the last degree improbable that they represent more than a small part of his spoliations. Mr. Freeman has only examined, and I think only known of, two of the cases in question, that of Berkeley and that of Folkestone; and in the latter case he appears to have overlooked Eadmer's testimony. His conclusion on the Berkeley charge is a little curious. The story is that Godwin sent a handsome nephew to seduce one of the nuns, and then procured the forfeiture of the convent and the grant of its lands to himself. The tale comes to us from a late author, and has probably been coloured; but that Berkeley was obtained in some unrighteous manner seems certain from the entry in Domesday, that Countess Gytha would not have supplies assigned her from it on account of the destruction of the Abbey. Mr. Freeman, however, thinks that Walter Map, who came from Herefordshire, confounded Leominster, whose abbess Swegen seduced, which we do not know to have been dissolved, and which we cannot trace to Godwin or a son, with Berkeley for which our records tally in every single point. Next, as Professor Stubbs has shown that there might be an abbess where there were no nuns, Mr. Freeman conjectures that Berkeley was a case in point. It is surely unnecessary to pursue the argument. That young men of rank, belonging to a family distinguished for personal beauty, should carry on intrigues with nuns, in a time of general dissolution of morals, is not so improbable that it need be explained away; and if Godwin begged the forfeiture

procured through a nephew's fault he would certainly incur the charge of having contrived the offence. Nor can his act be defended as that of a delicate man. But there were sinners like himself, or of scarcely smaller enormity, even among the pious Cistercians of the third and fourth generation, a century later. Giraldus Cambrensis accuses them of carrying off dying people that they might profit by their inheritances, of forging title-deeds, and of removing landmarks.\* Once assume that Godwin is not the spotless being of Mr. Freeman's imagination, the saint and hero of an impure and unheroic age, but a man like others, a little less honourable by nature, more tempted, and consequently more faulty, and there is no reason to explain away anything in the accounts, good or bad, that have come down to us.

It will not be necessary to examine Harold's history at as great length as his father's. We are emerging from the twilight of history, from a time for which our contemporary annals are few, almost none, into one which, if it be still short of what we desire, is at least comparatively rich in trustworthy record. Harold has no doubt had his full share of unjust or overstrained attack. It was he, not Godwin, under whom England was ruined, who perjured himself at Bonneville-sur-Tonque, who alienated some at least of the partisans of his house by the quarrel with Tostig, and who was the symbol of English hatred to the foreigner. It is Harold, most of all his race, more even than his father, who has been handed down to us as the spoiler of the Church. If therefore the general voice of the chronicles passes the heavier sentence on the father, we may surely assume that it was for some real demerits; and we may accept the praise given to the son as probably rather below than above his merits. It is clear that Godwin's antecedents were felt to be the weak spot in Harold's cuirass, and that men saw nothing inexpiable in what they knew of himself. It seems scarcely necessary to vindicate his descent on Somersetshire during the civil war, or the quarrels with Ælfgar about earldoms and power. “Qui veut la fin, veut les moyens;” and if Harold was right in desiring to replace himself in estates and offices from which he had been unjustly ejected, the battle at Porlock was only a disastrous incident in his policy, and he of all men cannot have wished to cause needless bloodshed among men in whom he had hoped to find followers. Nor is there anything visibly wrong in Harold's competition for power with Ælf-

\* *Speculum Ecclesie*, pp. 202–204.

gar, who seems to have illustrated every fault that could be charged upon his rival, without the possession of a single redeeming quality. Practically, then, the charges that really rest upon Harold's memory are of needless cruelty in the last war with Wales, of violent usurpations of property, and of an unscrupulous ambition, leading him to withhold Swegen's earldom, to plot against Tostig, to violate an oath given to William of Normandy, and perhaps to procure the murder of the Ætheling Edward. Of these, the charge of cruelty is one that must be judged by a peculiar standard. No one denies that the Welsh provoked and deserved punishment, by faithless conduct and bloody forays, or that Harold retaliated savagely, by killing every male whom he found in the country. But his own times did not condemn him for it; and the Welsh annalists have not so much as noticed it. Every man therefore must decide for himself whether there be not certain laws of humanity which no nation and no man is entitled to disregard.

The case of the Ætheling Edward demands fuller examination. The year 1055 had witnessed a civil war ending in a great blow to Harold's influence. Ælfgar, being outlawed, allied himself with Griffin King of the Welsh, and inflicted a heavy defeat on Raoul de Gael. Harold marched against the enemy with the whole power of England, but could not force them to a battle; and before the year was out Ælfgar had been restored to his earldom, and Griffin admitted to peace. Next year, Harold's chaplain was made bishop of Hereford, and within three months had been slain by Griffin, who was again forthwith taken into Edward's peace. We may reasonably assume that Ælfgar's power and intrigues were steadily directed against Harold, and were for a time too potent to be counteracted. Certainly it was not in Harold's interest that the King and Witan agreed to send into Hungary for Edmund Ironsides' son, known as Edward the Outlaw, and declare him heir to the kingdom. Edward accordingly arrived in 1057; "but soon after he came he died in London," says Florence;\* and "we know now for what cause," says the Worcester Chronicle, "that was done, that he might not see his kinsman, Edward the king." Lingard and Palgrave have accordingly surmised that the prince was put out of the way by Harold or Harold's partisans; and I have elsewhere treated this view as not improbable. †

Lappenberg, who sees that Harold and his party were the persons most interested in preventing an interview, thinks however that the death was natural, on the ground that if there had been suspicion Harold would certainly have been accused.\* Mr. Freeman kindles into declamation in his repudiation of either charge. He thinks that the Normans still left in England, some few men, of no great position, and certainly of no political influence, were able to keep a prince of the blood from prosecuting a journey on which all his hopes turned, and which the king desired. To Lappenberg's argument he adds substantially nothing, except a statement that depreciation of the house of Godwin had become a passion with Palgrave (against which we may set the fact that the suspicion in question originated not with Palgrave but with Lingard, whose meaning is unmistakeable, though his words are guarded), and an assertion that "the West-Saxon Earl, ambitious no doubt and impetuous, but ever frank, generous, and conciliatory, was at once felt to be incapable of such a deed." This is arguing in a circle. Mr. Freeman invests Harold with certain attributes of his own colouring, and then argues that he could not have done anything inconsistent with the ideal character. No one has ever pretended that Harold's guilt can be proved, assumed, or regarded as more than a topic for speculation. But the language of the Saxon Chronicle does seem, as Palgrave has pointed out, to cover a suspicion that is not put into words. Edward's dying prediction, that the land would never have peace till the tree separated by three acres from the stem was joined once more to it, looks very much as if he believed in the right of Edgar Ætheling and in the danger of designating him precisely. That Harold was never accused in his own age may only prove that his agent acted with such skill as to avoid suspicion, and that men did not bring charges lightly against him till long after his death, when this particular incident was forgotten. Lastly, as to the "impetuous" "generous" character, it is surely a little at variance with that given by the Anonymous Biographer, who says that he was very prone to take counsel, and very apt to delay execution till the best time had gone by, as "indeed who could accuse a son of Godwin's, or trained by him, of such a fault as rashness or levity?" In comparing him with his father we are comparing a young man

\* i. p. 215.

† Lingard, *History of England*, i. pp. 298, 294. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and of England*,

iii. p. 289. Pearson, *England during the Early and Middle Ages*, i. p. 244.

\* Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. 517.

with an old, for Harold even when he died had probably not reached his father's years when Alfred was betrayed; but the virtues and vices of each are essentially of the calculating statesman-like type.

As all writers agree that Harold profited by Swegen's outlawry, and refused to surrender his share of the forfeitures when his brother was restored, it may be passed over without further notice than that it proves Harold, even as quite a young man, to have followed his own advantage rather than any generous impulse. The quarrel with Tostig is of greater importance; and this seems indissolubly bound up with the story of Harold's oath to William of Normandy. Unfortunately, we cannot say with precision why Harold went into Normandy, in what year he was there, or what he swore to. But the more probable account seems to be that he was driven on the coast of France by a storm, and was delivered from Guy of Ponthieu, who held him prisoner to extort a ransom, by the Duke. The tale told by William of Poitiers, that Edward sent him to offer the crown to his cousin, was probably a fiction of Norman policy, or a popular explanation of the Earl's presence. The date is referred by William of Poitiers to a time when Edward's death was thought to be not long distant; but this is extremely vague, and Eadmer assigns it to a period not long after Godwin's death. Henry of Huntingdon speaks of it as in the twenty-second year of the Confessor's reign, a phrase which, construed literally, would take in parts of 1063 and 1064. M. Prévost inclines to the former, Mr. Freeman to the latter date; and I shall assume that it was at least not later. Harold, by all accounts, was treated with every attention at the Norman court; but he was not allowed to leave it. He made the best of a difficult position, did good service in a campaign against the Bretons, and, it is said, won the heart of one of the Duke's daughters. At last the time seemed come when he could be trusted; and William disclosed his plans on the English succession, and demanded of Harold that he should become his man. The position was peculiar. William's title was absolutely worthless; for whether he rested it, as Eadmer says, on a promise made to him while he was yet a boy, or on the settlement of the Witan in 1051, which Mr. Freeman believes in, he must have known that the former promise had been set aside by official acts of more than twenty years, and the latter by a political revolution which all England had accepted. Moreover, the articles of the treaty he proposed, that Harold should become his man, marrying his daughter, giving his own sister to a Norman, and surrendering

Dover at some undefined date, all point to anticipated resistance, in which Harold was to aid the Normans against his own countrymen. The proposal was monstrous. But Harold's need was great; for if he were not set at liberty the succession would be seized by his brother and rival Tostig, whom Edward and Edith favoured. On the other hand, though William's power of ruining Harold's prospects was infinite, he could, for the same reason, only exercise it to his own detriment. It was therefore matter of moral certainty that Harold must make excessive concessions, which he would perhaps try afterwards to repudiate, and that William must content himself with insufficient guarantees. How the English Earl was tricked in the matter of the relics is world-famous. William of Jumièges says also that he left his handsome brother Wulfnoth behind him as a hostage; and the statement is not improbable, though it seems to conflict with an entry in *Domesday-Book*,\* that a tenant of the crown transferred his service to "Alnod Cilt" after the Confessor's death. Nor is it easy to understand why no allusion to such a hostage occurs in the negotiation afterwards. But that Harold swore to a private pact of some sort seems as certain as any matter can be of which we have only broken and half-contradictory notices. Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Ordericus Vitalis, William of Poitiers, and William of Jumièges, all say that the oath included the recognition of William as King of England, and the promise to aid him. Several important writers are silent as to the oath; but none deny it, even by implication. It has been accepted accordingly by Sharon Turner, Lingard, Lappenberg, Palgrave, and even Thierry. Mr. Freeman tries to explain it away. Harold, he thinks, may have flirted with one of the Conqueror's daughters, and so have involved himself in a matrimonial entanglement which he broke free from abruptly. He may have taken the oath of homage from a sense of gratitude, or in mere light-heartedness. "Men did homage on all kinds of grounds." They did; but it was not generally regarded as a trivial matter. A woman could not perform it in rather later times, because it outweighed the sacrament of marriage; and it was notoriously the only oath, almost the only human obligation, that really bound the conscience of Henry II. That the slow, wary Harold did not understand its import would indeed be strange. Lastly, Mr. Freeman concludes that "it is just as likely that Harold really broke no promise of greater moment than

\*i. f. 6a.

that of marrying, at some unfixed time, a child whose father was younger than himself." If this really be so, if the uncontested evidence of so many historians is worthless as to the critical point of their narratives, we may as well construct history for the future out of the inner consciousness. True, the question of the marriage is sometimes put as it were into the foreground. But the reason for this is obvious. When William first learned of Harold's determination to break his pact, the Duke was not at once prepared for extremities. He probably felt that he had himself behaved basely and trickily, and that Harold's was comparatively a venial perjury. He was therefore willing to commute his claims if Harold would carry out the dynastic alliance, which would make Normandy secure on the side of England, and perhaps ultimately unite the two crowns under a prince of his own blood. But when Harold refused even these terms, it seemed to William and to Normans generally, who could not understand English political feeling or the situation of parties, as if King and Witan were inviting God's judgment on a perjury of the most aggravated kind.

After Harold was set at liberty, the position on either side was not a little complicated. For William it was important that the English people should not know of the covenant, which they were certain to dislike; but it was desirable also that Edward and the Norman party in England should be instructed that Harold had practically renounced his claims to the crown. Even therefore if Harold did not himself lay his difficulties before the King and a council of great nobles, as one writer seems to imply,\* it is likely that they were known in political circles, and were regarded by friend and foe alike as a new obstacle between himself and the crown. Yet if Harold were not king after Edward, to whom could the English people turn? Siward, Leofric, and Ælfgar were all dead; and their inheritances were in the hands of mere boys. Edgar Ætheling was alike unfitted by age and character for the highest dignity. Harold's character was deservedly high. Beyond the usual vices of a young man, nothing could be charged against him that is not covered by the general words "an unscrupulous ambition;" and if this led him by turns to seize church lands, to plot against rivals, to show no pity in victory, and to violate an inconvenient oath, it was no uncommon feature of great men, nor one that would seriously distress any but his few rivals. On the other hand, he had the charm of personal manner and the glory of

success in a brilliant campaign, was a good administrator, and a proved statesman, and succeeded in keeping order without provoking revolt. Above all, it was his singular praise that during a life of action and much temptation he had never stooped to a private revenge on a countryman. Precisely the highest of these qualities were wanting to his brother Earl Tostig. Brave and energetic as Harold himself, even warier and more able to bridle his appetites when a high prize was in view, Tostig wanted tact and largeness of nature. His zeal for order was that of a conqueror who governs his new dominions by martial law and is reckless in passing sentences by which he profits; and he murdered the northern nobles who gainsaid him, once, it is said, with his sister Edith's complicity. He was reputed a devout man; but his allies in the Church were the simoniacal Aldred, and the brothers Ægelric and Ægelwine, who plundered the see of Durham. That such a man, favoured by his sister the Queen and married to a cousin of the King's, should aspire to the succession, if Harold were disqualified, was only natural. But the bare idea that Tostig might one day be king must have added fresh fury to the outbreak in which the Earl was deprived of his province and outlawed, and in which the instruments of his power were mercilessly cut down. That Edwin was an active promoter of that rising is undisputed. The part Harold played in it is more doubtful. Mr. Freeman is certain that it was straightforward and generous. "Harold throughout tried in vain to reconcile the revolvers to his brother." But the authorities he quotes, Florence of Worcester and the Abingdon Chronicle, are not equally precise. Florence indeed says that Harold and others were sent to the King to make peace, and adds generally that, "while Harold and many others wanted to bring them to terms with Earl Tostig, they all with one accord refused, and outlawed him;" but it is obvious that a general statement of this kind is not by itself sufficient to clear Harold from a charge of underground manœuvring or dishonest support. No one questions that he spoke in the Witan as the ostensible representative of Tostig's interests; but Tostig challenged him on oath with insidiously persuading the rebels to persist in their opposition.\* The passage in the Abingdon Chronicle is even less precise than that in Florence. "There," it says, that is at Northampton, "came Earl Harold to meet them, and they laid an errand on him to the King Edward, and also sent envoys with him, and bade that they must have Morcar to their Earl. And the King grant-

\* *Chron. Ang.-Norm.* ii. 187, 188.

\* *Vita Eadwardi*, p. 422.



ed this and sent after Harold to them to Northampton. On St. Simon and St. Jude's mass the Earl was there, and would work them peace if he might, and he might not; and all his earldom unanimously forsook him and outlawed him, and all those with him who stirred up unrighteousness." It will be noticed that the construction in this passage changes suddenly from Harold to Tostig. It is Harold who goes to Northampton: Tostig whom all his earldom forsakes. And a question seems to arise whether it is not Tostig also who is spoken of as trying to work peace. Anyhow the purport of the two conferences must be distinguished. The first demand of the rebels was that Morcar should be their Earl in Tostig's place. The Abingdon and Peterborough texts of the Saxon Chronicle, which are followed by Henry of Huntingdon, agree that Harold was made the spokesman of this request, though undoubtedly a deputation went with him to support it. Circumstances were imperious; and Edward at once gave way, perhaps hoping that a prompt concession would save his favourite from the doom of outlawry, which Edwin and his party demanded for greater security. But whether Harold was powerless or treacherous, or whether Tostig pleaded his cause in person and failed, the result was that no concessions were obtained; and Tostig's client, the Anonymous Biographer, implies throughout that the blame rested with Harold. True, he says that he should not like to believe anything so bad of so great a nobleman against his brother; and he records that Harold denied the charge upon oath. But he adds, in the same breath, that Harold was too lavish of oaths, glancing of course at the oath of allegiance to William, and proceeds to mention that Edward would have fought the matter out if he had not been stayed by the counsels of certain persons who said that the season was too far advanced for military operations, and descanted on the dangers of civil war. Now that Harold was one of the "certain persons" may fairly be assumed. If he was not already the declared heir to the crown, as Mr. Freeman infers from the homages rendered to him by the Welsh princes, he was at least the first man of the country, wielding all the disposable forces of the parts most alien to Northumbrian interests. His counsel may have been wise and patriotic. He may have felt that Tostig had provoked a richly deserved punishment, and that a civil war to replace him would neither be justifiable nor safe. He may even have believed it better that Tostig should bow to the storm for a time, as Swegen, Godwin and Ælfgar had done in their day. But in presence of the precise

charges against him, and of the very vague evidence in his favour, considering that he of all men had most to gain by Tostig's absence from England, and most interest in propitiating Earl Edwin, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that Harold combined public policy and self-interest by the practice of that duplicity which came native to his family. A straightforward and honourable man would have avowed his line of conduct from the first. But the peculiar sentiment of the day is some palliation for the Earl's reserve. Most men in the eleventh century thought it better to kindle a civil war than to desert a near kinsman.

The prize for which the Godwin family had laboured, plotted, and fought, was now about to fall to the most deserving. The Confessor's weak health was shaken by the troubles that had caused division in his household and insurrection in his realm; and in January 1066 he felt his end approaching. His was a sad look-back upon life, and as sad the look-out upon the world. True, England had enjoyed comparative peace under his rule; and the load of excessive taxation had been reduced. But he had been a *roi fainéant*, always in the hands of men stronger than himself, and incapable of using the power he once grasped, except to his country's hurt and his friends' ruin. His piety had not profited the Church he loved. The scanty list of fourteen English prelates included the factious pluralist Stigand of Winchester and Canterbury and his married brother Agelmar of Elmham, the simoniac Aldred of York, Ægelwine of Durham who plundered his see, Leofwine of Litchfield whose wife and children were of public notoriety, the Fleming Herman of Sherborne who had been driven from England for an audacious attempt to confiscate Malmesbury, and who had since embraced and abandoned the monastic profession, Ethelric of Selsey afterwards deposed for an unknown cause, and Walter of Hereford who was stabbed five years later by a woman whom he attempted to outrage. It is with a feeling of positive relief that one turns from such names to the foreigners Giso of Wells and Leofric of Exeter, against whom nothing is alleged, or to Wulfstan of Worcester, chosen because it was thought that he would suffer his diocese to be plundered, but who redeemed his ignorance by the virtues of a saint and a patriotic statesmanship. Were the English earls and great nobles purer than the prelates? Most of them unhappily are mere names to us; and several were still young. But Edward, if he read character, could have augured little good of the beautiful but treacherous Ed-

win, of Morcar who shared his brother's plots and fate, of Wolveof whose first known public act was to invalidate his mother's bequest, whose next was to take part in a butchery, and whose last exploit was an assassination, of Cospatic who carried fire and sword among his own countrymen, of Osulf who murdered a rival, of Hereward of Brunne outlawed for violence to his father, or of the litigious Eadnoth and the time-serving Wigod de Wallingford. Harold, with all his faults, was the best man of the day in high place. Church and State were hopelessly corrupt; and Edward kindled into prophecy. "Because those who are of most account in this kingdom of England, earls, bishops, and abbots, and all clerics, are not what they seem to be, but are, on the contrary, servants of the devil, God hath given all this land, accursed of him, into the hand of the enemy, within a year and a day after my death; and devils shall traverse it all, burning, slaying, and carrying off." Then he indicated dimly what he dared not put into words, that there should be no remission of evil till the royal line of Edmund Ironsides was restored. Small wonder if these words sent a horror through Harold's breast. But the King soon relapsed into the weak dying man; and his last thoughts were to protect the Queen and his Norman followers from the vengeance of him who was now certain to be king, and against whom they had incessantly intrigued. He commended them, with the kingdom, to Harold's care. The words may be taken to imply that the King designated Harold as a successor; but they are no evidence of his real wishes or opinion. By uttering them he propitiated his successor; by withholding them he might have endangered the persons on earth for whom he most cared. It was like leaving an estate charged with a legacy, to deny which would vitiate the whole bequest.

Edward's fears were more justified by his own character than by Harold's. The Earl was magnanimous by nature, and at this moment disposed to disarm all opposition by large concessions and tact. He knew that the difficulties in his path were enormous, that even his election by the Witan would not appease the old feud of Northumbrian and Saxon, or calm Edwin's jealousy, or conciliate the churchmen whom he had plundered during years when it was more important than now to be the greatest of English landed proprietors. So he devoted all his ability, all the fascination of his manner, to the winning of partizans. He made a personal canvass in the north. "He began," says Florence, "to abolish bad

laws, to make good, to become the patron of churches and monasteries, to court and venerate bishops, abbots, monks, and clerics, to show himself tender, unpretentious, and courteous to all good men." It is true his promises were rather vague than precise; and his performance lagged. We know from Domesday-Book that some twenty properties taken from the Church by Harold had not been given back at the day of his death. We know from the personal evidence of Bishop Giso, whose see he had plundered, that though he promised restitution he did not carry it into effect.\* We hear of two manors in Hampshire, Hayling and Soberton, which he took from their owner Leman, during his short tenure of power. But generally we may well believe that he did much and intended to do more for the good of England. The country was now his estate; and he was prepared to administer it without rancour for old grudges, and with all the foresight and tact of an able statesman.

But the Nemesis of his own acts was upon him. The hasty and insincere oath to William had involved him in an unforeseen competition with Tostig. To ruin Tostig's chances he had raised the less capable rival Edwin to a perilous height of power; and Edwin must now be secured at any cost. Hence it was impossible for Harold to accept the compromise William would have conceded; and electing, as he wisely did, a foreign to a civil war, he had to meet attack from Tostig with his Norwegian allies, as well as from William backed by the public opinion of Europe and the military enterprise of half France. It is not the purpose of this article to examine more than the points bearing on Harold's personal character; and during this last year he is known to us chiefly as a general. But unless Edwin, like Eadric Streana, was a man of inexplicable treachery, whose conduct cannot be judged by common rules, it seems reasonable to accept the statement in the Saga of Harald Hardrada, that Harold tried to divide his enemies at Stamford-bridge by offering a third of England, no doubt his old Northumbrian earldom, to Tostig. Accept this hypothesis, for which there is very sufficient warrant, and Edwin and Morcar's defection at the critical moment of Harold's fortunes is intelligible. They were irritated at an act which showed that the King thought them unfit to govern, and safe to discard. Reject it, and there is a needless mystery to be solved. But it is not a serious count in the indictment against Harold's

\* *Hist. de Prim. Episc. Somers.* p. 18.

public policy. His position was critical; and he may well have thought it allowable to offer terms which after all would have saved Edwin and Morcar from ultimate ruin. It was a breach of private faith, and would no doubt have been a hazardous experiment; but when we have said this we have said all. Harold's best apology is that he lived in rough times, among faithless men, and was rather above than below the level of his surroundings. But, if it be ever allowable to see God's judgment in a single episode of history, we may surely follow the Englishmen of the twelfth century who discerned in the battle of Hastings the just retribution of Heaven upon national crimes. It was the beginning of expiation for nearly a century of misrule and infamy in the highest places.

My desire has been in these pages to examine how far Mr. Freeman has shown ground for setting aside the common estimate of Earl Godwin and Earl Harold, of which Palgrave is the most eminent representative. Unfortunately Palgrave's work is in these parts little more than a splendid fragment, which has not received the author's latest corrections. We can never know adequately how he would have justified the conclusions which he gives rather as the result of insight than of criticism. Yet, as far as I can judge, Palgrave's view, except in some trifling details, is absolutely right, Mr. Freeman's absolutely wrong. Mr. Freeman has started from the conception that history for eight hundred years has been in a conspiracy against truth; and his style throughout is that of a pleader who tries to demolish the character of witnesses by detecting them in trivial inconsistencies, and who delights in accumulating the absurd stories of late and obscure chroniclers in order to throw doubts on a general verdict. Wherever his new points can be rigidly tested, as in the case of Godwin's pedigree or the spoliations of Church property charged on the Earl, the balance of proof against them is great, almost overwhelming; and in the more difficult questions, where we have to sift motives and infer conduct from imperfect evidence, as in the cases of the Guildford tragedy and Harold's oath to William, a fresh examination will, I think, only strengthen the view every competent historian has approved hitherto. I confess myself unable to understand what feature in Godwin's character, what act of his life, can ever have pointed him out as an unaccredited hero and patriot. Yet it is fair to add that I regard Mr. Freeman's work, none the less, as an important addition to English history. *The Ring and the Book* has taught us how much light may

be thrown on human character by the advocacy of professed partizans; and Godwin and Harold are immeasurably more lifelike and real, even to the historical student who, like myself, rejects Mr. Freeman's conclusions, than they were before he wrote. Incidentally too, his book has cleared up much that was dark, illustrated much that was imperfectly known. It is unfortunate that so much should have been staked on an extravagant estimate of two characters which could only be justified by a remodelling of history altogether. But where the historian breaks down the advocate is often most impassioned and interesting.

CHARLES H. PEARSON.

#### ART. III.—THE EARLY AUTHORSHIP OF SHAKESPEARE.

SHAKESPEARE did not acknowledge himself as an author until he was twenty-nine years old. In 1593 he published, as the "first heir of his invention," his poem of *Venus and Adonis*. Some of his plays, however, as the three parts of *King Henry VI.*, were certainly produced before that date. To reconcile this apparent contradiction between the declaration and the fact various suppositions have been made. He may have written his first poem many years before he published it. He may have refused to call those plays his own "inventions" which were built on older plays, or on plots which he took from chronicles or tales. He may restrict the word "invention" to regular poems, and deny it to the dramatic blank verse. But this is very unlikely. Greene, in a passage which will be quoted immediately, advises his friends never more to communicate their inventions, that is, their dramas, to the actors. And Shakespeare himself, in a well-known passage, cries out for a "Muse of fire that should surmount the highest heaven of invention," or transcend the known bounds of dramatic energy. But the contradiction is only apparent. Shakespeare calls *Venus and Adonis* the first heir, not the first child, of his invention. The heir is not necessarily the eldest of a family, but only its acknowledged representative; and, out of all that Shakespeare may have written, this poem was his first acknowledged work.

He had written much before 1593, and was known as an author to a narrow circle of friends and enemies. The first undoubted reference to him in the literature of his day is contained in the *Groat's-worth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance*, which

was the legacy left by Greene the dramatist to the companions of his riots and his triumphs. From his sordid death-bed he wrote, in 1592, "to those gentlemen his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays," wishing them "a better exercise, and wisdom to prevent his extremities." First he addresses Marlowe, whom he warns against atheism and Macchiavellism, and to whom he recites the then accepted myth of Macchiavelli's self-inflicted and despairing death; then he addresses Lodge as young Juvenal, exhorting him not to make enemies by his biting satire; then he turns to George Peele; and then he addresses all of them together: "Base-minded men all three of you, if by my misery ye be not warned. For unto none of you, like me, sought those burs to cleave—those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those anticks, garnished in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholding—is it not like that you to whom they have all been beholding, shall, were ye in that case that I am now, be both of them at once forsaken? Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that, with his *tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and, being an absolute Johannes-factorum, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country. Oh that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses, and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions! I know the best husband of you all will never prove an usurer, and the kindest of them all will never prove a kind nurse; yet, whilst you may, seek you better masters; for it is a pity men of such rare wits should be subject to the pleasures of such rude grooms. In this I might insert two\* more that both have writ against these buckram gentlemen; but let their own work serve to witness against their own wickedness, if they persevere to maintain any more such peasants. For other new-comers, I leave them to the mercy of these painted monsters, who, I doubt not, will drive the best-minded to despise them; for the rest, it skills not though they make a jest at them."

It is strange that the accusations implied in this splenetic and spiteful attack on

Shakespeare should have been believed without examination. Of course, he is the "upstart crow," the "Shake-scene;" and of course also, it is said, the feathers with which the crow was beautified must mean certain plays written separately or conjointly by Greene, Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele. One of these plays, it is further said, was *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, from which Shakespeare stole *The third part of King Henry VI.*, in both of which plays occurs the line, "O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide," which Greene here parodies. But a critical examination of the passage will show that this need not be its meaning, while a comparison of it with the apology which Chettle the publisher put forth in the same year will render it almost certain that, if Greene meant to suggest such a thing, the suggestion was false.

Greene first of all asserts that of all four dramatists he had been the most popular and most in demand with the players. But as they had suddenly forsaken him so would they probably fall away from Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, who were no longer necessary to them. For an upstart had arisen, beautified with their feathers and jetting in their robes—one who, though a mere actor, pretended to be also an author, and without skill or education usurped the place and function of the professional writers and scholars. Under his "player's hide" there was a ferocious heart, unsocial, unfeeling, selfish. He was a monopolist, not content with the division of trades, but uniting the profits of actor and dramatist. He was, moreover, a man of boundless self-conceit, and unlimited capacity for work, who both considered himself equal to Marlowe as a poet, and made himself Johannes-factorum in his theatre, refusing all community, accepting no assistance, joining in no partnership of production, but arrogating to himself every department of the drama, making himself property-man, manager, actor, and author, all in one, and esteeming himself the only Shake-scene, the only one whose force or pathos could bow all heads or shake all nerves, as the wind bends the boughs and makes the leaves quiver. Such was the force of this man's self-conceit and self-assertion, that both actors and audience had begun to prefer him to their older favourites. And, continues Greene, as I have been preferred to you, he will soon be preferred to you also, and your labours will be in no request. Anticipate this. Leave them before they leave you. Turn your wits to more profitable productions. Let the players play the plays you have already written; but write for them no more. I know that you are no misers,

\* These two may be Munday and Nash. The former had left the stage in disgust in 1581, and had written a ballad against it; the latter had been very severe upon the actors in his letter prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon* in 1589. What he wrote in 1592 was for the children of Paul's, not for the professional actors.

and that what your wits produce they will spend. But I know also that the players are not those on whom you should spend it. Seek therefore better patrons. It is a pity that such choice spirits should be enthralled to such rude grooms.

Chettle, who published this posthumous *Groat's-worth of Wit*, found that it had brought him into trouble with Marlowe and Shakespeare. He therefore, in a preface to *Kind Hearts' Dream*, a later pamphlet of the same year, 1592, declared that he was unacquainted with both these persons, and did not care if he never was acquainted with one of them; but that he regretted not having used his right of altering Greene's manuscript, still further to soften it, so as to spare Shakespeare, "because," he says, "myself have seen his demeanour no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes; besides divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that proves his wit." From this statement it is clear that, though Shakespeare had already eclipsed Greene, and in Greene's judgment would soon also eclipse Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, as a dramatist, yet his authorship of the plays which had commanded this success was so completely unknown, and his work so strictly anonymous, that Chettle, himself author, stationer, and printer, and after 1598 one of the most prolific of English dramatists, who must have moved in the very mart of literary gossip, had indeed seen and borne witness to Shakespeare's merits as an actor, but was obliged to believe in his facetious "grace in writing" on the testimony, not of his own eyes and ears, but of "divers of worship," the gentlemen or noblemen with whom Shakespeare consorted, and who took pains to defend his reputation when it was attacked. Greene had insinuated that he was dishonest, one who stole his plumes, and only in his own conceit was able to create what he palmed off as his own. His friends bore witness to his honesty which would have preserved him from the attempt, and to his genius which lifted him above the necessity to supply what he wanted in so left-handed a manner.

It is then firmly established that Shakespeare in 1592, when he was twenty-eight years old, though studiously concealing his name, had already attained such command of the stage that the most successful of his competitors owned himself distanced, and foresaw that his rival might, if he chose, obtain such a monopoly, that even though the players (and the public) lost all writers but him, they would still be sufficiently furnished. If we are ignorant, as Chettle was,

of what Shakespeare had done in the drama before 1592, at least it is clear that he had done much. He had already, in the jealous fears of the most successful dramatist of the day who signed his works, eclipsed all his rivals in the favour of actors and audiences. Now on what plays, or what kind of plays, was this estimation founded? Had the anonymous author only adapted the inventions of Greene, Marlowe, Lodge, or Peele? Chettle, who, as the publisher of Greene's posthumous libel, had made himself answerable for the accusation, retracts it as an unfounded imputation on the honesty and wit of Shakespeare. Or was this reputation founded on such plays as *Pericles*, which Dryden says was the first birth of Shakespeare's Muse, and which without the additions made to it in 1608 is a poor affair enough, or on a Marlowesque play like *Titus Andronicus*, which Ben Jonson's authority assigns to a period between 1584 and 1589? But these plays are assuredly not those which exhibit any superiority of Shakespeare to his rivals. *The Comedy of Errors* is a much more likely foundation for such an estimation as Greene owns, while he carps at it. And in that play there is a note of time as clear as can well be conceived. In Act iii. scene 2, where Dromio of Syracuse is describing to his master the beauties of the fat kitchen-wench, and comparing her to a globe on which he could find out countries, he makes her forehead stand for France "armed and reverted, making war against her *heir*." Henry of Navarre was heir of France from the death of the Duke of Anjou, in 1584, till the murder of Henry III., on the 2d of August 1589, when he became King. Shakespeare made as careful a distinction between "heir" and "owner" in his plays as between "heir" and "child" in the dedication of *Venus and Adonis*. He calls Hector "Heir of Ilium," and Henry v. "heretier de France" (*Tempest* ii. 1, and *Henry V.* v. 2). During the heredity of Henry of Navarre France was reverted, or in reversion, because her crown descended to a new line on the proximate extinction of the house of Valois. She began to arm for war against her heir in April 1585, when the declaration of the League was made. She was in the thick of war in 1587, when the League fought and lost the great battle of Coutras. In April 1589, Henry III. and Henry of Navarre met as friends in Plessis-les-Tours. This indication therefore fixes the first production of *The Comedy of Errors* in the period between April 1585 and April 1589.

Once more. When Dromio is asked on what part of the wench's body Spain was, he answers, "Faith, I saw it not; but I felt

it, hot in her breath." Hot breath is a common expression of that day for irritating and menacing language. To signify hostile deeds hot hands would be used. An Englishman writing after August 1588 would hardly have said that he only felt the hot breath of Spain, but saw her not, when he had seen the Armada cruising off her shores. Again to the question, "Where America?—the Indies?" Dromio replies: "O sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain; who sent whole armadas of carracks to be ballast at her nose." This passage seems to point to a time when Spain had a virtual monopoly of the treasures of the Indies—a monopoly which, though rudely invaded by the piracies of Drake in his voyage of circumnavigation in 1577–1580, was for the first time contested by the English Government in the expedition under Drake and Frobisher in 1585, which returned to England in July 1586.

The conclusion derived from these indications of date is much strengthened by other indications which may be found in the very construction of the drama. The play consists of two parts—one the amusing farce of the mistaken identity between the two couples of twins, and the other the dangers and deliverance of the Syracusan merchant condemned to death by the Duke of Ephesus, simply for being found on Ephesian territory. This part of the plot, though subsidiary to the main action, is quite separable from it, and seems to have been designed to exhibit the hardness and cruelty of a law which was first enforced in England at the time which is shown, by the indications noted above, to have been the date of the play. The Duke explains clearly enough the nature of this law:—

"Merchant of Syracuse, plead no more;  
I am not partial to infringe our laws:  
The enmity and discord which of late  
Sprang from the rancorous outrage of your  
Duke

To merchants, our well-dealing countrymen,  
Who wanting gilders to redeem their lives  
Have sealed his rigorous statutes with their  
bloods,

Excludes all pity from our threatening looks.  
For since the mortal and intestine jars  
'Twixt thy seditious countrymen and us  
It hath in solemn synods been decreed  
Both by the Syracusans and ourselves  
To admit no traffic to our adverse towns;  
Nay, more,

If any born at Ephesus be seen  
At any Syracusan marts or fairs—  
Again—If any Syracusan born  
Come to the Bay of Ephesus—he dies,  
His goods confiscate to the Duke's dispose;

Unless a thousand marks be levied  
To quit the penalty, and to ransom him."

The merchant pleads that he has come not in defiance of the law, but in search of his lost wife and sons. The Duke pities, but can do no more than extend his time for seeking ransom:—

"Now, trust me, were it not against our laws,  
Against my crown, my oath, my dignity,  
Which princes, would they, may not dis-  
annul,

My soul should sue as advocate for thee.  
But though thou art adjudged to the death,  
And passed sentence may not be recalled,  
But to our honour's great disparagement,  
Yet I will favour thee in what I can:  
Therefore, merchant, I'll limit thee this day,  
To seek thy life by beneficial help.  
Try all the friends thou hast at Ephesus;  
Beg thou or borrow to make up the sum,  
And live; if no, then thou art doom'd to die."

The years between 1581 and 1588 were especially characterized by outrages, often exaggerated by rumour, upon British merchants in Rome or in Spain, by proposals for reprisals, and by one law of reprisals which Shakespeare possibly had in view when he wrote the lines just quoted. In July 1581 the English ambassador at Paris informed his Government that the Englishmen imprisoned at Rome would not be relieved till they could show testimony of their quality and condition.\* In March of the next year it was said:—"The handling of our nation in Italy is daily worse and worse; for it is advertised that the Inquisition is newly established in the state of Venice, and through all Italy against strangers, especially our nation." It was supposed that all the English gentlemen in Padua and Venice were prisoners; that Shelly, the English Prior of Malta, and the other Catholic fugitives at Rome, were in prison on suspicion of communicating with Protestant friends; and that some were likely to be executed.† In the same month, Anthony Standen, well known as the friend of Anthony Bacon and Lord Essex, wrote from Florence:—"No man cometh to Rome without good testimony that is not cooped up. . . . All our countrymen are in a maze there, and each looketh hourly to be caught and imprisoned."‡ Lorenzo Guicciardini wrote from Florence to Arthur Throckmorton in July:—"Those poor English merchants and others who are prisoners at Rome are not released, and God knows what their end will be, and it is plain that the Pope has hardened his heart."§

\* Record Office, France, July 21, 1581.

† Faunt to Walsingham, Birch, i. 21. See also Record Office, Dom. 1582, April 4 and May 4.

‡ Record Office, Italian States, March 23, 1582.

§ *Ibid.* July 12, 1582.

Though the fears of the English of a fatal result were not justified,\* yet the rigours were still complained of. In January 1583, the English Government received a list of fifteen Englishmen sent from the Inquisition at Rome, into the galleys at Naples;† and in August information was still coming from Paris about other English prisoners in the same case.‡

English merchants were still worse off in Spain. In 1585, on the first idea of war between the two countries, Philip laid an embargo upon all English ships, moneys, goods, and debts, discoverable in his dominions, and imprisoned all Englishmen. How this mandate was carried out by Antonia Guevarra at Seville we have an account, dated November 21, 1585, full of complaints of cruel dealings towards merchants and poor mariners, the like whereof was never seen among Christians:—"Having our goods, money, debts, and until our apparel embargoed, and will not give us to eat, but put us among all the Pycros and thieves that are in the city, and if there were a worse prison we should be assured of it." The only hope of the prisoners is in reprisals to be taken on the Spaniards in England.§ Among numerous papers to the same effect is a petition from seven merchants and thirty-one mariners in prison at St. Lucar, who were offered liberty on condition of each giving a bond, in the impossible sum of 3000 ducats, that for each of them a Spaniard in England should be released.|| In the same year an English merchant domiciled twenty-two years in Spain was condemned to death for communicating by letter with England.¶ In consequence of a multitude of such complaints, one of the points to be negotiated with Alva at Ostend that year was thus set forth in the commissioner's instructions:—"Art. 17. Ye shall show unto them the great inhumanity offered to our people, trading only in merchandise in Spain and now in Portugal, in that every person, evil disposed to any of our people, and seeking to make profit of the goods of our merchants, or otherwise upon any quarrel, doth use to make some information to the house of the Inquisition, and without any cause justly given doth procure the seizure of any person of our subjects and of their ships and goods, and so the persons of our subjects are taken, imprisoned, tortured, and in the end put to

death by imprisonment and famine, and no just cause at all alleged or proved. And by this manner not only great numbers of our subjects have been bereaved both of their lives and goods, but also a great number of others of our subjects, whose bodies have not been taken by reason of their absence, have nevertheless lost their ships and goods, by reason the persons accused to the Inquisition have been found in the said ships, though not belonging to the same. Of these miserable cruelties our subjects have of long time grievously complained, and we have sought by many messages to the King to have had some redress thereof, which hath been in some sort promised but never performed. And if this cruel usage by colour of the Inquisition should continue, it were of no purpose to have accord for any intercourse betwixt Spain and us." And then the Queen hinted at reprisals:—"For if we should, by colour of a like Inquisition, suffer the merchants of Spain to be so molested . . . few or none of them would resort to our countries, and so all intercourse should stay."

In England the cry for reprisals on the Spaniards, and the Papists who abetted them, waxed louder and louder. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter in 1591, declared it to be a matter very equal that every man should be judged by such laws as themselves practise against others, and that the penal laws in England were only parallel to those of Rome and Spain. "They count it a matter very absurd to dispute whether the Italian or Spanish laws concerning treason be just or no, and whether they are to be executed or not." The priests sent over into England were regarded as the analogues of the English merchants abroad; and the two classes were in the common language of the day confounded together. Both were traders; both had their merchandise to impart. Not only was the mercantile cipher used to disguise political and religious intelligence, but the metaphor became current in conversation, and soon the metaphor became a practical one. Rome retaliated on English merchants and mariners for the imprisonment and execution of her priests; and England retaliated for the cruelties exercised on her merchants, by new persecutions of those who dealt in Roman ideas. It was not till the Statute 27th Elizabeth (1585) that this retaliation was decreed in "solemn synods" in the manner described by Shakespeare: then it was enacted that every priest found in England forty days after the end of the session should be condemned and executed as a traitor. Many were at once deported; and four were executed in 1586 under this Statute. If the lines above quoted were in-

\* See Birch, i. p. 24 and 25.

† Record Office, Italian States, January 19, 1583.

‡ *Ibid.* France, August 8. 1583.

§ Record Office, Spain, November 21, 1585.

|| *Ibid.* January 4, 1587.

¶ *Ibid.* November 21, 1587.

tended to refer to this law, it would seem as though they were written between its enactment and the first cases of its execution; and this would make the date of the play Christmas 1585, or January 1586. The stage was the public critic of current politics; and it is entirely in character with Shakespeare's well-known tolerant spirit, to exhibit the hardship and possible iniquity of a law like the one referred to. And the scenes in the play where the Syracusan merchant appears have this note of a didactic intention, that they are episodic and separable from the rest. The recognition of the brothers might have been brought about without the father's intervention, as one of them was travelling expressly to look for the other. The plot was amplified for a purpose; and that purpose was a pathetic exhibition of the inhuman character of the law. The internal evidence to be derived from the diction and construction of the play is all in favour of a very early origin. It belongs to the period of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Its poetical beauties are in the love scenes, which have much in common with the sonnets. If the play belongs to 1586 it was written in the author's twenty-second year. It must be considered psychologically certain that he was as capable of writing this play when he was twenty-two as he was of writing *Othello* sixteen years later. Again, the tradition is well known that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was written at the command of Elizabeth, who prescribed the subject, and perhaps the time in which it was to be written. Its argument was to be the fat knight Sir John in love, as she had been so well pleased with the character in the two parts in *Henry IV*. Mr. Knight has proved, with as great certainty as internal evidence generally can afford, that the original *Merry Wives*, with its very apposite allusions to events which happened in Windsor in 1592, was written for performance before the Queen and her court there at Christmas-tide in 1593. The uncertainty of the Queen's movements in that year, as detailed by Anthony Bacon, explains the reason why the poet had only a fortnight's notice of what was required from him. The tradition proves that the two parts of *Henry IV*. were in existence in some form or other in 1592. We learn from other sources that in the "first show" of these plays Sir John Falstaff was Sir John Oldcastle; and in the first scene where Falstaff appears in the play as we have it now, Prince Hal calls him "my old lad of the castle." It appears by the story of the Lord Chamberlain's actors entertaining Vereiken, the Archduke's ambassador, with *Sir John Oldcastle* in 1600, that

in private performances the old name was still retained, and that either the comic scenes were gleaned out of the chronicle plays and presented as a whole, in the manner lately exhibited by Mr. Mark Lemon, or else the plays sometimes took another title from their most amusing character, as *Twelfth Night* was called *Malvolio* by Charles I. There are indications in the literature of 1592 of the "old lad of the castle" being a celebrated character on the stage. Gabriel Harvey uses the phrase in one of those letters in which Mr. Massey finds the earliest notice of Shakespeare under the name of "the right novice of pregnant and aspiring conceit," whom the writer salutes with a hundred blessings. Whether this "right novice" is Shakespeare or not, it is clearly some writer of plays and player, who in some "petting comedy" had aggrieved Harvey, who, however, protests that he cares little for the attack, and thinks himself quite able to repel it. "He that least feareth the sword of unjust calumny yet most dreadeth the scabbard of just infamy, and would gladly avoid the slightest suspicion of that which he abhorreth. Though the painted sheath be as it is (for it needeth no other painter to portray it), yet never child so delighted in his rattling baby as some *old lads of the castle* have sported themselves with their rapping bable; it is the proper weapon of their profession; they have used it at large, and will use it at pleasure, howsoever the patient heal himself at their cost." Which being interpreted, is as follows:—"I do not care for Nash's unjust calumny; but I should not like to encase myself in the infamous garb of an actor. Yet in spite of its infamy there are *old lads of the castle* who are as proud of their painted plumes and baubles as a baby of his toys. They will attack us with these edgeless weapons, though they know that we can take our revenge upon them to their cost." The author of Oldcastle might here be called "old lad of the castle," just as the author of Falstaff is called Falstaff in a letter of Sir Tobie Mathew—"as that excellent author Sir John Falstaff says, 'I never dealt better since I was a man,'" Harvey, in *Pierce's Supererogation*, a tract which he published the next year, 1593, calls his antagonist Nash, "a lusty lad of the castle;" but the expression does not appear to refer to Nash in the letter of 1592. In a similar manner it is possible that when Greene, in his abuse of Shakespeare already quoted, calls the actors "buckram gentlemen," he may allude to Falstaff's famous "men in buckram," and may mean that the players are no more gentlemen than the others were men. Again,



when Nash in 1592 makes Pierce Penniless talk of "hypocritical *Hotspurs* that have God always in their mouths but will give nothing for God's sake," he may be referring to the same players whose illiberality Greene attacked in the same invective; and that Shakespeare took the words to be meant for himself may be suspected from the allusion which he makes to them in *Much Ado about Nothing*. Once more, the Euphuism of Falstaff is the Euphuism of the first period of Lily's influence, not the entirely transformed Euphuism which was in fashion by 1598, and which Jonson imitates in his *Cynthia's Revels*. The first Euphuism, as criticised by Sidney and Drayton, consisted in the use of analogies from a fanciful natural history, in the prominent places of a rhetorical or logical composition. Thus Euphuus himself (Lily): "Though the camomile, the more it is trodden and pressed down, the more it spreadeth, yet the violet, the oftener it is handled and touched, the sooner it withereth and decayeth." Lodge: "The ruby is discerned by his pale redness; and who hath not heard that the lion is known by his claws? Though Esop's crafty crow be never so deftly decked, yet is his double dealing easily deciphered." Greene: "Though the winds of Lephantos are ever inconstant, the chiseler ever brittle, the polype ever changeable, yet measure not my mind by others' motions; . . . for as there is a topaz that will yield to every stamp, so there is an emerald that will yield to no impression." Nash: "As the touch of an ashen bough causeth a giddiness in the viper's head, and the bat, lightly struck with the leaf of a tree, so they [drunkards] being but lightly sprinkled with the juice of the hop, become senseless . . . as soon as ever the cup scaleth the fortress of their nose." So Falstaff when he speaks in the king's vein speaks in the court jargon: "Though the camomile, the more it is trodden on the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted, the sooner it wears. . . Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher and eat blackberries? a question not to be asked. Shall the son of England prove a thief and take purses? a question to be asked." This is the original Euphuism, not the later kind to be found in Jonson's *Every man out of his Humour*. Falstaff's Euphuism is only a passing joke. The most truly Euphuistic character in Shakespeare's plays is Polonius, who, under the name of Corambis, properly belongs to the first *Hamlet* of 1588 or 1589.

A similar suspicion of the early date of *Henry IV.* may be gathered from the quotations which make up Pistol's fustian far-

rago. When he quotes, or misquotes, Marlowe's

"Holla you pampered jades of Asia,  
What, can you draw but twenty miles a day,"  
and Peele's

"Feed then and faint not, fair Callipolis,"

it is plain that his allusions would not be so racy in 1598 as in 1590. That the same lines were often alluded to by a series of other dramatists shows that they were kept alive by Shakespeare's irony, which had made them familiar as quotations from the Latin Grammar, not that the plays from which they were taken still kept the stage. If Pistol was extant in 1592, he quite accounts for Greene's wrath on behalf of Marlowe, Peele, and Lodge. The "tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide" was only an angry attempt to pierce Shakespeare with a verse of his own, to hoist the engineer with his own petard, and to retaliate irony for irony.

Jonson, in *Cynthia's Revels*, referring to certain old plays whose revival on the Blackfriars stage in 1600 had given great offence, says, "The *umbræ* or ghosts of some three or four plays departed a dozen years since have been seen walking on your stage here: take heed, . . . if your house be haunted with such hobgoblins, 'twill fright away all your spectators quickly." One of these plays was certainly *Hamlet*. Another was probably *Timon*; and another, a version of *Henry VIII.* that has only partially reached us, what we have being a still later recension of 1613, probably made by Fletcher. To these plays Jonson also refers in the words just before those quoted: "feeding their friends with nothing of their own but what they have twice or thrice cooked, they should not wantonly give out how soon they had drest it." It was clearly Shakespeare's method to rewrite his old plays, or to add new matter to them on their revival. And, in general, the dates of the first quartos with the earlier imperfect forms of the plays may be taken as the dates of the revivals, when the players relaxed their inhibition of publication, and allowed, not indeed the current version, but the superseded play, to be printed. It is only on a list of plays founded on such a view as this that we can equalize and make an average of the poet's productiveness. It is certain that by 1598 Shakespeare had produced seventeen dramas; this is the number we obtain by adding *Pericles* and *Henry VI.* to the thirteen mentioned by Meres. Now, considering that he only wrote or rewrote twenty more after 1598, in sixteen

working years, one of which, 1601, was perhaps the most prolific of his career, it is on the face of it most improbable to assume that he only began his dramatic authorship in 1590, as most of his critics are disposed to think.

But if, on the contrary, we admit that *The Comedy of Errors* was written between 1585 and 1587, that the first *Hamlet* belongs to 1587 or 1588, and that not only the three parts of *Henry VI.* but even the two of *Henry IV.* (in their "first show" or form) were in existence before 1592, we shall have no difficulty in acknowledging the real applicability to Shakespeare of two allusions, one of 1590 and the other of 1589, which have indeed often been applied to him, and as often disclaimed, on the ground of his not having at the times in question written anything that could have provoked or justified such language. One of these is in Nash's letter prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, to which the date 1587 has been given on the authority of Mr. Dyce (no other critic having seen so early an edition), but which, so far at least as Nash's preliminary matter is concerned, must be of 1589. For in it Nash talks of the Marprelate divinity, which only began in 1589. This epistle is the very counterpart of Greene's *Groat's-worth of Wit* already quoted. In it Nash attacks the school and scholars of "vain-glorious tragedians who contend not so seriously to excel in action as to embroil the clouds in a speech of comparison," "to get Boreas by the beard, and the heavenly bull by the dewlap," together with the play-writers, "their idiot art-masters, that intrude themselves to our ears as the alchemists of eloquence who, mounted on the stage of arrogance, think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse." With one of these "idiot art-masters" Nash is especially provoked; particularly with his "kill-cow conceit," governed by an "imagination over-cloyed with drunken resolution." "Amongst these men," he says, "that repose eternity in the mouth of a player, I can but engross some deep-read schoolmen or grammarians, who, having no more learning in their skulls than will serve to take up a commodity, nor art in their brains than was nourished in a serving-man's idleness, will take upon them to be the ironical censors of all, when God and poetry doth know they are the simplest of all." But all these he leaves "to the mercy of their mother tongue, that feed on nought but the crumbs that fall from the translator's trencher." Then, after a panegyric on Greene, and an attack on non-university divines and the Marprelate writers, he attacks "our trivial translators," whom,

however, he blames most for the assistance which they give to the unscholarly dramatists. And then he once more attacks one of these dramatists: "It is a common practice now-a-days among a sort of shifting companions that run through every art and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *noverint* whereto they were born, and busy themselves with the endeavours of art, that could scarcely latinize their neck-verse, if they should have need. Yet English Seneca read by candle-light yields many good sentences, as 'blood is a beggar,' and so forth. And if you entreat him fair in a frosty morning, he will afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfuls of tragical speeches." This almost seems to be the text on which critics of Shakespeare founded their judgments for the next century. The "idiot [private, unqualified by university education] art-master," his "intrusion," his "arrogance," his "swelling bombast of bragging blank verse," his "kill-cow conceit," his "drunken resolution," his being a "deep-read schoolman or grammarian," i.e. one whose education stopped at the grammar-school, with learning enough for a tradesman and art enough for a serving-man, his ironical censuring of all men, his dependence on the translator's trencher, his shifting life, running through every art and thriving by none, his inability to latinize his neck-verse, his way of gathering conceits and sentences from any source that came to hand, were all matters objected to Shakespeare by subsequent critics. The hint that the man attacked had already written a tragedy of *Hamlet*, and the advice that if he wanted any more sentences like "blood is a beggar" he might go to the English translation of Seneca, which might supersede the midnight lamp by furnishing him conceits, and might obviate the need of soliciting his frozen imagination for tragic speeches by giving them to him ready made, both agree with Shakespeare, who had written his first *Hamlet*, who probably in an early *Henry VIII.* had already complained that

"A beggar's book outworths a noble's blood,"

but who abstained in a most marked manner from borrowing anything from the English Seneca.

The passage in Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* which Dryden considered to be meant for Shakespeare has generally been applied by modern critics to Lily or Sydney, first because, though published in 1591, it may perhaps have been written ten years earlier, before Shakespeare had written anything, and secondly because, even in 1590, Shakespeare had produced nothing that could deserve so high an encomium. But,

in the first place, the date of Spenser's poem is clearly 1590; he was then in London bringing out the first edition of his *Fairy Queen*. The public and private allusions in the *Tears of the Muses* both relate to this time. The Queen granted him a pension of £50, the punctual payment of which Lord Burghley prevented. To this Clio in the poem alludes:—

"Ne only they that dwell in lowly dust,  
The sonnes of darknes and of ignoraunce,  
But they, whom thou, great Jove, by doome  
unjust  
Did'st to the type of honour earst advaunce,  
They now, puft up with sdeignfull insolence  
Despise the brood of blessed sapience."

The public allusions show that the poem was written at a time when tragedy was silent, and when the comic stage was usurped by a movement thoroughly opposed to all real art. Melpomene, the tragic muse, asks,

"Why doo they banish us, that patronize  
The name of learning?"

And Thalia, the comic muse, complains that all the sweet delight of learning's treasure which used in comic sock to beautify the painted theatres, and fill the listener's eyes and ears with pleasure and melody, is gone; the goodly glee of gay wits is laid abed; and unseemly sorrow, with hollow brows and grisly countenance, has usurped her place. With sorrow comes barbarism and brutish ignorance:—

"They in the mindes of men now tyrannize,  
And the faire Scene with rudenes foul disguise,  
All places they with follie have possest,  
And with vaine toyes the vulgar entertaine,  
But me have banished."

And with Thalia also counterfesance and unhurtful sport have departed—Delight and Laughter,

"By which man's life in his likest image  
Was limned forth, are wholly now defaced,  
And those sweet wits, which wont the like  
to frame  
Are now despizd and made a laughing game."

It was in 1589 and 1590 that this temporary eclipse of the "painted theatres" took place. The Marprelate controversy seized upon the stage, and made it hateful alike to the Puritan authorities of the city, the Puritanical members of the government, and the men of true dramatic taste. Against the government the Lord Chamberlain's men could protect themselves by the declaration that "they had never meddled with affairs of religion and state." But this was the

very cause of their unpopularity. The tragedians were obliged to travel because "novelty carried it away, and the principal public audience that came to them were turned to private plays, and to the humour of children." The children of Pauls, backed up by their ecclesiastical masters, entered with rare enthusiasm into the controversies of the day. Lily and Nash, fortified by the secret support of Whitgift and Bancroft, provided them with shows; and all London went to their theatre to see "Martin giving divinity a scratched face, and administering an emetic to make her bring up her benefices," or "the May game of Martinism," "very deftly set out with pomps, pageants, motions, masks, scutcheons, emblems, impresses, strange tricks and devices"—in fact, to see, not comedies, not even farces, but political pantomimes. But these shows obtained so exaggerated a success that the government was obliged to inhibit them; and the children of Pauls were silent from 1591 to 1599, when they were again let loose to "berattle the common stages," to ridicule the adherents of Essex, and once more to divert the public favour from the legitimate drama to the humour of children. So, in 1590, Shakespeare felt his occupation gone, and Spenser wrote of him:—

"And he, the man whom Nature selfe had made

To mock her selfe and Truth to imitate  
With kindly counter under Mimick shade  
Our pleasant *Willy*, ah! is dead of late:  
With whom all joy and jolly meriment  
Is also deaded and in dolour drent.

In stead thereof scoffing Scurrilitie  
And scornfull Follie with Contempt is crept  
Rolling in rymes of shamelesse ribaudrie  
Without regard, or due Decorum kept;  
Each idle wit at will presumes to make  
And doth the Learneds taske upon him take.

But that same gentle Spirit, from whose pen  
Large streames of Honnie and sweete nectar  
flowe

Scorning the boldnes of such base-borne  
men

Which dare their follies forth so rashlie  
throwe,

Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell  
Than so himself to mockerie to sell."

All this is completely consonant with Nash's scorn for Shakespeare in 1589, and Greene's in 1592. Nash was Lieutenant-general of the Paphatchet or anti-Martinist party; and Greene belonged to it also. Spenser belonged to the opposite set. Shakespeare was considered to belong to Spenser's party, or Jaggard would hardly have printed with his name Barnefield's sonnet with the words "Spenser to me is dear." Shakespeare, as

the friend of Southampton and Essex, was naturally in this set, and, related as he was to the Stanleys on his mother's side, was naturally called "our Willy" in a poem dedicated by Spenser to the Countess of Derby. The same poet once again alluded to him in the Eclogue *Colin Clout's come home again*, written after the death of Ferdinando Earl of Derby, in 1594:

"And there, though last not least, is Aetion;  
A gentler shepherd may no where be found;  
Whose muse, full of high thoughts invention,  
Doth like himselfe heroically sound."

The second objection to the reference of Spenser's lines to Shakespeare, that the dramatist had not in 1590 written anything to deserve so strong a eulogium, falls of itself, when we consider that *The Comedy of Errors* was then four years old. The love-scenes in that play contain probably the sweetest poetry that had as yet been written in the English language. And Spenser was one of the few favoured friends who knew the secret of Shakespeare's authorship, or were permitted to read the manuscript of his plays. At any rate, and on any theory, it is not more difficult to apply Spenser's high praise to Shakespeare in 1590 than it is to accept Greene's declaration in 1592 that he was then the successful rival of Marlowe, Lodge, Peele, and Greene himself, and likely soon to supplant them all and monopolize the stage.

Greene, as we have seen, accused Shakespeare of borrowing his plumes; and Chettle, who had published the accusation, withdrew it, acknowledging his "uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty." On the other hand, the writer of *Greene's Funerals* repeats the charge:

"Nay more, the men that so eclipsed his fame  
Parloyned his plumes; can they deny the same?"

Chettle, as we have seen, did deny it, on the authority of Shakespeare's friends. The charge has been treated as a light one; and critics have generally been contented to accept it as true. It is evident, however, that Shakespeare and his friends did not think it unimportant. They considered that he was accused of a breach of "uprightness of dealing," arguing dishonesty of character. The charge concerned matters which would be very difficult of proof. At a time when plays were not printed, an anonymous writer of them might easily be accused of plagiarism by an unscrupulous opponent. Greene was a thoroughly unscrupulous man. His friend Nash called his *Groat's-worth of Wit* a scald lying pamphlet; and we know that

the *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, which he published as his own, was not much more than a reprint of Thynne's *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*. He is known to have published other men's works as his own; and his testimony is worthless, doubled though it be by the writer of his *Funerals*, who can have known nothing of the rights of a question about the disputed authorship of a play in the custody of the actors. We have only Greene's assertion and Shakespeare's denial. The assertion "beautified in our feathers" may be interpreted to mean either an accusation of theft or a mere envious carping at success; the denial is a testimony of the general honesty of Shakespeare, given by his friends as a special answer to the general accusation.

If we believe Shakespeare's friends, he did not purloin the plumes of his rivals. Therefore, if the plays which he is said to have imitated really preceded his dramas as they now stand, we must suppose that those first sketches also were his own. And there is not a more striking difference between *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* and the present *King John*, or between the *Contention between the Houses of York and Lancaster* and *Henry VI.*, than between the *Hamlet* of 1603 and the *Hamlet* of 1623, or between the *Merry Wives of Windsor* of 1602 and that of 1623. Pope believed the first *King John* to be by Shakespeare and Rowley; and Mr. Knight argues with great force that the first sketches of *Henry VI.* were by the author of the plays as we have them now. Or, if these plays are not by Shakespeare, there is very little to prove that they preceded his. Some of them may be copies from his, imitations got up in a hurry, and printed to be palmed off on the public when the stage was occupied with a new play by him, like to the spurious "books of the words" which used to be sold outside the theatres. Or they may have been imitations acted by rival companies of players. The marvellous superiority of Shakespeare's own versions is no proof that it was not found more profitable to water down his mighty draughts to the tastes of vulgar audiences. He owns in *Hamlet* that some of his plays were "caviare to the general." Why, then, may not plagiarists in the sixteenth century have been as tasteless as Cibber in the eighteenth? Many adaptations of Shakespeare's plays have been made in many ages, with vast contemporary applause, and equal condemnation of posterity. Nash criticises the actors in 1589 as neglecting action for diction. There is no doubt that Shakespeare's style was less adapted to the sometimes ranting, sometimes stiff and

statuesque, and always unnatural, method of the classical school which Nash and the "university wits" patronized, than were the formal and antithetical periods of Marlowe and Greene. The inferiority of what are supposed to be the older plays is no proof of their precedence. Part of their badness may be due to the stenographer, to the copyist, or the printer; and, for the rest, it is as easy to suppose them to be bad imitations of unapproachable and ill-understood masterpieces as to suppose Shakespeare's acknowledged dramas to be centos laboriously compiled from bad models. Out of two bad books it is easy to make a third: it is more difficult to make the bad tree bring forth good fruit. The only instance in which the date of publication seems to forbid this supposition is *The Famous Victories of Henry V.* This worthless play was published in 1598, and Shakespeare's *Henry V.*, as we have it, was written in 1599, while the Earl of Essex was in Ireland. But it is impossible to say whether the chorus in which the allusions to Essex occur was not an addition to the play. The play is as old as its parts; but each part need not be as old as the play. The date of publication of all the other so-called original plays is perfectly compatible with their being plagiarisms from Shakespeare, instead of Shakespeare's being plagiarisms from them.

Once more. When Nash accuses Shakespeare of being an "ironic censorer of all," he gives a hint in what direction we ought to look for Shakespeare's retorts on his censurers. It need not be supposed that his anger at Greene's accusations sought no further vindication of them than the exposures of his friends and Chettle's apology. A poet who had written the poetry of *The Comedy of Errors* seven years previously must have felt that it was preposterous to consider him a plagiarist from Marlowe, Greene, or Peele. It was not necessary to argue against the imputation. The most effectual way to meet it would be to compose plays in the style of the poets he was accused of copying, and to let men see the difference between his natural and his assumed strain. *Titus Andronicus*, written before 1589, looks very like an "ironical censure" upon the style of Marlowe and his imitators. Aaron is an excellent parody of Barabas. After Greene's accusation in 1592 we have two plays, *The Taming of a Shrew* and *Lochrine*, which fulfil all the conditions requisite for the ironical reply. The "lamentable tragedy" of *Lochrine* was printed in 1595, having been entered at Stationers' Hall the year before. It was "set forth

overseen and corrected by W. S."\* It is throughout a quiz upon plays like *Tamburlain*, and upon all kinds of literary affectations of the day. In character it is like one of Thackeray's "novels by eminent hands." It parodies Marlowe as the humourist parodies Lord Lytton or Mr. Disraeli. The style, method, and opinions of the object of criticism are all exhibited in caricature. The big brag and swelling exaggerations of the storming Scythian are mingled with the frigid conceits and incongruous images which appear at the proper moment to stifle a rising passion. The conceits are contrived to be absurd, as when the ploughman rips the roots with his razors, or the temple is raised higher than the high pyramids

"Which with their top surmount the firmament;"

or when hearty oaths are rapped out, such as

"O gods and stars, damned be the gods and stars;"

or when prayer is made like that of Lochrine before he kills himself, which is quite in Bottom's vein:—

"Forgive, forgive this foul accursed sin,  
Forget, O gods, this foul condemned fault;  
And now my sword," etc.;

or when it is clearly indicated that the actor is to rattle the stage roll of the R, which Thackeray would show by doubling or trebling the letter, as

"Turinus [Turonus] that slew six hundred men-at-arms,"

and

"For with my sword [sworrd], this sharp curtlee<sup>axe</sup>,

I'll cut asunder my accursed heart"—

the very figure which Thackeray used when he was talking of "Meagher of the sword,"

"'Tis he will steep that battle-axe in Saxon gore."

It is to be noted also that the historical ideas of the play are the same as Shakespeare's. We have Brutus, alias Posthumus, the husband of Innogen, and Hector, slain not by Achilles but by the Myrmidons. *The Taming of a Shrew* has been shown to be an imitation of Marlowe, whole handfuls of whose verses are transported into it. Shakespeare afterwards asserted his rights of property over this play by altering it, as he did over *Titus Andronicus* by having it played by his own company. This is a

\* Shakespeare only claims an editor's honour. Charles Tylney is said to have been the author.

matter which requires explanation on any other supposition. The induction which Webster wrote to Marston's *Malcontent* shows that it was considered unjust for one company to play a drama which belonged to another; and the Lord Chamberlain's company only justify the annexation of the *Malcontent* on the plea that the rival company had previously stolen *Jeronymo*. Shakespeare seems to have given both *The Taming of a Shrew* and *Titus Andronicus* to the Earl of Pembroke's men, a company of which we have the first mention in the Chamberlain's accounts for Leicester in 1592, but which may have been established earlier. It is doubtful whether *Loocrine* was ever acted at all; perhaps it was judged to be too absurd. But it is easy to believe that Shakespeare, intimate as he must have been with the circle to which the Earl of Pembroke, afterwards one of his great patrons, belonged, made a present of these two plays to the Earl's company, without altogether renouncing his right of property in them.

The method which we have used to help to fix the date of *The Comedy of Errors* is one which has been unaccountably neglected by investigators. It is notorious that in Elizabeth's day the stage supplied the place now occupied by the press. The dramatist was both the novelist and the reviewer. When Parliaments were short and infrequent, and the debates secret, political discussion was carried on in public through the mouth of the actor. It was indeed only in front of the stage that the lay political essayist could periodically find his audience. Plays were reckoned amongst the engines of political propagandism; malcontents were often accused of indulging in private representations of dramas which exhibited the triumph of their party or their principles. Shakespeare makes Hamlet declare

"The play's the thing  
In which to catch the conscience of the King."

Sidney had previously said that tragedy made kings fear to be tyrants, and tyrants to manifest their tyrannical humours. A quarter of a century afterwards, Heywood, after showing that the stage had been the great political schoolmaster of the people, summed up its merits, in the eyes of the Court at least, in the praise that it "had taught subjects obedience to their king, shown the people the untimely ends of such as moved tumults and insurrections, and presented the flourishing state of the obedient, thus exhorting men to allegiance, and warning them from all treason and felony." The very construction of English policy in the

time of Elizabeth favoured this representation of it on the stage. At the present day it would be difficult to make a serious drama turn on the fate of principles, or to write a tragedy or comedy on Reform or the Ballot. But political principles did not present themselves to the contemporaries of Shakespeare in an abstract form. They were all crystallized in persons. The Earl of Essex, for instance, was the concrete expression for toleration, aggressive instead of defensive war, independence of nobles, and privilege as opposed to universal absolutism in the prince; and as the symbol of those principles he commanded the favour of men who would have been the last to abet his childish sallies, his ungovernable impatience, and his incurable imprudence. Naunton tells us that the principal note of Elizabeth's reign was the government by faction and parties, which she made, upheld, and weakened, according to her own judgment. It was not till half a century afterwards that principles were independent of persons. In Elizabeth's day, the master, or reputed master, was the symbol and text-book of his doctrine. This lightened the labour of the political playwright, gave a dramatic tinge to his design, and enabled him at the same time to speak in riddles, and so to avoid the danger of open utterances in the presence of a Star-Chamber. All but one of Lily's plays are political; and their allusions are even yet perfectly intelligible. The only wonderful thing about them is that so plain-spoken and so insolent a play as *The Woman in the Moon*, the fickle Pandora who uses her gifts only to chase away her lovers, should have escaped censure. It clearly refers to the conduct of the Queen with the Duke of Anjou; and its date is probably 1581. A careful consideration of this play will show that it is very possible to refer the first act of *Pericles* to the same political situation. The black insinuation which is to be found there as to the cause of the Queen's unwillingness to marry is only the echo of what was whispered in many circles of English society. The princess of the country invites suitors; but she requires of them impossible conditions which drive them to distraction, and all because she is already bound in the toils of a degrading connection. Lily still continued the argument of his Pandora in his later plays, *Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phaon*, in 1583 and 1584. *Pericles* seems to belong to one of the years between 1581 and 1584. Even the earliest of these dates is not quite incompatible with Shakespeare's authorship of the play. According to Aubrey, and the tradition of Shakespeare's marriage-feast upon Sir Thomas Lucy's

stolen venison, Shakespeare went to London in 1581; and Mr. Halliwell thinks that he may have been an actor in 1582. It would be quite consonant with tradition to suppose that he began his career of author, as well as his career of player, as a young malcontent, in opposition both to the laws and to the governors of his country.

But whatever conclusions we may arrive at in the instance of *Pericles*, one thing is certain—namely, that the Elizabethan dramatists, and Shakespeare perhaps more than any other of them, give the abstracts and brief chronicles of their own age, translated into and symbolized by the chronicles of other countries and of former times. Herein we have a line of investigation which is wholly unworked, and which promises considerable results. The labours of Shakespearean critics have been chiefly occupied in finding literary correspondences, in tracing the origin of his plots, and discovering the sources of his expressions. The task still remains, to trace his political correspondences and thus to discover his political, and even perhaps his philosophical and religious, affinities. It is only thus that we shall come to understand the true growth and the vital nature of the Elizabethan drama. It was not a fixed manufacture, but a living Proteus, having its home not in printed books but in an alterable manuscript and in the changeful memories of the actors; it was a thing which could be adapted to many purposes, and made to correspond to various occasions, by slight alterations, omissions, and additions. A new prologue might give quite a new drift to old allusions; an intercalated speech, such as Hamlet talks of, might make an innocent play into "mitching mallecho" that "means mischief." The play was never finally fixed till it was printed; and even then it was only fixed in what might soon prove an obsolete and antiquated form. Indeed, there are many indications to show that, when the players had finally abandoned an old form of a drama, they handed it over to the printers, in order to make profit of the old form as a pamphlet, while they made profit of the new form as a play. Henslow's diary tells us a good deal of the fact of the adaptation of old plays for new occasions, such as for exhibition at court. It is a problem for the critic, to trace this gradual growth of plays, to find the original matter below the luxuriant after-growth, and to trace the dates and the occasions of the various additions. It is a difficult, but perhaps not wholly impossible task; and any successful solution of the problem, even with regard to a limited number of plays, would shed a

new light over the history of Shakespeare's mind, and the development of his opinions. We have already seen Nash referring Shakespeare to English Seneca for such sentences as "blood is a beggar." Those who are acquainted with the history of the times know of the persistent policy by which the Tudors sought to depress and impoverish the old nobility, and raise up rivals against them in new men, and of the opposition which this policy aroused in men of various tendencies. Here, then, is one topic, one line of investigation of Shakespeare's relations with current political ideas, which is calculated to throw much light on the intention of his chronicle plays. Another topic is his relation with the ideas represented by the Earl of Essex and his party. It may safely be said that the politics of that period can be fully elucidated only by the contemporary criticism of the stage. The two, the fact and the comment, mutually reflect light; and neither history nor literary criticism can dispense with the method which interprets each by the other.

And such a method requires quite a new way of dealing with the dramas of Shakespeare. Since for many years of his life his authorship was a secret, it follows that the history of his dramas ought to be traced far beyond and behind the first acknowledged and named editions of his plays. It is mere superstition to identify the dates of their printing with those of their first composition. In an age when even poems meant only to be read were circulated in manuscript for years before they were printed, it is preposterous to identify the period of the production with that of the printing of a play. The play was seldom printed till it had become obsolete. If the method in question could be carried out, we should be able to trace the dramatic career of Shakespeare from the first years of his coming to London, from 1581 instead of 1591, and to understand his critical, not practical, relationship to the events of his time, and thence to deduce his position in his own world. The very perfection of his artistic powers has led to a depreciation of his personality. He is regarded rather as a mirror in which nature is perfectly reflected than as a person actuated by the common motives of nature. The ideal usually formed of him is one in which the preference of one thing over another is limited to the most rudimentary platitudes; and it is thought derogatory to his genius to make him an upholder of any principle worth asserting. It would be a good deed to remove him from this Epicurean heaven of moral indifference, and to

show that he took, as a reasoner, a decided part in the affairs which engrossed the highest minds of his day.

#### ART. IV.—THE WILL AND FREEWILL.

THERE is no need of many words to prove the exceeding difficulty of the question usually proposed under the term Freedom of the Will. In Great Britain it has attracted more of the attention of philosophers than any other problem in metaphysics; and it is perhaps further than any other from showing signs of approaching settlement. When we review what has been already urged in the course of the controversy, and ask ourselves how the opposed views may be made more intelligible to the opponents, we might easily conclude that nothing now remains to be done, and that the question must be left unanswered, apparently, for ever. At present, the principal combatants seem to be reduced to a blank eye on the one side, and a blank no on the other. We have to consider once more whether it is possible to advance beyond this stage; and, even if it should appear to be impossible, something will be gained by exhibiting the impossibility. It will therefore be my object, not so much to prove the truth of my own opinion, as to ascertain what is the point at issue, and to set forth impartially what has been said on all sides. When that has been done, it will be comparatively easy to state my own view. It would be no small thing to determine the point at issue, and the number of possible doctrines about it, and what these are, and what are the arguments for and against each of them, and what consequences they logically entail upon their adherents. Then it may be hoped that each of us will at least know what it is that he believes, and why he believes it, and who are his opponents, and why they differ from him. This, then, will be the scope of my undertaking:—I. To ascertain the point at issue; II. To examine the arguments commonly alleged; III. To add what I have to say on my own behalf. It will be sufficient for my purpose to refer exclusively to writers of the British Schools.

Not the least puzzling feature in the present inquiry is the fact that the great bulk of the practical men in the world are utterly indifferent to the whole matter. Only one thing seems to be ascertained—that, while the philosophers differ *toto cœlo*, the world is apathetic or even ignorant of the fact.

But it is monstrous to suppose that nobody knows, and that scarcely anybody cares to know, whether his will is bond or free. This is so hard to believe that it rather suggests a trenchant remark, by way of ending the controversy at a blow. Every man, it might be said, has a will of some sort or other, which he exercises all day long in some way or other; and doubtless he knows how this will works, as well as he ever can know anything; therefore you may call it bond or free as you please. Though this will hardly prove the discussion to have been nugatory, yet it is enough to advance us to an important stage in our examination. For it does prove that the real point at issue must have been, not the facts of volition, but something connected with the facts of volition by way of inference. And we accordingly find that speculators have been under an obligation to propose no theory of the will which should tend to alter practice, just as they were bound, in their disputes about the evidence of the senses, to admit beforehand that their conclusions, whatever they might be, would leave the world just as they had found it. The attempt to give a practical issue to speculations about the will has commonly involved the speculator in absurdity. In the last century some so-called Fatalists proposed to abrogate all penal laws, on the ground that it is unjust to punish an involuntary malefactor; as if, said Bishop Butler, the necessity which is supposed to destroy the injustice of the crime would not also destroy the injustice of punishing it. And Priestley, who, following Hartley, seems to have held precisely the same theory of the will with Mr. J. S. Mill, though the former used it to support a conclusion (*Optimism*) which the latter seems not to accept, speaks with equal wisdom. "I cannot," he says, "as a necessarian" (meaning a necessitarian, sneers Boswell, who quotes the passage), "hate any man; because I regard him as *being*, in all respects, just what God has made him to be, and also as *doing*, with respect to me, nothing but what he was expressly designed and appointed to do; God being the only cause, and man nothing more than the instrument in his hands to execute all his good pleasure."\* Now of course the Fatalist might plead that he had made his absurd proposal by decree of Fate; and Priestley might find some sort of shelter for himself under Philosophical Necessity. But in the eye of common sense, each has mightily the air of a man who is testifying to the freedom of his own will, with which

\* *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated*, 1782, p. 124.



he is well acquainted, and to the bondage of the will of his neighbour, about which he knows nothing.

A mere question of fact can hardly supply matter for infinite discussion; because the relevant facts must either be such as can be observed, or else such as cannot, and in both cases we have an end in view. Not but what the facts of volition are difficult to observe; because they are acts of the mind which have been so often performed without observation that observation has at length become both irksome and difficult. Long study and patient care are needed in order that the observer may feel assured that his task has been well done and truly remembered; nor is any person fitted to consider the weight of the arguments until he has with much pains acquired a clear knowledge of the facts. Few of the people who have ventured to act as judges have cared to take the necessary trouble; and this goes far to explain why the controversy has always come to nothing. If the facts of volition were as easy of observation as the facts of vision, the theory of the will would perhaps be now in the same state as the theory of optics. But facts accompanying acts of bodily sensation are much more easy both to observe and to remember than facts of purely mental sensation.

Perhaps it may be thought that the conclusion, that the debate was properly not about the facts but about inferences to be drawn from the facts, is so obvious as to need no proof. But it is by no means so obvious as never to have been overlooked. On the contrary, the confusion has been very common; and hence we find such phrases as *Freedom of the Will* used habitually in two senses. Practical sagacity kept the disputants right in the main; because ambiguity of terms does not produce error unless the same term is used in two senses in the same syllogism, so that the syllogism contains four terms. But it was something added to a load of difficulties, that everybody, so to speak, should have apprehended only dimly what was the matter in dispute, and what the facts of volition had to do with it; though this confusion was not the cause of their failure, and clearness would only have enabled them, not to do what they attempted, but to do by a shorter method what they did—viz. to edify themselves by the statement of their own position, without convincing those who differed from them.

A great deal of light is thrown upon the question, what is the real matter in dispute, and what is its relation to the facts of volition, by considering the double sense in which the terms peculiar to the controversy

have been used; for these sometimes refer directly to the facts of volition, and sometimes to inferences supposed to be drawn from the facts. That the inferences and not the facts were the point at issue, appears from this, that though all parties made much parade of analysing the facts yet they did not rest in the result of their analysis as in an end, but proceeded to use it as a means to impugn or support certain inferences. Little importance was attached to a knowledge of the facts, except by way of an argument; and therefore the doctrine which the argument was designed to support was the real aim of their proceeding, rather than the facts from which the argument was drawn. Now these inferences, which I take to be the real issue, were twofold, a philosophical and a theological; and so the controversy has always presented a twofold aspect, with a corresponding twofold method of proceeding. Those who have approached the question from a philosophical point of view have been concerned with the vulgar notion of moral desert: those who have approached it from a theological point of view, have been concerned with the efficacy of Divine Grace. The philosophers have chiefly appealed to facts of observation, and the theologians to facts of revelation; but since there are some doctrines, belonging both to Natural and to Revealed Religion, which have an intimate bearing upon the discussion, there has always been a great tendency to confuse together the two aspects of the question, and the two methods of treating it. And those who have been most successful in keeping to one method and aspect seem to have done so by accident rather than by design, appearing not to know that it was possible to look at the question in any other light than that in which they looked at it themselves. My attempt to treat the matter will be avowedly philosophical; and theological ideas and arguments will enter into it only accidentally, and so far as they are necessary to a complete discussion. Since speculation is empty when pursued with no reference to possible practice, and since the theory of the will is connected, though indirectly, with matters of the gravest practical interest, it would be unwise to pass by theological lines of thought, if they should cross our path, without a hint either of their existence or of their direction. And we should remember that it is solely to its bearing upon theology that the question owes any widely spread interest which it has ever aroused. Yet it is true that the two modes of proceeding can be to a great extent kept apart, so that it is enough, while pursuing the one, to indicate briefly the nature of the other. What

has already been said will enable us to discriminate them with sufficient accuracy. The philosophical mode appeals chiefly to facts of observation, and admits only that part of theology which is comprised in what is styled Natural Religion; the theological mode, without omitting to notice the arguments of the philosopher, admits and gives the chief weight to dogmas of Revelation. It follows, of course, that the theological treatment of the question is directly interesting only to persons who believe the dogmas to be true; though it can hardly fail to have some indirect interest for many who disbelieve them, since it treats of ideas and beliefs which have sway, and still sway, the thoughts and deeds of a great part of civilized mankind.

Since the vulgar notion of moral desert will occupy a very prominent place in our discussion, it is necessary to explain with perfect accuracy what is meant by the term; and here it is to be observed that I am only explaining, not attempting to prove. It is a matter of notoriety that, from the most ancient times of which we have any record down to the present day, men in general have been accustomed to use certain phrases which betoken some feeling of indignation against vice, and approbation of virtue, saying that bad deeds deserved punishment or justly brought punishment on the doer, and that good deeds deserved a reward, and so forth. Numerous passages from all sorts of authors, prophets and poets, historians and philosophers, witnessing to this feeling, will readily occur to the memory of any man who has read much in any language. Common speech is so full of words to express these ideas that no man can grow up in civilized society without acquiring some apprehension of them; nor have those persons who have expressly recorded their disbelief of the doctrine implied in the use of the terms ever pretended that they were unable to understand the terms themselves. Nor would it be possible to convey the ideas by means of a definition into the mind of a man who should affect to attach no meaning to the terms; for it is the function of definitions, not to put new ideas into the mind, but to separate off from the rest a part of the ideas already there. In short, nothing further can be said by way of explaining more clearly what is meant by the vulgar notion of moral desert, which might be defined to be an abstract quality, metaphorically attributed to actions in the same way that qualities of sense, such as colour, are attributed to material bodies.

So deeply are the marks of this notion imprinted upon language, and so intimately are

the various phrases and terms connected together by correlation and affinity, that it is hard to speak in the way of description or illustration, without seeming to be begging the question by the mere use of the necessary terms. But there is here no begging of the question; and nothing is sought to be insinuated. A feeling would be in vain defined to him who has not felt it; and it is lawful to use any terms which are fitted to remind men of what they have felt. But perhaps it will be best, in order to elicit the idea, to allege an example. Take, therefore, the following account of a crime which might move a man to thank God that Tophet is ordained of old. "Kirke was also," says Lord Macaulay, "in his own coarse and ferocious way, a man of pleasure; and nothing is more probable than that he employed his power for the purpose of gratifying his licentious appetites. It was reported that he conquered the virtue of a beautiful woman by promising to spare the life of one to whom she was strongly attached, and that, after she had yielded, he showed her, suspended on the gallows, the lifeless remains of him for whose sake she had sacrificed her honour." Kirke is acquitted by the historian, for lack of sufficient evidence; but the truth of the story is nothing to the point—it is enough if it be possible. And there is no doubt that the thing has happened before now: others besides Kirke have been accused of the crime, and it has been brought home to some of them. Now the desire which most persons feel, that a crime of such treachery and barbarity should meet with condign punishment, is a feeling which cannot, to their satisfaction, be resolved into any elements. They do not think, for example, that it is accounted for by reflecting that punishment is desirable in order that criminals may be induced to reform themselves, or in order that they may be induced not to injure the innocent. What is the origin of the feeling, and whether it is natural or acquired, is nothing to the point; nor are we concerned to determine whether people are right or wrong in thinking as they do think. It is enough that most men have felt something leading them to speak as though there were, in their judgment, some kind of natural relation between vice and punishment, virtue and reward, so that, as they would express it, the one *ought* to follow the other.

It will appear presently that this point has not been dwelt upon at such length for nothing. Enough has at least been said to make clear the following account of the real issue of the philosophical controversy about the will. The question was this, whether the vulgar notion of moral desert is a real or

a fantastic notion. Most people hold that it is a real notion. That is to say, they hold that the relation between vice and punishment, to which the feeling above described is supposed to witness, and which the vulgar notion of moral desert takes for granted, is a real relation; and that they are not only intelligible, but also speaking the truth, when they say that vice *ought* to be punished even though no ulterior benefit, whether to the criminal or to society, be secured by the punishment. On the other hand certain individuals, such as Priestley, have held that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a fantastic notion—that there is in reality no such relation as that to which the feeling of moral indignation is supposed to witness, and that criminals ought to be punished only in order to their own benefit or to the benefit of others. Priestley, indeed, was bound in consistency to maintain that they ought not to be punished at all; but we need not tie him down strictly to the rather foolish remark quoted above. That remark, by the way, affords a good illustration of the difficulties which beset a man who, adopting a theory opposed to the common sentiments of mankind, finds himself obliged either to use language which tacitly assumes what he expressly repudiates, or else to disgust his readers by the perpetual recurrence of tedious and strange periphrases. But in many cases they cannot be let off by a mere change of words. They show by what they say and do that their minds, no less than their tongues, are still held in bondage by the old prejudice which they affect to despise. Thus the unitarian Priestley cannot contain his indignation at the doctrines of the infidel Gibbon—a double inconsistency; for the one had the same right to his infidelity that the other had to his unitarianism; and even if he had not, it was impossible to find a ground for indignation at anything, under the Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, as Priestley himself very distinctly remarked on another occasion when he happened not to feel indignant.

The vulgar notion of moral desert being the real point at issue in the controversy about the will, the two opinions about it were of course espoused by different sides. Those who maintained that there is free will did so in order that they might be able to maintain that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a real notion; and those who maintained that the notion is a fantastic notion were obliged to do so because they denied that the will is free. There is therefore this important difference between the positions of the two sides with regard to the point at issue, that the Libertarians (as we may call them) cared nothing about the will

for its own sake, and only devised their theory of the will in order to support their opinion about the vulgar notion; while the Philosophical Necessitarians were obliged by their analysis of the facts to deny the reality of the vulgar notion. From this we should expect to find the result of the Necessitarian analysis much more luminous and intelligible than the result of the Libertarian analysis; and so we do find it. The analysis of the facts of volition was the strength of Necessity and the weakness of Freewill. It would perhaps be difficult to supply the Libertarians with a better form of words than that which they devised; but this has always been the sport of their opponents. I will quote two statements of it. The first is from the hand of an enemy to the doctrine; but it is quite fair:—"To prove that a man has freewill in the sense" apposite to the doctrine of the Libertarian, "he ought to feel that he can do different things while the motives remain precisely the same."\* The second account, from the hand of a friend to the doctrine, is to the same purpose; that is to say, it asserts that the writer does feel what Hartley says he ought to feel:—"In every act of volition, I am fully conscious that I can at this moment act in either of two ways, and that, all the antecedent phenomena being precisely the same, I may determine one way to-day, and another way to-morrow."† I myself hold the Doctrine of Freewill; that is to say, I hold that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a real notion. But I cannot help assenting to Mr. Mill's criticism of this passage from Dean Mansel.‡

If this account of the real scope of the controversy be correct, it will suggest a suspicion that only two theories of the will are possible, and that all others which have ever been propounded are confused presentations of the one or the other of these two. This, I think, may be easily shown. If we examine the various theories which have been proposed, it will appear that, by paring off excrescences and reconciling inconsistencies, their number may be reduced to two, one of which represents the affirmation, and the other the denial, of the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert. The former is commonly called the Doctrine of Freewill; the latter has been called by different names, and there is some difficulty about finding a name for it, because its adherents are not at all agreed upon the fitting title, and those

\* Hartley, *Theory of the Human Mind*, ed. by Priestley, 1775, p. 341.

† Mansel, *Prolegomena Logica*, p. 166.

‡ *Examination of Hamilton*, 2d ed. p. 503, note.

who favour one title are apt to complain that the use of any other is unfair. As we have seen, Priestley calls it the Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity; and this title is also used by Hartley, who, however, seems to prefer to talk about the Mechanism of Human Actions. However, it matters little what we call the doctrine, provided we are careful to attach the right idea to the name. To me the phrase Philosophical Necessity seems to be much the best that has been proposed; but all coupling of the word *necessity* with his opinions gives so much offence to Mr. Mill, who is the most illustrious of the modern defenders of the doctrine, that I will not use the word.

If we except manifest vagaries, the opinions on the question before us may be, I think, counted at first sight to be four, three of which are described by Mr. Mill as follows: "Real Fatalism," he says, "is of two kinds. Pure, or Asiatic fatalism, the fatalism of the *Œdipus*, holds that our actions do not depend upon our desires. Whatever our wishes may be, a superior power, or an abstract destiny, will overrule them, and compel us to act, not as we desire, but in the manner predestined. Our love of good and hatred of evil are of no efficacy, and though in themselves they may be virtuous, as far as conduct is concerned it is unavailing to cultivate them. The other kind, Modified Fatalism I will call it, holds that our actions are determined by our will, our will by our desires, and our desires by the joint influence of the motives presented to us and of our individual character; but that, our character having been made for us, and not by us, we are not responsible for it, nor for the actions it leads to, and should in vain attempt to alter them. The true doctrine of the Causation of human actions maintains, in opposition to both, that not only our conduct, but our character, is in part amenable to our will; that we can, by employing the proper means, improve our character; and that if our character is such that while it remains what it is it necessitates us to do wrong, it will be just to apply motives which will necessitate us to strive for its improvement, and so emancipate ourselves from the other necessity; in other words, we are under a moral obligation to seek the improvement of our moral character."\* If we add Freewill to this list, it will, I believe, comprise all the doctrines worthy of notice. We shall then have four altogether—Asiatic Fatalism, Modified Fatalism, the True Doctrine of the Causation of Human Actions, and Freewill. As the True

Doctrine of the Causation of Human Actions is a rather long phrase, I will venture to substitute for it on all occasions the word Determinism, which Mr. Mill notices with some approval. Then it will be my object to show that these four doctrines may be reduced to two. I shall first attempt to show that Asiatic Fatalism does not properly touch the will at all, nor yet the vulgar notion of moral desert; that is, it must be rejected altogether from the list of theories of the will. I shall next attempt to show that the distinction which Mr. Mill draws between Modified Fatalism and Determinism leaves to both the same theory of the will and the same opinion about the vulgar notion of moral desert; that is, if the accidental excrescences be pared off from Modified Fatalism, it becomes Determinism pure and simple. If this much can be made out, the conflicting theories will have been reduced to the two above named, viz. Determinism and Freewill.

First, then, let us consider Asiatic Fatalism. According to the most obvious interpretation of Mr. Mill's words—"that our actions do not depend upon our desires"—it would appear that, in the scheme of Asiatic Fatalism, Fate makes use of involuntary motions of the muscles in order to effect its decrees; as if a man should attempt to sheathe his sword, and should be compelled to execute an automatic thrust at the breast of a friend. But this is not the Fatalism of the Asiatics, nor is it the Fatalism of the *Œdipus*. If a Turk refuses to get out of the way of a cannon-ball, it is not because he thinks that Fate would paralyse or convulse his muscles, but because he thinks that another ball would be ready for him both on the right hand and on the left. And the common story leaves *Œdipus* in possession of just so much free will, whatever that may be, as anybody else. In the scheme of Fatalism, as it really exists, men are left unfettered in just the same sense as in the scheme of Freewill, and they act in just the same way, whether that is to be styled free or bond; but their actions do not affect the course of events, because, as the phrase goes, it comes to the same thing in the end. Nothing hinders them from willing or from acting; but Fate so disposes matters that their own actions, whatever they may be, are the means to bring about the fated event. And such Fatalists seem to hold—and there is no reason why they should not—the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert, in just the same sense as the great bulk of the rest of mankind. That is to say, actual Fatalists, so far as one can judge by what they say and do, seem to

\* *Examination, etc.*, p. 516.

hold the Doctrine of Freewill; and there is no reason why they should not, though they are not obliged to hold it. In short, Fatalism is irrelevant to the question. A man does not reject Freewill by acquiescing in external coercion, neither does he accept it. The fact that some external power inflexibly controls the course of physical events is irrelevant both to every theory of the facts of volition and also to every opinion about the vulgar notion of moral desert. It is not itself a theory of the will in any sense, and it is equally compatible with any and every theory.

So far I have been speaking of Fatalism as it is actually professed; but my remarks would apply equally well to the Asiatic Fatalism of Mr. Mill if he intended his words to bear their literal meaning. The fact that my actions do not depend upon my desires is irrelevant to any and every theory of the will. If I attempt to sheathe my sword, and my arm—*ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ τὰ παραλελυμένα τοῦ σώματος μόρια*—flies up against my desire, and the weapon is thrust into the body of a friend, that is quite beside the question of volition. The involuntary spasm of the muscles is an external force; and my will has no more concern in the act done than if it had been done by another man. The spasm, which I cannot help, is no more incompatible with the freedom or the bondage of my will, than is the fall of an avalanche down Mont Blanc, which also I cannot help. I am equally guilty if I try to stab my friend and fail to do it, and equally innocent if I try not to stab him and am forced to stab him against my desire. This is true upon any view of Fatalism Proper, which is not really concerned with the will, but with an inexorable procession of external events.

In the most philosophically perfect form in which we can imagine it to exist, Fatalism would maintain that every event whatsoever, whether great or small, is equally and inevitably determined beforehand from all eternity; but, as it is held in real life, it is a partial and capricious system, in which the influence of fate is limited to certain events of particular interest either to the world at large or to the individual. The Turk believes that there is a moment inexorably appointed for his death, and for great events of good and ill fortune; but he does not extend this belief to trifles; and even though he were forced by argument to do so in words, it is probable that he would soon forget the import of what he had admitted. The same conclusion seems to follow from an examination of the fatalist myths of antiquity. No great difference, perhaps no difference at all,

can be pointed out between the vulgar notion of moral desert as it then prevailed and as it prevails now; though, which is quite another matter, there was, and is, a good deal of difference of opinion about the specific acts to which this quality of desert should be attributed. Not only is Fatalism speculatively compatible with Freewill, but in real life the two are actually found to be held, or confused, together; and the degree in which a particular man is a Fatalist may vary from time to time according to circumstances, sometimes without his being aware of the change.

The current opinion that Fatalism is incompatible with Freewill can be easily explained. It seems to arise from the fact that Fatalism does tend to affect practice, and to affect it in a way that looks like paralyzing the will, though it is not really so. If a man is firmly persuaded that, whatever he does, everything must turn out the same in the end, then, not caring to take useless trouble, he will perhaps sit still and let things take their course. But in so doing he is neither denying that he has a will nor that his will is free, any more than a man denies that he has a free will by refusing to attempt to escape from prison when he thinks that the walls are too high and the guards too watchful.

In the next place, as to Modified Fatalism. Here it is my object to show that two separate theories of the will cannot be got out of Modified Fatalism and Determinism—not to show that there is no difference between the theories of the will which they involve. My view of the matter is this, that Determinism is an intelligible and tenable theory of the will, and that Modified Fatalism is merely Determinism with the addition of some irrelevant and false propositions. If we pare off these excrescences, Modified Fatalism becomes Determinism pure and simple, and there is thus only one theory of the will to be got out of the two. Let us now see how the matter stands.

Determinism really is a theory of the will, in a sense in which Freewill is not. The Libertarian constructs his theory of the will only in order to defend his opinion about the vulgar notion of moral desert; but the Determinist is forced only by his theory of the will to adopt his opinion about the vulgar notion. Therefore the Determinist's analysis of the facts of volition is likely to be much more significant than that of the Libertarian; and so it is. The result at which the Determinist arrives is this, that the operation of the will is determined in any case by the resultant of all the motives (using the word in a wide sense) which ex-

ist at a given instant, in a manner analogous to that in which the motion of a particle is determined by the resultant of all the forces applied to it; so that, by consequence, if we had a perfect knowledge of the character of a man, and of the motives present in any given case, we could decide with perfect certainty before the event what would be his conduct. Now in what does this differ from Modified Fatalism? The Modified Fatalist appeals to the same facts of volition, performs the same analysis, and deduces the same result—that is, he allows that Determinism is true. But, not content with this much, he goes on to deduce some further supposed consequences which do not really follow. For, though it does follow, if Determinism be true, that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a fantastic notion, yet it does not follow that malefactors must therefore go unpunished. As Mr. Mill says, it is very proper, in any case, to apply to the wills of the wicked motives which will oblige them to do good rather than evil. Though the Determinist, as is expressly admitted by Hartley, Priestley, and Mr. Mill, cannot propose to himself any end in punishing crime, except the good of the criminal and of society, yet this motive still remains, and it is a very sound motive. But the Modified Fatalist, seeing that the old notion of a purely retributive justice, to which he has been accustomed, cannot be maintained under Determinism, rushes to the conclusion that no sufficient reason can be alleged in favour of punishing criminals; using such language as this, “that men ought not to be punished for their actions, since these are involuntary,” or this, “that men attempt in vain to alter their characters,” and so on. Thus the case stands between Modified Fatalism and Determinism. Both state the same propositions about the will; but the Modified Fatalist adds certain other propositions, not about the will, which are rejected by the Determinist. Both are agreed that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a fantastic notion; but the Modified Fatalist adds a further conclusion—that bad actions ought not to be punished—which does not follow, and which is repudiated by the Determinist. Therefore, though it cannot be said that there is no difference between the Modified Fatalist and the Determinist, yet it is true that there is no difference between their theories of the will.

This ends the first part of our inquiry, which is also the least intricate and laborious. Before proceeding further, I will sum up briefly the points which I shall now take as proved:—(1st), The true point at issue in the controversy was not the freedom of the

will, but the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert—the meaning of which expression has been sufficiently explained. When, in the next section, we examine the current arguments, the truth of this proposition will be further and abundantly illustrated. (2d), There are only two sides to the controversy, one representing the affirmation, the other representing the denial, of the reality of this vulgar notion. These are respectively styled Freewill and Determinism. (3d), Fatalism is in no sense a theory of the will; and it is equally compatible with any and every theory. This point calls for especial notice, because Fatalism has, in fact, been often confused with Determinism; and it is hard to say whether the hasty accusations of the Libertarians or the lame vindications of the Determinists have been most conspicuous for want of acuteness or of attention. The cause of the confusion has been explained above. I will add, that I have found no trace of real Determinism in the Greek and Roman Schools. There the opposite of Freewill seems to be always real Fatalism.

We are now to direct our attention to the general run of the arguments alleged on both sides. The main scope of the debate is easily intelligible, and has been half suggested already. The process of controversy was a confused and unmethodical attempt to reconcile, or to decide between, three salient facts, which must always emerge whenever the subject is considered:—(1.) The extreme tenacity with which the feeling of most men clings to a belief in the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert, and the repugnance with which it shrinks from the consequences of giving up that belief. (2.) The great difficulty, on the other hand, of meeting the Determinist's analysis of the facts of volition, which is well illustrated by the weakness of the counter-statements of the Libertarians. (3.) The apparent antagonism between Liberty in man and Pre-science in God. The true weight and bearing of great practical arguments like these cannot easily be estimated; and the grounds of an estimate cannot easily be conveyed in words. Nor does it seem likely, to judge by the past, that any expenditure of logic will balance them to the satisfaction of all minds.

But it would in truth be no solitary instance, if reason should ultimately fail to settle the difficulty; for experience seems rather to show that reason, by itself, seldom is enough to establish any speculative proposition which is not revolting to common sense. Mere reason must not be suffered to run wild any more than mere passion; and

speculation needs always to be controlled by a pervading instinct of truth, in order that it may not pass the line which separates subtlety from extravagance. This controlling instinct, which in its lowest manifestation is called "plain common sense," is a natural gift, not to be acquired by the use of the mere reason. In its highest manifestation it is what an illustrious living thinker has styled a "large view of truth." The absence of it leads to different results in different minds. Paltry understandings fall into a puling sentimentalism: the acute and subtle are liable to metaphysical lunacy. And the disease, though not incurable, cannot be cured by appeals to the mere reason. Hence the force of the common remark that, though the final judgment of delicate questions must be left to the competent few, the attention of the ordinary public is a valuable check upon the judges. And so the obstinate refusal of the public to acquiesce in the practical deduction from a speculative conclusion is, by itself, enough to throw grave suspicion upon the premisses from which the conclusion is drawn. And therefore it may plausibly be maintained, that the utmost unanimous refusal of mankind to give up their belief in the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert is, by itself, enough to suggest a doubt whether speculative Determinism may not be in error. This result will seem absurd enough to those who hold by the famous brocard of Malebranche; but Malebranche has been weighed and found wanting. He had metaphysical genius without common sense, and fell into extravagance. The practical impotence of reason will be sufficiently shown by surveying the progress of the present controversy. The Determinists have always remained in possession of the field of battle: the Libertarians have always reaped the fruits of the victory.

I. The importance of the vulgar notion of moral desert, as a practical influence in the world, cannot be estimated at too high a rate; and it is abundantly evident that the Determinists do not know the size of the adversary which they treat with such contemptuous coolness. When we consider what the vulgar notion has done for mankind, we seem to find it bound up since the beginning of the world with all that is noblest in word and deed. Let us ask ourselves, what would have been the difference if that notion had never prevailed. Let us ask, what would now be the result if for the vulgar notion of moral desert there should universally be substituted that notion which is allowed by Determinism. I believe that any Determinist who fairly considers these questions would

despair of getting any extensive footing in the world for his doctrine. Perhaps he would consider the present line of argument an unfair attempt to create a sentimental prejudice against the conclusions of reason. But it cannot be unfair to speak the truth; and it is the truth that, in spite of cogent arguments, the common sense of mankind at large has rejected, does reject, and probably will continue to reject, Determinism. Now there must be "some reason" for this fact; and it cannot be unfair to recommend it to the consideration of Determinists, by way of enabling them to arrive at some better understanding than they now have of the position of the Libertarians.

If anything more be needed to show the extreme tenacity of the vulgar notion, the following fact may suffice, which I consider to be one of the most remarkable in the history of philosophy. So deeply are the minds of the Libertarians impressed by the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert, that they never fairly grasp the fact that the reality of this notion is the very point in dispute. Hence we find them assuming the reality of the vulgar notion, merely in order that they may deduce from it such a theory of the facts of volition as that quoted above from Hartley and Dean Mansel. The common form of this proceeding is well given by Cudworth, in a posthumous work not published till the year 1838. He argues as follows:—A bad clock is blamed in a different sense to that in which a bad man is blamed, and so also is a bad horse or dog; thus there are three separate kinds of blame, according as the object of blame is (1.) automatic, (2.) conscious, but not responsible, (3.) morally responsible. Now it is evident that so soon as this third notion of Moral Responsibility is allowed to differ in kind from the motives for beating a horse or dog, we shall also have allowed that the merely retributive view of the function of punishment is a sound and true view; that is, in other words, that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a real notion. Thus Cudworth begins by assuming the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert; and he then proceeds to use it as an argument in favour of Freewill as a statement of the facts of volition—an illustrious example of petitio principii, which was repeated by Copleston under a much more elaborate disguise. Now this is a fallacy; but the strength of the feeling upon which it rests is an impressive argument. We know that the conclusion of a syllogism is inadequate to deal with a strong feeling; and here is a feeling which has so long defied attack that we may well doubt whether any analysis of the facts

of volition will ever root it up. But this analysis is the most trenchant weapon in the whole armoury; and no other will succeed if that should fail. Even though the force of the arguments in favour of Determinism were fully brought home to the minds of all men, it might well be that the Determinists would remain then as now a scattered few among the many. So much stronger, a Libertarian may be permitted to say, are facts than reasonings.

II. The analysis of the facts of volition to which the Determinist appeals has been ascertained with great exactness, and is well known. The result is briefly as follows. It is contended that whenever we review the actual operation of the will, we are compelled to pronounce the following judgment:—that in each case our action is determined by a balance of the motives actually present; that it is impossible to imagine the will acting without a motive; and that, when we have decided upon a certain course, we do not swerve from it unless some new motive is presented, or, which is the same thing, unless an old motive is presented in a new light. Hence it is concluded, in the language of Hartley, that “each action results from the previous circumstances of the body and mind, in the same manner, and with the same certainty, as other effects do from their mechanical causes.”

This appeal to the facts of volition is the strength of Determinism, just as the tenacity of the vulgar notion of moral desert is the strength of Freewill; and the difficulty of meeting it is shown by the struggles of the Libertarians. “By the Liberty of a Moral Agent,” says Reid, “I understand a power over the determinations of his own will.”\* “That is to say,” observes his editor in a note, “moral liberty does not merely consist in the power of *doing what we will*, but, though Reid” elsewhere “seems to deny it, in the power of *willing what we will*.” There is no evading this criticism; and the other side accordingly replies that, if the phrase *power of willing what we will* has any meaning, it means that a second will is needed to secure the freedom of the first, and of course a third to secure the freedom of the second, and so on for ever—which hardly needs to be seriously discussed. This argument, it should be observed, is a *reductio ad absurdum* drawn from the terms of the Libertarian statement of the analysis of the facts of volition, which the Libertarians were compelled to bring forward in order to meet the Determinist statement.

But if the painful straits of the Liber-

tarians are evidence of the cogency of the Determinist analysis, we find also, on the other hand, evidence of the deep hold which the vulgar notion of moral desert has upon the minds of men, in the excesses to which Determinism has been hastily carried by those who have been forced unwillingly to embrace it. Unable to rest in the mere doctrine of the Mechanism of Human Actions, their perturbed minds ran on into various conclusions which were not entailed upon them by strict logic. Hence is explained the proceeding of the Modified Fatalists. And by similar considerations we may account for the indignant exclamations of others, who, while refusing to embrace Determinism, saw that it got rid of the vulgar notion of moral desert. They charged it with all sorts of horrible consequences to which it is not justly liable; as, for example, that it delivers us over to a blind fate, and so forth. But, not to cavil at their choice of words, it is plain that they had forgotten the part which, in the scheme of Determinism, a man's own desires contribute towards what is certain to befall him. There is all the difference in the world between something which is made sure to befall a man by the fact that he wishes it, and something which is sure to befall him whether he wishes it or no. But such is often the result of disturbing a deeply-seated conviction—the effect of the disturbing cause is not limited by logic. Such is the position held in the minds of most men by the conviction of the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert, that, if it be shaken by an appeal to other fixed beliefs, their minds are unable to take up and keep to any consistent position. Fundamental beliefs like this are the only barrier between a man and Universal Scepticism; and any process of sifting and purifying them from error, though not an impossible undertaking to the man of exact and candid mind, requires gifts which are possessed by few. Hence the common remark, that it is dangerous to undermine settled convictions, because the process cannot be regulated with certainty when it is begun. We often see the master vainly striving to keep his disciples within those limits which he has marked out for himself.

That the Determinist is obliged to deny the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert, is almost too obvious to need proof; and this is expressly admitted by the most eminent Determinists, both old and new. Under the scheme of Determinism, it is impossible, without inconsistency, to blame a bad man in any sense in which we may not blame a bad dog. This is among the un-

\* *Works*, ed. by Hamilton, p. 599.



pleasant consequences which the Determinist has to face; for it cannot, I think, be doubted that, in the eyes of the vulgar, guilt has lost all its moral terrors so soon as the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert is denied. This is well illustrated by the talk of the knaves and fops of the court of Charles II., who adopted a sort of Determinist cant and fancied that they were Hobbists.

As to the admission by the Determinists that their doctrine has no place for the vulgar notion of moral desert, it will be enough to quote Mr. Mill. "There are two ends," he says, "which, on the Necessitarian theory, are sufficient to justify punishment: the benefit of the offender himself, and the protection of others. . . . If, indeed," he afterwards continues, "punishment is inflicted for any other reason than in order to operate on the will; if its purpose be other than that of improving the culprit himself, or securing the just rights of others against unjust violation, then, I admit, the case is totally altered. If any one thinks that there is justice in the infliction of purposeless suffering; that there is a natural affinity between the two ideas of guilt and punishment, which makes it intrinsically fitting that wherever there has been guilt, pain should be inflicted by way of retribution; I acknowledge that I can find no argument to justify punishment inflicted on this principle."\* But there is no doubt at all that nearly everybody thinks these very things. Who will say that he desires the punishment of Colonel Kirke only in the hope of effecting a reformation in his character, or by way of a salutary example to future ill-doers? Perhaps not even Mr. Mill himself; though he would be quite ready, of course, to explain the origin of the illusion in accordance with his own principles.

III. The treatment of the third point, the antagonism between Prescience and Liberty, is embarrassed by the fact that the philosophical world has no longer any common dogmatic ground. Not that the philosophers do, as a body, exactly disbelieve the existence of God; but theological belief has become so manifold in its forms, and so vague in its significance, that men shrink from recognising in speculation the fact that there is such a thing as religion left in the world. It has come to be agreed somehow that good taste requires such subjects to be avoided, or, if that is impossible, to be introduced on the understanding that the religious opinions of one man are not shared by anybody else. By this general exclusion,

we are often spared much that is objectionable—flippancy or frigid attempts at decorum on the one hand, and unctuous feebleness on the other. But in a case like the present it embarrasses the discussion by throwing an air of constraint and unreality over the statement of arguments which have exercised so great an influence in the world that it is impossible to pass them by without notice.

In taking account of the antagonism between Prescience and Liberty, I am not touching upon the theological aspect of the question. The Prescience of God has always been considered a part of Natural Religion; and Natural Religion professes to appeal for its proofs to reason and fact. Therefore Prescience, so far as it bears upon the question of volition, properly comes under the philosophical treatment of the question, not under the theological. The corresponding antagonism which appears in the theological treatment is the antagonism, not between Prescience and Liberty, but between Omnipotence and Liberty; nor is this latter antagonism introduced directly, but mediately, as concerned with the action of Divine Grace. Indeed, it is evident that the Omnipotence of God is no less an idea of Natural Religion than the Prescience of God; and therefore the two antagonisms should be placed together under the philosophical heading. And we accordingly find that the difficulty implied in the coexistence of Omnipotence with Liberty has not been entirely neglected by philosophers; though, being less obvious than the antagonism between Prescience and Liberty, it has attracted less attention. Both the antagonisms are only different aspects of the same master-problem, the coexistence of the Infinite with the Finite. The common argument runs somewhat to the following purpose:—If it can be certainly foreseen that a man will do a particular thing, in what sense can it be said that he is free not to do it? According to the common sentiment, freedom not to do a thing implies in its terms some chance or other that the thing may not be done; but this is plainly incompatible with perfect foresight, which implies in its terms that there is no chance that the thing may not be done.

This statement of the argument precludes by anticipation the common attempts to meet it; for these turn upon the proposition that foresight does not coerce, which is nothing to the point. What is wanted is something quite different, namely, that foresight should not oblige us to look upon the action foreseen as being coerced. The attitude which the mind seems to take up is

\* *Examination, etc.*, pp. 510, 512.

not the assertion that foresight coerces; and therefore it is useless to deny that foresight coerces. But we seem to be able to figure to ourselves foresight as being possible only as the result of coercion, though we need not regard the person who foresees as being the person who coerces. In short, the foresight is looked upon as the result of the coercion; and therefore it is useless to deny that it is its cause. Whether or no this is the true analysis of the feeling, it at all events is the common and prompt judgment of men in general, that they cannot help regarding the will as being somehow coerced, when they regard its action as being foreseen. Even in the case of ordinary human foresight, or guessing at future actions, although men know for certain that their prediction has no tendency to coerce, yet they cannot help looking upon what they foresee as being somehow coerced; and this is proved by the disposition which they often show to excuse the malice of a bad action in proportion as they have been able before the event to predict with confidence that it will be done. And, in general, it is felt that any great and cruel temptation, though it is not enough to justify, does yet go some way towards excusing a bad action.

I have seen a very ingenious attempt to grapple more closely with this difficulty, made by an anonymous author in a contemporary periodical publication, which deserves notice, because it seems to prove that all such attempts are hopeless. The author imagines the case of a man about to be married to one whom he passionately loves; they are before the altar, and the marriage ceremony is begun; the man is asked whether he will take the woman for his wife; thereupon the author demands to be told whether we cannot be certain that he will assent, and also whether we must not allow that he is acting by his free will in so doing. The author here thinks that he has produced a palmary example of certain prediction, and also a palmary example of the exertion of free will; but he is mistaken as to the latter point. The sort of will which the bridegroom is supposed to exert is by no means a palmary example of the sort of will required, viz. that sort of will which is commonly reckoned indispensable to the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert. On the contrary, it is a very bad example indeed; and this only escapes notice because the action supposed to be done is innocent. Let us imagine a man tempted to sin by inducements as strong as those which incline the bridegroom to receive his bride; and we shall at once become aware of our disposition to excuse and palliate the malice of the

bad action. Therefore, though it would sound absurd to speak of the bridegroom as being in any way coerced, yet it is impossible to hold him up as an illustrious example of that sort of free will which is to the present purpose. But unless this may be done the author's argument goes for nothing. He has only proved that a very high degree of certainty in a prediction is compatible with a very low degree of that sort of free will about which we are speaking. To deny this is to confuse will in the sense apposite to this inquiry with some other sense of the word, to obliterate, in short, that distinction between Freewill and Determinism which is the very point in dispute.

So far we have been considering only the argument from Prescience. But it is susceptible of additional complication by introducing the further idea of Omnipotence, which is contemplated in God along with Prescience. For our foresight does not at all oblige us to regard ourselves as in any sense the sources of coercion; but the Omnipotence of God is the very link needed in order to enable us to infer that He who foresees is also He who coerces. And Hobbes accordingly decided that God is the cause of all human actions.\* Priestley made the same doctrine the foundation of his Optimism. "Also," he says, "the persuasion that nothing can come to pass without the knowledge and express appointment of the greatest and best of beings, must tend to diffuse a joyful *serenity* over the mind, producing a conviction that, notwithstanding all present unfavourable appearances, *whatever is, is right*; and that even all *evils* respecting individuals or societies, any part, or the whole of the human race, will terminate in *good*; and that the greatest sum of good could not, in the nature of things, be attained by any other means."† Hartley had spoken to the like purpose; but, as his manner is, in more guarded language.

Here, then, we have before us the insoluble problem of the co-existence of the Infinite with the Finite, in its bearings on the question of volition, as manifested in (1.) the Prescience, (2.) the Omnipotence, of God. It would not be difficult to lay down a view of the matter both more extended and more systematic; but enough has been said to serve the present purpose. A new and highly ingenious turn was given to the second topic, the bearing of Omnipotence upon Freewill, by Mr. J. S. Mill, which deserves to be noticed.

\* *Works*, ed. by Molesworth, vol. v. p. 115.

† *The Doctrine*, etc., p. 121.

Hamilton had urged that the analytical conditions both of Freewill and Determinism—on the one hand, an uncaused commencement of action, and, on the other hand, an infinite regression of causes—equally transcend our powers of conception; and from this he sought to infer that no statement of difficulties in conception could be in itself conclusive against Freewill, because an equal balance of difficulty lies against the opposite doctrine. "But," replies Mr. Mill, "this choice of inconceivabilities is not offered to us in the case of volitions only. We are held, as he not only admits but contends, to the same alternative in all cases of causation whatsoever. But we find our way out of the difficulty in other cases in quite a different manner. In the case of every other kind of fact, we do not elect the hypothesis that the event took place without a cause: we accept the supposition, that of a regress, not indeed to infinity, but either generally into the region of the unknowable, or back to an Universal Cause, regarding which, as we are only concerned with it in relation to what it preceded, and not as in itself preceded by anything, we can afford to make a plain avowal of our ignorance."\*

The aim, or at least the force, of this retort, is to lower the difficulty of conception alleged against Determinism, by showing that it is only one aspect of a common difficulty which crops up under many other forms, and which, by common consent, is to be put aside as insoluble. But it will not at all suffice for Mr. Mill to carry his regress *generally into the region of the unknowable*. That would not be to find a way out of the difficulty in the case of volitions by the same method as in all other cases. It would be, on the contrary, to deny that there is *one* method out of the difficulty common to *all* cases; for to refer a thing generally to the region of the unknowable, is only another phrase for having nowhere whither to refer it. Therefore a general reference to the region of the unknowable only serves to put Determinism, in point of preliminary difficulty, on a level with Freewill; which is the very thing that Hamilton desired. Mr. Mill must adopt the other branch of his alternative, if he wishes to touch Hamilton's position; that is, he must refer the commencement of the train of action to a postulated universal cause, called "God" by Theists. Then, since it is an express article in the creed of all Theists, that "God" is a positive idea, and not, like the general region of the unknowable, merely negative, there will be a common bond between this reference of the regress and all other references of original

causation, and so the argument is made to hold good.

However, the reader should not omit to notice the following conditions which limit its application. The argument is pointless if urged *against* the Atheist, because "God" is not to him a positive idea. And it cannot be urged *by* the Atheist, without becoming a mere argumentum ad hominem. It follows, therefore, that it can only be fairly urged by the Determinist Theist against the Libertarian Theist. But the man who urges it must also be prepared to affirm that God is the cause, and the efficient cause, of all things—evil, of course, included. This has been done, as we have seen, by some Theists, on the ground that evil is properly to be regarded as a phenomenal form of good. Priestley, indeed, with characteristic hasty obtuseness, confuses together the two positions, (1.) that evil is a phenomenal form of good, (2.) that evil, though really evil, cannot be helped; which latter proposition, though he seems to regard it as an evidence of Theism, really makes for Atheism so far as it goes.

As regards the general question, I agree with Hamilton that it is impossible to effect any direct reconciliation between Liberty and Prescience. "The conviction of this impossibility," he goes on to say, "has led men (1.) to give up the prescience of God in respect of future contingents; or (2.) to bring down the impossibility to a lower [stage], and this by one of two means—either, 1st, to annihilate the futurity in respect of God, or, 2d, to annihilate the contingency."\* But he is evidently wrong in speaking of the annihilation of the contingency as a means of bringing the difficulty down to a lower stage, since it is a getting rid of the difficulty altogether. The difficulty lies in reconciling the contingency implied in Liberty with the absence of contingency implied in Prescience; and if the contingency be annihilated there is no longer anything needing reconciliation. In fact, this is the natural proceeding of the Determinist; and it is to this that he owes the cogency of the present argument against his antagonist, who is obliged by his notion of liberty to maintain that future acts are in some sense contingent.

The second course proposed by Hamilton, the annihilation of the futurity of events in respect of God, is the common doctrine of theologians. They teach that the Being and (so to speak) the Consciousness of God are in some sense out of all relation to time, so that there is no succession of events in them, and neither a past nor a future. Thus God *foresees* as He *sees*; and so fore-

\* *Examination*, etc., p. 499.

\* *Dissertations on Reid*, p. 976.

sight is reconciled with liberty by being converted into sight. For when we see an act we feel none of that impulse to declare it coerced which we feel when we suppose ourselves to *foresee* it. The lower stage to which the difficulty is supposed to be brought down lies in the reception of the proposed mystery in the Being of God; and it is contended that, under certain circumstances, to accept certain mysteries is more reasonable than to reject them. This, of course, is stated by way of illustration and explanation, not by way of argument. And explanation cannot be thought superfluous when it appears that so distinguished a metaphysician as Mr. Mill is, or was, ignorant of any difference between divine and human foreknowledge, so far as concerns the bearing of foreknowledge on the freedom of the will.\*

As I do not propose to recur to this subject after once quitting it, I will here state the general grounds upon which, in common with many others, I get over this difficulty. They are these:—I hold the difficulty to be only one form, and not the most puzzling, of the insoluble problem of the co-existence of Infinite and Finite; that is to say, it is properly an argument against Theism, not against Freewill. And I shall frankly avow, with Dugald Stewart,† that, if compelled to choose between the two, I should elect (quod abominandum) to deny the Prescience of God rather than Freewill. This, it will be noticed, is the first of the three possible courses laid down by Hamilton. If any one thinks it ridiculous under these circumstances to believe both in God and Freewill, he might spend a profitable hour in counting the names and examining the reputations of those who think otherwise.

Here we might conclude our account of this tedious business; but there is a particular argument which is worth noting for the sake of the picture which it affords of a controversy in the sere and yellow leaf. I mean that reproduction by Copleston of Cudworth's fallacy, which was referred to above. In the Preface to his *Enquiry into the Doctrine of Necessity and Predestination*, Copleston tells us that the argument of his treatise was suggested to him by some observations of Mr. Dawson of Sedbergh; and it is a curious illustration of the confusion pervading the subject, that the arguments of Dawson, which Copleston supposes to have the same scope as his own, should be levelled at Fatalism, while Copleston's are aimed at Determinism. This appears on the surface when they are examined critically. Dawson's reasoning, as reported by Copleston,

runs to the following purpose. It is the tendency of the opinion of Necessity—that is, of Fatalism, for the statement is not true of Determinism—to discourage individual exertion, so far as it is believed to be true. Now suppose Fatalism to be true and known to be true; then all activity would come to an end; for it is the aim of activity to modify that universe which, by hypothesis, is incapable of modification. Hence the result of a perfect assurance of the truth would be an universal state of repose. But this is contrary to the analogy of nature, by which it appears that, in general, intelligence and activity increase together, and that intelligence increases with knowledge. Therefore the hypothesis of Fatalism, upon which the conclusion is founded, must be false.

Such is Dawson's argument, when put into the strongest form of which it is capable. Copleston's arguments to prove that Fatalism (he, of course, calls it Necessity) tends, so far as it is believed, to discourage exertion, are cogent, but scarcely needed. After this preliminary we may sum up his main position in a single sentence of his own. "It appeared to me that the *moral* consequences of the hypothesis in question might also be pursued; for the notion of a *moral* agent gifted with mental powers, the *improvement* of which naturally tends to the weakening or the extinction of moral principle, is an absurdity."\* Now it is quite plain what he would say. He means to say that, if we improve our understanding so far as to arrive at a knowledge, not of Fatalism but of Determinism, this will oblige us to acknowledge that the vulgar notion of moral desert is a fantastic notion; that is, in his language, it will destroy all moral principle in us; and that it is absurd to suppose the co-existence in us of intellectual and moral powers, only in order that the improvement of the former may be the destruction of the latter. Hence he infers that the hypothesis of Determinism, the doubtful premiss from which the conclusion springs, must be false; just as in Dawson's argument it was inferred that the premised Fatalism must be false.

Here we have another emphatic witness, unconsciously borne by a man of the highest ability, to the tenacity of the vulgar notion of moral desert. But in its formal statement, as an attempt to bolster up a theory of the will, the argument is a fallacy. Copleston, like Cudworth, assumes the real point at issue in order to prove a pretended point. If the vulgar notion of moral desert be indisputably a real notion, that was quite

\* *Logic*, 5th ed., vol. ii. p. 414.

† *Works*, ed. by Hamilton, vol. vi. p. 398.

\* *An Enquiry*, etc., Preface, p. vii.

enough for Copleston's purpose : he was not called upon to prove any theory of the will at all. He could have but one motive for constructing a theory of the will, namely, that he might be able to deduce from it the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert. Therefore, to assume the reality of the vulgar notion in order to construct a theory of the will, was to beg the question in dispute.

It yet remains that something shall be said about the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, because very erroneous opinions are current about its bearing upon the question before us. People are apt to conclude that, because Predestination is manifestly opposed to Freewill, therefore it must have some connection with Determinism. But this is a mistake. An enumeration of the points in which Predestination differs from Determinism will show how little they have in common ; and my object in introducing Predestination is only to show that it never needed to be introduced.

(1.) Doctrines of this kind draw much of their significance and colouring from the premisses from which they are deduced. But Determinism and Predestination spring from premisses which lie quite in separate regions of thought. We have seen what are the chief premisses of Determinism. The chief premisses of Predestination are found in what is accepted as a Divine revelation. (2.) The Predestinarian is obliged by his theology to admit the existence of a free will in God. And as a matter of fact, though this is perhaps unnecessary, he does admit the existence of a free will in the devil. Nor is the existence of a free will in man inconceivable to him, though it is denied as being incompatible with the exercise of a free will by God. Thus he ignores the destructive criticism passed by the Determinists on the definition of a free will put forward by the Libertarians. (3.) But the final consideration, which puts a great gulf between the Determinist and the Predestinarian, is this, that the latter asserts the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert. Even if he were not obliged by his interpretation of Scripture to assert this, he would be obliged to assert it in order to help out his doctrine of Eternal Reprobation. Many eminent Determinists have, on the contrary, openly avowed their belief in the doctrine of Final Restitution, upon no other ground than their denial of the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert.

Here I bring to an end the second division of my undertaking, which is concerned only with the statement of arguments, not with the decision between them. The third

stage, in which the attempt to decide will be made, is the last that remains ; and it is also the most arduous.

If it were the only question, whether Freewill or Determinism shall ultimately prevail in the world, a Libertarian might rest secure in the vitality of his opinion. Nor would this security necessarily indicate any unworthy desire to triumph in the stupidity of the vulgar. There must be some reason for the existence of a fact ; and, when Determinists prove that all reason is against the common belief in Freewill, their success has rather an ominous appearance. The later Determinists, particularly Mr. J. S. Mill, are well aware of their obligation to account for the fact of the vulgar belief upon their own principles ; and we shall presently examine the account given by them. But there is something else for which they still have to account. How does it happen that men of candour and metaphysical acumen are found to adhere to the old prejudice of Freewill, after fully examining all that has been said on the other side ? Or will it be denied that any Libertarian is both acute and candid, besides being well informed ? We shall see presently whether the arguments and explanations of the Determinists are such as to bear out this denial.

The question now before us is not whether the Libertarian may feel pretty sure that he will always have the general voice of the world on his side, but whether Determinism has been proved true upon grounds of reason ; and I do not mean to shirk this question. I believe that fatal gaps can be pointed out, both in the *argument* for Determinism, and also in the *explanation* of the origin of Freewill. But if this much can be made out, that will be enough for my purpose ; for Freewill is so evidently the doctrine in possession that to discredit the proof of Determinism is to establish the proof of Freewill. The feeling of the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert is so strong and so universal that it is *prima facie* its own justification : the burden of disproof lies with those who impugn it. Hamilton was doubtless right in thinking that, if Freewill and Determinism could be put on the same level in point of antecedent inconceivableness, the latter must go to the wall.

Coming now to an actual criticism of the arguments of the Determinist, I follow my three-fold division, and have therefore these three separate points to consider :—(1.) Since the strength of Freewill lies in the tenacity of the vulgar notion of moral desert, therefore the corresponding argument against Determinism lies in showing that it can give

no satisfactory explanation of the origin of this notion. (2.) Since the strength of Determinism lies in its analysis of the facts of volition, therefore the corresponding argument in favour of Freewill lies in shewing (a) that this analysis is incomplete, (β) that the assumption of Freewill supplies what is needed to complete it. (3.) The third stage should be the consideration of the antagonism between Prescience and Liberty; but upon this head I shall say no more. If the other two points be sufficiently handled, this third may be left, in the present state of the controversy, to take care of itself. In dealing with the other two, I shall take first the question of the completeness of the Determinist analysis of the facts of volition, postponing to it the more difficult question which stands first, namely, the sufficiency of the Determinist account of the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert. For the former question can be considered at once; but the latter will require some preliminary examination of the Doctrine of Inseparable Association.

(I.) In considering the Determinist analysis of the facts of volition, it is to be observed that I have two separate points for which to contend:—(a) That the Determinist analysis is incomplete, which by itself would suffice for my purpose. (β) That the assumption of Freewill supplies what is needed to complete the analysis, which is more than sufficient; for, if it could be made out, it would amount to a proof positive of Freewill, whereas I have only pretended to offer a proof negative, drawn from the destruction of the proof positive for Determinism.

(a) That the analysis is incomplete appears to me to follow from these considerations. If it were both complete and accurate, then we should be able, by means of a complete and accurate synthesis of its elements, to construct a true representation of the facts of volition, that is, of the will itself. But this is not the case. Whenever I contemplate the analysis and attempt to construct out of its elements a representation of the will, the result of my synthesis is not the will of which I am conscious to myself, but something else. This other something is not monstrous or impossible to be conceived; it is a kind of will which I can easily imagine to exist within me, but which in fact does not. Hence I infer, being convinced that my synthesis is both accurate and complete, that the analysis is either inaccurate or incomplete, or else both. But, as I do not impeach its accuracy so far as it goes, the conclusion lies against its completeness. These

are the grounds on which I conclude that the Determinist analysis is incomplete.

Of course there is an obvious objection to this. It might be suggested that I have blundered over the synthesis. And it may be so. But I have taken great pains, both in gathering the materials and also in putting them together; and the result has been what I have stated. I admit that it is of the highest importance to inquire what other people think of my statement; and if it shall so turn out that what I have said is contradicted by the common voice, I shall be ready to believe that I have fallen into error. But the sequel will contain some further indirect reasons which strengthen my present belief that the synthesis is sound.

Another objection is equally obvious. It might be asked why I do not directly point out the error in the analysis, instead of inferring it from the result of the synthesis. I might reply that, in a matter of this sort, with which language is ill fitted to deal, leave must be given to choose that course which is the more easily followed, rather than that which is the more direct. But I am able to make some approach to the direct indication required; and the previous indirect process of inference was placed first only as a matter of convenience in arrangement. Here is the direct indication.

Hitherto I have been speaking only of my *waking* volition. But also when *asleep* I am often in some sense conscious of exercising volition of some sort; and I retain an image of these sleeping volitions in memory when I am awake. Now the *waking notion* which I have of my *sleeping will*, exactly resembles the result of my synthesis aforesaid. Therefore I infer that the Determinist analysis would be a complete account of my *sleeping will*, but that it is an incomplete account of my *waking will*. And to the demand that the error in the analysis shall be pointed out I reply that the error lies in omitting to take account of the difference between waking and sleeping volition—that the analysis is a complete account of the latter, but an incomplete account of the former.

(β) As to the second point: it follows from what has been said that the difference between the real will of experience and the fictitious will of Determinism is the very thing needed to turn Determinism into Freewill, by making it compatible with the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert. For the volitions of my sleeping will do not subject me to the consequences of the reality of the vulgar notion, while the volitions of my waking will do. On contemplating the two, I seem to be made clearly aware that the

vulgar notion of guilt cannot attach itself to bad acts supposed to be done during sleep or actually done when awake by a will like my sleeping will, while it does attach itself to bad acts done when awake by a will like my waking will. Therefore, if my synthesis was accurate and complete, the conclusion follows that, in order to complete the Determinist analysis, we must convert Determinism into Freewill by making it compatible with the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert.

This conclusion is strongly confirmed by the consideration that we are obliged by Determinism to blame a bad dog with the same *kind* of blame as a bad man. I do not say that the *motives* for blaming, still less that the motives for punishing them, are the same; though I am not sure that they are different. But, leaving the motives out of the question, it can hardly be denied that the *feeling of indignation* against both ought to be of the same kind, though (perhaps) different in degree. And so a Determinist ought, if he would be consistent, to strive (as Priestley did, or rather, would have done, if his Optimism had not forced him a step further) to feel no other bitterness or indignation against a bad man than against a bad dog. Indeed, so far as we can infer the will of a dog from its actions, I should suppose its will to be the same in kind as the will of a man in the scheme of Determinism; nor can I see what alteration is needed, in order that the analysis of the Determinist may suit the will of a dog better than the will of a man.

Moreover, since from physical causes a man may lose his sound and healthy will, acquiring in its place a will which, so far as we can tell, resembles the sleeping will of the sane, it follows that, in the common phrase, mad persons are not to be held morally responsible for their actions in the same sense as sane persons.

Considerations of this sort might be multiplied; but there is no need for more. I will only refer to a passage in the Confessions of Saint Austin, where he draws the same distinction between waking and sleeping volitions, and declares strongly his feeling that guilt attaches itself to the one and not to the other; because it is not only a weighty, but also an independent, testimony to the point.\*

(II.) It only now remains to consider the account given by Determinism of the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert; and

this will require something to be said by way of preliminary explanation.

There is, as is well known, a certain doctrine, styled by Mr. Mill the Doctrine of Inseparable Association, which is used by him to explain the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert, and of several other things besides. This Doctrine is, of course, a proposition, or, which is the same thing, a collection of propositions. Now, Mr. Mill must establish two points, in order to make out his case. He has to show that there is such a thing as inseparable association, that is, that the Doctrine of Inseparable Association is a true proposition; and that, granting the Doctrine to be true, it will afford a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert. I shall attempt to show that there is no evidence to prove the existence of inseparable association, that is, that the Doctrine of Inseparable Association is a mere arbitrary hypothesis; and that granting the Doctrine to be true, it will not afford a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the vulgar notion.

Before proceeding to the examination of evidence, we must ascertain what the Doctrine of Inseparable Association is, and also what is meant by saying that it accounts for the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert.

In attacking Inseparable Association, I must guard against being supposed to have anything to object against those propositions which are called the Laws of Association—the Doctrine, in fact, of Separable Association. The latter Doctrine I believe to be a psychological truth of the utmost importance, while I believe the former to be a visionary hypothesis. Therefore it will be necessary to distinguish accurately between them. The common Doctrine of Association may be reduced to two main propositions, each of which refers to a multitude of facts of association. These two propositions are styled by Mr. Mill, the Law of Suggestion and the Law of Obliviscence. These terms I shall not suppose to need explanation. The philosophical world is, in fact, sufficiently agreed about the Laws of Association, as distinguished from the Doctrine of Inseparable Association; and it is not Association, but Inseparable Association, with which we are concerned.

The Doctrine of Inseparable Association may be reduced to two propositions, each of which is a sort of extension of a corresponding proposition in the Doctrine of Association. Briefly, these run as follows:—(1.) Two or more ideas may be so grouped or associated together in the mind that one of them cannot be called before the mind without suggesting all the rest; and in this case

\* See Book x. cap. 80.

the association which binds these ideas together is said "to have become inseparable." It is added (and this is most important) that the group thus called up together may assume a collective form very different in appearance from the sum of its original constituents considered separately; that is to say, (a) *Given the group, we cannot determine its elements by analysis*, (B) *Given the elements, we cannot form the group by synthesis*. This is, on the whole, an extension of the Law of Suggestion; but the facts chronicled under the other main proposition, which I am about to state, are to be regarded as helping to explain the additional propositions  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . (2.) It is also held that, in extreme cases of the operation of the Law of Obliviscence, such a Dissociation, so to speak, or repugnance, is established between two ideas, that they cannot be called into the mind together. This is the opposite to the former proposition, and is a sort of extension of the Law of Obliviscence. I shall refer to these propositions respectively, under the names of the Law of Inseparable Suggestion and the Law of Inseparable Obliviscence. The propositions  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , which are printed in italics, I shall style the Law of Modification.

These three 'Laws' are used, in what is called the Association Psychology, to explain three things—our belief in an external world, our belief in the necessary truth of pure mathematics, and our belief in the reality of the vulgar notion of moral desert. With the Law of Inseparable Obliviscence we shall have little concern; for that bears the chief (perhaps the only) part in explaining our belief that the pure mathematics are necessarily true, and it hardly (if at all) comes into the explanation of the other two beliefs. These other two beliefs are consequences of the Laws of Inseparable Suggestion and of Modification; and the analogy between the supposed geneses of these two beliefs is so close that much is gained by examining them together.

We may be brief about the genesis of the belief in an external world, because it is introduced only by way of illustration. The process is somewhat as follows:—Certain sensations, styled by us colour, weight, hardness, and so forth, have always been presented to our minds in certain combinations. Hence it happens that an inseparable association is got up between the elements of such groups, which combine together into wholes, in such a way that these wholes no longer give us the mere notion of their original elements (the sensations aforesaid), but of something else besides, viz. substantiality, or materiality, or whatever we are to call that no-

tion under which the vulgar mind does, as a matter of fact, conceive of bodies as different from a mere collection of sensations. I shall call this notion the vulgar notion of the reality of substance.

But Mr. Mill's theory of the genesis of the vulgar notion of moral desert is still more grotesque. It is contained in the following words:—"While the doctrine I advocate does not support the idea that punishment in mere retaliation is justifiable, it at the same time fully accounts for the general and natural sentiment of its being so. From our earliest childhood, the ideas of doing wrong and of punishment are presented to our mind together, and the intense character of the impressions causes the association between them to attain the highest degree of closeness and intimacy. Is it strange, or unlike the usual process of the human mind, that in these circumstances we should retain the feeling, and forget the reason on which it is grounded? But why do I speak of forgetting? In most cases the reason has never, in our early education, been presented to the mind. The only ideas presented have been those of wrong and punishment, and an inseparable association has been created between these directly, without the help of any intervening idea. This is quite enough to make the spontaneous feelings of mankind regard punishment and a wrong-doer as naturally fitted to each other—as a conjunction appropriate in itself, independently of any consequences."\*

Mr. Mill's theory, then, is as follows:—The frequent recurrence of examples bringing home to our minds the fact that wrong-doing and punishment are often found together, has caused the association between the ideas to become inseparable. The two ideas, being inseparably connected, form a whole which does not consist only of its original elements, wrong-doing and punishment. In accordance with the law of modification, there has emerged into our minds a *third* notion, viz. the belief, or feeling, that there is some natural affinity, or whatever it is to be called, between wrong-doing and punishment—that is, the vulgar notion of moral desert.

With this much preliminary explanation, I now proceed to the examination of the evidence in favour of Inseparable Association, and the explanation which that theory offers of the genesis of the vulgar notion of moral desert.

All the evidence, so far as I know it, which has been adduced in favour of Inseparable Association, may be placed in the one or the

\* *Examination*, etc., p. 513.



other of two classes of arguments, which I call the Argument from the Principle of Continuity and the Argument from the Law of Parsimony. (1.) As to the Argument from Continuity. Since it is universally admitted that Associations do exist, and that they are stronger or weaker according to the circumstances which produce them, it is inferred from hence that the strength of an association might, by proper circumstances, be increased beyond any assignable limit; which is the same thing as saying that an association may become inseparable. (2.) As to the Argument from Parsimony. Its advocates assert that Inseparable Association is by itself sufficient to explain many complex phenomena, which, if we deny Inseparable Association, will have to be explained by reference to various other principles postulated for the purpose. That is to say, by rejecting Inseparable Association we shall be forced to postulate several new principles, without getting rid of any old ones: for the principle of Association in general remains, whether or no we deny the Inseparable branch of it. Therefore, if we admit Inseparable Association, we can give a satisfactory explanation of many phenomena, with the aid of fewer independent first principles than if we deny it. Therefore, to deny Inseparable Association is to multiply first principles without necessity, which is forbidden by the Law of Parsimony, or the *Razor of Occam*. We must, therefore, either reject the Law of Parsimony, or else admit Inseparable Association.

Now let it be borne in mind that the whole doctrine of Inseparable Association consists of three parts—the Law of Inseparable Suggestion, the Law of Inseparable Obliviscence, and the Law of Modification. It is with this last that we are concerned. The other two are not worth fighting about; for the difference between a *very strong* association and an *inseparable* association matters little. The whole gist of the proceeding lies in the Law of Modification. If it were only asserted that punishment and wrong-doing were so strongly (or inseparably) bound together by association that we could not possibly think of the one without the other, that would not go one step towards explaining the origin of the vulgar notion of moral desert. It is, indeed, notoriously false that we cannot think of wrong-doing and punishment separately; and nobody asserts that we cannot. The adherents of the doctrine admit that wrong-doing and punishment are not always joined together, either in thought or in matter of fact. What they do say is this, that the two have been *so often* seen and thought of together, and that some of

the "impressions" felt at the time are *so intense*, that—what? Why, *not* that wrong-doing and punishment are inseparably associated, but that, however they may be associated, the result of the association is the emerging into the mind of a *third notion*, utterly unlike either of the two given notions (wrong-doing and punishment), viz. the vulgar notion of moral desert. Therefore, I repeat, our battle is about the Law of Modification, not about inseparable association properly so called. The question with which we began, What is the evidence for Inseparable Association? is now reduced to the question, What is the evidence for the Law of Modification? In other words, what reason is there for believing that, when certain ideas get associated together in certain ways, other notions, quite unlike the given ideas, spring up in the mind as results of the association of the given ideas?

Let us therefore ask ourselves, what evidence *can possibly* be given of such a fact, if it be a fact? Plainly, I think, only presumptive evidence; and presumptive evidence of the sort which I have placed under the argument from parsimony. At all events, no other kind has ever been offered. It is asserted that the Law of Modification explains the origin of several notions which do exist somehow. It is urged that, if we refuse to explain their origin by this means, we can find no single explanation. Therefore it is demanded that we shall abide by the Law of Parsimony, and choose the one explanation rather than the many.

To this there is a very short reply to be made. The Law of Modification itself gives an explanation which is *not one, but manifold*. Its pretence to give one explanation is a mere illusion. It gives a different explanation in each separate case; and the affectation of unity is a matter of words, not of facts.

What, then, are the things which it is supposed to explain? I have enumerated above those which are of any importance. They are three in number; and they may be conveniently styled the vulgar notion of geometrical necessity, the vulgar notion of the reality of substance, and the vulgar notion of moral desert. I repeat that the appearance of unity in the explanation of these three things is illusory. This I proceed to prove.

Granting that the Doctrine of Inseparable Association does in some sense account for the origin of these three vulgar notions, the question remains, why does the operation of what is declared to be a single principle give rise to three results? Why does it not always produce one result? There must be

some reason for this *diversity*. Again, why does the principle produce the same three results in the generality of mankind? There must be some reason for this *similarity*. Now the fact that the same three notions are generated in different men proves that, previous to the generation, there must have been something or other in common between the different minds, which was naturally adapted to be developed (by inseparable association, of course) into three notions. And the fact that there are three notions generated, and not one notion only, proves that these *somethings* or *other* must be divisible into at least three parts. Let us style that which is developed into a notion, the *germ* of the notion. Then, I say, the fact that Inseparable Association generates three notions proves that, before the generation, there must have been three germs upon which the principle was to operate. And the fact that the same three notions are generated in different men proves that the same germs exist, previous to the generation, in their minds.

Now let us pause a moment to ask how the method of Inseparable Association is favoured by the Law of Parsimony any more than the old method of Bishop Butler. Butler would postulate, as three separate first principles, Conscience, Necessary Truth, and Substance. Inseparable Association is forced to postulate, as three equally independent first principles, the germ of Conscience, the germ of Necessary Truth, and the germ of Substance. Which has the advantage so far as regards the number of the assumed preliminary first principles? Now, even though Inseparable Association should be proved to exist, yet what has just been said will at any rate bring its importance down much below the usual estimate both of its friends and enemies. "There is a principle of reflection in men," says Butler, "by which they distinguish between, approve, and disapprove their own actions. . . This principle in man, by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions, is conscience." No, Mr. Mill would perhaps reply, you go beyond the warrant of your facts in calling conscience a principle; it is rather the product of inseparable association operating upon a principle, which may be styled, if you please, the *germ of conscience*, but not conscience itself. But this admitted germ of conscience would serve Butler's purpose as well as his own postulated principle. A mere change of words leaves his argument just where it was.

To resume. Granting that the vulgar notion of moral desert is an idea which emerges into the mind in the way described by Mr. Mill, does it not follow that there must

be some reason why this idea, rather than some other, should emerge under the given circumstances? Whatever this reason may be, I express the fact that there is such a reason, by saying that human nature contains the germ of the vulgar notion of moral desert. Again, using a like metaphor, I say that human nature contains the germs of the vulgar notion of necessary truth and of substantiality. These germs, from the nature of the case, are never known in their undeveloped state; and the only definition that can be given of them is the following:—*The germ of the vulgar notion is that which is developed into the notion itself by inseparable association*. In order, therefore, that Inseparable Association may account for the vulgar notion, it is obliged first to postulate an unknown something, and then to define this so as to suit the theory which it was adduced to prove. But this is what logicians style *circulus in concludendo*.

The above conclusion is manifestly incompatible with the Association Psychology in all its higher applications; that is to say, the whole theory of association must be cut down to Association in general, or Separable Association. What alternative, then, remains for those who are unwilling to accept it? There seems to be only this—to deny that there is such a thing as the germ of the vulgar notion of moral desert; and this is the same as to deny that there is any reason why the vulgar notion should emerge, under given circumstances, rather than any other notion. This is, indeed, a position which can be figured to the understanding. A man might assert that there is no reason why this notion should emerge—that it always does emerge, but always by accident. This proposition could not be refuted; but no antagonistic theory would be in much danger from its influence.

Here ends the second branch of our argument against Determinism—the proof that it fails to account satisfactorily for the existence of the vulgar notion of moral desert; and this was the destined end of the investigation. H. W. C.

---

#### ART. V.—JANE AUSTEN.

ALTHOUGH Miss Austen has left a great name in literature, she never belonged to the literary world. Her gallery of portraits was not like that of Miss Burney, selected from a motley crowd of artists and authors, noble patrons and plebeian listeners, which frequented a father's concerts or drawing-

rooms, or was gradually drawn within the net of literary correspondence and acquaintance. She never aspired higher than to paint a system of four or five families revolving round a centre of attraction in a country mansion, or a lodging at Bath, or a house in a country town. This was, indeed, the only society she knew. Her name, therefore, though great in a history of literature, counts for nothing in the history of men of letters. She stood by herself, and not only may but must be studied apart from them. Not they, but their books, influenced her—their writings, not their company and conversation. She belongs to them as a student and follower: as a model for them to follow, her influence only began to be felt after her death. During her life she neither belonged to their order nor drew inspiration from their society. She was born in 1775 at the rural parsonage of Steventon, where she lived nearly a quarter of a century. Before she was sixteen she wrote many tales, nonsensical but spirited. After that age, she practised herself in burlesquing the silly romances of the period. She wrote *Pride and Prejudice* when she was twenty-one, *Sense and Sensibility* when she was twenty-two, and *Northanger Abbey* when she was twenty-four. She then, on the death of her father, removed to Bath and Southampton, the only places where she had experience of urban society; and there she wrote nothing. Her second period of literary activity began in her second country home at Chawton, in Hampshire, whither her family moved in 1808. She published *Sense and Sensibility* in 1811, *Pride and Prejudice* in 1814, *Mansfield Park* in 1814, and *Emma* in 1816; and she had prepared for the press *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* before her death in 1818.

If she had no personal help from her contemporaries, she cannot be said to have derived much from books. The record of her studies is brief. Her favourite authors in history were Goldsmith, Hume, and Robertson. She was not wholly uninterested in politics; but it was only the politics of a couple of centuries before her day. She could be enthusiastic for Charles I. and Mary Queen of Scots; but she lived and wrote through the period of the French Revolution and the European war without referring to them once, except as making the fortunes of some of her naval characters. She was well acquainted with the Essayists of the beginning of her century, the *Spectator*, the *Rambler*, and the rest. Richardson was a favourite with her; so was Dr. Johnson; and in poetry Crabbe and Cowper were her special delight. Her

handwriting was beautiful, her needlework delicate. She was neat-handed in any operation that required steadiness and precision. She was the life of her family, which belonged to the higher rank of gentry whom she paints in her novels. She had two brothers sailors, both of them distinguished in the navy, to whose influence we may trace her knowledge of and enthusiasm for the service. And this is about all that we know of the outward circumstances amidst which she wrote her novels. But this information is enough to lead to a knowledge of her method of working, and of her theory of art. It is clear that she began, as Shakespeare began, with being an ironical censor of her contemporaries. After forming her prentice hand by writing nonsense, she began her artistic self-education by writing burlesques. One of her works, *Northanger Abbey*, still retains the traces and the flavour of these early essays. By it we may learn that her parodies were designed not so much to flout at the style as at the unnaturalness, unreality, and fictitious morality, of the romances she imitated. She began by being an ironical critic; she manifested her judgment of them not by direct censure, but by the indirect method of imitating and exaggerating the faults of her models, thus clearing the fountain by first stirring up the mud. This critical spirit lies at the foundation of her artistic faculty. Criticism, humour, irony, the judgment not of one that gives sentence but of the mimic who quizzes while he mocks, are her characteristics. If she had set herself to imitate her models seriously, as the Seicentisti imitated Cicero, or Miss Burney copied Dr. Johnson, she would never have reached the heights she actually attained. She might have spoiled an intelligible style; she might have clothed her thoughts in a garb totally unfit for them; she might have written much earnest sentiment; but she would never have displayed the subtle humour, the fine sense of the incongruous, the constant presence and alertness of mind, which her writings are full of. Nature has many methods of educating her children. She derives wisdom sometimes from a wise exemplar, sometimes from a foolish foil. Sometimes a man "takes virtuous copies to be wicked:" sometimes he learns prudence by laughing at the shallow follies of others. For "the dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits." It was in such manner that Miss Austen schooled herself into an unimpeachable conformity to nature, not by direct imitation of nature, but by looking through, and amusing herself with, the aberrations of pretended imitators. It is the same kind of won-

der how she gleaned her "theoric," as how Henry v. gleaned his,

"Since his addiction was to courses vain,  
His companies unlettered, rude, and shallow;"

and his distinguished and imperial ideas grew in him while consorting with men like Pains, who thought as every one else thinks, and kept the roadway of commonplace without declining to the right hand or to the left. In this growth through contradictions we see the highest exercise of the critical faculty. And such in her sphere was Miss Austen's growth; she was a critic who developed herself into an artist.

That the critical faculty was in her the ground and support of the artistic faculty there are several reasons for believing. The first reason is her notable deficiency in the poetical faculty. Perhaps there is no author in existence in whom so marvellous a power of exhibiting characters in formation and action is combined with so total a want of the poetical imagination. Heywood has been called a prose Shakespeare; Miss Austen much more really deserves the title. Within her range her characterization is truly Shakespearian; but she has scarcely a spark of poetry. Her nephew, who has lately written her biography, gives some lines of hers in memory of Mrs. Lefroy, which only show that in serious poetry her model was Johnson, or Cowper in his more prosaic moods, and that the serious imitation of such a model deprived her of all humour, all delicacy of analysis, all subtlety of thought or language, and led her into affectations and commonplaces which in her novels she would have scornfully criticised. She could, however, write pointed epigrams and tolerable charades; in fact she was just so far a poet as a critic might be expected to be. She even seems to have had an ethical dread of the poetic rapture. At least she makes the latest and more carefully drawn of her heroines declare "that she thought it was the misfortune of poetry to be seldom safely enjoyed by those who enjoyed it completely; and that the strong feelings which alone could estimate it truly were the very feelings which ought to taste it but sparingly."

And secondly, the paramount activity of the critical faculty is clearly seen in the didactic purpose and even nomenclature of her novels. *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* are both evidently intended to contrast, and by the contrast to teach something about, the qualities or acts named in the titles. In *Persuasion* the risks and advantages of yielding to

advice are set forth. *Northanger Abbey* exhibits the unreality of the notions of life which might be picked out of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels; and *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*, though too many-sided and varied to be easily defined by a specific name, are in reality just as didactic as the rest. This didactic intention is even interwoven with the very plots and texture of the novel. The true hero, who at last secures the heroine's hand, is often a man sufficiently her elder to have been her guide and mentor in many of the most difficult crises of her youth. Miss Austen seems to be saturated with the Platonic idea that the giving and receiving of knowledge, the active formation of another's character, or the more passive growth under another's guidance, is the truest and strongest foundation of love. *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma*, and *Persuasion* all end with the heroes and heroines making comparisons of the intellectual and moral improvement which they have imparted to each other. The author has before her eyes no fear of the old adage, "Wise lovers are the most absurd." Many of her novels are simply expansions of Shakespeare's ballad which tells of the lordling's daughter loving her tutor, then of his being eclipsed by a knight, and then of the lady's perplexities, and her final decision in favour of her first love:

"Then lullaby, the learned man hath got the lady gay."

Her favourite ideal was to exhibit this intelligent love in its germ, to eclipse it for a season by the blaze of a great passion, to quench this glare, and to exhibit the gentle light of the first love reviving and waxing greater till it perfects itself in marriage. So far was she from agreeing with Marlowe's 'mighty saw,'

"He never loved that loved not at first sight,"

that she expressly writes one of her novels, *Sense and Sensibility*, to controvert the view, to show that the sudden passion is not the lasting affection, and to make true love rather an adjunct of the sober common sense than of the impetuous and passionate side of the soul. In *Pride and Prejudice* too she says, "if gratitude and esteem are good foundations of affection," then her heroine is a proper lover; but "if the regard springing from such sources is unreasonable or unnatural in comparison of what is so often described as arising on a first interview, and even before two words have been exchanged," then nothing is to be said for her, except that she had tried the love at first sight, and found it a failure. In this

we see clearly enough her habitual exaltation of judgment over passion, of the critical over the poetical and imaginative faculties. And this fact is perhaps even more perceptible in the manifest irony of her whole mass of compositions. As was the bounden duty of a novelist, she concentrated her forces on bringing her heroes and heroines together, and marrying them off happily. But she generally gives us to understand that a sufficient amount of happiness might have been secured for them in other ways. Indeed, in *Mansfield Park* she speculates on what would have followed if Henry Crawford had not run wild, and if the hero had consequently married the anti-heroine, and the heroine the anti-hero; and she anticipates that they would have been happy enough. But more than this. Her plots always presuppose an organized society of families, of fathers and mothers long married, whose existence has been fulfilled in having given birth to the heroes and heroines of the stories. Now, these people are almost always represented as living together in fair comfort; and yet there is scarcely a single pair of them who have not, on the usual novelist's scale of propriety, been woefully mismatched. Sense and stupidity, solidity and frivolity, are represented as in everyday life cosily uniting, and making up a home with the usual average of happiness and comfort. Miss Austen does not absolutely tell us that the special ends which she takes so much trouble to bring about are anything short of the highest happiness, or that such happiness could possibly be obtained by any other means. On the contrary, she appears as earnest as other novelists for the success of her favourites. But there is enough in her evident opinions, in her bywords, in her arguments, to prove to any sufficiently clear sight that it would be, after all, much the same whether the proper people intermarried, or whether they were mismatched by some malevolent Puck. Dr. Johnson thought it nonsense to say that marriages were made in heaven, and held that any man and any woman might, if they determined on it, live well enough together, and settle down into the prosaic happiness of a comfortable couple. In similar manner Miss Austen believed in the ultimate possible happiness of every marriage. The most ill-assorted couples may get used to one another. Even Willoughby, the nearest approach to a rascal that her benevolent judgment allowed her to paint, is ultimately not unhappy in a marriage that yoked him with a woman he disliked, and separated him for ever from the only one he loved. There are only two marriages in all six novels that really end badly; and

only one of these comes into the action of the story,—Rushworth's marriage with Maria in *Mansfield Park*. Thus the great coil Miss Austen makes to bring the right people together is really much ado about nothing. A story is told of a London curate, who, seeing many couples before him, told them to "sort themselves," and proceeded to marry them. Two pairs found themselves mis-sorted. The curate, not knowing much of canon law, thought the case difficult, and tried to arrange matters as they stood; and the two couples were with little difficulty, and no ill consequences, persuaded to "bide as they were." In *Mansfield Park*, Miss Austen tells us that this might easily have been managed. Yet she of course devotes all the machinery of the novel to bring together the true hero and heroine. Now, what is this other than taking a humourist's view of that which as a novelist she was treating as the summum bonum of existence! That predestination of love, that preordained fitness, which decreed that one and one only should be the complement and fulfilment of another's being—that except in union with each other each must live miserably, and that no other solace could be found for either than the other's society—she treated as mere moonshine, while she at the same time founded her novels on the assumption of it as a hypothesis. Her biographer and nephew supposes, as a reason of her never marrying, that her notions of love were too exalted for her to find a man who could satisfy her. Those who can only judge upon the evidence derived from her novels must be led to the belief that in her idea love was only an accident of friendship, friendship being the true light of life, while love was often only a troublesome and flickering blaze which interrupted its equable and soothing influence. Friendship, to judge from her novels, was enough for her; she did not want to exaggerate it into passionate love. In it she in fact seems to have found sufficient tenderness and support to satisfy her cravings; she was contented with her home, with her brothers and sister, and did not want a husband. This gave her a great advantage for describing the perturbations of love. She sat apart on her rocky tower, and watched the poor souls struggling in the waves beneath. And her sympathies were not too painfully engaged; for she knew that it was only an Ariel's magic tempest, and that no loss of life was to follow. Hence she could consider the struggles of the mariners with an amused and ironical complacency, and observe minutely all the hairbreadth escapes of their harmless peril. Accordingly her view of the life she described was that of a humourist,

but of a very kindly one. She did not precisely think that all she described was vanity and vexation of spirit. But she thought that, in ordinary language, and especially in that of romance-writers, it was screwed up to a higher tension than the facts warranted. She was conscious that, as a novelist, she was speaking somewhat in Cambyse's vein, and that the earnestness of her language was a little outdoing the truth of things. This consciousness gave her a superiority to her subject, which is one element in solving the secret of her wonderful power over it. She is so true because she is consciously exceeding the truth. Others may believe in the stability of raptures, and in the eternity of a momentary fancy; she knows exactly what they are worth; and, though she puts into the mouths of her puppets the language of faith, she knows how to convey to her readers a feeling of her own scepticism. The most she does is to allow that "the cure of unconquerable passions and the transfer of unchanging attachments must vary very much as to time in different people." Hence that disproportion between her language and her judgment, which constitutes the crucial test of her humour. Hers is not humour of the strongest and vividest kind, which awakens the indirect reminiscence of the Infinite through the disproportion of language and imagery to the finite things which they profess to express. It is not the method of Cervantes, magniloquent on trifles, nor of Swift, trifling away magnificence, both of which methods imply a tacit allusion to a common measure, unseen but felt, which equalizes all finite magnitudes by the overwhelming transcendence of its infinity. Her humour is only partial, investing with more importance than they have things of which she owns the importance; but her pervading critical judgment, which never allows her feelings to run away with her, qualifies her humour, and couples her with such writers as Lamb and Thackeray, rather than with the novelists of the type of Scott.

As a writer she has little resemblance to Lamb. She cannot vie with him in probing a question by a play upon words. But she anticipated his love of the absolutely natural, and his humorous view of the ordinary relations of life. She had too good a memory, too precise a judgment, to allow of that play of the imagination which distinguished him. His peculiar fancy was one that was founded on a defect of memory. He asked by what fatality it was that everything he touched turned into a lie, that he had a "lying memory?" There is in genius a compensation for defective memory. Horne

Tooke supposed that the only reason why the child might be more fluent than the man was that the child was not troubled by the choice of words, but spoke in the words that came foremost. Lamb's stuttering want of fluency was even more mental than physical. The memory refused to supply the right word, or the right circumstance; but his fancy stepped in with an image or a suggestion which was worth many times more than the direct truth which he was looking for. His genius furnished a wrong word, or a wrong idea, which was found more apposite, more fitting, more subtle in its truth, more true, than the commonplace right. This source of humour there is no trace of in Miss Austen. Her incongruities are all well considered and pre-arranged: "Miss Bingley's congratulations to her brother on his approaching marriage were all that was affectionate and insincere." Such collocations so evidently proceed on theory, that any one who chooses to take the trouble can acquire the knack. They differ from Lamb's as, to the ordinary imagination, a natural though uncommon event differs from one that is "supernatural and causeless." She sat too self-collected in that central calm which is at the heart of all agitation to allow her imagination to run away with her. Her faculties were poised; their action and reaction were equal; she had them all well in hand. In this respect she differed from Thackeray, whom she much more nearly resembled than Lamb. Thackeray declares that he could give no account why he made his characters speak as they did or act as they did. They seemed to guide his pen, not be their course. They influenced him as independent persons suggesting their autobiographies to his fancy, not as puppets created by himself, whom he could make to do what he pleased. In him the poet transcended the critic, and the imagination sometimes outstripped the judgment. Not so with Miss Austen. She felt herself to be thoroughly mistress of her own creations; and, though she treated them all as sufficiently personal to have subsequent histories which she would recount to the members of her own family, yet she showed how well she knew them by defining them. We can define what we create; the works of nature, or of other minds, or of our own minds under the inspiration of uncontrolled impulse, escape the defining power. Miss Austen knew what she wanted her characters to say, what they were going to say, and why they said it. With all their nature, there is very little mystery in them. And whatever residuum of mystery there might

be, the author always manages to clear up with the bull's-eye of her bright common-sense before she comes to a conclusion.

One more instance of the action of her critical faculty must be mentioned. It is well known that Macaulay has given her a place, far indeed below, but nearest to, Shakespeare, for her power of composing characters. She does not give any of them a hobby-horse, like Sterne, nor a ruling passion, like Pope, nor a humour, like Ben Jonson, nor a trick, like Mr. Dickens. They are all natural, all more or less commonplace, but all discriminated from one another beyond the possibility of confusion, by touches so delicate that they defy analysis, and so true that they elude observation, and only produce the effect by their accumulation. She exhibits no ideal characters, no perfect virtue, no perfect vice. She shows strength dashed with feebleness, feebleness braced with some fibres of strength. Even Mrs. Norris, the only one of her characters who is thoroughly and consistently selfish, ends by placing herself in a situation of trouble and sacrifice, in undertaking to be the guardian of her degraded niece. Willoughby, the nearest to a villain of her developed characters (Mr. Elliott in *Persuasion* is rather described than seen), gives so plausible an account of himself that he is thoroughly forgiven by those whom he has most injured; and Wickham, the modified villain of *Pride and Prejudice*, has so much charm about him that his sensible and epicurean father-in-law is almost disposed to like him better than his other and more honourable sons. Miss Austen has a most Platonic inclination to explain away knavishness into folly. Wickedness in her characters is neither unmixed with goodness, nor is it merely a defect of will; she prefers to exhibit it as a weakness of intelligence, an inability of the common-sense to rule the passions which it neither comprehends nor commands. It is her philosophy to see not only the soul of goodness in things evil, but also to see on the face of goodness the impress of weakness and caducity. This is one reason which obliges her to compound her characters. Another is even stronger. It is her thorough consciousness that man is a social being, and that apart from society there is not even the individual. She was too great a realist to abstract and isolate the individual, and to give a portrait of him in the manner of Theophrastus or La Bruyère. Even as a unit, man is only known to her in the process of his formation by social influences. She broods over his history, not over his individual soul and its secret workings, nor over the analysis of its faculties

and organs. She sees him, not as a solitary being complete in himself, but only as completed in society. Again, she contemplates virtues, not as fixed quantities, or as definable qualities, but as continual struggles and conquests, as progressive states of mind, advancing by repulsing their contraries, or losing ground by being overcome. Hence again the individual mind can only be represented by her as a battle-field, where contending hosts are marshalled, and where victory inclines now to one side, now to another. A character therefore unfolded itself to her, not in statuesque repose, not as a model without motion, but as a dramatic sketch, a living history, a composite force, which could only exhibit what it was by exhibiting what it did. Her favourite poet Cowper had taught her,

"By ceaseless action all that is subsists."

And she herself explains that the society in the dullest country neighbourhood, however confined, is not unvarying, because "people alter so much that there is something new to be observed in them for ever." With her even constancy may be a perpetual inconstancy, for it must be perpetually finding fresh reasons for loving, fresh manifestations of qualities to be loved.

Thus each of her characters, like Shakespeare's Richard II., "plays in one person many people," contains within him "a generation of still breeding thoughts," none of which is "self-contained," but all "intermixed," each modified by something else. And neither in the drama of the soul nor in the drama of life did she allow herself to carry her composition of forces too high, or to make the problem too complicated for her analysis. The heroic passions she never touched; all her characters, as Macaulay owns, are commonplace. And heroic combinations of characters are equally beyond her range. Dramatic she is, but it is only within the lines of the domestic drama. She defined her own sphere when she said that three or four families in a country village were the thing for a novelist to work upon. Each of these "little social commonwealths" became a distinct personal entity to her imagination, with its own range of ideas, its own subjects of discourse, its own public opinion on all social matters. Indeed there is nothing in her novels to prove that she had any conception of society itself, but only of the coterie of three or four families mixing together, with differences of intellect, wealth, or character, but without any grave social inequalities. Of organized society she manifests no idea. She had no interest for the great political and social problems which

were being debated with so much blood in her day. The social combinations which taxed the calculating powers of Adam Smith or Jeremy Bentham were above her powers. She had no knowledge how to keep up the semblance of personality in the representation of a society reckoned by averages, and no method of impersonating the people or any section of the people in the average man. Her clergymen even have very little of their calling about them; there is little attempt to delineate clerical manners as such, except so far as they may be quizzed or caricatured in the solemn inanities of Mr. Collins, and the touchy parochial dignity of Mr. Elton. The other clergymen are a little more serious and learned than the non-clerical characters; but their classification goes no further. They are members of the family, or the coterie of families, with more or less of distinction from their office; but there is no distinctive social force incarnate in them, nor does the official social weight which they carry become interwoven in the web of their characters. In some of her novels she places her coterie of families in Bath, or even in London; and then Bath society comes in as a picturesque background; but it is only pictorial; it has no more to do with the development of her drama or the explication of her characters than the woods and the hills which she is much more fond of describing. There is not the least attempt to bring public opinion to bear on any one. Some of the characters are said to show too much or too little deference to public opinion; but it is only spoken of, not represented. It is an abstract notion, a word not a thing, an idea not a force. Yet if it had been within the sphere of her power she might have made excellent opportunities for using it. She delights in introducing her heroines in their girlhood, shapeless, but of good material, like malleable and ductile masses of gold. We have the flower in the germ, the woman's thought dark in the child's brain, the dream of the artist still involved in the marble block which some external force is to chip and carve and mould. She must have known the force of public opinion in doing work of this kind; and she would no doubt have dramatized public opinion, and exhibited its workings, if she had possessed any such knowledge of it as is displayed by George Eliot or by Mr. Brown-ing. She was perfect in dramatizing the combination of a few simple forces; but it never struck her to try to dramatize the action and reaction of all.

Platonist as she was in her feelings, she could rise to contemplate the soul as a family, but not as a republic. The disturbances

in it were not insurrections or revolutions, but only family quarrels; and the scapegrace passion did not necessarily lose the affections of the family ruler. There is no capital punishment, not even transportation or imprisonment for life, in her ethical statute-book. There lives no faculty within us which the soul can spare, says Wordsworth. It was the same in her code: "every qualification is raised at times, by the circumstances of the moment, to more than its real value;" good-breeding is now and then more opportune than good-nature. The same favour which she shows to younger brothers in the plots of her novels she distributes in her philosophy to the qualifications of the mind which usually only play secondary parts in the symphony of life. It may be strange to attribute to the girl who wrote *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* a conscious philosophy which had reasoned out and affirmed all these conclusions; but they were just those which her favourite Cowper would lead her into. There is in fact a great similarity in their views; and the estimate of what people should live for, as insinuated in her novels, is adequately expressed in his lines:

"He that attends to his interior self,  
That has a heart and keeps it; has a mind  
That hungers, and supplies it; and who  
seeks  
A social, not a dissipated life,  
Has business."

It is true then to say that the perfection, within their limits, of her delicately compounded characters is quite of a piece with her theories, and that artistic instinct need not be postulated to account for what may be a product of judgment; so that even where her originality is most unquestioned and her power most manifest it is a moot point whether she is a born or a made poet.

If her possession of the poetic genius is denied, her literary eminence certainly becomes more remarkable than it would otherwise be. Genius is unaccountable; it comes and goes without our being able to know whence or whither. It is called inspiration, to show how little it is in the power of the man that has it. But of all the characteristics of Miss Austen the most striking is the perfect power she had over her wit. She certainly did not exemplify Boileau's rule:

"Notre Muse, souvent paresseuse et stérile,  
A besoin, pour marcher, de colère et de bile."

She is never carried away, hardly even carried on, by passion or indignation. She is always perfectly calm, perfectly self-conscious.



Her great characteristic is patience, which is notoriously a surrogate genius, the best substitute for it which nature has contrived.

"I worked with patience, which means almost power,"

says Mrs. Browning. "The little bit, two inches wide, of ivory on which I work with so fine a brush, as produces little effect after much labour," was Miss Austen's way of describing her method. Whateley called it Dutch-painting. But her own comparison of it to miniature-painting on ivory is more just. It is as far from the boorish tastes of Teniers as from the sublime gloom of Rembrandt, while it has all the minute attention to detail of the most accomplished miniature-painter. She lived more than forty years, and yet only wrote six novels which she thought fit to print. She has left many manuscripts, which her family refuses to publish, on the ground of their not being worth it. None of them were intended for publication; they were exercises, not studies. What she wrote was worked up by incessant labour into its perfect form. She did not cast her statues in one jet, nor mould them with a few strokes on the anvil. She had no Cyclopean force of poetical production. She was patient as Penelope at her web, unpicking at night much that she had laboriously stitched in the day. This patience, joined to that imperious necessity of creating which is probably the distinctive difference of the active artistic nature, is what chiefly characterizes her. Rogers was perhaps nearly as patient; but he concentrated his attention not on imitating nature but on perfecting his obedience to the rules of art. He used his file so perseveringly that he had little but filings to present to the public. Miss Austen, with equal patience and perseverance, watched the growth of character, amassed a multitude of minute traits, and arranged them in the order of their growth. She was continually adding to her store, replacing less characteristic traits by more telling ones, and improving herself in the knowledge of nature.

He who maintains that judgment was the foundation-stone of Miss Austen's genius ought to be prepared to trace in her writings the development of the quality. Inspiration or instinct is subject to no rules of growth. Judgment is a quality which must grow with the accumulation of the materials on which it feeds. The comparison of the novels of Miss Austen's youth with those of her maturity would probably have more clearly betrayed the growth of her mind if they had not all been finally prepared for the press in the last seven years of her life.

Hence it is that we have to look for her mental development rather in their general construction than in their details. Her six stories divide into two trilogies. The early one consists of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Northanger Abbey*: the later, of *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, and *Persuasion*. Many readers must have felt tempted to consider the latter trilogy a kind of reproduction of the former, in the light of a maturer knowledge. The moral and intention of the stories is very similar; the same general types of character are introduced; they are borne through similar vicissitudes; and they come to similar ends. In the former set the art is simpler, less concealed, more easily discovered: in the latter, both passion and humour are rather more developed. But it does not appear that the author was conscious of anything that she could correct in her earlier works; indeed, the two characters in *Pride and Prejudice*, Darcy and Elizabeth, seem to have been her favourites all her life. In all the novels the plots are equally natural; there is nothing sensational, nothing even improbable. The events grow out of one another; and the characters of the actors are the sufficient reasons of the acts which are related. The action is such as is necessary to display the characters, not such as is invented for the purpose of mystifying and surprising the reader. Since she did not write for the press, but simply to satisfy her own artistic cravings, and to embody her own ideals, there was no temptation for her to go out of her way to catch the vulgar taste by surprises and catastrophes, and no reason why she should not over and again vary the same air, or present the same ideas in different settings. As in society she found variety in the development of the same mind, so does she create variety in her novels by different presentments of a conception fundamentally one.

It is generally supposed that a moral purpose spoils a fiction. This opinion is only partially true. When a writer describes the reaction of different characters on each other, he can scarcely escape the intention of showing his preference for some type of character or some rule of conduct over another. And it seems no compliment to his intelligence to say that if he foresees the superiority he is about to exemplify, and allows his intention to make it one of the conditions of his work, it will spoil his creation. Small-minded writers who interest themselves for some narrow and sectarian idea, and write a story to recommend it, are necessarily as forced and unnatural as such apologists would be in any other kind of argument. But this

does not apply to those who attack a prevalent superstition—for mental narrowness never becomes wider by being widely spread—or try to enforce a general truth against special prejudices. And it is quite clear that Miss Austen did work with this intention. She avows it. She wrote her first novel with a polemical bias against the sudden flash of love which poets and novelists had agreed to make the great characteristic of the passion, at least in its heroic stage. She wrote her second to prove how entirely the sentimental pre-occupations which the study of poetry might produce in the young mind are refuted by the logic of facts, and are found inapplicable to real life. The concluding moral of *Sense and Sensibility* is: "Marianne Dashwood was born to an extraordinary fate. She was born to discover the falsehood of her own opinions, and to counteract, by her conduct, her most favourite maxims. She was born to overcome an affection formed so late in life as at seventeen, and with no sentiment superior to strong esteem and lively friendship voluntarily to give her hand to another." In *Northanger Abbey* the same polemical intention is pushed even to the verge of caricature. The heroine is a girl who thinks that Mrs. Radcliffe's novels give a real picture of life, and who expects to find in a gentleman's house which was once an abbey all the traces of the romantic crimes and mysterious wickedness which Mrs. Radcliffe would have domiciled in its moss-grown walls. Her aspirations all run on the road of Gray's lines:

"Hail horrors, hail! ye ever gloomy bowers,  
Ye Gothic fanes, and antiquated towers!"

Such is the clearly acknowledged polemical intention of her first trilogy of tales. And the two first of the second trilogy carry on and develop the same habit. *Mansfield Park* is another attempt to show that true love is that which is founded on esteem, not on passion, and that passion should rather be the crown of the edifice than its foundation. It exactly contradicts the romantic ideal of *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespeare exhibited the grand passion kindled in the eyes and breaking forth into a conflagration which devoured all former passions, and even life itself. This is the heroic, tragic way of treating love. Miss Austen would have made Romeo find out that Juliet was not worth having; and his former love for Rosaline would have revived, all the sweeter from the contrast with the sulphurous trail which the passing passion would have left behind it. This is the domestic and ironic way of treating love—

a way which Miss Austen considers to be both more true and more amusing, since it exhibits such a contrast between aspirations and facts "as time is ever producing between the plans and decisions of mortals, for their own instruction and their neighbours' entertainment." As *Mansfield Park* is thus a kind of supplement to *Pride and Prejudice*, so is *Emma* the complement of the two other novels of the first trilogy. Emma, the heroine, like Marianne Dashwood and Catharine Morland, is a young lady full of preconceived ideas, which she has not, however, like Marianne and Catharine, borrowed from the traditional romance of poets and novelists, but which are the product of her own reflections upon her own mental powers. Her prejudices are natural, not artificial; she fancies herself cleverer than she is, with an insight into other hearts which she does not possess, and with a talent for management which is only great enough to produce entanglements, but not to unravel them. These ideas of hers govern the plot; and she is cured of them by the logic of events. At the same time, her esteem for the mentor who stands by her and tries to guide her through her difficulties gradually ripens into love; the scholar gratefully marries her master; and the novel ends, as usual, with a retrospect in which both teacher and taught find themselves equal gainers each from the other, even intellectually, and the Platonic ideal is realized, not merely through the heart, but through the intelligence. *Persuasion*, the last and altogether the most charming of the novels, stands in the same relation to an earlier sketch. In Anne Elliot we have a reproduction of the same character of "sense" that was first displayed by Elinor in *Sense and Sensibility*. It cannot be denied that it is in some degree a retraction of former theories. It seems written to show that, whatever may have been the author's apparent meaning, she never intended really to separate the heart and the head, intellect and passion. In this novel, therefore, she traces the course of a love founded equally upon esteem and passion, interrupted by the interference of friends, and kept unsoldered for eight years by the heat of the man's anger at his unmerited rejection. Anne Elliot is Shakespeare's Viola translated into an English girl of the nineteenth century. Like Viola, she never tells her love, or rather never talks of it after its extinguishing, but sits like patience on a monument smiling at grief; the green and yellow melancholy feeds on her, and wastes her beauty. Like Viola, too, she meekly ministers to the woman who is un-

knowingly her rival. Miss Austen must surely have had Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in her mind while she was writing this novel; for not only is the general conception of the situation the same, but also the chapters which she wrote during the months of her life are directly founded upon Shakespeare. They contain Anne's conversation with Captain Harville on the different characteristics of men's and women's love, through overhearing which Wentworth, the hero, is convinced of her constancy, and comes forward again, after his long estrangement.

"There is no woman's sides  
Can bide the beating of so strong a passion  
As love doth give my heart; no woman's heart  
So big to hold so much; they lack retention."  
So says the Duke; and Viola, disguised as Cæsario, replies,

"In faith they are as true in heart as we,"  
and gives the example of her supposed sister pining in thought. "Was not this love indeed?" she asks.

"We men may say more, swear more; but indeed

Our shows are more than will."

Similarly, Captain Harville believes that as men's bodies are the strongest so are their feelings capable of bearing most rough usage, and riding out the heaviest weather. "Your feelings may be the strongest," replies Anne, "but the same spirit of analogy will authorize me to assert that ours are the most tender. Man is more robust than woman, but he is not longer lived, which exactly explains my view of the nature of their attachments. . . . All the privilege I claim for my sex (it is not a very enviable one; you need not covet it), is that of loving longest, when existence or when hope is gone." This is the song of the dying swan, in which she makes ample recantation for all her heresies, more apparent than real, against the Majesty of Love; in it she displays a poetical vein which her previous writings hardly justified one in suspecting. It is exquisitely beautiful, in spite of the affected logical precision which gives too great a prosiness to the expression to allow it to take the poetical rank which its ideas deserve.

There is then a decided growth in the general intention of Miss Austen's novels; she goes over the same ground, trying other ways of producing the same effects and attempting the same ends by means less artificial, and of more innate origin. The same may be said of the details of her works—for instance, of the characters. Macaulay, as we

have seen, fixes upon her clergymen as an instance to show how she could discriminate men of the same class and position from one another. The instance is not well chosen, because the principle of classification is one which depends on the organization of society which she never deeply studied. If she had understood the clergy better, and had formed her own theories about their duties and place in society or in the commonwealth, she would very likely have made her clergymen more typical. As it is, they no more form a class apart than her baronets. She had no more idea that a clergyman as such had his own ways of talking and acting than that a baronet had them. She gave them credit for a little more regularity of conduct, a little more love of books, and a little more activity among the poor, than the rest of men. Bertram, Tilney, and Ferrars would be equally natural as laymen; and it is only by giving them a provision to marry upon, or by impressing the imagination of the ladies they are in love with, that their ordination affects their characters as developed in the stories. It is only in Collins and in Elton that the official self-consciousness of the clergyman is strongly brought out, and in each case as a foil to show off some weak fibre in the mind or the character. We should rather examine a natural than an artificial set of characters if we wish to find out her subtle means of discriminating one from another. Macaulay declares that they are so subtle as to defy analysis. But Miss Austen is so pellucid a writer, her whole soul displays itself in so kindly and unreserved a way, that if it is ever possible to analyse an artistic synthesis into its first elements it should be so in her case. Her biographer refers to her fools as a class of characters in delineating which she has quite caught the knack of Shakespeare. It is a natural class, better defined than most natural classes are, and less difficult to analyse. It ought therefore to serve very well to test her manner of working. In reality her fools are not more simple than her other characters. Her wisest personages have some dash of folly in them, and her least wise have something to love. And there is a collection of absurd persons in her *stultifera navis*, quite sufficient to make her fortune as a humourist. She seems to have considered folly to consist in two separate qualities: first, a thorough weakness either of will or intellect, an emptiness or irrelevancy of thought, such as to render it impossible to know what the person would think of any given subject, or how he would act under it; and often, secondly, in addition to this, fixed ideas on a few subjects, giving the whole tone to the person's thoughts so

far as he thinks at all, and constituting the ground of the few positive judgments arrived at, even in subject-matter to which the ideas in question are scarcely related. The novels do not give a single instance of the fool simple in all the purity of its idea. Mrs. Palmer, in *Sense and Sensibility*, comes the nearest to it, but in her case her thorough womanly good-nature gives a solid nucleus to a character which in order to be perfect ought to have only pepo loco cordis, a pumpkin for a heart. Intellectually however she is a nullity; and Miss Austen's method of positively representing a mere negative is ingenious and happy. It is one solution of the great problem of art, the universal form of which is, how to represent the realities of the natural scale in the imitations of the artificial scale—how to imitate the song of birds on the gamut of the pianoforte, or the coloured lights of nature with the unluminous colours of the palette. Mrs. Palmer's nullity is represented first by her total want of intellectual discrimination. Her good-nature furnishes her with a perpetual smile; and any event, any word, that should cause either pain or pleasure to a person of sense, has no other effect upon her than to broaden the smile into a laugh. When she talks, her entire want of discrimination is shown in her failure to see the contradiction of contradictions. Her indignant speech about Willoughby is a typical utterance:—"She was determined to drop his acquaintance immediately, and she was very thankful that she had never been acquainted with him at all. She wished with all her heart that Combe Magna [Willoughby's place] was not so near Cleveland [her husband's], but it did not signify, for it was a great deal too far off to visit; she hated him so much that she was resolved never to mention his name again, and she should tell everybody she saw how good-for-nothing he was." These are foolish sayings of which a clever man might be proud; if any real Mrs. Palmer could in fact string together contradictions so readily she would soon lose her character as a mere simpleton. The method does not make Mrs. Palmer look so thoroughly inane as she is intended to be. Mr. Frank Matthews was once playing Bottom the weaver, and in the speech "ear hath not seen, eye hath not heard," etc., by some inadvertence put the words right, and then by a greater inadvertence corrected himself, and put the words wrong. The effect was ludicrous—a natural fool finding it much more unnatural to be foolish than wise, and painfully retracing his steps when he had inadvertently followed common sense. Something of the same effect of want of naturalness attends the elaborate self-contradictions

of Mrs. Palmer. In the later novel *Emma*, where perhaps Miss Austen perfects her processes for painting humorous portraits, the negative fool is much better represented in Miss Bates. Miss Bates has enough of womanly kindness and other qualities to make her a real living person, even a good Christian woman. But intellectually she is a negative fool. She has not mind enough to fall into contradictions. There is a certain logical sequence and association between two contradictions, which it requires mind to discover: Miss Bates's fluent talk only requires memory. She cannot distinguish the relations between things. If she is standing in a particular posture when she hears a piece of news, her posture becomes at once a part of the event which it is her duty to hand down to tradition; "Where could you possibly hear it? For it is not five minutes since I received Mrs. Cole's note—no, it cannot be more than five—or at least ten—for I had got my bonnet and spencer on just ready to come out—I was only gone down to speak to Patty again about the pork—Jane was standing in the passage—were you not, Jane?—for my mother was so afraid that we had not any salting-pan large enough," etc. etc., for it might go on for ever. Any reader can see that here is the same fortuitous concourse of details which makes up Mrs. Quickly's description of Falstaff's promising her marriage—the sea-coal fire, and the green wound, and the dish of prawns—in the speech which Coleridge so justly contrasts with Hamlet's equally episodic, but always relevant, narrative of his voyage towards England.

The fool simple is soon exhausted; but when a collection of fixed ideas is grafted upon him he becomes a theme for endless variations. Mrs. Bennet, in *Pride and Prejudice*, Miss Austen's earliest work, is one of this kind. She is no sooner introduced than she is defined. She is "a woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper." That makes up the fool negative. Her positive qualities are these: "When she was discontented, she fancied herself nervous. The business of her life was to get her daughters married; its solace was visiting and news." Her fixed ideas of the happiness of catching any young man for any of her daughters, of the iniquity of an entail which prevented their succeeding to her husband's estate, and of her weak nerves, make up the staple of her talk, always amusing because never to the purpose. Another fool of the same novel is Mr. Collins, somewhat of a caricature, and therefore easier to analyse. He is a man of mean un-

derstanding, and a bore to boot; that is, he esteems himself worthy to be always occupying a place in the notice of those with whom he associates, and he thinks it incumbent upon him always elaborately to explain his motives, and his reasons. At the same time he has some sense of the necessity of humility, and lays claim to this virtue by always speaking of himself and his belongings as "humble," and by the most expansive display of humility towards his patrons, and towards any one of a rank above his own. To his own personal claims he adds the official claim derived from his being a rector in the Church of England, which gives him occasion to obtrude his advice, always wrong, in the various vicissitudes of the tale. The contrast between his empty head and heart and his fixed ideas constitutes the diversion of the portrait. He is perfect when he exhorts a father to forgive his erring daughter like a Christian, and never to speak to her again.

However good these characters may be, it cannot be denied that they have in them much of the element of farce. Miss Austen in her later series of novels has given us new and improved versions of them; for example, Mr. Woodhouse in *Emma*, a mere white curd of asses' milk, but still a man with humanity enough in him to be loveable in spite of, nay partly because of, his weakness and foolishness. His understanding is mean enough. His invalid's fixed ideas, which divide all that is into two kinds, wholesome and unwholesome, his notion of the superiority of his own house and family to all other houses and families, his own doctor to all other doctors, and his pork to all other pork, and his judgment of all proposals and events by their effect in bringing persons nearer to, or driving them further off from, the centre of happiness which he enjoys, show that the portrait is one of the same kind as that of Mrs. Bennet, but improved by the addition of a heart. In a similar way we may compare with Mr. Collins Sir Walter Elliot, in *Persuasion*. He is at bottom a fool, with two fixed ideas to guide all his judgments. Vain of his own rank and good looks, these two points form his scale of comparison and rule of judgment for all men and all things: "I have two strong grounds of objection to the navy. First, as being the means of bringing persons of obscure birth into undue distinction, and raising men to honours which their fathers and grandfathers never dreamed of; and, secondly, as it cuts up a man's youth and vigour most horribly; a sailor grows old sooner than any other man." Sir Walter is a character constructed in the same way as Mr.

Collins, with simpler means and less caricature. Altogether, he is a less factitious and artificial personage than Mr. Collins, who is rather built on the lines habitually adopted by Mr. Dickens. Miss Austen, in her earlier fools, seems scarcely as yet to have realized the Aristotelian maxim that all things, even stones, fishes, and fools, pursue their proper end. Now, Mr. Collins's fixed ideas have nothing to do with his objects in life. They govern his talk and his behaviour, but not his conduct. Sir Walter Elliot, however, is superior to Mr. Collins in making his ideas his rule of life; so his portrait becomes equal in absurdity, but superior in naturalness.

There is another class of fools whom Miss Austen treats with special distinction. These people are sometimes acute enough mentally; the meanness is in their moral understanding rather than in their intellect. The conversation between John Dashwood and his wife in the opening of *Sense and Sensibility*, where she proves to him that his promises of generous conduct to his sisters, made to his dying father, do not require him to deprive himself or his children of anything that would otherwise be theirs, becomes in Miss Austen's humorous narrative a melancholy masterpiece of stupid casuistry, without conscience to build on, and of the surreptitious substitution of interest for duty. Again, Miss Thorpe the flirt, and young Thorpe the fast Oxford man, in *Northanger Abbey*, are fools rather on their moral than on their intellectual side. But in the earlier novels there is no such systematic attempt to connect wickedness with a deficiency of moral understanding as there is in the later ones. There is no endeavour to show that Wickham, the villain of *Pride and Prejudice*, or Willoughby, the villain of *Sense and Sensibility*, lacks the understanding of what virtue is. But in the much more subtle portraits of Crawford and his sister, in *Mansfield Park*, it is brought home to us throughout that their levity and want of principle is an ignorance—that, in spite of their intellectual brilliancy and good-nature, there is a want of moral understanding, analogous to the want of intelligence in the fool. So Mrs. Norris, in *Mansfield Park*, a bustling, managing, sharp, and odious woman, proves to be not only wrong, but also, and in a still higher degree, foolish, by the thorough collapse of her method, and the complete failure of all her undertakings. In the earlier novels wickedness is wickedness; in the later it is ignorance also.

One more characteristic should be noticed. Miss Austen, in constructing her chief characters, sometimes lets her theory run away with her. For instance, Darcy, in *Pride and*

*Prejudice*, is the proud man; but he is a gentleman by birth and education, and a gentleman in feeling. Would it be possible for such a man, in making a proposal of marriage to a lady whose only fault in his eyes is that some of her connections are vulgar, to do so in the way in which Darcy makes his overtures to Elizabeth? It is true that great pains are taken to explain this wonderful lapse of propriety. But, all the explanations notwithstanding, an impression is left on the reader that either Darcy is not so much of a gentleman as he is represented, or that his conduct is forced a little beyond the line of nature, in order the better to illustrate the theory of his biographer. The same criticism is applicable to the most elaborate of the novels, *Emma*. The heroine's suspicions about the relations between Miss Fairfax and Mr. Dixon may be natural; but her decision in believing without proof what she suspected, and her open and public reproaches to the lady, are violently opposed to the general notion of feminine grace and good-nature which the character is intended to embody. Here again, theory seems to be pushed a little beyond the line not of possibility but of consistency. In the novels where these exaggerations are avoided, the heroes and heroines are inclined to be somewhat too didactic, so much so as to be sometimes priggish. It is only in the last novel, *Persuasion*, where all these faults are avoided. The strength of mind of the heroine is maintained throughout, in spite of the apparent weakness of her early behaviour to the hero; and the intellectual superiority and moral constancy of the hero are maintained in spite of the temporary weakness and folly into which he is betrayed by his anger and vexation. The aberrations of both are perfectly natural, and thoroughly consistent with the ideal which they profess to embody.

There is great analogy between the character of Miss Austen and the characteristics of her novels—for example, her unconsciousness of her artistic merits, as manifested by the surprise she felt at the very moderate success she lived to enjoy, and her wonder at receiving £150 as the profits of one of her novels. Her powers were a secret to herself. And in a similar way she makes love a secret even to the lover. Her Beatrices and Benedicks only discover their mutual attraction by their failures to love elsewhere. The proof is a negative one. "Worse essays proved thee the best of loves." The star of love on its rising is enveloped in mists; and the mists are dispersed not by its own beams, but by the heat of a meteoric love which crosses its path, and bursts, and clears the air. The false glare is extinguish-

ed, and the immortal and unquenchable light which had long been shining in secret is revealed to consciousness. In the novels Elton is Harriet Smith's meteor, Churchill Emma's, Crawford Fanny Price's, Miss Crawford Edmund Bertram's, Louisa Captain Wentworth's, Wickham Elizabeth Bennet's, Willoughby Marianne Dashwood's. It is the commonest form of her love-histories. She makes the love of fancy, the sudden love engendered in the eyes, blaze up to supersede and eclipse the germ of ideal or rational love; but this germ borrows heat from the fire which would destroy it, and becomes the stronger and brighter flame which puts out all rival fires.

Hints given in Miss Mitford's letters, however strenuously controverted, seem to show that in early days there was something offensive in Miss Austen's manner and conduct. It may be that both Emma and Darcy contain autobiographical elements. There is an air of confession in the conception of each. We find in the novels a theory that, as love is educated by contradiction, so is love the great educator of the mind through sorrow and contradiction. Dante describes philosophy as the amoroso uso de sapienza: wisdom without it talks but does not act wisely. He who acts without love acts at haphazard: love alone shows him how and where to apply his principles, chiefly by the agony it gives him when he wounds it by wrong applications of them. Emma's wisdom nearly ruins her happiness, till she finds that wisdom is nothing unless it is directed by love. Darcy too by his similar love of managing almost ruins the prospects of his friend and himself. With all the importance which Miss Austen attributes to education, she never forgets its double aspect, theoretical and practical. But the practice must be directed by love. Love is however only a tardy teacher; it teaches as the conscience teaches, or as the dæmon of Socrates taught him, by the penalties it exacts for error. *Πάθει μάθος*, as Æschylus says. If Miss Austen ever was a flirt, as Mrs. Mitford reported, it was most likely rather in Emma's style; not with any idea of engaging men's hearts in order to disappoint them, but with a view to show her disengaged manners, and the superiority of which she was conscious. The shade of priggishness with which her earlier novels are tinged is perhaps most easily explicable on this supposition.

But in any case, after all possible deductions, Miss Austen must always have been a woman as charming in mind as she was elegant in person. What defects she had only prevented her being so good as to be good for nothing. If her sympathies were

somewhat limited, this was only because her society was limited. Perhaps the assertion that she had no powers of portraying or understanding society as such should be modified in favour of one special class, whose outward life singularly influences its general character. She thoroughly understood the naval officer, whom she could study at home, in her brothers. Her naval officers are really social portraits. A clergyman's daughter, she yet regarded the clergyman's position with a half-quizzical eye. She let the church stand in the churchyard, and did not attempt to transplant it into her novels. But the naval officer was a favourite personage in her later novels; Admiral Croft, Captain Wentworth, Captain Harville, Captain Benwick, Captain Price, and William Price are all admirable portraits, perfectly distinct, and yet all saturated with their professional peculiarities. She even, in Captain Price's case, did what Pope pronounced to be impossible, reconciled the "tarpaulin phrase" with the requirements of art and civility. Out of these bounds her language never strays. She is neat, epigrammatic, and incisive, but always a lady; there is no brandy and cayenne in her farrago—no "opinions supercélestes et mœurs souterrains," as Montaigne says. There is no overstepping her own faculties; if she did not know, she felt, that every man, ever so little beyond himself, is a fool. She obeyed the adage, "ne gladium tollas mulier." She spun out the feminine fibre of the sons of Mars and Neptune, but meddled neither with the sword nor with the trident. She is altogether an example for the aspiring artist. She shows what patience, perseverance, modest study, and a willingness to keep her compositions for the test of time, could do for a genius not very commanding in its own nature. Her example preaches with the mediæval poet,

"Ars compensabit quod vis tibi magna negabit."

Art will make up for want of force. Altogether, she is a luminary not beyond the spell of ordinary human magic,

"A being not too wise or good  
For human nature's daily food."

But this is no more than a New Zealander might have said of the missionary whom he was about to eat. Miss Austen should have some more distinctive appraisal. In the gallery of authors hers is one of the most graceful and kindly figures. There is not a quality in her which is repulsive, not one which calls for suspension of judgment or the allowance usually claimed for the eccentricities of genius, not one so transcen-

dent as to raise her above imitation or emulative hope. Hers is a magnetic attractiveness which charms while it compels. As she has a way of melting love into intelligence, so her intelligence becomes in turn amiable. Montalembert's first literary essay was the biography of a woman who, in a different sphere, and for different reasons, exerted this kind of influence over his mind; and he adopted as his own the title which the simple devotees of Germany from Tauler downwards have given to die liebe H. Elisabeth, la chère Sainte Elisabeth. Might we not for like reasons borrow from Miss Austen's biographer the title which the affection of a nephew bestows upon her, and recognise her officially as "dear aunt Jane"?

#### ART. VI.—PARTIES AND POLITICS OF MODERN RUSSIA.

SINCE the time when Peter the Great brought Russia into the political system of Europe, the antagonism produced by her peculiar social features has been an important question in the history of civilization. Supported chiefly by the rough agglomeration of unnumbered nationalities, the Czars have claimed over the rest of Europe an amount of influence which has not been justified by either the political structure or the social institutions of their Empire; and they have aggravated the antagonism into a question of absolute superiority, and even into an obstinate struggle for the vital aims of European progress. With brief exceptions, the relations between Russia and the rest of Europe have borne the character of a perpetual warfare, carried on by Oriental barbarism against the aspirations and developments of Western civilization. This aggressive policy, adopted by all the Czars, was pursued by Nicholas without deviation or compromise, and with more success than by any of his predecessors. And it led inevitably to the Crimean War. For the question at last became an urgent one, whether Europe was to forfeit whole centuries of progress or whether the pretensions of Russia were to be put down.

The Crimean War did not solve the Russian question; but its final issue, combined with the internal conditions of the Russian Empire, induced Europe to hope that the difficulty had been put to rest at least for a generation or two. For it was thought improbable that Alexander II., who had meanwhile ascended the throne, would venture to

announce a thorough social and political reorganization of the Empire, without striving at the same time to connect Russia and her new programme of liberty with the general and popular interests of the West. Nevertheless there were those who only saw the promise of a future revenge in the unbroken strength which was left to Russia by the peace of Paris; and Nesselrode's successor, Gortschakoff, expressed their feeling in the memorable words: "*La Russie ne boude pas; la Russie se recueille.*" And what is the present situation? It can scarcely be denied that, of all the political delusions of the last ten years, that which concerns the relations between Europe and the Russia of the "new era" has been the most significant and the most ominous. The Russian question has never for a moment really disappeared. Instead of becoming more simple it has become more complicated. Liberal Europe has been deceived by the show of a progressive emancipation and quiet development of the Russian nation; and those who have not joined in the chorus of rejoicing at the philanthropic and cosmopolitan policy of the Russian government have been regarded with an unintelligent distrust. But at the present moment very few persons who are competent to form an opinion on the subject doubt that before long—perhaps before the end of the next twenty years—there may be a collision between Europe and Russia like the Crimean War, or even more severe than that. For then Europe had only to face the pretensions of the Czar, who was compelled to take positive measures in order to arouse the fanaticism of the populations; but now some seventy millions of Russians regard the supremacy of Russia over the other Slavonians of Europe as a national right, and the overthrow of the Turkish Empire and the conquest of Constantinople as a providential mission. They claim moreover to be the champions of a "new formula of civilization," which is destined to supersede the old decaying one of Europe, and to remodel the social happiness of the West in accordance with a Russian type. When and where the crisis of the struggle may come it would be frivolous to prophesy and is not necessary here to discuss. But it is very important to obtain a clear and exact historical notion of the state of things out of which the public sentiment has grown, and so, by watching the various phases of its progress, to ascertain its secret aspirations. It is only against known dangers that men are effectually armed.

The Russian historian Karamain says, in the dedication of his work to the Emperor Alexander I., "The history of the people is

the property of the sovereign." The phrase may sound like mere flattery; but applied to Russia, even at the present day, it contains a great deal of truth. It bears witness to the fact, obvious to all instructed observers, that since the time of Peter the Great Russian history has not been the regular and organized development of an internal political life, but a violent progress, determined from time to time by external accidents, and made by fits and starts, with an enormous expenditure of energy, and a complete disregard of tradition, custom, and popular temperament. In this succession, one unconnected effort after another ceases and dies away, and is forgotten, leaving no trace behind it. The result is often accomplished by the outbreak of some war undertaken to advance the frontiers of the Empire, as if it was thought that a symmetrical distension of the territory could compensate for the want of internal consolidation. Down to the time of Alexander II. this phenomenon was repeated with a regularity which made it the most prominent characteristic of Russian history. Alexander himself, however, originally took up a much higher stand-point. His aim was to confer a more robust and healthy organization on the "earthen-legged Colossus" which the Crimean War had shown Russia to be; and he accordingly to some extent invoked the co-operation of the national energies. But his policy should not be too ideally conceived. In the eyes of practical politicians, its value perhaps will not be lessened by the fact that, while it recognised the urgency of circumstances, it left the reforming initiative in the hands of government. The logical sequence of events, however, must be observed. For the purposes of the Crimean War, Nicholas had appealed to religious fanaticism, and had suffered the old Russian nobility to seize the reins of government. They expected to retain their influence under Alexander, and all the more since at his accession he seemed likely to prosecute the war "to the last man and last musket." In their infatuation they scarcely perceived how, through the later period of the war, the government was promising concessions to class after class of the political and social body, in order to make the whole strength and resources of the nation available for the demands of the war. The success of the popular appeal enabled the government at once to emancipate itself from the Moscovite nobility; and the Emperor was able to conclude a peace, even against the will of the national aristocracy. He was sustained by the people. They had suffered in proportion more severely than the nobles, and were altogether tired of the



war; but they retained sufficient vigour and elasticity to found the new era of promised liberty on the ruins of their old life. There was now, in fact, no sphere of life, no class or fraction of the people, whose interests were not in a state of complete disorganization; so that even under ordinary circumstances a long time would have been required for the re-establishment of the old order. But besides this, there also was scarcely a territory which had not during the war been promised by the government some amelioration or some boon in a liberal sense. Thus everywhere vague hopes were cherished; and the vaguer they were the more earnestly did the ignorant and dependent masses look to the government itself for creative and redeeming measures. The government on the other hand was fairly certain that the great diversity of the needs, hopes, aims, and interests of the different populations would be sufficient to make them serve as a check on one another, till it should think good to undertake the work of reform. Thus, immediately after the peace of Paris, it again held in its hands the future of the Empire; and even before the coronation at Moscow it was able to determine and prepare its foreign policy without distraction from internal affairs, and to assume an attitude of menace towards the nobles in case they should attempt to thwart its designs.

The reform was arranged with great foresight, so as to carry with it, step by step, the sympathy of the masses. The measures followed in regular series, and were adapted to isolate, from the commencement, those elements that were supposed to be actively hostile to the new social and political order. Thus from the accession of Alexander the nobles were exhibited as a class threatened with the emancipation of their serfs. They were accordingly alarmed by the prospect of a heavy material loss; the value of their property was actually diminished; and after the conclusion of peace they were unable to exact any service from their tenants, even while the decree of emancipation was still unpublished. Again, in the midst of the national exultation at the respect paid to the Czar by the Western Powers at his coronation, and the general rejoicing called forth by the Imperial clemency, a government manifesto appeared acknowledging the corruption of the public functionaries, and appealing against them to the loyalty of the people. And while the multitude, which had hitherto been only a "misera contribuens plebs," was taught to rely for its safety on the Czar, a well organized press—declamatory rather than practical—strove to enlighten the existing social antagonisms,

and inculcated everywhere a profound contempt for the institutions of the past. Thus the privileged few were oppressed by apprehension of loss: the indigent and lawless mass were elated by anticipation of gain. But when, in the great towns, an independent public opinion endeavoured to connect the emancipation scheme with the constitutional ideas of the West, the Government at once showed symptoms of that change of policy which has since continually more and more estranged the course of Russian progress from the civilization of the rest of Europe.

This last point of view has been habitually overlooked. It has been regarded as almost inexplicable that the government of a liberal Czar, in the full swing of its reforming activity, should suddenly have become accessible once more to the influence of rigidly national parties, absolutely hostile to foreign culture. But the explanation is not difficult, if we remember that it has been a constant and characteristic feature in the policy of the Czars to smother the germs of political consciousness at home by rousing the blind passions of the multitude against foreign nations. Formerly this was accomplished by the rude method of a war; but such a plan was unsuitable to the position of a reforming government, which was appealing to public opinion as to an oracle. In 1858 and 1859, while the decree of emancipation was yet unpublished, and the scheme of the government reform was still uncertain, it had seemed almost probable that the solution of existing problems would be found in some system of national representation. But a political life of recent origin and imperfect experience is at all times apt to entertain exaggerated notions of this form of government; and so it was in Russia. The censorship indeed soon suppressed all public discussion of the merits of a parliamentary system. But this was of little avail. For the oral discussion of the idea could not be suppressed; and the peculiar conditions of the country made it more effective and powerful than writing. The representatives of the nobility, who had been summoned to St. Petersburg to accept the emancipation measures, were sent back with a strict injunction to avoid any discussion of the decree at the meetings of the nobility in the provinces. But the nobles resisted. The more influential corporations protested energetically against the infringement of their privileges. The old Russian provinces threatened an appeal to the Duma—the imperial council of Bojars, without whose assent no order of the Czar used to bind, and which, though set aside by the despotism of Peter I., had never

been legally suppressed. The assemblies and provincial meetings of the landed nobility, hitherto insignificant, suddenly became centres of vehement agitation. Circulars were issued through the provinces to establish a uniform plan of opposition. The liberal party of the towns applauded loudly; the dependent multitude followed the stream; the public functionaries, whom government had morally deserted, abstained from interference. And the moment seemed to have come at last when the conflicting interests of all classes would unite against the government in a demand for constitutional guarantees.

In this emergency the government issued a sort of political programme. The official *Journal of St. Petersburg* developed it in a series of articles, the ideas of which were afterwards reproduced in endless variation by the rest of the inspired press. The style and language of these papers became at once the model and type of the whole journalism of Russia, even of the organs of partial opposition. The absolutism of the Czars was represented as a vital principle for Russia; and the proof of this was drawn not so much from the condition of her internal development and civilization as from the nature of her relations with the West. The free development of the new era was to be secured against danger from an alliance between Germany, France, and England; and absolutism and orthodoxy—for the double prerogative of the Czars must not be forgotten—were proclaimed as the two pillars of a system of defence against the hostile intentions of Western Europe. As though an aggression of this kind actually threatened the frontier, the public functionaries were solemnly reminded of their duties, and exhorted to assist in every possible way in consolidating the forces of the Empire. The rest of the people were warned that only in the unlimited absolutism of the Czar, and the unquestioning obedience of the subject, lay those creative and conservative energies which could realize the national aspirations; that the life of Russia was wholly alien from the intellectual movement of the West and its cosmopolitan community of interests; but that in her Slavonian nationality and her religious orthodoxy she possessed the essential elements of strength and influence. As this language became common to all ranks of the administration, Pan Slavism saw that at last its hour was at hand. Never were its agencies in Moscow, Constantinople, Vienna, Paris, and London, or its literary allies in Berlin, Leipzig, and Bautzen, more zealous and active than in the latter half of 1859; and never was the refugee propaganda of

London so completely as then under the direction of Slavonian influences. At the same time the old-Russian party of Moscow felt the necessity of reorganizing itself upon a firmer basis. With a steady regard to practical success, it extended its ramifications through the army and administration, up to the very family and person of the Czar; while its political programme, as far as legislation was concerned, assumed a more strictly conservative character. The government manifestly leaned to those who were endeavouring to base the future of Russia on the idea of antagonism with Western Europe; but of course this tendency in the administration could not directly and immediately affect the public mind. For some years, on the contrary, the doctrines of Herzen were popular; and his journal, the *Kolokol*, was imported in great numbers. Its extraordinary boldness overawed the more moderate, while the incendiary writings of Bakunin and Dolgorukow held up the privileged orders to general hatred and contempt. The great body of the inferior nobility and functionaries, who in Russia represent a sort of middle culture, and determine the opinion of the day, wavered between an aversion for all Western civilization, and a blind adherence to the principles enunciated by English, German, and French socialists. Meanwhile those to whom all political, social, or literary investigation, all principle or system, is only vexation of spirit and a weariness of the flesh, took refuge in the doctrine that questions of government, religion, and society were altogether obsolete—phases which had been passed through and dismissed, and that the work of the present was a complete overthrow of existing institutions, and the renunciation and abolition of all moral principles and restraints. Future generations were to inherit a ruin, and reconstruct society out of it. It needs only a slight acquaintance with the conditions of life in Russia to understand why the Nihilists, as they were called, soon became the most numerous of the sects, and stamped their impress on the middle class of the towns. The masses were bewildered and lost in the conflict of extreme opinions. Their empty aspirations were neither derived from any contact with the existing order of things, nor confined within the scope of any practicable policy. And thus the government, in spite of some critical moments, was able to look down calmly on the agitation. There could be no question any more of constitutional limits to the supreme power, of national representation, or of parliamentary and responsible government. The immediate purpose of the manœuvres of the government had at

any rate been attained. But more than this. Every political or social phantom that entered on the scene, without historical justification or contemporary analogy, was a fresh witness to the government of the peculiarity of the Russian character, and the specific aims and necessities of the Russian nationality. Thus a bridge was thrown over the chasm; and these extreme programmes came in aid of the government endeavour to found the political life of Russia on her separation from the intellectual movement and common interests of the West. And the same method found an application also in other spheres of public policy, although the organs of the government denied or only partially admitted the fact. As the ultimate aim of these political visionaries was the absolute reverse of all existing Russian institutions, they strove with all their might, during the preparation of the emancipation decree, to obtain a partition of the property of the nobles among the peasants. Their cry was for the complete abolition of the landed nobility. That is to say, they were eager to destroy and root out that order which hitherto indeed had enjoyed power and privilege at the expense of the other orders, but which nevertheless was the only one that possessed any culture and independence. The government of course found its own advantage in this tendency of Nihilism. To vindicate its particular scheme of emancipation, and to justify each new encroachment on the material or moral rights of the nobility, it was content to point to the exasperated and exacting temper of public opinion with regard to the condition of the serfs. It almost claimed the gratitude of the nobles for having left them life and raiment; while to the world at large it boasted how gently and considerately it had dealt with men against whose resistance the whole torrent of public indignation was directed.

The Ukase of the 1st of March 1861 granted to the serfs whom it emancipated a liberty in their provincial communities more extensive than any other order or political corporation could have ventured to hope for. Up to this time the unpractical liberals, with a democratic disinterestedness, had worked for the peasants; but now they began earnestly to think of their own interests. They now raised the cry of self-government in every sphere of the national life; they claimed an unrestricted political development for all, from the local communities at the bottom up to the highest orders of the political body; they called for decentralization of the government, and even for a transformation of the Russian empire into a confederation. Such were the consequences which

the democratic agitation of the towns deduced from the emancipation of the serfs. At this time the general public tendencies were even more dangerous to the government than they had been during the preceding constitutional agitation. For it was clear that the government had itself been the apostle of these views, and moreover that it had deserted its own organs, the public functionaries. Its authority and its instruments were thus equally discredited for any purpose of stemming the tide; and the cry resounded from every quarter: "You cannot pretend to represent that new idea of government which demands a development peculiar to our Russian nationality; the obsolete tradition of the German bureaucracy is the only thing you know." At that period the government was less than ever able to rely on the landed nobility; for the act of emancipation had given the signal for a complete subversion of order and discipline in the provinces, and the landed proprietors were entirely engrossed with their own private concerns. The incendiary fires of the summer of 1862 bore witness to the acceptance which the socialist and democratic doctrines of the Nihilists found among the masses, the young-Russian party and the mob of the towns. Even now, when those times have become historical, it is doubtful whether it would have been possible to control the destructive elements that were at work, or to prevent the disruption of the Empire, had not an event, which then seemed to threaten the complete ruin of Russia, brought about a thorough change. This event was the Polish insurrection.

It was long before the military strength of Russia succeeded in quelling the revolt. During the conflict, and through the cloud of smoke and mist of cruel massacres, it was difficult for Europe to discern the agitated masses in the background, to observe their movements, and to interpret the isolated outbursts of their pent-up life. It seemed at first as if the government dared not use its power to the utmost in Poland for fear of a Socialist revolt in the heart of the Empire. But the time came when the Polish revolution, in the weakness of its degeneration, invoked the aid of the Socialist democracy of Russia, and thus alienated the sympathy of Western Europe. And then the Czar at once seized the occasion to outbid the communistic offers of the leaders of the democracy, and to satisfy the avidity of the masses by unlimited grants at the expense of the Polish proprietors. All existing social institutions were abolished in favour of a thoughtless mob, whose enthusiasm was courted by the declaration of a war against progress and en-

lightenment. Thus devils were cast out by Beelzebub; and it could be proclaimed with truth that order reigned in Poland. Meanwhile in Russia all parties seemed to amalgamate in a violent and exclusive sentiment of nationality. During the Polish revolt Katkow and Leontjew, by their protests in the name of their country against the tendencies of the preceding epoch, had secured for the *Moscow Gazette* a position of intellectual supremacy over the whole national Russian world, and an influence over public opinion which it would be difficult to estimate from the stand-point of Western ideas. The vague national, not Panslavist, idea now gave place to what was called "the political idea," according to which the Western portion of the Empire, as long as its political, religious, and social relations and institutions were influenced by European culture, must necessarily remain a source of danger to the Empire. That violent Russification, which had formerly been an instrument of coercion in the hands of a centralizing Czar, now became the summa reipublice salus, the highest law of national policy; and in order most effectually to promote this end, the cultus of absolute right in the head of the State resumed its old position as if it had never been questioned. The most important and psychologically decisive point in this change of the public mind is that it believed itself to be really achieving a "democratic mission," since, in recognising the absolutism of the sovereign, in order to destroy the aristocratic constitution and society of the Western provinces, with their centrifugal and separatist tendencies, it was manifestly helping to preserve the political unity, and advancing towards the ideal type, of modern Russia. This ideal consists in the close alliance of an absolute autocrat with the peasantry—the only fraction of the population supposed to be in a healthy state. It is in principle a rejection of all political organization, and of every hindrance to the destruction of the privileged and landed classes. Its intent is to give political preponderance to the senseless mass, the plaything of demagogues or government intrigues. Its life is a frivolous contempt for the social institutions recommended by nature, history, or possession, and a scorn of all experiments and results which contradict the political and social ideal prescribed by its fancy. No wonder, then, that this confusion of ideas should have engendered a party analogous to the Nihilists—a set of men who on the old Russian soil were champions of the extremest popular emancipation, while in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, they vied with Cossacks and gendarmes in trampling down the slightest liberal move-

ment, spying out the proscribed victims of the revolution, and visiting the Catholics with persecution and torture. Nor is it surprising that the same men should have attacked the political privileges, the rights of property, the social order, and the Protestantism, of the loyal Baltic provinces, and prepared the way, by delation and calumny, to subject them to a fate as gloomy as that of Poland. Mouravieff and Kauffmann were not specially chosen as the hangmen of Lithuania and the Ukraine: they are merely types of their party. The brutal despotism by which they systematically ruined those countries is only what is meant by "Russification," or amalgamation into the unity of the Empire; and other agents in their places would not have been more squeamish than they. In the unoffending Baltic provinces the Russification is more refined in its method, but it is not less radical in its nature.

From the suppression of the Polish revolution to the present day, the proceedings have been too clear to need analysis, or the production of special examples to prove that in the administration of Western Russia—not only Poland, Lithuania, and Little Russia, but also the Baltic provinces and Finland—the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has thrown itself more and more into the arms of this party. And why should it not? The blustering phrases of the national pseudo-liberalism infatuate the masses, whose patriotism, as Herzen strikingly observed, is only gratified by the terror of other nations. The doctrine of this party, moreover, utterly unsystematic and unpractical as it is, harmonizes with the national character. For the Russian only lives from hand to mouth; his highest canon is the opportunity of the moment. It does not occur to him that the same unlimited absolutism which he at present regards as the most powerful means to preserve the unity and form the character of his country, may possibly hereafter, by a sudden reaction, and by virtue of the same theory, subvert the whole "new era," even on the national Russian soil. The present government, perhaps, is not likely to do this. But while it accommodates its course to the illogical and unsystematic "doctrine of the occasion," it nevertheless keeps all the threads in its own hands; and the public at large, as well as the more independent and intelligent classes, are deprived of all initiative. It poses itself as the Supreme Good, dispensing liberty, progress, and prosperity, and recognises no obligation to submit to the consequences of its work.

This policy would not perhaps have been so easy to realize in the national Russian provinces if, at this juncture, the Panslavists

had not offered themselves as an available instrument. It is true that the Panslavists are, properly speaking, the spiritual parents of the national pseudo-liberalism which has already been described, and thus far are identified with it. But this pseudo-liberalism represented merely a movement without any internal guarantee of constancy in case its present experiment should prove a failure, or the government should adopt more effectual means for consolidating its despotism. Panslavism, however, has definite principles. Its fixed tendency, so far as the internal life of Russia is concerned, is towards absolute seclusion from Europe. For it regards with aversion all European models, and all the reforms introduced by Peter the Great. The only point in which its ideal is responded to by the "new era" is the emancipation of the serfs. And this it does not regard as an act of humanity, nor as a concession to the exigencies of the times, nor as a step towards the economical development of international relations. Such ideas as these have no meaning for it. What it sees in the emancipation of the serfs is, first, the punishment of the nobles for their contempt of the old-Russian traditions and their attachment to the West, and, secondly, the beginning of the end of hereditary and personal proprietorship. For such proprietorship it looks upon as a "barbarism," while it regards communism as an original phenomenon of Russo-Slavonic life. According to its "new formula of civilization," whatever from the time of Peter the Great has been derived from the old and worn-out civilization of Europe ought to be swept away; a strict protectionist system should seclude Russia from all political and economical intercourse with the industry of the West; and thus by independence and self-sufficiency she would achieve her providential mission, and realize her Panslavist supremacy.

It was clear that a government which used reason, though even for unreasonable projects—and the Russian government has never been deficient in practical ability—would be able to do what it liked with a fantastical party which was foolish enough to think itself independent. The dreams of this party made it blind to the terrible social and economical sufferings which the mode of emancipation adopted had brought upon Russia; while, on the other hand, its fundamental hatred of the higher culture secured its constant numerical increase, and the fanaticism of its recruits made up for their want of practical knowledge and intelligence. Its aim was to lessen to the utmost the political rights which in Russia were traditionally

connected with personal proprietorship. For its adherents saw in the principle of possession nothing but the progressive diminution of the individual; hence they derived their "new formula of civilization." As the emancipation of the serfs has been the material and political ruin of the nobility, the party now accepts these encroachments of the government as a marked approach to their own political ideal. But their dream of a peasant sovereignty can only be realized when the whole country, from the Niemen to the mouth of the Amur, and from the Polar to the Aral Sea, is swept clean of all traces of personal proprietorship, personal liberty, and the higher blessings of civilization. The ideal Russia of the future Panslavist supremacy consists of a uniform atomic population, without organization or differentiation, ruled by an absolute autocrat.

If these great party tendencies are compared with one another, it will be easily seen that their kindred programmes of internal policy contain merely the abolition of existing institutions, and leave the national spirit to rebuild the future structure on their ruins. In the large towns this "national spirit" has hitherto only hatched impossible political theories; while in the country, since the emancipation of the serfs, it has not shown the slightest capacity or desire to turn to account the freedom which has been granted. The pseudo-liberal doctrinaires, who attempt to Russify the Western provinces in order to secure the unity of the Empire, and the Panslavists, who would level all social distinctions in the interest of "the sovereign peasantry," entertain no substantive idea beyond that tabula rasa which they seek to effect by the overthrow of whatever now exists. They would thus have the same merely negative stand-point as the Nihilists, and like them would leave the future to take care of itself, if it were not that high above the chaos of the regenerated Russian world they raise the sacred beacon of the Czar's unlimited absolutism. But this is not to solve the problem. It is simply to shift the responsibility to other shoulders, and to confess their own sterility and blindness. Moreover, it is to sacrifice their own party principles to the mere convenience of the Czar. How could he be expected to allow the future to be moulded by the doctrines of a party, if its schemes did not really answer his own purposes? The intelligent party leaders recognise this simple and rigid consequence; but the parties themselves do not acknowledge it. If they did, the government would be inconvenienced, but it would be inconvenienced only; for

the popular belief in the authority of the Czar is so strongly rooted that now, since the nobles have been socially ruined and politically nullified, the greatest stroke of power might be safely attempted, if it did but appeal to the masses. But the existing state of things is too advantageous for any such stroke of power to be desirable. It dispenses the government from the necessity of assuming a definite attitude towards particular parties, and allows it to coquet at pleasure with them all—so that, keeping itself free, it can treat each of them in turn as the favourite, and thus convert it into an enthusiastic and devoted champion against all the rest.

Through the entire course of the "new era," the Russian autocracy has never for a moment lost sight of the idea that it must be the god of Russia. In order, however, to express this doctrine, some watchword had to be devised which should appeal to and sum up the diverging tendencies of the national patriotism. The device was an old one; but its application in these days is more difficult than it used to be. Formerly Russian patriotism consisted in an absolute devotion to the person of the Czar, and Russian nationality was wholly absorbed in religious orthodoxy. By an appeal to the "orthodox" faith of old Russia, it was possible to give a national motive to the war of 1812, and to the Crimean War against the "heathen" nations of the West. But this would serve no longer. Accordingly a wider nationality—one not exclusively Russian, but Slavonian—was substituted for the orthodox faith. And thus foreign politics came to occupy a greater space than had ever been allotted to them before. For instance, the development of the traditional tendencies against Turkey from the time of Peter the Great down to the middle period of the reign of Nicholas had never once called into being any national solidarity with the Slavonian Christians; all ties with them were exclusively founded on their Greek orthodoxy; and occasionally Russian policy even showed itself hostile to Slavonians subject to foreign rule. But since the beginning of the new era all parties have raised the national idea to the top; and the government has found it easy enough, by means of the watchword of nationality, to revive the favourite Russian vision of the re-establishment of the Byzantine empire, and to suggest that Russia has inherited the mission of founding and presiding over a Slavonian confederation, made up of States abstracted from Turkey, Austria, and Germany. The Slavonian Congress of Moscow, in the presence of the Minister Tolstoi, completely

and formally organized a propaganda for the purpose; and, while the Russian government met the remonstrances of the nearest States by declaring that it was only holding an ethnographical, industrial, and Slavonian exhibition at Moscow, a number of South Slavonians from the neighbouring States were being trained in the colleges of Nicolaijeff and St. Petersburg for Russian foreign service, to act under Russian control, as apostles of the general Slavonian solidarity in Austria, Turkey, Roumania, and Servia. This utilization of the national idea for absorbing the non-Russian populations could not fail to flatter Russian patriotism. And thus "the precedence of the East," which heretofore meant only a tendency of the policy of the Czars, for which on each occasion the national spirit had to be raised to fanaticism by the orthodox Church, has now become a dogma of the popular consciousness; while the watchword of "nationality" provides an effectual screen for measures of internal policy. Any further illustrations are unnecessary. For with this preponderance of the idea of nationality, it is impossible to imagine any public or private relations, any social, political, or religious institution, whose privileges and rights may not be represented as a crime against the sacred spirit of the national development. It is notorious that at the beginning of the "new era" pains were taken to induce men to believe that Western Europe was hostile to the national life of Russia, and desired to thwart the development of her strength and civilisation. It was easy therefore to represent the purely humanitarian intercession of Europe in favour of Poland, and the interest of Germany in the fate of the Baltic provinces, as an aggression of the West on Russian self-development. In this case the government did not need aid from any of the parties to justify its Vandalism in the Western provinces. Its action was supposed to be, on the face of it, strictly necessary for self-defence and for the interest of the threatened "nationality." If any Russian ventured to intercede for the Western provinces, he was held to be self-condemned on the score of justice, humanity, and policy. He was put under ban as anti-national.

Here we may rest. It is evident how universal was the application of the pliant watchword of "nationality"—how well it could serve to give the boundless autocracy of the government the appearance of merely complying with the exigencies of national right and necessity. The only gauge of patriotism was a fanatical hatred of all non-Russian elements in the State and society; and thus parties and the people came to

adopt the flattering delusion that the supreme absolutism regarded itself merely as the executive organ of the majesty of the Russian nation. The government, no doubt, was conscious of the unreality of its professions; but its agents remained subject to the influences which act on human nature. A man cannot play a part for ten years without coming to make his assumed character a part of himself; and a complicated political system is still less able to resist the psychological effect of habit. The Russian administration has plainly succumbed to this law. It would be unjust, however, and unhistorical, to maintain that the Russian "new era," as it existed in the intention of the government before the Polish insurrection, was hostile to a solidarity of interests with Western Europe. At that period European money was required to advance the railway system, as well as other material improvements indispensable to the economical regeneration of the Empire. Questions of religion and nationality in general, and even the legislative and legal differences of the non-Russian provinces, were at that time regarded by the government in a tolerant and even liberal spirit. Its principles seemed consonant with the possession of equal rights by all. Although it may have doubted the opportuneness of applying directly the political and social reforms of Western Europe, several of its proceedings proved nevertheless that its idea of reform was to call for the co-operation of the national energies in regenerating the Empire, politically and socially, and to allow decentralization, or even self-government, a wider sphere of activity. The Polish revolution completely changed the situation: mixed feelings of revenge and fear suggested the political necessity of utterly destroying the Polish element, extirpating its nobles and its religion, and giving the preponderance to the peasantry. The government, inevitably though not openly an ally of the pseudo-liberals and Slavo-doctrinaires, had accordingly to sacrifice those principles of reform to which at the outset it had given the foremost place. From this time it identified the Polish nationality with aristocratic resistance, aristocratic government with Catholicism, Catholicism with rebellion, and rebellion with aggression on Russian nationality; and it became animated by an extreme intolerance, which logically involved the destruction and extirpation of the vanquished. By virtue of the analogies usual in political reasoning, the same principle was easily extended to the constitution, the Germanism, and the Protestantism, of the Baltic provinces; and finally it reacted on Russia itself. The consequence was

plain, that the Russian nobility, which had also been an obstacle to the equal rights of the other classes, should be exposed to general hatred. The previous attempt to accustom the emancipated serf to private possession, by granting him a house and allotment, had ended only in the establishment of communism. That which on national Russian soil was reputed indispensable for both empire and nation, was necessarily also enacted for the western portion of the empire. Hence the government, while engaged, as it thought, in dallying with the extreme parties in the nation, was gradually led to challenge, not only all the European elements in the Russian system, but even the civilization of Europe itself.

It may seem strange that Europe paid so little attention to the internal transmutations of Russia from 1860 to 1865. Its idea of the "new era" of Alexander was filled with the luminous image of the emancipation of the serfs. The Polish revolt came at an inopportune moment, and by its later socialist and communist turn disgusted the cultivated classes. Europe accordingly bestowed on it only a superficial attention, and at the best a lukewarm sympathy. Public attention, absorbed by the impending catastrophe of 1866, failed to appreciate the complaints of Poland and the Baltic provinces. There was no idea that modern Russia would eventually prove more, and more directly, dangerous to European society and polity than it had ever been before. In foreign affairs, the Russian Cabinet, since the peace of Paris, had maintained an attitude of caution; its public efforts were exclusively in the interests of peace and conciliation. Accordingly the constant hostility of the Russian press against Europe was ignored. It was not understood that all parties regarded the present restraint of the public energy as a system of preparation for a more obstinate struggle. No notice was taken of the creed, so industriously instilled into the nation, that Russian supremacy in the future was to be the brilliant recompense for the evils of the present. The little that was translated out of the unknown Russian idiom was only sporadic and fragmentary; and it seemed so strangely opposed to all known policy, that most people only regarded it as the outpouring of eccentric visionaries, whom the government would have to resist in its own interests. Western Europe would have gained a deeper insight into the real state of things if it had paid attention to the measures that followed the murderous attempt of Karakassow († April 1866). Coming as they did at the time of the German war, they passed off unnoticed in the West; but they

were of decisive importance for the relations of Europe and Russia. They not only determined the present, but affected the probabilities of the future. The Russian government, which up to that time had more or less balanced the national parties, and used them for its own purpose, thenceforth allied itself with the Panslavists, and was represented by their leaders. It will be well to give a brief statement of these recent proceedings.

The traditional usages of the Russian government required it to appear that Karakassow's attempt was something more than the isolated act of a frantic idiot. It had to be dealt with as the climax and collapse of some vast conspiracy. Mouravieff, the hero of Poland, was precisely the man to wring the secret out of the heart of the people by arbitrary imprisonments, and by inquisitions amongst all classes and corporations in every corner of the Empire. As there was no foundation for suspicion, the investigations led of course to no result; and of the hundreds who were imprisoned all but a few had to be released. But meanwhile the Panslavists successfully impressed public opinion with the notion that the secret conspirators probably belonged to the Polish or the Baltic provinces. The whole national press adopted this slander as an established fact; an alarm was raised against every foreign element; and it was demanded as a matter of urgency that the government should be put into the hands of the Panslavists. At the moment, the government saw in this wild outburst a danger to its own liberty and independence. An imperial manifesto of the 13th of May 1866 endeavoured to oppose to these social and democratic extravagances the invariable and logical programme of the reforming absolutism. It touched upon all the cardinal questions of reform belonging to the "new era." In order to make it practically effectual it was addressed to every grade of the bureaucracy, and its language was varied so as to fit the expression of its ideas to each official jurisdiction. The climax was reached in the reproach that the organs of administration had hitherto failed in their duty of representing the conservative interest and confronting the reckless attempts of socialist democracy. The administration at once broke out into acts of decided repression, and of excessive rigour against the press. The functionaries vied with one another in upholding the honour of the bureaucracy and its orthodox conservatism. A sudden calm followed the din of conflicting parties—a lull which recalled the Russian adage, "I am resting on the beach and watching for the winds." If at this

juncture the government had really exercised its power over the parties, it might have seized the reins with strong hand. But the old-Russian party, by a clever stroke, utilized the moment of public dismay; and it was helped by the sudden political aggrandizement of Prussia. The moderate element was weeded out from the higher administrative circles. The incipient malady of the Emperor was another reason why those who sympathized with European civilization felt less sure of their influence. The Grand-Duke Constantine, the former idol of the Moscow party, came forth from his retreat. The Panslavists endeavoured to form a connection with the Czarewitch, whose strong inclination to ultra-Russian ideas is no mystery. The most influential positions were successively filled by stronger and stronger partisans of Panslavism, with that obstinacy and indifference to means which generally characterizes the Slavonian, and especially the Russian, temper. The relative calm which has since reigned in politics seems to favour these tendencies. At the present moment, not only the internal administration, but the whole political organism of the Empire, is in the hands of the ultra-national party. Although Prince Gortschakoff, the foreign minister, maintains a certain reserve, the minister of war, Millutin, is a professed Panslavist. Tolstol the minister of justice, Zelenoi the minister of crown-lands, Bobrinski the minister of public works, belong to the same party; Timascheff, the minister of the interior, is said to owe his office to his party-services. Timascheff, Millutin, Zelenoi, General Kauffmann of Lithuanian notoriety (at present the Governor-General of Taschkend), and Prince Tscherkaski, the leader of the old Muscovite party, are on terms of close intimacy with the Czarewitch, who figures in the private council of the Emperor as the most influential champion of Panslavism, and is regarded by the nation as its standard-bearer. Thus the abolition of Polish and German nationality within the Empire, the extirpation of Catholicism and Protestantism, the exclusion of Western civilization, and the union of the Slavonian race under Russia, are no mere frantic wishes of an extreme party. On the contrary, they are strongly represented in the supreme council of the Czar; and the government pursues their practical realization. In case of the depression and mental collapse of Alexander II. making way for his successor, Europe may expect to see Panslavism formally proclaimed as the political idea of Russia.

From the internal condition of the Empire



let us now turn to its foreign policy. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg never made a secret of the fact that at the peace of Paris it gave up none of its former pretensions. The pacific disposition of the civilized world at that time permitted Prince Gortschakoff to say in the coronation circular of the 2d of September 1856, "La Russie ne boude pas; la Russie se recueille." Men appeared determined not to see how Nesselrode's successor dwelt on the fact that the Crimean War had freed Russia from every tie that bound her up with the European balance of power, and had restored her liberty of action for the development of specific Russian interests. Later on, the dissolving views of the "new era" dazzled all eyes; and men forgot that this same peace programme had been the highest expression of the Czar's relations with Europe at the time when all courts regarded Nicholas as the "bulwark of Christian conservatism," and when he interfered at pleasure in the quarrels of States and nations, as he deemed it profitable to "the cause of the Empire," or necessary to maintain "the dignity of the Emperor," or useful for "the positive interests of Russia." All this was done on the supposition that Russia was the necessary guardian of the interests of weaker States, as if Western politics were simply an uninterrupted system of international encroachment. Since the Crimean War, what scheme of her foreign policy has Russia found it necessary to renounce in the interest of her domestic regeneration? Political illusions are the worst. Every one knows that the testament of Peter the Great is only an historical fable, and that the document so called is a forgery. But the idea which it embodies is not the less true. It is impossible for the Czar not to accept the logical consequences of his position. While Russia rests on the frontier of Asia and Europe, with a homogeneous population of 70 millions, that testament will remain the most concise expression of the necessary consequences of the facts, and of the irreconcilable relations between Russia and the political system of Europe. Only a very superficial historical criticism could conceive that the tendencies of Russia with regard to Europe since Peter the Great are mere effects of the arbitrary will of the Czars. The natural and vital conditions of the politics of Russia, and the uniform growth of internal necessities, are the real causes. After the peace of Paris, the childlike simplicity of some politicians, especially in Germany, supposed that when Russia had once achieved the reorganization of her social orders she would no longer prove a danger to Europe, and that her interests would thenceforth be bound up

with those of the Western world. Such persons assume that the social and political transformation of Russia would be made after a Western model. But this is impossible while the reformers regard nationality as the essential and natural condition of the development. And further, if Russia were an ordinary European Power, Russian conquest would in each case require a preliminary excitement of the energies of the nation; but such excitement would be dangerous to the absolutism of the Czar and the integrity of the nation. But if this absolutism only kept in view the extension of the distinctive civilization of the nation, all these dangers would turn into means of safety. When Russia is the whole civilized world, a small Russia is a disgrace. She must extend her arms north and south, and make herself as supreme on the Black Sea and the Dardanelles as on the Baltic. Thus the traditional politics of Russia, even under the "new era," would undergo no notable change. The serious disturbances accompanying the internal reforms might make peace needful; but the logical course of Russia was to effect, by any means at her disposal, the dissolution of the solidarity of Western Europe.

The Crimean War convinced Russia that any direct attack on Turkey would immediately bring her into collision with the superior military skill of the "West European coalition." But it had an important compensation. It deeply interested in her behalf the Slavonians of Turkey and Illyria, and enabled her to boast that, though 'the Czar might not be invincible, she had shed her own blood for their defence, when all Europe was banded together to oppress them; that the strength alone and not the will had been wanting to her for their deliverance; and that they could easily distinguish between the Power that had entered on an unequal struggle for their sakes, and those Christian and civilized Powers that had taken up arms to keep them under the dominion of the Turks.' This list of the moral advantages which Russia claims to have reaped from her defeat are the very phrases of a memorandum emanating from Prince Gortschakoff, and published last December in *Le Nord*. The fact proves decisively that, though Russia fourteen years ago had to desist from direct attacks, she nevertheless did not lose sight for a moment of her original aim. 'The lesson was not lost. Not Turkey, but pre-eminently the Christian races were concerned; no one could doubt of this. Russia could retire with the conviction that the scattered grains of seed would not perish, but would ripen for a future harvest.' It appears from this memorandum, which sums up in a

few sentences the proceedings of a series of years, that the apparent reserve of Russia has been adopted in order to enable her to employ her agents among the South Slavonians not only against Turkey but also against Austria, while she retains the power of repudiating them at any moment. Her peculiar position gives her this advantage, that she is not obliged to be in a hurry about her foreign projects; and the guides and instruments of her foreign policy have the talent and tact of waiting quietly for the opportunity. They are always occupied, however; for Russia, alike Asiatic and European, gives them an alternate field of action in either hemisphere. To quiet the jealousy of her neighbours, she will in one place make a noisy demonstration of departure, as she ostensibly turned away from Europe after the Crimean War. After that time, she seemed to devote her whole attention to Asiatic affairs, and for a while appeared absorbed in the "questions of the farther East." This was the case particularly in 1860. But, as we have seen, these questions were in fact made use of to bewilder and put down the internal movement which was tending towards the ideas of constitutional government. It was represented that such tendencies only gave occasion to Western Europe to thwart the free display of the national energy, and that the only means of effectual self-protection was to keep rigorously apart from all non-Russian movements of the time, and from all cosmopolitan solidarity of interests. The state of Europe at the time by no means warranted such suggestions; but their aim was to prepare the way for the mysterious policy of the future. For at the same time the absolute necessity of extending the power of Russia in Asia was proclaimed and popularized with no less emphasis. These apparently divergent agitations, both zealously advocated by the national press, had their common origin in the calculations of the central power; both of them, embodied in the ever-recurring Eastern question, repeatedly deceived the world. The Slavonian propaganda was directed against Austria. Her despotic attempts to Germanize her heterogeneous Slavonian elements, and to corrupt the Turkish dependencies, while sacrificing the Christian populations to Mohammedanism, formed the dark foreground of the picture; in the distance emerged a glorious vision—the white Czar and his redeeming legions. The allies of Austria were similarly dealt with. France, where the Napoleonic policy of agitation had then reached its zenith, was treated with exaggerated deference. With Prussia signs and pledges of friendship were exchanged; and she was warned against forfeiting her traditional

Russian sympathies by too close an approach to Great Britain. Great Britain herself was regarded as in European affairs altogether selfish and indifferent to the well-being of nations, and in Asiatic affairs intent only on spoiling friendly States, and usurping their provinces for the benefit of an insatiable aristocracy. These populations Russia, on the contrary, desired to gain by teaching them the blessings of civilization; and the expulsion of England from her Eastern empire was treated only as a question of time. As in Europe the "holy mission of Russia" was the redemption of weak and oppressed nationalities, so in Asia it was the emancipation of barbarous nations, and the opening of that quarter of the globe to the traffic, commerce, and social blessings of the Russian world.

These notions show the kind of ideas familiar to Russian nationalism, and the character and object of the agitations of Slavonian countries. European opinion admitted the civilizing mission of Russia in Central Asia; and Russia herself, with her improved means of communication, seemed adapted for a middle term between European culture and the peculiar civilization of the extreme East. Hence there were two powerful reasons why Europe should be indifferent to the Russian conquests in Asia. And they were strengthened by the agitation and confusion reigning in Europe, which absorbed its attention, while the apparent indifference of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg to European affairs offered no incentive to other Cabinets to notice the affairs of Russia. If we follow on the map the march of Russia in Asia, we perceive two main lines, the ends of which, under favourable circumstances, may converge and enclose the countries between them. The point does not concern any supposed system of Russian policy in Asia, but simply the geographical fact of her progress. In its wider dimensions it offers a singular analogy to her progress in Europe. Here her aim has always been to possess eastern and western Prussia, flanked by Finland and Poland; and on the Danube she seeks to exclude and paralyse Austria, against the day when it may be practicable to grasp at European Turkey. By the submission of the Caucasus in 1860 the whole of the northern shores of the Black Sea have become her property. If we trace her march upon Persia, in Turkestan, and her invasion of the Kirghizian Steppes, the analogy becomes striking.

If the ardour and tenacity with which a political idea is pursued be any index of the conviction of its logical necessity, it must be admitted that Russia regards her advance

in Central Asia as an absolute condition of her political organization. She did not interrupt her Asiatic expeditions even during the Polish revolution. Nor is her Asiatic policy a new idea; it dates from the time of Peter I. The impression originally made on the nomadic tribes, however, had been gradually effaced by the impossibility of changing their condition, and had become a mere recollection. Nicholas, as is well known, failed in his repeated attempts to reduce them; and after the Crimean War a renewed vigour in this direction was well calculated to act on public opinion. While the Czar as yet did not venture to proclaim his sympathies with the revolutionary agitation of the kindred races of south-eastern Europe, it seemed opportune to kindle the enthusiasm of Russian patriotism by the prospect of Asiatic triumphs. This policy further strengthened the Panslavist belief that Russia, at the head of the Slavonic race, with its new "formula of civilization," was destined to enjoy supremacy over the world. Nevertheless, it would not have been so easy as it was for Russia during the Polish revolution to carry on her Asiatic expeditions, had not Prussia—already contemplating her aggression on Germany, and anxious at least for the neutrality of Russia—co-operated in the overthrow of Poland. It was on the sympathies of Prussia that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg especially relied when it rejected the remonstrances of England, France, and Austria, in favour of the Poles. With a superfluity of disdain, after it had torn up the remonstrances, it issued, on the 4th of December 1864, a long justification, which no one had asked for, of its Asiatic conquests. Meanwhile the tragedy was played out in Poland; and since 1866 the work of national and religious destruction in that country has been prosecuted in a manner which altogether eclipses the vengeance of Nicholas. This violence would have been impossible without the diplomatic and material connivance of Prussia, which was given in order to secure the assent of Russia to the aggrandizement of the House of Hohenzollern, and to lay the foundation of an alliance with the future Panslavist Empire. In the autumn of 1867, when the Prussian Parliament took notice of the increasing Russification of the Baltic provinces, Count Bismarck pronounced their right of resistance and the maintenance of their privileges to be problematic and obsolete, though they were guaranteed by the oath of all the Czars, and of Alexander II. himself; and he attempted to justify the whole system of Russification adopted by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg.

In this system it is possible in theory to

draw a distinction between the purpose itself and the mode of its execution. The execution is the work of the ultra-national parties, to which the government committed the pacification of Poland. Their fanaticism performed its office by trampling down the innocent, after the guilty were slain, or had fled, or were languishing in Siberia. In the name of nationality they sought to extirpate the language, the religion, the civil and social institutions of Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, all the Western governments, and even the provinces of the Baltic. Meantime it was becoming evident that the government had lost all control over parties, and had sunk into dependence on the Panslavists. To their leaders, in the Cabinet and on the steps of the throne, it was given to discuss and plan the future of the Empire. What the ultra-Russians had regarded as a victorious and exhilarating campaign, the government regarded as a necessary defence to the Empire and nation against the dissolving influence of the West. The Russification of the Western provinces became a principle. The reluctance of the non-Russian element, their attachment to their customs, religion, and language, was denounced as separatism and hostility to the Empire, and provoked the nationalists to the most violent measures. The aim and purpose of this system is clear; it tends not merely to the levelling of the different countries according to the St. Petersburg programme, but also to the erection of a sort of Russian wall round the western borders of the Empire. In old times a desert track was artificially made along the frontiers between Russia and Prussia, where smugglers and military deserters might be caught and shot: conversely, the victims of this violent Russification will one day be a screen behind which Russia may organize her aggressions on Europe.

For it is evident that the exclusion of the Empire and its chaotic movements from Europe is only one side of its politics. The civilized world might be comparatively indifferent to the fate of Russia, if she were to retire definitively from the scene. But the policy of exclusion not only aims at making an impression on the world, but in its action on non-Russian Slavonians becomes even a policy of inclusion. It aims at effecting the dissolution of neighbouring States. The Panslavists accept this system of agitation as a prelude to the triumph of the "new formula of civilization" over the decrepit life of Europe; the government, more practical, sees in it a necessary preliminary to the "solution of the Eastern question." In this Eastern question, as in that of Russification, the government has allied it-

self with the ultra-Russian parties, and at present yields to their influence. We have seen how the cry of Greek Christianity has been exchanged for that of kindred nationalities and the redemption of oppressed Slavonian populations. The re-establishment of the Byzantine empire remains as an ultimate aim, only to be realized through a Slavonian confederation under Russia. The kingdom of Greece is also to be absorbed, and Constantinople, Philippopol, and Salonika to become "Hellenic free-towns." In the expenditure of the Russian foreign-office, the item formerly known as "subsidy for the Greeks of Turkey" is now called "subsidy for orthodox churches and schools of the Slavonian provinces under Turkey and Austria." For Austria is now officially placed in the scheme of these revolutionary agitations; and here again Prussia, since 1866, by material and moral means, among the Czechs and among the southern Slavonians, has been aiding and abetting Russia towards the subversion of Austria. At the Paris Congress, the Cretan insurrection, as being an exclusively Hellenic affair, was coldly supported. In Russia, on the other hand, an officer of high standing, General Fadejew, has recently published a pamphlet on the Eastern question, in which he asserts its close connection with the Slavonian question, urges as indispensable the Russian annexation of Galicia, and announces the dissolution of Austria as the necessary and practicable condition of solving the Slavo-Oriental question. "If only this were accomplished," he says, "then Constantinople would of itself fall into the hands of Russia; at least Russia would march unhindered upon Constantinople; whereas with Austria in her rear she cannot venture a step. At present Europe would reply to an attempt in this direction by an irresistible coalition; and Austria would at once rekindle the revolution in Poland and Lithuania. Russia stands isolated in Europe. She cannot even count much upon Prussia, whose connivance in the absorption of Slavonic races she would have to reward by equal concessions to German nationality. The United States of America alone have a common interest with Russia in weakening the naval powers of Europe. Let it then be the duty of the army of Russia to anticipate all these eventualities, and of her politicians to popularize the idea of a Pan Slavist confederation, under the supreme direction of the Czar, from the Pacific to the Vistula and the Danube, and from the Mediterranean and Black Sea to the Pole."

It is said that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has officially disclaimed any responsibility in connection with this pamphlet. It

may be so; but the true value of such disclaimers is known. The Slavonian Congress of Moscow, presided over by Tolstoi, and the reception of the Czech deputation, are not forgotten; nor are the loyal pilgrimages of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro and Prince Charles of Roumania to the court of Alexander at Sympheropol any mystery; nor is it unknown that Russian gold underlies the agitations of the South Slavonians from the eastern shores of the Adriatic to the Black Sea. General Fadejew may be the enfant terrible of his party; but he is not the less to be thanked for his candour. His party is in fact the dominant one in Russia; its wishes are those of the Russian nation; and the policy of the Cabinet is committed to its hands. For the present Russia may shrink from a war; her internal life is still unripe; the reorganization of the army and the whole southern railway system are incomplete. Still, everything forebodes a decisive struggle. The annexation of Turkey will always remain the fixed aim of all Moscovite policy; and the attempt to realize it will be made, as Fuad Pacha's political testament observes, "when the Slavonians get their Cavour or their Bismarck."

The same authority, whether apocryphal or not, declares an important truth when it says that this attempt will proceed from the east, from Persia. The consolidation of Russian power in the khanates of Turkestan and the court of Teheran are its remote preparations; the more immediate being the systematic corruption of the neighbouring Turko-Persian provinces, and the fomentation of revolt and disaffection in the Arabian Irak and Mesopotamia. Outbreaks of this spirit are no new phenomenon among the nomad or half-nomadic populations of Asiatic Turkey. They used to happen periodically, and were tolerated as unavoidable accidents; the insurgents of yesterday would to-morrow once more become loyal subjects of the Padishah, for there existed for them no other political attraction. Now the case is altered. As on the Balkan peninsula, so also in Asia, the Moscovite policy selects its instruments skilfully; and the chiefs are seduced by the flash of the silver rouble. This propaganda, moreover, is closely connected with those of Bulgaria, Roumelia, and Bosnia. For Russia has been taught by experience that Turkey, in case of encroachment on her European territories, is still able to draw recruits enough from Asia to keep the invaders at bay till a European coalition compels them to retreat. But Mohammedan Asia is not so good a field for Russian manœuvres as the Slavonian provinces of European Turkey. The deep divergences of nationality and re-

ligion are not compensated by the greater freedom from the control of the European protectors of Turkey. The reorganization of the Turkish army, however, which extended military conscription even to these regions, gave an opening for intrigue. In the spring of 1869 some disturbances had already been fomented in Albania and Anatolia: it was an easier task to raise the Arab tribes of the Mesopotamian plains and the Syrian desert against the Governor-General of Bagdad. It had been their custom, even in ordinary times, to dismiss with blood and bruises the recruiting officers who were sent to levy their contingent; but now, instead of serving the successor of the Khalifs as irregular troops, under the standard of the Prophet, in some wild religious war, they were to undergo the drudgery of regular discipline. It was too much for human nature. The fire was kindled; and Russia willingly blew the coals. The tumult moved on towards Bagdad, the regular soldiers scarcely holding out against it; and Russia quietly continued the prosecution of her own purposes.

Her aim is the extension of either the frontiers or the rule of the Empire—in Europe over the Slavonians, and in Asia over the populations of the Armenian mountain range down to the Euphrates, and if possible towards the coasts of Syria and the Persian Gulf. All this reacts on her ultimate designs upon European Turkey and Constantinople; and, taken in connection with the intended Slavonian confederation, it exhibits the outlines of an organic fringe of tributary States around the nucleus of Russia. On the other hand, it would be an exaggeration to regard the conquest of Central Asia and the intrigues against Persia as seriously affecting the British power in India. No doubt the predominance of Russia in Turkestan is a fact; and if the ukases of the Czar were to be as respected at Bokhara and Samarkand as at St. Petersburg, and the populations were to be drilled into disciplined masses like the Cossacks, she might some day create a serious embarrassment to the Anglo-Indian Empire. But the immediate purpose of her operations in Central Asia does not threaten India. Her advantage is already sufficiently great in obtaining the exclusive command of the traffic of Central Asia, and the protection of the commercial caravans. An Indian complication would only be brought about as a means to the principal end, and would only become significant in the very crisis of the Russian struggle. It is conceivable that England might be induced to remain neutral during the decisive attack on Turkey, by a bold diversion against

India; but such an effort would demand the employment of so colossal a force that Turkey herself might find safety in the division of her foe.

We have now endeavoured to gain an insight into the development of parties in modern Russia, their relations with and reaction on the government, the political aim of the nation, and the means to its attainment. To a sentimental politician the picture which the Empire offers might seem grand as well as horrible. But perhaps the grandeur is somewhat imaginary. For what is the inner condition of Russia? The Crimean War and the reforms of the Emperor, especially the emancipation of the serfs, could not fail, under the conditions of the country, to cause a dangerous fermentation, and to give new life to elements which, since the reign of Nicholas, had lain hidden beneath the surface. This fermentation is only intensified by the fact that there are no leading men who, with a strong hand and enlarged views, might direct and regulate the chaotic movements. And the immediate actors are not only bewildered and lost for want of leaders, but recklessly usurp the office of steersmen, and threaten to fling their compasses overboard. The pioneers of Pan-slavism and the "new formula of civilization" have proclaimed to the peaceful citizens of Western Europe that, in the words of Bakunin at the Congress of Basil, "individual and hereditary possession is a barbarism which will very soon give place to communal possession." It is not probable that the resolutions of Basil will endanger the social relations of the West. On the contrary, they have awakened many dull and indolent minds to the reality of the danger; and a known peril is half overcome. But Bakunin's words are no false measure of those accumulated elements of disease in the interior of Russia which the "new era" has not cured, but merely for a time allayed. It is only at intervals that the world can catch a glimpse of the political and social life of Russia, and then it is only of a limited portion of the vast empire. Who knows exactly the character and motives of the revolts lately prevalent among the Cossack populations in the interior? Have they been quelled, or are they still raging? Who knows the motives, aim, and power of that conspiracy which the Russian papers more than half a year ago declared to have been discovered? The ignorant tools may have been punished; but the instigators and leaders are unknown or have escaped. Is this conspiracy in any way connected with the Cossack revolts? And what are its relations to Pan-

slavism? On these points we have no certain knowledge. But the evidence that does exist shows clearly that, socially and economically, the emancipation of the serfs has disappointed the general hopes. A thorough demoralization of the peasantry, a shifting proletarianism in the towns, the abandonment of extensive tracts of lands formerly cultivated, local famines, and yet a scarcity of able-bodied working men, a growing mania of drunkenness, a general dissolution of domestic ties, incendiarism and robbery, the oppression of the nobles, the absence of authority, the anarchy and helplessness of the masses—such are the phenomena. A few years ago, if any one had hinted at the possibility of such results he would have been denounced as a reactionist or an aristocrat. But now the government and all sincere patriots are forced to admit the desperate truth. Of late, indeed, an effort has been made to reform the administration. But every successive year the army has swallowed more and more millions; and the new budget shows that military reductions are improbable. To the national debt of 2,047,685,822 silver roubles a loan of 12 millions has been added for the current expenses. Again, at least 6569 versts of railway were finished last year, and 4538 are under construction; their strategical design, added to the development of the military power, indicates sufficiently the mobilization of the internal energies and resources, and their centrifugal direction. But Europe is not merely looking on at all this with helpless wonder: she has been too often warned. Nor is Russia quite sure of her European allies. Prussian politics in the hands of a drooping Chancellor and an aged King are not what they will be in the hands of the Prussian nation, which is aware of the ruinous consequences of a servile alliance with Russia. Russia has already reproached her ally with the abolition of the extradition treaty; the Russian press is furious against Prussia; and the Panславists qualify her friendship as a transient identity of interests. They invoke the Emperor of the French. But now that in his old age he has thrown himself into the arms of the Orleanists and Constitutionalists, as the readiest method of attaining his dynastic purposes and a quiet end, he is not less enigmatical than before. Nor can Russia safely calculate on her Church. The Slavonian agitation has set it aside as useless. In the eye of the masses it has lost the halo which even under Nicholas still surrounded it. Its spiritual and intellectual development are paralysed; and its clergy have no longer the respect of the people. The ruin of Catholicism in the Empire has

swept away the last national antagonism, and therewith the last hold of orthodoxy on public sympathy. The Catholic Poles have not become orthodox Russians, but merely dissolving elements in the Russian Church. And already that Church has long been engendering strange and multitudinous sects. The late revelation of the mysteries of the Skopzi clearly shows that the ecclesiastical dissolution goes hand in hand with the political and social deliquium.

Thus the reverse of the coin betrays the baseness of its metal. Russia must abjure her nature before she can conclude an honest peace with Europe. The times of the prophecy of Karamsin are yet far off: "Let Europe tremble when Stamboul is in the hands of Russia." But Herzen is not the less right when he says: "Russia does not pertain to Europe; she is a thing apart."

#### ART. VII.—THE HOME POLICY OF THE SESSION.

EUROPE is at present engaged in a series of bloodless revolutions. Austria is proceeding with rapid steps in the development of her new unity and freedom; France has exchanged absolutism for a Constitutional Government; beyond the Pyrenees the Catholic Monarchy has learned to dispense with a sovereign; and at Rome the Pope is preparing to dispense with the Catholic Church. In the Parliament of the United Kingdom a revolution quite as real is changing the delusion of founding tenancies in Ireland on free contract for the reality of basing them on customary tenures; and another measure, which is also a great innovation, is about to change the whole aspect of primary education in England, by making it a matter of compulsion instead of a matter of choice. It is fortunate that the Temple of Janus is closed, and that no international difficulties retard the business which already cumbers the Session. Foreign policy is a blank; and colonial policy, though gradually approaching definition, and already enabling great saving to be made in finance, by a modification of the system of colonial defence, has hardly yet shaped itself sufficiently to make it ready for the consideration of Parliament. The state of the revenue, notwithstanding the continued depression of trade, obviates the need for any long discussion of ways and means; and the Government has verge and scope for its great measures of Home Policy.

The legal reforms which make one element of this policy are important enough in themselves, but are generally of a technical nature, and, however calculated to facilitate the administration of justice, have little reference to the principles of law. The bill for the consolidation of the Courts provides for the immediate fusion of law and equity in theory, and for their ultimate fusion in practice as soon as the new legal education requisite shall have provided judges and advocates as expert in both branches as they are now in one single branch. It is a wise provision therefore that the Courts should remain the same in name as now, so that the change may be gradual, and no violent innovation or consolidation be attempted before the machinery is prepared to carry it out. The present judges have been trained to administer either law or equity: the future judges must be trained to administer both. The abolition of primogeniture in cases of intestacy introduces no violent alteration. The succession of all important properties is always provided for by settlement or will, so that there will be as many cadets of great families as ever; but a great injustice will be removed, which sometimes presses on the families of proprietors who die unexpectedly. The bill for the transfer of land, and that allowing aliens to hold land, are both improvements which have long been demanded by legal reformers; and both respond to needs which have been gradually growing up.

The finance of the Government constitutes one of the essential points which distinguish it from Tory administrations. But financial reforms, however important, have lost that foremost place in politics which they first reached more than a quarter of a century ago. Finance has done that part of its work which consisted in giving a more scientific character to the whole legislation and administration. It was the vestibule of a new policy; and while its walls were building the battles of politics were fought around them. Now the repeal, or at least the transformation, even of the Malt-Tax would be considered as little more than a matter of arrangement. It would not stir party passions or become a great party question. There are points in which finance is likely to become again a question of politics; but they do not come before Parliament during this Session. The horizon indeed is clouded by the increase of local rates. The demand for a revision of the system upon which these are raised will naturally be reinforced after the addition of the proposed educational rate. And the revision of the bodies to which the expenditure of the county rates is committed

—a measure promised in the Liberal programme at the general election—will probably entail a much more searching reform of the whole system than that programme appeared at the time to promise.

It is not without reason that the Irish Land Bill is called revolutionary. It destroys a system which has been long dominant in Ireland, and brings to the surface irrepressible ideas which had been debarred from any but a subterranean life. It has this feature in common with most great revolutions. In France at the end of the last century there existed a Celtic population, given to equality, attached to the soil, and clinging to the minutest properties in land, which had long been overlaid and contradicted by the feudal institutions of a conquering race. In the upheaval of the revolution the underlying race put down feudalism, and substituted its own historical customs, which it had kept alive beneath the feudal crust. The new society of France, as Tocqueville has shown, had its roots in the old system, grew from it, and was a legitimate development of principles which lay at its foundation. The old Celtic elements laid hold of the machinery of the centralized monarchy, and used the administration to uproot feudalism. Some of the same characteristics may be found in the Irish Land Bill. But while it is remarkable for the boldness of its innovation, for the decision with which it rends asunder the tangled web of laws and precedents with which the native principles regulating the possession of land in Ireland had been obscured by a long series of alien legislation, on the other hand it protects the immigrant element from oppression. The fulness with which it brings out and legalizes those native principles which have kept their vitality beneath and throughout the ages of this alien legislation, is united with a due, and even perhaps overdue, regard to all the concrete interests and vested rights which that legislation has produced.

The varied fortunes of the conflict between the native principles and the alien legislation have recently been made the matter of much serious study. An article on the "History of Irish Land Tenures" in the January number of the *North British Review* showed that the original Irish clans had a system of their own, which provided for the existence and transmission of private property, for the distribution of common lands, and for the settlement and eventual adoption of strangers into the clan. Thus there were not only clan rights of ownership, but also clan rights of occupancy. The first great interference with this system was a consequence of the Norman invasion. The feudal system, with

its irresponsible and hereditary chiefs, was set up against the clan system, with its elective and responsible chiefs. The new lords, aided by the laws, systematically degraded the tenants by subjecting them to exactions and oppressions, by violent ejections of the old tenants during war, and by a new series of exactions and oppressions on the new tenants, and then by the further step of multiplying tenancies, and a renewed series of exactions, oppressions, and legal ejections applied to the new and increased mass of tenants. It was this very series of oppressions which preserved the life of the system which it was their object to make away with. The tenants had to bid for lives and lands by submission to exactions which drove away alien adventurers. Only the native Irish would submit to terms which the landlords thought it was to their own profit to exact. In this way the Irish thrust out the more privileged colonists. Then the Irish tenants, having secured themselves against foreign competition, were able to revive step by step their customs of security. Without this guarantee they would not make improvements, they would build no houses, but would only graze and waste. They succeeded so entirely in establishing their customs that an act so revolutionary in outward character as Cromwell's transplantation scheme became the most striking recognition of them. It recognised occupancy right and the "customs of the country."

But after the English Revolution of 1688 another reaction set in. The war in Ireland attracted a new crop of adventurers looking for lands, and assisted by a new code of laws to uproot and demolish the customs of the country in the greater part of the island. By an elaborate legislation the properties of Catholics were subdivided and crumbled down, or transferred to Protestant hands; and the Catholics themselves were reduced to a state bordering on outlawry. But they recovered themselves by the same process as before, by submitting to exactions such as the Protestants would not as a rule endure. Thus the Protestants were gradually worked out while the Catholics rooted themselves in the soil.

A third revolutionary wave has still to be described. It arose, not as the two former, in legislation hostile to the persons or principles of the native Irish, but in attempts to do them justice. When the Catholic tenants and landholders got votes, the landlords multiplied their holdings for the sake of the votes. Then came emancipation, as a concession to the force of these voters. But with emancipation came the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, a class

of men who thus first became political nobodies, and were then cleared away from the land. Next, the Irish Poor-law, though a piece of legislation clearly intended in favour of the Irish population, yet, by the smallness of the districts it established, enabled the landlord to do what it was manifestly his interest to do—to clear off all pauperism from his district by systematic eviction, to sweep it into towns or neighbouring districts, and thus to escape the poor-rate. Then came the Encumbered Estates Court, which has been continually placing over the old tenantry new landlords, with abstract notions of the rights of their Parliamentary titles, speculators willing to make the most of their investments, and therefore always disposed to dispute the customs of their estates, to refuse them all recognition, and thus to rob the tenants of their rights and privileges. It was not with any ill intention that the Imperial Government appointed Irish judges for Ireland. Yet the unhappy movement against the native tillers of the soil was assisted by the nationalizing of the Irish Bench. English judges would have recognised Irish customs, as they recognise the English common law, and as English judges in Ireland had in fact recognised them up to the period of the Union, even perhaps up to the date of the Emancipation. It is certainly a principle of English law that "wherever a custom prevails it forms part of the implied contract between landlord and tenant, and can be enforced in any court of law or equity." Mr. Jessel, who made this declaration on the first night of the Committee on the Bill, added with much truth: "For reasons which were not difficult to ascertain, the Irish Bench had not followed the English practice, because till within a recent period Irish judges were chosen from a limited class who were peculiarly connected with the landed interest of the country." These men interpreted the law with so much bias to the interests of their order that custom lost all legal recognition in Ireland. In the Protestant districts generally, which were not affected by the penal laws, the customary rights remained as customs, respected, not by the laws, but by the moral sense of the community: in the Catholic districts and partly also in Protestant ones they have been kept up by the wild justice of agrarian outrages, an execution of a kind of law by no means entirely wanting either in principles or in consistent application.

Such being the unexpected outcome of recent legislation which was not intended to be unjust to the Irish tenant, the Legislature became, if possible, all the more bound to interfere, and by new legislation not only to



recognize the abiding force of the old customs but also to set straight what it had made crooked. It had to redress the balance, and, on the one hand, to remove the legal incentives to eviction which it had unwittingly given the landlord, and on the other to fortify those customs which it had weakened by the laws, and by the inevitable choice of the administrators of the laws. Logically, then, it was necessary that the Bill should balance the encouragements to eviction contained in other laws by at least equal discouragements, and that it should legalize and enforce all such customs as the principles of English common law would enforce upon its own soil. To do this is simply to carry out the first principles of English law, although accidentally in fact some of the practices of that law might be contradicted. But a contradiction in detail is not to be weighed against a fundamental agreement in principle. The customs which the Land Bill of the Government essentially recognises are these:—

1. The various usages which make up the Ulster custom, and those similar usages which have a local prevalence elsewhere.
2. The occupation rights, called in the Bill "Compensation in absence of custom," and provided for by the sliding scale of the third clause.
3. Compensation in respect of improvements as provided for in the fourth clause, and additionally guarded by the fifth, which throws the onus of adverse proof on the landlord instead of on the tenant, and by the seventh, which provides for compensation in respect of crops.
4. Moreover the Bill establishes a new system of land courts, which in principle are the legal and orderly successors and inheritors of the illegal and disorderly courts which for the last two centuries have maintained a precarious and contraband existence in the Ribbon lodges. These are now to be replaced by the land courts of the Bill; and their edicts, which result now only in agrarian outrage, will be superseded by edicts which will embody all the equity of the others, and will be expressions of law and order.

These four heads comprehend the principles of the Bill. They are the solid foundation on which the superstructure of details is built. The details themselves bear witness to the political science of the framers of the Bill, and to the patient inquiry and anxious thought which they have devoted to it. But such a measure cannot be expected to reach more than approximate completeness. It would be beyond the wit of man to devise a scheme which at the first blow should finally dispose by anticipation of all the questions arising out of a controversy of such long standing, and out of the

arrangement and conciliation of interests so multifarious and so conflicting as those which attach to the possession of land in a settled country. It is the necessary consequence of the very greatness of the revolution, that for years to come such questions will be continually cropping up, and will require the attention of the legislator. The only final and completed settlement immediately possible is the irrevocable recognition and enactment of the principles upon which the work must proceed. The principles, if sufficient momentum is given them, will cut their own path, and form their own code of practice. The great question is whether they are firmly posited and sufficiently guarded. Whether they are all carried out to precisely the due extent or in the best manner in the provisions of the Bill, is a question highly important indeed, but comparatively subordinate and subsidiary, and one which from the nature of the case can only be determined by the experience of some years' working of the law. The small minority of Irish members, however, who voted against the second reading of the Bill, did so not as objecting to its principles, but simply as being dissatisfied with some of its applications of them. On the other hand, a considerable body of the majority who professed to acquiesce in the principle of the Bill by voting for its second reading, is in fact notoriously opposed to several of its main principles. For instance, against the fundamental principle of the English common law—that customs are law—the Tories object that certain native customs in Ireland ought not to be law, because they are opposed to the theories which in England have become customary, and therefore legally binding. The law of contract, which has struck its roots in the land-trade of England, is justly maintained to be the best of its kind; for it leaves both contracting parties free. The Tories, under cover of this general but inapplicable principle, advocate free contract for Ireland, without in the least regarding the fact that one of the parties to almost every land-bargain in that country is not free, and that the law of free contract does not leave the contracting parties more free than it finds them. The landlord is free enough; but the tenant in the majority of cases is impaled on the horns of the dilemma, either to forego the land and starve, or else to agree to the exacting and ruinous terms which the competition for land enables the landlord to exact. This competition is no fault of a population who have only one great means of livelihood. It is in one respect their misfortune, for it has been a plentiful source of misery. But nationally



it has been a blessing, for it has been the Irishman's undesigned instrument for delivering himself from the foreign colonist who has at various epochs been brought in to usurp the lands of Ireland. The excessive competition, reacting on the landlord's interest, has been the great force in that process of natural selection which has chosen the Irishman to be the cultivator of his own land, and has thrust out the alien adventurer.

The claim for freedom of contract was anticipated and answered in Mr. Gladstone's speech on the 15th of February. Freedom of contract is a principle to be attributed to the ideal of a healthy condition of society; but its practical development is subject to many exceptions. Even in healthy societies such freedom is frequently and necessarily interfered with. The tendency of Parliament is to interfere more and more with it. The manufacturer is overruled in his contracts with his workmen, the shipmaster in his contracts with the emigrant. And certainly a Parliament which is about to adopt compulsion in education, and to oblige a parent to send his children to a school where he cannot contract for exactly such education as he pleases, but is obliged to make selection with a very limited power of choice, can scarcely be asked to be very squeamish about one more violation of the abstract theory. The case of Ireland is not a case in point. There is no real freedom of contract for the Irish peasant. The law may have left him free; but circumstances have deprived him of his freedom. The population is altogether agricultural; and the wealth of the country is altogether in its land. Moreover, the strictly commercial tendency, which has received great development of late years, is to use the land for grazing and pasture instead of tillage. There is therefore always an excess of demand over supply in the land-market; and, wherever this occurs in a matter necessary for life, it is the duty, as it has always been the rule, of governments to interfere to protect the weaker party. It is necessary therefore to prescribe by law the terms upon which land shall be held. The idea of holding land by contract, and not by tenure, must become traditional and customary before it can be usefully transferred to the code. A law written in the Statute-book and not in the usages of the people is a mere snare. The people must be educated to the idea, not repelled from it by the attempt to impose it by force.

The Tories, again, though owning that some fine must be levied on eviction, are loth to allow that it is a compensation for

the right of occupancy. They would put to this compensation the false bottom of pretending to regard it as what it is not. By a theory palpably fictitious, they are willing to admit it as damages for the loss of an implied contract or imaginary lease. The Tory mind has not yet got beyond the phase of legal fictions: it cannot reach to the admission of principles which appear to be contrary to its interests. This was shown in Mr. Disraeli's speech on the second reading of the Bill. He voted for it, because, as he said, he considered its principle to be that the legal relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland wanted amendment. But as to all the separate principles on which the Bill would produce that amendment, he objected to each one in detail. He would not legalize the Ulster custom, because it was so elastic, and varied so for each case, that there was no defining it, and so it was no custom at all. Again, he would not legalize any custom at all, because when a custom is legalized it must be defined, and by definition must lose all the elasticity, flexibility, and variability, which is its life. The same quality which in the first argument was used to prove that the custom did not exist, or was no custom at all, was used in the second to prove that it was a living custom, not merely a dead but a self-regulating power, too precious in its operation to be confined within the four corners of a legal definition. There was the same self-destruction in his arguments when, on the one hand, he urged against the land courts set up by the Bill the commonplaces familiar in the mouths of opponents of lawyers and litigation, and, on the other hand, proposed as an alternative for the Bill of the Government a "simple Bill"—one which should make no definitions and no laws, but merely set up a tribunal, before which a man without a lease, who had paid his rent, might go if evicted, and might receive a judgment which, on one side, should "guard the tenant from coercion, and, on the other, preserve the landlord from fraud." There has seldom been a more amusing proposal to Parliament to abdicate its functions, and to intrust its legislative powers to the officers who were appointed only to administer the law. It was a sweeping proposal to give omnipotence and universality to the lawyers, against whose limited powers the proposer was about to bring such well-worn and familiar appeals.

The Tory objections to the principles of the Bill have been met by a stronger assertion of them. Their objections to the Ulster custom have not enabled them to propose any amendments of their own. But,

on the other hand, the Government, which at first proposed to limit the Ulster custom to a prevalent usage "with reference to the compensation to be made or allowed to or on account of an outgoing tenant of a holding," has now left out those words, which seemed to make the custom a mere incident of the cessation of occupancy, and not a continuous right. With regard to other customary holdings, Mr. Disraeli, as the professed champion of free contract, would create facilities for the landlord to force or persuade the tenant to contract himself out of the benefits given him by the Act. This is manifestly contradictory to the principle and policy of the Bill. If the Bill is to be a preparation for future free contract, by raising the agricultural population to a position in which they would have freedom, it is necessary to secure time for this education. The Government therefore proposes to drop that provision which stood in the Bill as the substitute for the tenant's contracting power, namely, the power of the landlord to free his estate from all customary occupancy and claims, by the offer of a thirty-one years' lease, with terms approved by the land court. The 16th clause, which contained this provision, gives place to one enabling the landlord, if he desires to get rid of damages for eviction, to give his tenant the power of disposing of his interest. The measure is thereby made a more logical protection to the ancient Irish customs, because it provides for the commutation of the various forms of them into one uniform custom resembling that of Ulster. The Tory amendments to insure "freedom of contract" would simply nullify the Bill by providing for the legal abolition of all those customs. They would enable another Scully to force upon his tenants another Ballacohy lease. Again, the occupancy right, which in the original draft of the Bill did not amount to the explicit recognition of property in occupancy, is now much strengthened by the amendments adopted by the Government. Compensation is given purely and simply for loss of occupancy, without any complication with compensation for any class of improvements. These two amendments make the Bill complete in its adoption of the historical principles of Irish land-tenure. The application of these principles must necessarily be progressive and cumulative for many years to come. It may well happen as time goes on special provisions will have to be altered, and even reversed. Although the equitable determination of the value of the occupancy right is a most important item of the measure, so that any notable error in its

appraisement would be a serious defect in the Bill, yet it is manifest that the sliding scale by which that value is measured is a detail which it must be very much left to experience to adjust. The Government have altered, partly strengthening and partly abandoning, their first scheme. The probable effect of this sliding scale upon land has been matter of much controversy; and the various theories about it seem to have recommended it to the Tories, whose policy is to fish in troubled waters, in hope of something unexpected turning up. Hence it is that, although they object totally to the compensation for loss of occupancy, and only gulp it after sugaring it over with the sweeter name of compensation for the breach of a constructive contract, they make no objection to the principle of this sliding scale, though on their ground, as compensation for breach of contract, it is entirely absurd. It gives the largest proportionate compensation to the tenant evicted from the smallest farm; and what could be more indefensible than to give a tenant £70 damages for not getting a lease, to which he was constructively entitled, of a farm worth £10 a year, and only £100 for not getting such lease of a farm worth £100 a year? The breach of contract theory would require the sliding scale to be reversed, and the highest compensation awarded for the greatest pecuniary loss. On the other hand, on the theory of the compensation being paid for loss of occupancy, the amount is regulated by two considerations. It is a fine to prevent the landlord's indulging in a taste for eviction, and it is also compensation to the tenant for the loss of his right. Now the exorbitant competition for land in Ireland naturally attaches rather to the smaller holdings. Capital is sensitive, and does not submit to oppressive exactions. Moreover, the commercial freedom resulting from the possession of capital is one of the first and more important elements of the power of free contract. It is therefore in the smaller holdings that the landlord can most rapidly raise his rents, and can most easily fill up the vacancies he makes by eviction. On the contrary, it is the smaller occupier who finds the greater difficulty after eviction in obtaining another holding such as he requires. Rightly therefore, where the temptation to the landlord to evict is greater, and the difficulty to the tenant of finding another holding greater, the compensation for loss of occupancy should be greater also. For occupancy is use; and use is not measured by the intrinsic value of the thing used, but by the degree of necessity of the services which it

renders to the person entitled to its use, and by the difficulty of replacing it if he has once lost it.

Another of the Tory objections to the Bill is equally untenable and self-contradictory. Mr. Disraeli holds that the purchasers of land in the Encumbered Estates Courts, having received a Parliamentary title for their purchases, hold their land under a better tenure and under other conditions than other Irish proprietors. But Parliament could not give to the buyer more than the vendor had to sell. Now the vendor, if he had not sold, would have come under the provisions of the Bill, and justly, even in Mr. Disraeli's view. This liability, then, which has continually attached to the estate, has justly passed over to his successor, who has all that he bargained for, namely, a Parliamentary and unchallenged title to the estate he bought, with all the rights and duties attaching to that estate. He has no more right to challenge this Bill than he would have to challenge, on the ground of his Parliamentary title, an increased land-tax, a new education rate, or a general re-imposition of tithe for fiscal purposes.

Once more, the old Irish tenures embodied the idea that the relationship which they expressed between the Irish population and the land was one for all generations. The old "custom of the country" then, though it would have allowed an individual to contract himself out of his rights, would not have allowed him to contract any parcel of land out of the incidence of the custom, and into the action of another land-code. In this respect, as in all others, the Bill adopts but does not stereotype the custom of the country. Free contract is not discarded as an ideal to be reached at some time or other. But the very necessity of the Bill arises from the impossibility of applying the practice of free contract to a population not free in the very respect in which it is invited to contract freely. It demands therefore great caution, to guard against either the ultimate exclusion of free contract or its premature introduction before the people are prepared for it by the real enjoyment of freedom. And here it is instructive to observe the opposite character of the amendments proposed by the Government and those proposed by the Tories. The Government proposes that, though a landlord may extinguish any special custom, like the Ulster custom, by purchase, yet his land should then revert to the general condition of Irish land sanctioned by the Bill, and the new tenant should acquire rights of compensation for loss of occupancy or for improvements. It shows a growing disposition to render it impossible for the landlord or

tenant, at least for the next twenty years, to contract himself and his land out of the provisions of the Bill. The Tories, on the contrary, would make all contracts entered into within the last ten years, of course without provision of the course of legislation, valid against all claims of custom or compensation allowed by the Bill. It is evident at all points that, although they did not oppose the second reading of the Bill, they are hostile to each of its principles; though their leaders do not propose to negative any of them, except the compensation for loss of occupancy pure and simple, yet it is clear that their tendency and wish is to reduce each of them to a minimum and if possible to an inoperative rule—to a permission clogged with so many conditions as to render it impracticable.

Such a change of law as the present, so long hoped for against hope by one side, so much dreaded by the other, could never have been expected to take place without much incidental disturbance. The land laws have been the constant cause of tumult in Ireland. The code imposed by conquest has never been peaceably accepted. It cannot plead the title of quiet possession and prescription. It has always been the occasion, if not the justification, of outrage. In 1846 Lord Russell broadly laid it down that eviction and the various evils connected with it were the leading causes of Irish agrarian crime. This crime is not a mere Celtic idiosyncrasy, as some would have it. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone showed that it was most rife in the provinces where the Celtic blood was least pure. "The fact is," he said, "that the infusions of English and Scottish blood have poured into the elements whereof the Irish character is composed a spirit of pride and of self-defence—that sentiment which has made England and Scotland ever ready to rise in defence of what the people believe to be their rights. It is not the Celtic element in the character of Ireland that has given rise to all the disturbances of recent years, but a race energetic in character and determined not to be trodden down, which, having mixed with the Celtic race, has been the foremost to manifest its displeasure and resentment, wherever it has been made subject to the suffering which is invariably at the root of agrarian crime." It is only a development of this idea to add that both the increasing material prosperity of Ireland, the increasing education and enlightenment of the people, and the hope of an approaching abrogation of grievances, are additional fuel to a fire thus kindled. A half-starved slave will not feel nor resent the oppression which would rouse a well-fed serf to fury. It has been

stated, as the result of investigation, that it was not amongst the utterly destitute occupiers, rack-rented to the utmost, that the landlord-shooters were to be heard of. The more materially prosperous and the better educated a nation becomes, the more it feels its grievances, sentimental or solid. It requires a certain amount of independence and self-respect to make systematic war even on those who withdraw customary privileges, maintain their tenants in chronic despondency by a lavish abuse of notices to quit, slay them by direct eviction, or ruin them by making them pay increased rent for their own improvements. And it is just in the interval between the promise to redress these evils and its fulfilment that the thermometer of agrarian disturbance would naturally mark its maximum. At such a time we might expect a struggle between the tyrannical landlord and the suspicious tenant—the first knowing that his time is short and that what he has to do he has to do quickly, the other knowing also that his trial will not last long, and hoping that a tenacious and unscrupulous resistance will tide him over the dangerous interval. On both sides this tremulous excitement would lead naturally to exaggerated acts. The landlord would seize the last opportunity to raise his rents or evict before the Bill became law and put a limit to his absolutism; the tenant who had hitherto passively resisted would naturally now resist in a more active manner and make a supreme struggle to prevent the cup being snatched away just as it reached his lips.

It appears that the Government foresaw and made provision against this danger. In each of the clauses, 2, 3, and 4, of the original Bill, which enact the tenant-right customs other than those of Ulster, occupancy right, and right to compensation to improvements, respectively, there is a provision inserted that "any contract made by a tenant, by virtue of which he is deprived of his right to make any claim which he would be otherwise entitled to make under this section, shall, so far as relates to such claim, be void." That this provision has a retrospective as well as prospective force is evident by the amendments of Mr. Disraeli, who wishes to limit it to contracts made "before the passing of the Act." What he wants is, not to guard against past contracts, but to give tenants—and landlords—all future facilities for contracting themselves out of the benefits of the Act. Both Tories and Liberals therefore are agreed that this provision guards the tenant from losing his rights by any contract or agreement whatever. In the face of a provision so broadly laid down, it seems unreasonable to assert that, in any sense in-

volving an injustice, "there are many cases in which the title of the tenant to improvements will be excluded by the fact that he has made them in contravention of a written contract," and that wherever "the tenant has signed one of those coercive agreements which have been the custom on so many Irish estates no claim can be made."

But it is this opinion of the action of the Bill, this idea that it will not meet the difficulties of the case, and that its clauses will not be able to establish the principles they assert, which some suppose to be the proximate cause of the recent agrarian disturbances. These disturbances are described as the struggle of tenants with their threatening letters and occasional violence, against landlords with their threatening notices and forced contracts intended to deprive the tenants of the benefits of the Land Bill. But, in the first place, the dates of these disturbances show that they are not the result of the absence of any particular provision from the Bill. And, in the second place, as far as contracts are concerned, the provisions asked for are in the Bill. It does not reinstate any tenants, if there are any, who are now being evicted; but it makes void all contracts, not only from the beginning of the year or session, but from all time, which would deprive an actual tenant of the rights of compensation now given him. No special pleader can draw a clause to evade principles enacted in such broad and generalized terms. Of course the Bill only consists of words; and printed sentences do not convey their meaning like a living voice; in case of doubt they cannot explain themselves. And they have been misinterpreted. It is not to be wondered at if Ireland receives with suspicion even the fairest offers of the Imperial Government. But the misinterpretation, however unfortunate, is not the fault either of the Government or of the Bill. The truth is that a time of excitement like the present must be expected to be rife in violence. The Government has waited patiently in expectation that time and reason would produce some mitigation. Long before Christmas the organs of English opinion were urging upon the executive the necessity of meeting the evil with the usual remedy. The accounts were much exaggerated by panic-struck or interested reporters; and a real diminution of the ebullition in the beginning of the year seemed to promise that the crisis might be tided over without any exceptional laws. But February did not fulfil the promise of January; and it gradually became clear that the measure indicated as possible in the speech from the

Throne would have to become a reality. Nevertheless, at the last moment, in order that its effect might be softened, it was still postponed for a few days, until the second reading of the Land Bill should first assure Ireland that the work of justice and conciliation was, in deed and in truth, the central column of the new Irish policy.

The Peace Preservation Act is exceptional; but it is not unconstitutional. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus was an interruption of the Constitution: it cannot be justly said that any of the provisions of the present Act are so. They facilitate and extend acts the very abuse of which, however deplorable and deserving of punishment, would hardly create an unconstitutional state of things. The police already had power, under warrant, to search houses, by day or night, for suspected criminals, or for contraband goods. The Government, at its peril, had already a right to seize seditious prints. But the new law, though within the lines of the Constitution, is one of exceptional severity, and of a harshness only to be justified by crying necessity. The necessity which justifies it is more mechanical than moral. Its vindication does not rest on any opinion of the exceptional atrocity to be attributed to the crimes which it represses. If such legislation had any relation to the moral guilt of crime, it might be more wanted for England than for Ireland. There are still in Ireland fewer murders in the same ratio of population than in England. Murders in England are generally more brutal, less excusable by extenuating circumstances. Agrarian murders have something of the character which moralists in all ages have assigned to tyrannicide: they are heroic remedies for intolerable evils. The national life in Ireland, when it extravagates from the middle and safe path, deflects rather towards the side of violence than to that of silent plotting. In some countries human life is valued much more highly than in others. In his own home, within the mechanism of his civilisation, the Englishman shows a value for his life, and for life in general, a shrinking from bodily risk, a superabundant care and precaution, which looks like cowardice to men and nations who carry their lives in their hands, and are habitually ready to risk their own, and take those of others, on occasions which are recognised as sufficient in the unwritten national code. In some nations violence is in the ascendant, in some fraud. The measure has nothing whatever to do with the moral guilt of the Irish crimes. It is based on the incompatibility of those crimes with the existence of Government. Agrarian

outrages are dangerous to society and to the State, to the peace and institutions of a country, while fraudulent bankruptcy is not so. They may be infinitely less blameworthy than the evictions to which they respond, and yet may have to be met with infinitely severer legislation. As it is better to live under bad laws than under none at all, the Government is obliged to protect even the cruelties of the man who is acting within the margin of a condemned and expiring law, and to repress the almost justifiable excesses of those who take the law into their own hands. In Ireland the case of those who so take the law into their own hands is exceptionally strong. It is only through a long course of lawless conduct that the life of the old Irish laws has been preserved. The Land Bill takes up what is good of principles which have been enforced not by the Four Courts but by the Ribbon lodges; and it cannot be expected that a force which has lived through ages of depression and misery should at the moment when it gains an unexpected success incur any violent popular censure. But this constitutes the danger. This makes the violence so contagious. This, and not its intrinsic criminality, makes its repression so necessary. It has to be treated much as quarantine regulations treat the passenger who comes from an infected port. He is put into the lazaretto, and kept prisoner for a month, with a sentry over him to shoot him if he attempts to cross the prescribed boundaries. There can be no more severe repression than this. Yet all nations justify it. *Salus populi suprema lex.*

Once more. Although the increased well-being of Ireland may make the Peace Preservation Act more painful to Irishmen, yet it must be remembered on the other hand that this increased well-being enhances the danger to the State. It is not always, as Tocqueville says, by going from bad to worse that a country falls into a revolution. It happens most frequently that a people which had supported the most crushing laws with seeming insensibility throws them off with violence as soon as the burden begins to be diminished. The most dangerous moment for the State is that when it enters on the work of reform. The evils which were endurable while they seemed inevitable can no longer be borne when there is hope of escape. The abuses removed lay bare others which remain; and the sense of them becomes more acute. The evil is less, but the perception of the evil more keen. At the same time the violence which it is incumbent on the Government to repress in Ireland has lost its

old justification. What it had to do it has done. It is henceforth not only what it always has been, abnormal and disturbing, but also superfluous and unintelligent. When the Government undertakes to legalize and apply systematically the essential principles of Brehon law, it becomes more indisputably bound to crush the illegal and accidental enforcement of that code by the Ribbonmen. The two administrations are in rivalry with one another. Ireland might conceivably be happy with either; but then the other must be away. The jurisdictions are mutually incompatible.

And thus the Peace Preservation Act becomes under the circumstances a part of the message of peace itself. With the advent of the Land Bill the system of outrage loses its justification; with it, therefore, must come the ultimate suppression of that system, with whatever severity may unhappily be needed to complete the work. Harsh as the Act sounds by itself, it is one of the discords which are necessary to complete the great harmony. It jars on the ear for a moment; but the measure it supports is the permanent motive of Irish life. Former concessions of justice to Ireland have too often been disfigured by conditions which have defiled them, made them incomplete, and even turned them from their proper end. Emancipation itself was not given without the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. The air-boxes by which the present Land Bill is buoyed up in its voyage over the Parliamentary waters are not permanent parasites growing on its hull. They are temporary incidents which will fall off from it, and leave no results, except the greater completeness and thoroughness of the measure which they help to carry.

The Education Bill is based, like the Irish Land Bill, on the principle of preserving and legalizing existing rights and customs. It is however a great innovation, in the entire change it makes in the attitude of the State. Hitherto the Government has never taken the initiative in education, but has only gone where voluntary efforts had pioneered the way, and thus has only made itself auxiliary to private benevolence. Now it proposes to lead instead of follow, and to come down with most force where it is most needed, instead of only going where it is best entertained and seconded. At the same time, it does not propose to be ungrateful to those who did so much of its work while it only assisted them. It confirms and maintains the institutions created by those who have spent so many millions upon them, guarding the liberty of parents

and children by a conscience clause, while at the same time it does away with the denominational inspection, a function which no longer has meaning when the Government ceases to interfere with denominational instruction; and it also supplements them, and makes good their shortcomings. It divides the whole of England into districts, finds out the exact amount of school accommodation wanted and supplied in each, directs the formation of school boards in those districts where the accommodation is deficient, and in the last resort compels these boards to supply the deficiency, and allows them in turn to compel the attendance of those children for whom the supply has been provided. It recognizes an abstract ideal, and works towards its realization on the basis of existing facts; and it is properly described as a "gigantic" measure, for it undertakes to bring, within two or three years, the means of education up to the mark of grappling with the entire necessities of the country.

But it contains one small point, one half sentence, which has excited the hottest opposition from a section of the Liberal party. It is that which puts every school provided by a school board "under the control and management of such board," thus permitting the extension of the denominational system, of course with its new securities for liberty of conscience. This seems in the eyes of certain educational theorists a worse thing than leaving the people uneducated. It is obvious that either education must be a mere stalking-horse with them, or they must have so low an opinion of the denominational system as to consider that children are better educated in the streets than in the present schools. This is the true meaning of their claim either to have their views now imposed by law, or the Bill delayed till that is done. For the permission given to the school boards to make their schools denominational, to have at certain hours denominational instruction imparted to those children whose parents wish for it, though an integral part of the Bill, would be just as separable at any future time from the education provided by it, as it is at the present time from the existing education. The opposition however is an instructive one; it shows how the negation of sectarianism may be made to assume the most sectarian character, and how a self-willed physician may commit murder in healing wounds.

Theoretical politicians have long desired that the new universal and compulsory system of education should be planned on new lines, and should entirely break away from the traditions and forms of the partial and

voluntary system which it is about to supersede. The Bill, on the contrary, proposes to retain this system, extending its benefits to all sects, denominational and undenominational. But the Secularists have taken a fancy not to be considered a sect. They want to be acknowledged as a totality—not as part, but as the whole, of the people of England. But in fact they are marked by all the characteristics of a sect. What is a sect? A portion, great or small, of mankind thinks on certain points differently from its neighbours, as it has a thorough right to do. It also thinks its own opinions the best, and considers it its duty to propagate these opinions by all lawful methods. To this legitimate attitude the sect universally tends to add the opinion that its duty of propagating and enforcing its opinions overrides and annihilates the rights of all other men to hold and enjoy their opinions. It tends to acknowledge solely its own duties, but not the rights of others—to impose its own opinions, by persuasion if possible, and, if not, then by violence. Now, every one who examines the matter can see that secularism possesses these characteristics. The Secularists accordingly, although entitled to the full share of educational direction which their number and influence give them, have no more right than their fellow-sects to claim monopoly of education. On the other hand, their intolerance does not justify their fellow-sects in endeavouring to exclude them from their sectarian rights. When the State supposes it to be its duty to recognize the truth of one religion which it establishes, and to deny the truth of all others, it logically delivers over all public education to the sect which it establishes. But when circumstances force the State first to tolerate other sects and then to recognize them all as possessing equal rights, it as logically establishes the denominational system, and gives proportionately equal assistance to the educational institutions of all sects. When it is found that the voluntary efforts of these sects, even backed by Government aid, are insufficient to provide education for all, the Government finds itself obliged to take the education of the residuum into its own hands. A new establishment is thus made; and naturally enough the sects which have been hitherto impartially treated scramble for it. Against the natural, and in the long-run inevitable, extension of denominational education, the Secularists cry out that it affirms the principle of concurrent endowment. But, on the other hand, to deliver the new educational establishment to them is to establish a sectarian monopoly. And there can be no comparison between concurrent endowment and

such a measure as this—a measure which would be distinctly retrograde and obscurantist, and would sacrifice at a blow the teachings and the gains of centuries of experience and progress. The demand of any sect to have the monopoly in the State educational establishments ought to be an anachronism at this period of civilization.

But the Secularists allege that they are different from other sects. Of course: a sect is founded on such differences. They contend also that their difference gives them a superiority to all other sects, and entitles them to supremacy and exclusive power. Of course: or they would not have the spirit of a sect. The claim of infallibility is in some form or other that of all such bodies. But every sect is built up of at least two constituents—its philosophy and its practical system, its doctrine and its discipline. And it contains two classes of adherents—those who are attracted by its tenets, and those who are attracted by its practical or political system. Moreover, every sect has its day; that is to say, there is a period when either the prevalent tone of thought favours a certain sectarian philosophy, or a prevalent social tendency favours a sectarian mechanism and discipline. The present age, both in its prevalent mode of thought and in the tendencies of its social mechanism, favours secularism. Hence, it may be observed in passing, the principle of legislative equality would be more outraged by unduly favouring the sect while it is itself strong than by favouring it when weak. To take from the poor to add to the rich may be a convenient maxim for politicians who rule by setting one party to control another, who pay their militia with the plunder of the provinces they rule; but it is an abomination to the statesman who founds his system on equal rights for all, on a common freedom founded on a common toleration. But to return. Both the prevalent thought of the age and the prevalent practical movements of the age in one way favour the claim of the Secularists to educational monopoly. The movement of society favours the claim; for it forces many men who have no sympathy with the philosophy of secularism to embrace its practical conclusions. Those who are responsible for the progress of affairs, who have to attain results and achieve success in their undertakings, who have to make men act together, to reconcile their differences, to compromise their discordant claims, must wish for some short method of settling the overwhelming difficulties which spring out of that indefinite multiplication of opinions and wills which it is the boast of the highly organized and differentiated European civiliza-



tion to have produced and fostered. Nowhere is the embarrassment so much felt as in the problem of National Education. The whole people and each section of it demand such an education. But the zeal of each class and sect is either for education in the abstract, which is a nonentity, or for education according to its own straitest sectarian views. Any substantive plan is the subject matter for a universal protest. All demand what each in turn forbids. It is here that the secularist solution of the difficulty presents itself in so tempting a guise to the impatient theorist and the baffled administrator. All goes easy as soon as religion is excluded from education. The Secularist presents himself not as demanding that men should abate their own zeal or their own belief, but only that they should let it operate elsewhere than in the schoolroom. The schoolroom, he says, especially the primary schoolroom, where the instruction is merely rudimentary, need be no more the arena for religious controversy than the ball-room or the concert-room. Only let the acknowledgment of the political necessity and expedience of separating secular rudimentary instruction from religious shake hands with the consciousness that it is practically useless to qualify the alphabet and the multiplication-table with the Catechism, and the difficulty is solved. Thus secularism sits like a spider in the central spot where all lines converge, ready to catch up the wight who is entangled in any of them. The secularist conclusion is the conclusion of the exhausted denominational combatant as he retires from the drawn battle, or from the vain attempt at compromise. "Since our schools cannot have one faith, let them have none." But the drawback is that this formula is itself the dogma of another sect; and thus the *eirenikon* is not an accommodation between the parties who have borne the brunt of the battle, but their entire effacement before a new enemy, who sails between their dismasted hulks and captures them all.

If this enemy were something superior, that could come on from above, and take them by sovereignty of nature, there would not indeed be less loss for them, but there would be more consolation. But when the enemy is a sect like themselves, the feeling of injury must be increased. Secularism indeed alleges further, that even supposing it to be a sect, it cannot be classed among religious ones, since its position with regard to religion is in no degree positive, but altogether negative. But this position is in fact a religious one. It is a proclamation of the dogma that religion is not relevant to man's mind, his life, his education. Faith, it says,

is opinion, not knowledge; dogmas (other, of course, than its own) are fancies that come and go, are taken up and laid down, but are not to be taught, any more than the science or art of dreaming is to be taught. Like dreams, dogmas are not to be opposed and argued with, but simply left unnoticed. Elaborate silence is their proper antagonist. Their life is in controversy; unopposed, they die away. The section of men that is specialized by this dogma is a religious sect. As such it has its rights just like its fellows. No advocate of liberty can complain of the existence of such a school of thought: no sensible man ought to repine at the exceptional power which circumstances conspire to give it at this moment. But no Government would be more justified in letting it stamp out its rivals than in letting it be crushed by them.

The sects, then, which seek protection against Secularism justly regard it as a dogmatic and therefore aggressive system. They point out that England is not the first country in which the controversy has raged, and plead that the experience of other countries should not be disregarded in their own. When Napoleon I. founded the University of France, he made it expressly the supplanter of denominational teaching. It was founded to be the organ of universal education, as well primary as superior, and it was openly intended to vindicate to the State a function which had up to its foundation been performed by religious bodies. It was necessary, in order to complete the new Napoleonic idea of the State. "*Il n'y a pas,*" said the first consul, "*d'état politique, s'il n'y a pas un corps enseignant avec des principes fixes.*" Les pieds de ce grand corps seront dans les bancs de l'école et du collège, et sa tête dans le sénat. Les membres de l'université épouseront l'instruction publique, comme leurs devanciers épousaient l'Eglise. . . . Il n'y a eu jusqu'à présent dans le monde que deux pouvoirs, le militaire et l'ecclésiastique; c'est l'ordre civil qu'il faut constituer en France. Il faut imiter, dans le corps enseignant, la classification des grades militaires." Education thus became a department of State, which was to determine the instruction to be given and the mode of imparting it, and was to enrol all teachers in a strong graduated hierarchy, closely dependent on the State. As it was a new foundation, with functions which were not new—for education is as old as childhood,—it followed that its attributes were abstracted from other institutions which had previously exercised them. The new department of State in fact not only usurped the school, but also several of the functions

which had hitherto belonged to the parent and to the church or clergyman. Religion is a kind of education; the State, in assuming to itself all education, assumed also the dictatorship over religion, or at least over its educating functions. Yet the Imperial State did not logically carry out its conclusions. It maintained religion to console, while it set up a rival body to educate. And the result has been just what must always be the result when two privileged claimants dispute for one booty. The State department of education is always engaged in rivalry with the State department of religion. Only two years ago it was proposed in the Belgian Chambers to reorganize education on the basis of the programme of the "*Congrès libéral*," which demanded "*l'organisation d'un enseignement public, sous la direction exclusive de l'autorité civile, en donnant à celle-ci les moyens constitutionnels de soutenir la concurrence contre les établissements du clergé, et en repoussant l'intervention du clergé à titre d'autorité dans l'enseignement organisé par le pouvoir civil.*" In this system the State does not simply in an abstract way desire education, but desires its own method and matter of education, and wishes by its superior force, whether by the rivalry of the national purse with voluntary efforts or by mere violent suppression, to crush all education which is not its own.

Secular education, organized on political or imperial principles, only sets itself up against clerical education because it sets itself up against all educators but its own; and it does so, not so much because it objects to what they might teach, as because it objects to their exercising functions which it claims for itself. But secular education, founded upon the dogma of secularism, goes on another principle. Its ultimate object is to get rid of religion, not only from education, but from life and thought. Comte's argument for State education is well known. He considers that the anarchy of thought arises at the bottom from the simultaneous employment of three philosophies radically incompatible—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive; and that if one of these philosophies, the positive, obtained a real and universal preponderance, there would be a determinate order and a true social organization. This is only a philosophical counterpart of the political theory that anarchy in government is grounded on the struggle for pre-eminence of three hostile elements—the individual, the corporation, and the State; and that quiet will only be established by the universal preponderance of the State in the affairs not only of the nation, but of the individual and family as

well. On this theory the State, and the State alone, teaches its citizens their rights and their duties. It teaches morals, and only does not teach faith because it has none. The extreme dogmatic Secularist demands the abolition of the whole system which, up to this time, has inculcated upon mankind, in infancy, doctrines respecting a future world. Man, he says, ought to be so educated that it shall be as easy for him to be an atheist as a theist. Herr Diesterweg, once Director of the Normal School of Berlin, was a distinguished advocate of this emancipation from the prejudices of education, and declared that "in the conflict with the representatives of dogma the schoolmaster is the infallible apostle of this deliverance." A still more distinguished representative of dogmatic secularism is Mazzini; and he, though he professes to receive his mission not from a deity but from humanity, yet conceives that the duties of his mission override and crush all rights, and that it is his duty to enforce his dogmas on mankind, however unwilling mankind may be. No right, he thinks, can stand in the way of a man who feels it to be his duty to propagate the truth. This is the counterpart of Papal absolutism. It is a theory which not only justifies intolerance, persecution, and an inquisition, but even places them in the forefront of its work. It is as well to remark that in Mazzini's theory corporations have no more right than individuals. The school of rights which he condemns is, he says, federalist, and ought logically to demand the autonomy of each commune, while on its theory the Nation or State, which is the aggregate of communes, ought simply to protect each separate commune in the exercise of its rights. The school of duty, on the contrary, he says, is unitarian; it would gather the whole direction into the hands of the central authority. There is no doubt what would be the Mazzinian judgment on the Government proposal of Local School Boards, free to select the education which is to be given in their schools. The English Secularists as a body do not go these lengths. But any sect, however largely diluted with persons who merely acquiesce in its outward aims without grasping its philosophy, is always really governed and directed by its logical and courageous theorists. They constitute its heart and its brain. The substantial form of secularism is well seen in its purity in the Constituante and Convention of the French Revolution, which took the child from the parent and delivered him to the State, to be fashioned after the republican model, imbued with the republican morals, and taught the catechism of the rights of

man. It is only half-developed in the men, infirm of purpose, who would keep their sectarian rights if they could, but failing to fix the limits of mutual concession, agree desperately to sweep away everything for the preservation of which mutual concession was first devised.

It is true that these Semi-secularists, before they made their final submission, had sought another way out of the wood. They had tried to find some formula of "common Christianity," in which they supposed all Christian sects might be forced to agree. The experiment has been tried on an ample scale. The largest was the Prussian system, the most instructive that set up in Holland by the law of 1806. The primary schools in this latter country were to prepare the boys and girls "for the exercise of all the Christian virtues." The classes were to be opened and closed with the recitation of "a Christian prayer." But besides this "common Christianity," which was the only one taught at school, the law professed that instruction in distinctive and denominational Christian dogma, though not given in school, was to be sought elsewhere. "Measures were to be taken that the pupils should be instructed in the doctrines of the communion to which they belonged." Further, it was required that each schoolmaster should have certificates from his mayor, from his minister, and from two householders within the district, testifying to his morality and religious conduct. The Bible was read in the schools; and this was the death of the system. There were those who objected to the reading of the Bible, and the formless and vapid teaching of "common Christianity" and "Christian virtues." The opposition became so powerful that in 1857 new legislation was necessary. It cut off many of these supposed religious guarantees, which had either fallen out of use or been objected against, and thus made the school more secular. At the same time it abolished the monopoly of the State, and restored the liberty of founding schools. From that moment societies were everywhere formed for constituting independent and denominational schools. Ten years afterwards, at Amsterdam, the State schools numbered 10,000 pupils, and the private and denominational schools 16,500. The experiment is almost crucial against a centralized and uniform State system of "unsectarian education."

In England Lord Russell is the oldest and most consistent representative of this system. He has more than once asked Parliament to sanction a national education founded on this kind of sifted and residuary dogmatism. And he still adheres to his plan, though his

common Christian teaching has dwindled down to the reading of the Bible without note or comment, thus furnishing the chaotic *materia prima* of dogmatism, without a rag of form, but imbuing the creative mind with ample premisses for all kinds of creeds. It is not wonderful that Mr. Winterbotham, on behalf of several sects who can combine on this principle, should propose, as a solution of the present difficulty, that in schools receiving assistance from the State or local rates "no religious instruction shall be given, or religious observances practised, other than the reading of the Scriptures." This is an avowedly sectarian and intolerant proposal; and its affirmation would be a distinct victory of one class of sects over another class. But Secularists who accept it as the basis of a compromise show that their antagonism to the Bill is free from the scruples which commonly weigh with serious politicians.

In his speech on the second reading of the Bill Mr. Gladstone based it on five principles, or rather, perhaps, on five provisions, which are in themselves the symbols and expressions of so many principles. These were rating, local boards, the conscience clause, compulsion, and the principle involved in the question whether the parent should pay part or the public pay all for the child's education—whether the schools should be free, or whether they should be partially supported on the school-pence. The Bill is not founded on a narrow doctrinaire theory, but gives effect to the aspirations, so far as they are mutually compatible, of the various parties whose ideas find their rigid and exclusive expression in the programmes of the League, the Union, and the Manchester Bill Committee.

The principle of rating implies that the duty of providing for education does not fall originally upon the State, but upon the family and the neighbourhood. The principle embodied in the local boards is that it is the right of the families of a neighbourhood, and of the local corporations, to maintain their distinctive peculiarities, and to regulate the education of their children. The principle of the conscience clause is that, while the local agency provides and regulates the education, the State should take care that no local minority is defrauded of its rights of conscience by the majority, and that no child is put into the position of having to learn things to which the parent has a conscientious objection. The principle of compulsory education is that, as a matter of policy, the State may compel its citizens to put themselves into the conditions necessary for performing their political and social duties. It is no objection to, but rather a re-

inforcement of, this attribute of the State, that it cannot put it into practice without at the same time moralizing and civilizing the population. Thus education becomes not a bare duty of justice, but also a work of charity. And the principle involved in the general establishment of payment by the parents is another assertion of the duty of the parents with regard to education, and at the same time an implicit renunciation of the duty of the State to do more than to assist those who have to provide education, to test and examine what is provided, and to compel those for whom it is meant to use the provision made for them. These are sound principles. They amount to a compulsory provision of schools and teachers by school-districts, aided by the Government. They offer perfect liberty of teaching as regards the school, and perfect liberty of withdrawal from any part of that teaching as regards parents. They provide that these liberties shall be warranted and protected by the State. And then, upon these conditions being fulfilled, the State compels the attendance of the children upon those parts of the teaching to which there is no conscientious objection on the part of the parents. These general principles divide the proposed scheme by very sharp distinctions from all those systems set up by foreign governments upon secular or centralist ideas.

The place given to local agency is a confession that the system which has grown up in England, whether theoretically satisfactory or not, is practically necessary, and must henceforth be one of the foundations of English primary education, because it is homogeneous with the habits and feelings of the people, particularly in the country districts, and enlists in the cause of education the best local agency that can be found. The Bill does not set up a centralized State system to compete with the varied local institutions, and to ruin them by its superior attractions. But the Government proposes to search for all germs of voluntary effort, in order that, if possible, they may be brought to such a state of efficiency as to be recognizable by the law, and may count in the impending investigation of the adequacy of local provisions. The present stringent provisions of the code with regard to efficiency will not apply to the general investigation of local resources; and the struggling foundations of voluntary zeal will not be rejected because of the objections against a schoolroom, where none better was to be found, or because of the deficiencies of teaching which has had as yet neither time nor materials for success.

The new schools provided by the Bill are

only meant to fill up the voids which shall still remain unfilled by the present voluntary system, after a year's grace to enable it to make a push to complete its work. It is only in these new schools that there can be a question under the Bill of introducing the secular system in its purity; and it is therefore over the constitution of these schools that the Secularists will have to fight their battles. The other schools are still retained in all their denominational distinctness, with the sole condition of their accepting a conscience clause. The time-table conscience clause is efficient as far as it goes; but it would not by itself amount to a sufficient protection of the liberty of withdrawal. Considering the sectarian habits of the people of England, and the impossibility of changing these habits by mere legislation, protection is needed not only against the directly denominational instruction of the first or last hour of the classes, but against the indirect teaching which it is naturally impossible to repress. This was recognized in the Act of last session on middle-class education; and an ample protection is still more needed in the case of the less instructed and more dependent classes. The Government has pledged itself to secure perfect freedom of conscience, not only generally, but "with scrupulous delicacy," and must make its conscience clause as wide as the occasion demands.

With regard to the compulsory provisions of the Bill, the machinery is clearly in many respects imperfect, and somewhat open to Mr. Fawcett's epigrammatic nickname of "permissive compulsion." Nay more, the Bill as it stands, while giving voluntary associations a year's grace to complete the school accommodation of a district, *eo ipso*, for that very good deed, deprives them of the advantages of it. For a school-board, by clause 4, is only formed where the school accommodation is deficient; but in the model district of the hypothesis that accommodation has been provided by the voluntary associations, so that no school-board is formed; and in the absence of the school-board there is no provision for compelling the attendance of children. Thus as the Bill now stands, ample buildings might be provided, and yet the Government Inspector might only find a beggarly account of empty benches when he visits the school to ascertain its efficiency.

School-pence are, as a general rule, to be exacted. But the school-boards may give free tickets; and in exceptional cases, approved by the Education Department, they may set up free schools. The object here is clearly to prevent that rivalry between the

new schools and the existing denominational schools, which would inevitably result in the destruction of the weaker. This destruction would be entirely contrary to the principles professed by the Government, and would be adverse to the wishes of the country. There is, however, no doubt that this is what the National Education League desires. It has ascertained some doubtful points of the Bill, such as its partial and sporadic provision of school-boards. It further objects to the extension of the denominational system. And it proceeds to deal with the question by six suggestions, the three first of which would make it immediately compulsory on the local authorities to provide sufficient school accommodation out of local rates supplemented by Government grants, and would provide that all schools "aided" by local rates shall be under the management of local authorities, and subject to the Government inspection. In all this, with the exception of the meaning concealed under the word "aided," there is little that is not in complete accord with the principles of the Government Bill. But the next two suggestions, that all schools aided by local rates shall be "unsectarian" (*i.e.*, secularist), and that they shall be free, not only guard against "the extension of the denominational system," but provide for its total extinction and annihilation before a centralized and uniform system of secularist education prescribed by the State. Instead of a system in which the police would be able to draft into the appropriate denominational schools the imps found playing in the gutters, and in which the managers of the school would be secure of payment for these enforced pupils by the local board or by the State, all compulsory education, all education for which the local board might have to pay either in whole or in part, would, according to these demands, be secularist, that is to say, would be exclusively an establishment of a particular religious sect. In other words all schools at present denominational, and continuing to receive public aid, would be forced, not to put off their sectarian character, but to transfer their allegiance from one sect to another.

The policy of the Government, so far from lending itself to the creation of any such exclusive privilege, is diametrically opposed to the continuance of all sectarian ascendancies, whether political or religious. The Irish Church Act of last year and the great legislative proposals of the present session—the Irish Land Bill and the English Education Bill, together with the two measures which the Government has grouped with them as urgent political necessities—are

all alike in this, that they liberate whole strata and classes of society from inherited disabilities, or from the unjust incidence of privileges formerly granted to, or of abuses introduced by, dominant sections of the people. The Land Bill delivers the agricultural population of Ireland from the exorbitant power of the landowners. The Education Bill no longer allows the classes most needing instruction to depend entirely upon the accidental, intermittent, and occasionally dictatorial charity of the sects. The abolition of tests in the English Universities would deliver dissidents from the grievance of the monopoly of the Established Church in the higher education. And a measure founded on the report of the Committee upon Municipal and Parliamentary Elections would destroy the great means of that intimidation and corrupt influence which the powerful and wealthy in many places deem themselves entitled to exercise over the weaker and poorer classes. The spirit of all this legislation is to take away whatever undue power has been usurped by any one section of the population over any other. Its tendency is to make the law reach to all alike—to give to all subjects equal or proportionate shares, not only in the legal protection and material defence which the State owes to them, but also in those further benefits in the distribution of which favour has hitherto had more to say than equity, and assumed reasons of State have overridden clear reasons of justice.

#### CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'Année Egyptienne, Traduction complète du Papyrus Salhier IV.* Par F. Chabas. (Chalons sur Saône: Dejussieu.)
2. *Eine vor 8000 Jahren abgefasste Getreide-rechnung, copirt an der südlichen Russen-mauer des Tempels von Medinet-Habu in Ober-ägypten und mit Ergänzung und Berichtigung sammtlicher an der Wand zerstörten oder fehlerhaft eingemeisselten Stellen in ihrem Zusammenhange erklärt.* Von Johannes Dümichen. (Berlin: Stargardt.)
3. *Ueber den Chronologischen Werth der Assyrischen Eponymen und einige Berührungspunkte mit der Aegyptischen Chronologie.* Von R. Lepsius. (Berlin: Dümmler.)
4. *Assyrian Dictionary; intended to further the Study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia.* By Edwin Norris. Part II. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
5. *Buddhaghosha's Parables:* Translated from Burmese by Captain T. Rogers, R.E. With an Introduction containing Buddha's Dhammapada or "Path of Virtue," translated from Pāli by F. Max Müller. (London: Trübner.)

6. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im Jahre 72 nach Christus.* Von Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
7. *Canones S. Hippolyti Arabice e Codicibus Romanis cum versione Latina Annotationibus et Prolegomenis.* Edidit D. B. Hanberg. (Munich: Frantz.)
8. *Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhundert.* Von Richard Adalbert Lipsius. (Kiel: Schwes.)
9. *Die Gothische Sprache. Ihre Lautgestaltung insbesondere im Verhältniss zum Altindischen, Griechischen, und Lateinischen.* Von Leo Meyer. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
10. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie.* Von Hermann Kopp. Zweiter Stück. (Brunswick: Vieweg.)
11. *Ancient Laws of Ireland.* Senchus Mor. Part II. Law of Distress (completed); Laws of Hostage-sureties, Fosterage, Saer-stock Tenure, Daer-stock Tenure, and of Social Connections. Vol. II. (Dublin: Thom.)
12. *Le Diván de Nábiga Dhobyání.* Texte Arabe publié pour la première fois, suivi d'une traduction Française, et précédé d'une introduction historique. Par M. Hartwig Derenbourg. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
13. *F. C. Dahlmann's Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte.* 8<sup>te</sup> Auflage. Quellen und Bearbeitungen der Deutschen Geschichte neu zusammengestellt von G. Waitz. (Göttingen: Dieterich.)
14. *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum, oder die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Theodor Hirsch, Dr. Max Toeppen, und Dr. Ernst Strehlke. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
15. *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles.* Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. (Leipzig: Vogel.)
16. *Der Trobador Guillem de Cabestanh sein Leben und seine Werke.* Von Franz Hüffer. (Berlin: Heumann.)
17. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden.* Vols. I. and II. Edited by Professor Babington. (London: Longmans.)
18. *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.* By William Langland. Edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. The "Crowley" Text, or Text B. (London: Trübner.)
19. *Congregational History, 1200-1567.* By John Waddington, D.D. (London: Snow.)
20. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.* By James Anthony Froude. Reign of Elizabeth. V. VI. (London: Longmans.)
21. *The Life and Letters of Francis Bacon.* By James Spedding. Vol. V. (London: Longmans.)
22. *Cinco cartas de D. Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, primer Conde de Gondomar.* Publicadas la Sociedad de Bibliófilos. (Madrid: Rivadeneyra.)
23. *The Private Life of Galileo.* Compiled principally from his Correspondence, and that of his eldest Daughter, Sister Maria Celeste. (London: Macmillan.)
24. *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungs-träger.* Von Dr. Edmund Pfeiderer. (Leipzig: Fues.)
25. *Briefwechsel Friedrich des Grossen mit dem Prinzen Wilhelm IV. von Oranien und dessen Gemahlin.* Mitgetheilt von Leopold von Ranke. (Berlin: Dümmler.)
26. *Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, et Madame Elisabeth. Lettres et Documents inédits.* Publiés par T. Feuillet de Conches. Tome V. (Paris: Plon.)
27. *Étude sur Clicquot-Blervache, économiste du 18<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par Jules de Vroil. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
28. *Politischer Nachlass des hannoverschen Staats und Kabinet ministers Ludwig von Ompteda aus den Jahren 1804 bis 1818.* Veröffentlicht durch F. von Ompteda. I. II. III. (Jena: Frommann.)
29. *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau.* Von G. H. Pertz. Dritter Band. (Berlin: Reimer.)
30. *Letters of Sir Charles Bell: selected from his Correspondence with his brothers George and Joseph Bell.* (London: Murray.)
31. *Life of Daniel Webster.* By George Ticknor Curtis. Vol. I. (New York: Appleton.)
32. *Briefe des Königlich Preussischen Staatsminister Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler an einen Staatsbeamten.* Herausgegeben von E. Kelchner und Dr. K. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
33. *Aufsätze zur Englischen Geschichte.* Von Reinhold Pauli. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
34. *The Home Life of Sir David Brewster.* By his Daughter, Mrs. Gordon. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
35. *Karl Mathy. Geschichte seines Lebens.* Von G. Freitag. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
36. *Friedrich Ferdinand Graf von Beust. Sein Leben und vornehmlich Staatsmännisches Wirken.* Von Dr. Friedrich W. Ebeling. Bd. I. (Leipzig: Wöller.)
37. *Emanuel Geibel.* Von Karl Goedeke. (Stuttgart: Cotta.)
38. *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts.* Second Series. By Sir Charles Eastlake. With a Memoir compiled by Lady Eastlake. (London: Murray.)
39. *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe im 19ten Jahrhundert.* Von Gustav Schmoller. (Halle: Waisenhaus.)
40. *Della Carità preventiva e dell'ordinamento delle società di mutuo soccorso in Italia.* Di Enrico Fano. (Milan: Civelli.)
41. *Baltische und russische Culturstudien aus zwei Jahrhunderten.* Von Julius Eckardt. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
42. *The Magyars: their Country and Institutions.* By Arthur J. Patterson. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)
43. *Across America and Asia. Notes of a Five Years' Journey around the World, and of Residence in Arizona, Japan, and China.* By Raphael Pumpelly. (London: Low, Son, and Marston.)
44. *New Tracks in North America.* By W. A. Bell. (London: Chapman and Hall.)
45. *Études et Essais.* Par Emile de Laveleye. (Paris: Hachette.)

46. *Political Problems for our Age and Country.* By W. R. Greg. (London: Trübner.)
47. *The Earthly Paradise: a Poem.* By William Morris. Part III. (London: Ellis.)
48. *The Holy Grail and other Poems.* By Alfred Tennyson. (London: Strahan.)
49. *Human Life in Shakespeare.* By H. Giles. (Boston: Lee and Shepard.)
50. *The Secret of Swedenborg: being an Elucidation of his Doctrine of the divine Natural Humanity.* By Henry James. (Boston: Fields, Osgood, and Co.)
51. *Social Morality.* Twenty-one Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge. By F. D. Maurice, Professor of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy. (London: Macmillan.)
52. *Two Letters on Causation and Freedom in Willing, addressed to John Stuart Mill.* By Rowland G. Hazard. (London: Longmans.)
53. *The Relation of Language to Thought.* By W. R. Burgess, M.A. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
54. *Études sur la Monnaie.* Par Victor Bonnet. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
55. *Dictionnaire Géographique de la France.* Par Adolphe Joanne. (Paris: Hachette.)
56. *The Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria.* By R. Brough Smyth. (Melbourne: Ferres.)
57. *Physical and Historical Evidences of Vast Sinkings of Land on the North and West Coasts of France and South-Western Coasts of England within the Historical Period.* By R. A. Peacock. (London: Spon.)
58. *Practice with Science.* A Series of Agricultural Papers. Vol. II. (London: Longmans.)
59. *Protoplasm, or Life, Matter, and Mind.* By Lionel Beale, M.B. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. (London: Churchill.)
60. *Entozoa.* Being a Supplement to the Introduction to the Study of Helminthology. By T. Spencer Cobbold, M.D. (London: Groombridge.)

1. A GENERAL VIEW of the contents of the fourth Sallier Papyrus has from time to time been given by eminent scholars, particularly by Dr. Hincks in a very remarkable article on "the Oldest of all Almanacks" in the *Dublin University Magazine* of 1846, by M. de Rougé in the *Revue Archéologique* of 1853, and by Mr. Goodwin in his article "on the Hieratic Papyri" in the *Cambridge Essays* of 1858. A complete translation of this singular Calendar is now given by M. Chabas. The innumerable gaps in the MS. constitute the first difficulty which the translator had to encounter; and he modestly abstains from pointing out an immense number of instances in which he has triumphantly overcome it. His long familiarity with hieratic texts, and his profound knowledge of the language, enable him to restore whole words, or even phrases, in places where only the fragments of letters are left. The ideographic element in Egyptian writing, and the limited use of certain characters, render this restoration easier to a consummate scholar than

it would have been if he had had to deal with a purely alphabetic text. Some of the restorations of M. Chabas are, of course, merely conjectural; but those which he gives as certain will probably at once be recognized as such by his colleagues in Egyptian philology. But the first difficulty, as he says, is not the principal one. The text is extremely incorrect. "Peu de papyrus présentent un aussi grand nombre de fautes considérables." Those faults of orthography are manifest in some of the easiest words and sentences; and they necessarily add to the difficulty of interpreting the more obscure passages. Some of them are simply lapsus calami. Others are apparently the result of ignorance, carelessness, or wilfulness. But, over and above these, M. Chabas points out a certain number of "Singularités graphiques" which he is unable to ascribe to error or caprice. Such are the repeated use of the signs *man* and *god* as determinatives without any apparent reason, and the still more frequent use of the sign of the plural at the end of words which are certainly meant to be in the singular number.

The papyrus itself, which is now in the British Museum, was written in the reign of Ramesses II. or in that of his immediate successor, in the fourteenth century before Christ. The first page of it begins with the eighteenth day of the Egyptian month Thoth, and it goes down to the eleventh Pachons. Rather more than one-third of the text is consequently missing. The dates of months and days are marked in red. Each day has three marks. If the day is entirely favourable it has the good sign thrice repeated. There are two fatal marks: the sign of strife, in allusion to the contest between Osiris and Set, and the sign of standing. "Quant au signe de la station," M. Chabas says, "il paraît être en relation avec des incidents de cette même guerre, à l'occasion desquels la puissance du mauvais principe n'avait reçu aucun échec." Of the two bad marks the former is undoubtedly the more fatal prognostic. The bad and good marks are often combined; thus the sign of strife and two good signs imply good luck for two-thirds of the day, and bad luck for the remainder.

On each day, as a rule, in the Calendar, something is to be done or avoided. Allusion is made to some event connected with the Egyptian mythology; and a prognostic of the death of a person is often drawn from the date of his birth. The recommendations are such as these: "Do not kill oxen on this day;" "do not go out in the evening;" "do not eat fish;" "do not touch a woman;" "do not look upon a rat;" "do not look towards the fire;" "eat no fruit;" "light no candle;" "taste nothing;" "do nothing at all;" "make a holiday;" "pass the time in panegyry and reciting chapters;" "burn incense;" "make offerings to the departed." The prognostics are of the following kind: "Any one born on this day will be killed by a crocodile," "will be drowned in the river," "will die of old age," "will die of the plague," "will die revered by his fellow citizens," "will die eating bread and drinking beer," "will die drunk," &c.

Many of the superstitious injunctions of the Calendar have their origin in the belief that the gods and demons walked among men, either unseen or under the forms of animals. The divine serpent Uat goes out at dusk on the 15th of Paophi "with mischiefs in his train:" anyone that sees him will lose his eye. On the 25th of Paophi anyone will die who meets the gods in the form of a bull. On the 28rd of Choiaik anyone who meets the eye of certain demons will be blinded on the spot. But on the 20th of Pharmuti the penalty is nothing less than "everlasting death," or damnation. Upon many days, on the other hand, the reader is informed that he may look upon anything he pleases. To this it is sometimes added that all the gods and goddesses are holding festival, or that they are at peace. There can be but little doubt that the superstition of the evil eye, still so common in the East and in southern Europe, had its origin in these Egyptian ideas. Of the existence of the superstition itself in ancient Egypt we have evidence in the Cadet papyrus.

The mythological allusions are undoubtedly the most interesting portions of the Calendar. But they are unfortunately very brief, and in most instances obscure. They presuppose a complete knowledge of the mythical history of Osiris. M. Chabas observes very justly: "Les Égyptiens se reconnaissaient aisément au milieu de ces dédales de citations écourtées, ils n'étaient pas plus embarrassés que nous ne le serions aujourd'hui s'il nous arrivait de rencontrer des phrases aussi conques: *Où fut le jour des langues de feu descendant sur leurs têtes, ou bien: A cette heure il fut dit: 'Mon père, pourquoi m'as-tu abandonné?' etc.*; nous n'hésiterions pas un seul instant à distinguer les faits auxquels ces mentions se rapportent, mais un sectateur de Brahma ou de Bouddha aurait besoin de chercher des éclaircissements dans les livres des Chrétiens." The longest and most important mythical allusion is that found at the 26th day of Thoth: "Most unlucky. Do nothing at all on this day. On this day was the battle between Horus and Set. They smote each other standing on their heels in the form of men; then they changed themselves into a couple of wild beasts, which became the abode of the Lords of Cher. Three days and three nights they remained in this form, and then Isis let fall their chains upon them. Horus fell upon his face, and he cried with a loud voice, 'I am thy son Horus.' Isis cried to the chains, 'Fasten on, fasten on to my son Horus.' She let other chains fall, and Set fell on his face. He cried feebly, then loudly, for help. She cried to the chains, 'Fasten on.' He said several times, 'Have I no respect for [?] my mother's brother?' Her heart suffered greatly. She cried to the chains, 'Fall and release my elder brother.' The chains fell off from him. They rose up in the form of men, each despising the other's word. Horus became furious as a panther of the south against his mother Isis. Then she fled before him. That day a fearful fight took place; he then cut off the head of Isis, and Thoth transformed

it by his words of might, and replaced it as that of a cow."

In spite of the mutilated and corrupt state of the text, almost every word of the preceding translation may be relied upon. The word *t'ert'era*, which M. Chabas translates "honorer," "respecter," is an *ἀναί λειόμενον*. May it not be connected etymologically with the well-known word *t'ert*, applied to Isis and Nephthys, as *mourners* for Osiris, and the not uncommon word, *t'erti-u*, mourners for the dead? The passage may possibly therefore mean "Am I not sorry for my mother's brother?" The words *erta hai t'at sen-ef*, literally signify "putting aside what the other said;" but the passage is evidently to be restored as meaning "putting aside what each had said to the other," that is, regardless of the promise made whilst in chains.

In the account which Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*, 19) gives of the Egyptian myth "the battle lasted several days; but Horus obtained the victory. Isis, however, to whom Typho had been delivered up in chains, did not put him to death, but loosed his bonds and set him free. This act of his mother so exasperated Horus that he laid hands upon her and tore the royal insignia from her head, in place of which Hermes substituted a helmet in the form of a cow's head." A little further on he tells us that he has suppressed the most shocking parts of the myth, *τὰ δυσφημοράτα*, such as the cutting in pieces of Osiris and the decapitation of Isis.

2. OUR knowledge of the weights and measures of ancient Egypt is derived from a very large number of inscriptions in hieroglyphic character, many of which contain arithmetical calculations leading to very interesting results. A stone weight, for instance, bought by the late Mr. Harris, English Consul at Alexandria, bore the inscription "5 *Ket*, of the treasury of Heliopolis." The perfect polish of the stone showed that it had suffered but little from use; and its original weight might safely be estimated at 700 grains Troy. The *ket*, therefore, weighed the 140 grains. In ancient texts this weight is constantly mentioned in connection with a larger one, the *tenu*. The relation of the smaller to the larger weight was demonstrated by M. Chabas from the following account preserved in the great papyrus of Rameses III.—

Good gold . . .	217 <i>tenu</i>	5 <i>ket</i>
Gold of Kebt . . .	61 <i>tenu</i>	3 <i>ket</i>
Gold of Ethiopia . . .	290 <i>tenu</i>	8½ <i>ket</i>
Total . . .	568 <i>tenu</i>	6½ <i>ket</i>

It is here evident that 10 *ket* are equal to 1 *tenu*, and that the *tenu* weighed 1,400 grains Troy. Now, calculations like the above are extremely common in the ancient texts; and they have led to important discoveries. The Egyptians were, unfortunately, most inaccurate in transcribing; and conclusions drawn from a single text, unchecked by comparison and verification with all other tests of the same kind, are likely to be fatally wrong. Dr. Dümichen, who, in his *Tempel-Inscriben*, published the great sta-



tistical table inscribed on the southern wall of Medinet-Abu, has now carefully studied the details of the calculations it contains, and has arrived at conclusions somewhat different from those generally accepted. There is no doubt that the corn measure, *tena*, is equal to 4 *apt-u*. The fractions of the *apt*, according to Dr. Dümichen, are as follow :  $\frac{1}{2}$ ;  $\frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$ ;  $\frac{1}{5}$ ;

$\frac{1}{6}$ ;  $\frac{1}{8}$ ;  $\frac{1}{10}$ ;  $\frac{1}{12}$ ;  $\frac{1}{15}$ ;  $\frac{1}{20}$ ;  $\frac{1}{24}$ ;  $\frac{1}{30}$ ;  $\frac{1}{40}$ ;  $\frac{1}{60}$ ;

$\frac{1}{45}$ ;  $\frac{1}{54}$ . Two other signs, to which M. de Rougé had conjecturally assigned the values of  $\frac{1}{36}$  and  $\frac{1}{72}$  are according to Dr. Dümichen equivalent to  $\frac{1}{18}$  and  $\frac{1}{36}$  respectively.

8. Of the seven known copies of the Assyrian Canon of Eponymes, the four first merely give the names of the eponymes, followed in some cases by the title "king" or "king of Assyria," when the king himself filled the office; and the other three give not only the names but also the titles of all the eponymes, and the principal events which happened during their periods of office. The whole period embraced is from the eponymy of Vul-nirari II., king of Assyria, B.C. 911, to that of Akhi-ilai (end of copy 3), B.C. 649. One copy (No. 4) must have ended later than this; but all the last names on it are lost; and the earliest copies were written in the reign of Sennacherib, about 220 years after the first tabulated eponymy (in B.C. 911). All the copies have lines drawn across the tablets, to mark the eponymies of the successive kings, down to the reign of Tiglath Pileser II., B.C. 745. From this point No. 1 and No. 5 draw lines before the year of accession of the monarchs; and No. 4 draws lines before the first full year of each king, followed by a gloss stating his name and title. There is also a gloss in No. 1, stating the year of accession of Esarhaddon, and one in No. 2, giving the accession of Sennacherib; but no copy states any accession of a monarch earlier than Tiglath Pileser II. In the canon, or in Assyrian documents with eponyme dates, several important events of Jewish history are mentioned; and much discussion has been provoked by the apparent difference between the dates assigned to these events and the ordinarily received chronology. Dr. Lepsius, in his essay *Ueber den Chronologischen Werth der Assyrischen Eponymen*, has thoroughly investigated the subject, and, after reviewing a considerable amount of evidence, comes to the conclusion that the canon is a correct and trustworthy historical list. He examines the numerous objections urged against it, and finds them all without foundation; and he justly observes that those who assert the existence of breaks in the list are bound to prove their assertion.

Two difficulties which have hindered the reception of the Canon as a chronological authority are these:—1, that it gives at the most only 184 years between the death of Ahab and the captivity of the ten tribes; and 2, that it contains no trace of Pul, king of Assyria, who is said in the Book of Kings to have taken tri-

bute from Menahem, king of Israel. The first of these obstacles rests on the following grounds:—The Kurkh monolith states that in the eponymy of Dayan-assur (B.C. 854) Shalmaneser II. defeated an army under Ben-hadar, or Ben-hadad, of Damascus, some of whose troops were furnished by *Akhabbu of Ziralai*, who was identified by Dr. Oppert with Ahab of Israel. Now, although we do not know the precise date of the fall of Samaria, it is certain that it was taken in the interval between B.C. 722 and 720; and, taking the lowest date, B.C. 720, we only get 184 years between the date when Ahab is mentioned and the fall of Samaria. Again, according to the Bull Inscription, translated by Mr. George Smith for the Royal Society of Literature, the date when *Yahua son of Khumri*, Jehu son of Omri, gave tribute to Shalmaneser was B.C. 842; and this Jehu had been identified with the Biblical Jehu by both Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks. According to this, the Assyrian annals would give 12 years between Ahab and Jehu, and 122 years between Jehu and the captivity of the ten tribes; while the Book of Kings gives 14 years for the former and 164 for the latter. Again, in the 8th year of his reign, B.C. 738, Tiglath Pileser mentions *Asriyahu* (Azariah) of Judah and *Minikhimmi* (Menahem) of Samaria. This gives not more than 18 years between the death of Menahem and the captivity of the ten tribes; while the Book of Kings gives 41 years. The chronology of the Book of Kings is evidently incorrect in some places; and the reigns of the kings of Israel when added up make 20 years less than those of the kings of Judah. But neither the Judah nor Israel list agrees with the Assyrian. To remedy these discrepancies two plans have been proposed:—one, to raise all the higher Assyrian dates by supposing a break of over 40 years before the reign of Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 745; the other, to cut down all the Jewish dates so as to make them fit the Assyrian. Against the first plan it must be said that every fresh discovery which bears on the subject has confirmed the accuracy of the Assyrian canon; and against the second, that it is improbable, almost impossible, for the Jews to have been so very far wrong as to their own history. The second obstacle to the reception of the Canon is that there is no king of Assyria to correspond to the Biblical Pul. The monarch  $\text{𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$ , who was eponym B.C. 810, was at first supposed to be Pul; but the form  $\text{𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$

$\text{𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$  *Vul-nirari* appears to be a variant of this name, and also  $\text{𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$  in the Kurkh monolith is used for the usual *niraruti* assistance. Now, it does not seem likely that a name ending in *nirari* can be Pul; and this king is besides too early even for the Jewish chronology. Under these circumstances Mr. George Smith suggested that Pul was the predecessor of Tiglath Pileser II., who died in B.C. 745. The name of this king is, however, Assur-nirari; and it is a fatal objection to the

theory in question, that the Assyrians claim no expedition to Palestine during his reign. Others have supposed a break between the reigns of Assur-narara and Tiglath Pileser, and placed Pul in this place; but the position of the eclipse in b.c. 763 makes this suggestion impossible. Others again have supposed Pul to be the same as Tiglath Pileser, and have appealed to the passage in 1 Chronicles v. 26, in support of this suggestion; it can also be pointed out that, while the Bible says Menahem paid tribute to Pul, the Assyrian inscriptions say Menahem gave tribute to Tiglath Pileser. But, after all, this theory seems as doubtful as the rest; and in relation to the Hebrew chronology and history the Assyrian Canon remains in a very unsatisfactory position.

As regards its agreement with the Assyrian inscriptions the case is quite otherwise. In the reign of Assur-nazir-pal we have the following comparison between his annals and the Canon for five eponymies:—

Date.	Canon.	Inscription of Assur-nazir-pal.	Cuneiform Inscriptions.
b.c. 883	{ Assur-nazir-pal, the king }	In my own eponymy	Vol. I. p. 19, l. 99
882	Assur-iddina	{ In the eponymy of Assur-iddin }	{ p. 0, 21, 28 }
881	Immuti-aku	{ In the eponymy of Immuti-aku }	{ p. 21, l. 49 }
880	Sa-liva-damliq	{ In the eponymy of Sa-liva-damliq }	{ p. 22, l. 86 }
879	Dagan-bil-usur	{ In the eponymy of Dagan-bil-usur }	{ p. 23, l. 1 }

A similar comparison can be instituted in the next reign for five years; but after this there are no inscriptions or means of verifying the canon, except three or four dated tablets, until we reach the reign of Tiglath Pileser, b.c. 745. From this date the number of tablets and inscriptions is so great that it is impossible to doubt the accuracy of the canon; while the evidence of the eclipse in b.c. 763 serves to establish it for 20 years earlier. If there is any flaw it must be before b.c. 763. The city of Assur (Kilch Shergat) was the capital of Assyria during the period previous to 753; and it is probable that if that site were properly explored, evidence would be found which would settle the question.



There is another canon which can be compared to the Assyrian, namely, the Astronomical Canon of Ptolemy. Dr. Lepsius (p. 50) institutes a comparison with part of the Astronomical canon; and it is evident that the Assyrian dates from b.c. 727 to 668 agree with Ptolemy's dates from b.c. 726 to 667. But the part of the Astronomical Canon from b.c. 747 to 726 is open to some doubts. For Tiglath Pileser who reigned from b.c. 745 to 727, made three expeditions to Babylonia—one in b.c. 745, one in 731, and another in 729; and of the kings whom Ptolemy mentions—Nabonassar 747 to 733, Nadius 733 to 731, and Chinzirus and Porus 731 to 726—not one occurs in Tiglath Pileser's annals. In his first year, b.c. 745, Tiglath Pileser took the whole of Babylonia; and although he defeated some Chaldean chiefs, none of them appeared to have exercised authority over Babylon; and he says that even then, b.c. 745, he ruled Babylonia. If these kings mentioned by Ptolemy reigned





at Babylon during this period, it must have been in submission to the Assyrian kings. The name of Nabonassar does however occur in an inscription in the 11th year of Sennacherib. It is written *Nabo-nasir*; he is called the "Babylonian," but is evidently only a private person.







While expressing his belief in the eponym canon, Dr. Lepsius refrains from putting forward any theory to reconcile it in detail with the chronology of the Books of Kings. He gives a sketch of the principal Assyrian inscriptions in connection with it; and he also examines the relation between the period of the Canon and the Egyptian annals for the same time. In this part of the subject there is no difficulty; the Assyrian and Egyptian annals being nowhere opposed to each other.



4. THE second part of Mr. Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary* has just appeared, and, like its predecessor, is of great value not only to special students of Assyrian but to all who are interested in the languages and antiquities of the Valley of the Euphrates. The author has corrected several errors in the former installment of the work; and if he falls into some new mistakes it is no more than is inevitable in the difficult task he has undertaken.




In p. 445 the word     occurs; and Mr. Norris reads it

 occurs; and Mr. Norris reads it *Harniski*, war-horse. No doubt the meaning war-horse is correct; but the sound is *Murniski*, not *Harniski*. This is shown by an example of the word, in an unpublished tablet at the British Museum, where the  is replaced by

 *mur*. The word    in the second example quoted under *Harniski* is not *patnuse* but *suknuse*. This word is an example of the conjugation *supgul*; and its meaning is "made submissive." In p. 492 under *yari* the author gives an example in which


he translates     as columns; but it is clear from many instances that the word (which is an Akkad one) means doors; and in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. II., p. 25, No. 2, line 29,   is equated

to the Semitic   *dalat*, Heb. דלת a door. This explains a passage given in p. 324 of the First Part of the Dictionary, where a chief who was stationed to guard the Elamite frontier is said to have been placed "like the door of Elam;" here again Mr. Norris had translated, columns. The remarks under

   p. 513, are not always correct. It is very doubtful whether this word means thus; and the word *temin* does not certainly denote the foundation on which a palace was built, but appears to denote the memorial cylinders which were enclosed in the foundation. In p. 566 the word *kum* occurs without any ex-

planation. It appears, from the passages in which it occurs, to bear the meaning of instead of; thus Assur-bani-pal, after deposing the king of Arabia, says that instead of him he placed Abiyateh on the throne. The two forms



given in p. 577, are not equivalent, as Mr. Norris supposes, but the first is *kun* a tail, and the second, *lib* a heart. The sign  which precedes both words is the determinative of parts of the body. In this and other cases in Assyrian the use of the determinative is optional.

The author is not always correct in his historical notices. Thus Hammurabi in p. 430 and Durri-galzu in p. 609 are called kings of Assyria; but they are both kings of Babylon. And in p. 701 there are two inaccuracies:—Sennacherib did not replace Merodachbaladan in Babylon by Esarhaddon, but by Assurnadin-sum; and again, the king whom Mr. Norris calls Pul (Vul-nirari III.) does not speak of the Tiglath-Bar who reigned B.C. 889 as bearing the title "king of Sumir and Akkad," but of another monarch of the same name, who reigned at least 400 years earlier (cir. B.C. 1300).

5. CAPTAIN ROGERS has published a translation of *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, with an introduction by Professor Max Müller containing a translation of Buddha's *Dhammapada*. Buddhaghosha (the voice of Buddha) was a native of Māgadha and a convert to Buddhism about four hundred years after Christ. It is to him that the Burmese and other people living on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban owe the possession of the Buddhist scriptures. Of these scriptures the *Pitakattaya* or *Three Baskets* were preserved in the original Pāli; but the *Arthakathā* or *Commentaries*, which originally existed in the same language, were only to be found in Singhalese. Both collections had been brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, the son of Asoka, after the third Council in 246 B.C., and orally promulgated—the *Three Baskets* in Pāli, and the *Commentaries* in Singhalese. But in the reign of Vattagāmani, 88–76 B.C., the Buddhist priests, to guard against the perversion of their people, caused these works to be reduced to writing. Professor Max Müller shows that verses of the *Dhammapada* formed part of the *Pitakattaya*, whence it follows that they were also explained in the Singhalese *Arthakathā*, and consequently translated from it into Pāli by Buddhaghosha, if no earlier date than that of Buddhaghosha be claimed for such curious relics of fable literature of India as the Parables, it is only in deference to an over-cautious criticism; but Professor Max Müller says, "I do not think that scholars calling these parables the parables of Mahinda, if not of Buddha himself, and referring their date to the third century A.C., would expose themselves at present to any formidable criticism."

The Burmese text, from which the version

of Captain Rogers is made, is unfortunately a mere abstract of Buddhaghosha's work, giving only a certain number of the stories, most of them in a very abridged and altered form. "Even such as they are, these parables are full of interest, not only for a study of Buddhism, but likewise for the history of fables and apologues in their migrations from East to West, or from West to East." Each parable is intended to illustrate one of the 428 gāthās or verses of the *Dhammapada*. Each verse of this collection of the utterances of Buddha consists of a moral maxim like the following: "Not the failures of others, not their sins of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should the sage take notice of." "Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly." The original Pāli text of the *Dhammapada* was published, with a Latin translation, in 1855 by Dr. Fausböll. The translation of it now given by Professor Max Müller is accompanied by learned notes. He treats at length of the age of the Parables and of the *Dhammapada*, and points out the importance of the latter collection for the critical study of the history of Buddhism, particularly with reference to the right meaning of Nirvāna.

6. DR. HITZIG, formerly professor at Zürich, and now at Heidelberg, has written a history of the people of Israel from its commencement down to the taking of Masada. History never was a strong point with Dr. Hitzig. He has long been renowned as an orientalist and as an exegetical scholar. But his recent work is calculated to bring philological and exegetical science into disrepute. Many scholars who have expressed the utmost respect for Dr. Hitzig's learning, have nevertheless always considered him an unsafe guide. *Fænun habet in cornu*. In one department of science—and it is one with which he is constantly concerning himself—he is only an empiric. He is perpetually led astray by false etymologies. Now a man may be a perfect scholar in Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit, and many other languages, and yet know absolutely nothing of the rudiments of comparative philology. There are certain limits within which etymologies may be determined with probability, and even sometimes with absolute certainty; but beyond these limits etymology is mere guess-work, and almost certain to be wrong. Dr. Hitzig appears to recognise no limits to his etymological speculations. If two words resemble each other, and may be supposed (rightly or wrongly) to have the same meaning, he at once identifies them. Because the letters N and M are sometimes interchanged, he sees a connection between Ninos and Minos. In the same way he is led to identify Semiramis with Tāmyraman, the Lake Serbanis with the goddess Çarvani, and the Moabite god Chemosh (*Χεμουσ*) with the Arabic Kamūs, the ocean. The Moabites, it is true, were an inland population, and probably knew as little about the ocean as about the North Pole; but this is only a proof to him that

they had migrated from a distance. This absurd method leads to the most ludicrous results. No amount of learning can give a scientific character to such works as Dr. Hitzig's *Erfindung des Alphabetes*, his volume *Zur ältesten Völker und Mythengeschichte*, which is entirely upon the Philistines, or his *Studien*, published in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgeneseellschaft* of 1855. And a very large and important portion of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, wholly depending as it does on absurd etymological combinations, is no better. The fault of his method is the more conspicuous in this work from being brought to bear upon persons, facts, and ideas familiar to every one. Because Abraham, formerly called Abram, lived for some time in Egypt, his name is explained from the Egyptian *ape*, head, and *râm*, in which "we may recognise the Coptic *rômi*, man, . . . and also, the Indian *Râma*." The change of the name to Abraham reminds him of Brahman. The name of Abraham's wife reminds him of the Nymph Sarayâ, from whom the river which flows by Râma's capital derives its name. The name of Isaac is not so easy to explain; but Dr. Hitzig thinks it not too bold a conjecture, "keine allzu kühne Annahme" to identify Isaac with Ikshwâku, the first king of Ayodhyâ or Oude, as being the son of Manu, the forefather of men—ape râm, the head man. Lot, on the other hand, Abraham's nephew, is the Etruscan Larth (we are also told that the Arabian Loqman is Lucumo), the Zuzim were Etruscans, and the Arno is a reminiscence of Arnon. Of Moses and Aaron equally marvellous things are told. The later history of the Jews, of course, does not afford the same facility for error; but wherever a paradox is possible, even if it be another man's invention, there one is almost sure to be found. In the last paragraph of his work, Dr. Hitzig refers to the books of Tobit and Judith, in illustration of the effect produced upon the Jews by the utter destruction of their nationality after the catastrophe of Masada. So late a date of these books is utterly untenable. The paradox, however, is but trifling as compared with those of Dr. Hitzig's own invention. However natural and pardonable they may have been at the beginning of the present century, they are almost incredible at the present day in a man of his reputation.

7. THE existence of a collection of canons under the name of Abulides (the Arabic corruption of Hippolytus) has long been known. The titles of the thirty-eight canons were enumerated by Wansleb in his History of the Church of Alexandria, and afterwards by Ludolph in his work on Abyssinia. Four of them, translated by Steinschneider and Cureton from mss. in the Bodleian and British Museum, are given in Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age* (vol. ii. p. 857, 1st ed.). Bunsen concluded his dissertation on the Apostolic Constitutions by expressing the "hope that this interesting collection may soon be published either from the Arabic or the Abyssinian text." For its publication scholars have now

to thank Dr. Haneberg, the Benedictine Abbot of St. Boniface at Munich. His text is derived from two Roman mss., and accompanied by a Latin translation and learned critical notes. Of the extreme antiquity of the canons there can be no doubt. They imply a time of Pagan persecution. Their prescriptions with reference to Christian soldiers strikingly agree with Tertullian's doctrine de corona militis. The agapæ had not yet fallen into discredit, but were in their full prime. Baptisteries were as yet unknown. The rules about the martyrs are certainly ante-Nicene; but those about the charismata belong at latest to the first part of the third century. There are but few, if any, traces indicating a later date. A collection of this kind easily admits of additions and interpolations; but with one remarkable exception, which will presently be noticed, there seems to be really nothing in these canons offering internal evidence at variance with the hypothesis of their proceeding from at least a contemporary of Hippolytus, the opponent of Pope Callistus, and the author of the *Philosophumena*. The rigourism of the canons, which exceeds that of any of the fathers of the Church, is quite in keeping with the Montanist or Novatianist spirit of Hippolytus. The seventh canon, forbidding holy orders to be lightly conferred on unmarried men, is certainly not inconsistent, as Dr. Haneberg almost implies, with the attacks of Hippolytus on Callistus for admitting "bigamists" to the diaconate or priesthood. When positive evidence, however, of the authorship of Hippolytus is asked for, it must be confessed that hardly any can be produced. There is every reason for supposing that the canons were originally written in Greek; but the Arabic version we now possess is probably made from a Coptic translation. Neither the Coptic nor the Greek text is known to be in existence. Very little reliance can be placed on the title of these canons. They are ascribed to Hippolytus; but other canons in the same mss. are ascribed to Clement and to the Apostles, without the least foundation in truth. The Easterns readily gave the names of ancient saints to spurious or anonymous writings. Syriac liturgies are ascribed even to the Roman Popes Xystus and Julius. Is "Hippolytus the first patriarch of the city of Great Rome" an utterly fabulous personage of the apostolical period, or have we here a really historical, though inaccurate, reference to Hippolytus, the first antipope? This is a question which there are at present no means of satisfactorily answering.

The most remarkable doctrinal passage in these canons is to be found in the nineteenth. The candidate for baptism is asked:

"Believest thou in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, proceeding from the Father and the Son?"

The last words naturally awaken suspicion of interpolation. Dr. Haneberg, however, probably found them in both the Roman mss. They are also to be found in the ms. belonging to

the British Museum (Cod. Rich. 7211, fol. 204.) Too much importance, however, must not be attached to this agreement. The writer of this notice collated several portions of Dr. Haneberg's text with that of the British Museum, in the hope of obtaining some light on the obscurities of the former. But the texts are too nearly akin. The obscurities and probably blunders found in one are repeated in the other. None of the mss. are of very great antiquity; and the interpolation, if it be one, may easily and almost unconsciously have come in, perhaps through a Syrian hand, even in a Coptic monastery.

8. DR. RICHARD ADALBERT LIPSIIUS, whose dissertation on the Syriac version of the Ignatian epistles attracted a good deal of attention some fourteen years back, has published an exceedingly learned and laborious work on the chronology of the Bishops of Rome down to the middle of the fourth century. The details are in general of the driest and most unattractive character; and the author himself apologetically describes his work as "zum grossen Theile ein recht ledernes Buch." It will however amply repay attentive study, and must in fact be considered indispensable in all future inquiries in the ecclesiastical history of the period in question. Dr. Lipsius enumerates and examines the different sources of information, catalogues of Roman Pontiffs, martyrologies, and calendars. Under the Greek or Eastern catalogues he includes those of Hegesippus, Irenæus, the history and the Chronicle of Eusebius, Jerome (as depending upon Eusebius), the Syrian chronicle of 683, Syncellus, Theophanes, Nicephorus, Eutychius, and Elias of Nisibis. To the Western authorities belong the lists of Augustin and Optatus, the "catalogus Liberianus," and the different recensions of the Liber Pontificalis (of which the catalogus Felicianus of the year 530 represents the most ancient text), and finally, the mss. of a catalogue of the year 523, giving merely the names of Popes, with the duration of their pontificates, and a brief statement of events. The reconstruction of the greater part of the chronology is a purely scientific process, as to the validity of which there can be no doubt; and the conclusions of Dr. Lipsius with reference to it will probably meet with general acceptance. The earlier part, however, of the chronology is embarrassed by the controversy as to the origin of episcopacy. Dr. Lipsius takes for granted that the Roman church was originally presbyterian in its constitution. The assertion that St. Peter never was in Rome signifies of course, in the case of Dr. Lipsius, that he utterly disbelieves the evidence on which learned Protestants have hitherto relied in support of the genuineness of the Gospels and other portions of the New Testament, and that he accepts as fact the conclusions of what Bunsen called the "Tübingen novel." These conclusions are the most glaringly untenable part of Baur's speculations. The episcopate at Rome of St. Peter, for twenty-five years according to St. Jerome (or twenty according to Eusebius), is undoubt-

edly irreconcilable with chronology. But the apostle's presence and martyrdom at Rome are certainly not less well attested facts than the assassination of Julius Cæsar. A positive historical testimony like that of Dionysius of Corinth is not to be explained away as a mere inference from the epistle of Clement of Rome. The tradition, reaching, as Neander says, to the very boundaries of the apostolic period—it is alluded to in the epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans—is not local but universal throughout Christendom. Dr. Lipsius anticipates an unfavourable reception of his book on the part of the Catholics, and declares that he is quite unprejudiced. They might reply that it is very questionable whether their dogmatic position with reference to the monarchical constitution of the Church would be essentially altered if it were absolutely proved that St. Peter never was at Rome. The less learned among them are more likely to be startled by the fact that, according to the belief of antiquity, Linus, Cletus, and Clement were bishops of Rome before the death of St. Peter.

9. IN the course of the last few years, Dr. Leo Meyer has devoted several monographs to the critical treatment of the Gothic texts as well as to the comparative study of the Gothic and its kindred languages, and has proved himself, in both directions, a careful investigator and a sound scholar. His *Gothische Sprache* recently published embodies the results both of his own research and that of others, and is a work which no student of Germanic or comparative Indo-Germanic philology will henceforth be able to neglect. In spite of its second title, which might induce a supposition that it was concerned only with the phonetic laws, it discusses in fact the whole formative side of the language, its grammar and vocabulary, its material elements, and the affixes by which they are shaped into words. The special reference to its phonetic laws only indicates the plan that has been followed in treating the subject. The author goes through all the letters of the Gothic alphabet in their order—first the gutturals, then the labials, dentals, sibilants, nasals, the liquids *r* and *l*, the semivowels *y* and *v*, and finally the vowels and diphthongs; and under the head of these letters he analyses and discusses the words, formative elements, and formations, in which each letter appears; so that every word of the Gothic language is quoted in the book at least as many times as it contains letters. So careful and exhaustive an exposition is scarcely to be met with in the etymological analysis of any other language; nor indeed would it be possible except in one of whose vocabulary the remains were comparatively scanty. But no language can be more worthy of it than that which stands at the head of the great Germanic family, and belongs in common to the race which has been chiefly instrumental in transforming the civilization of the old world and creating that of the new. The method of treatment no doubt increases the bulkiness of the work, and the time required for consulting it. But a scholar cannot afford to be niggardly in the expenditure

of time. He is often obliged to refer to a multitude of books for the mere purpose of confirming his suspicion that they will not contain what he wants; and he need not shrink from a smaller labour where he will generally be sure of finding information and guidance. Some of Dr. Meyer's special results may be doubtful or even erroneous; but in a science which, in spite of the great advances it has made, is still only at its beginning, any book must be considered meritorious if, as in the present case, the majority of its results are sound.

10. THE high antiquity of alchemy has always been asserted; and vague references to ancient Egypt, and to the later period when Alexandria became the intellectual capital of the Greek, are to be found in many alchemical books. European alchemy did not however arise directly from the Alexandrian or Byzantine schools of that art. Herr Kopp, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie*, expresses an opinion, which seems to be just, that what has come down to us of the most important writers on the subject in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Arnaldus Villanovanus, and Raymond Lully, exhibits no knowledge of the treatises written in Greek, now found in manuscripts. All the alchemical literature of those centuries is based on the views laid down or made accessible by Arabic writers. The same remark applies to the fifteenth century, during which, according to the current opinion, the Byzantine alchemy began to be mentioned in Europe. The first writer who exhibits an extended knowledge of the Græco-Egyptian alchemical literature is Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, who died in 1553, and who is often confounded with his celebrated uncle, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. In 1573 Domenico Pizzimento published a Latin translation of a tract of Democritus, who is generally confounded with the ancient Greek philosopher of that name, and also the commentaries upon it by Synesius and others. Some of the Greek mss. no doubt found their way into the transmontane countries about this time. The first mention of Greek alchemical mss. we know of is the description, by Thomas Reinesius, of a ms. at Altenburg, which was afterwards transferred to Gotha. In the second half of the seventeenth century several were known. Borrichius mentions, in 1674, mss. in the Vatican, Paris, Venice, Bavaria, Cologne, and the Escorial. In 1724 Fabricius could add to this list, Milan, Vienna, Wolfenbüttel, and Breslau. At the end of the last century Ameilhon added Cracow; and in 1830 Reuvs added Leyden. Beyond the publication of the Latin translation of Democritus, just referred to, nothing was done for a considerable time to describe these manuscripts. Borrichius, however, tells us that Leo Allatius, a celebrated librarian of the Vatican, who died in 1669, proposed to publish an edition of the Greek alchemical codex in that library; but he does not appear to have ever carried out his intention. Judging from an account published by Andrea Peschiulli in 1668, and reprinted by Fabricius, of ten books of Greek texts which

Allatius intended to publish under the title of *Συμμίχρον*, the ninth was to contain the Greek alchemical writings, with the addition, it appears, of Latin translations. Fabricius, in regretting that Allatius's proposed work was not done, also gives a list of the contents of a Paris ms., from a copy which he had obtained. On the basis of this ms. he gave the Greek text of the writings of Heliodorus in 1714, and of Synesius in 1717. At the end of the seventeenth century Ameilhon laid down a plan for a complete account of the alchemical mss. in the Paris Library, which was published in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. But he did not do more than publish an explanatory lexicon of technical terms, the *Physica et Mystica* of Democritus, and the commentary of Synesius. Ideler intended to publish a complete collection of all the tracts; only two volumes of his *Physici et Medici Græci Minores* appeared. The first volume, however, which was issued in 1841, contains nothing chemical except the writings of Hermes, which belong indirectly to chemistry. In the second volume, which appeared in 1842, we have the writings of Stephanus, Theophrastus, Hierotheus, and Archelaus. But no reference is given as to which of the mss. the texts published were taken from. In 1842, also, Dr. Hoefer published the first edition of his *Histoire de Chimie*, and gave in the appendix to the first volume three fragments from the mss. of the Paris Library.

Of the value attached to them as historical materials, Karl Sprengel, in his *Geschichte der Arzney Kunde*, expresses the following opinion: "The names of Ostanus, Heliodorus, Olympiodorus, Zosimus, Agathodæmon, and Stephan of Athens, were in that age (Byzantine period) especially worthy of honourable mention. Let us leave them, nevertheless, to the oblivion and contempt which they deserve." Lenglet Dufresnoy, in his *Histoire de la Philosophie Hermétique*, published in 1742, has referred to these mss.; but what he says is incomplete and erroneous. Schmieder, in his *Geschichte der Alchemie*, published in 1832, is equally incomplete, and full of errors; and yet he has special pretensions to a knowledge of the bibliography of alchemy, and is the source from which most subsequent writers borrow materials. Hoefer was the first who endeavoured to utilize them as materials for chemical history, but he was only able to do so to a very limited extent. When Herr Kopp wrote his *Geschichte der Chemie*, he knew practically nothing of this Greek literature; but he did not remain satisfied with his ignorance, but continued to glean all the information he could gather from every printed source. He has published the result of twenty years' bibliographical notices in his *Beiträge to his History*. The first part, published some time ago, contained what he had learned concerning the earliest knowledge of alchemy among the ancients, the meaning and origin of the word, the practice of alchemy in Egypt, the papyrus ms. from Thebes in Upper Egypt written in Greek and attributed by Reuvs to the fourth if not to an earlier century of the Christian era, the earliest writers, Demo-

critus, Synesius, and Zosimus, and lastly the history of distillation. The Second Part is now published, and is devoted to an elaborate examination of all the information hitherto published respecting the Greek alchemical manuscripts and notices of the personages given in them as alchemical authorities or as authors of tracts in the mss.

Herr Kopp has not examined any of the mss. in the libraries himself, but has gathered together all the information regarding them to be found in printed books and catalogues, with great zeal, patience, and bibliographical erudition. The information hitherto given of the contents of some of them is singularly incomplete. For example, in a ms. in which Hoefler only mentions four tracts there are ten. In another, in which there are seventeen, he mentions nine. Of another, containing thirty-eight, he merely says that it contains some treatises that are to be found in three others. Quite apart from their chemical value, these Greek texts possess considerable philological interest.

11. *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*, of which the second volume has now appeared, form an authentic monument of comparatively great antiquity, which exhibits in minute detail the conditions of a highly-organized society long misunderstood. The interest of the publication is like that of the excavations at Pompeii; but here the removal of the dust and débris reveals not merely a buried city, but the religion, laws, manners, customs, and ideas of a nation. They are, so to speak, photographed as they existed in the fifth century. The conductors of the work, however, have begun at the wrong end; and by so doing they neither allow themselves nor their readers an accurate and comprehensive view of the progress of their labours. Owing to their course of procedure an inexplicable element is likely to pervade each volume until the final volume gives the clue, so that a thorough mastery of the first will be unattainable until the last has been published. They had before them the laws of a nation composed of many inter-dependent grades; and before giving the regulations which should define these grades and their privileges, before giving the rules relating to the possession of property, they publish the Law of Distress, to understand which pre-supposes a knowledge of the laws withheld. It is as though a writer on the principles of real property were to treat of surrenders before describing the nature of estates. Thus, in the present volume the Law of Distress precedes the Law of Saer-stock and Daer-stock Tenure, and the Law of Fosterage is followed by the Law of Social Connections. The Commissioners should have drawn up a schema, and published the laws in logical sequence.

The Law of Distress is concluded in this volume. In the first volume the different kinds of distress, their days of grace and manner of forfeiture, with other particulars, were described. Here it is explained what constitutes "legal keeping;" and, so careful are these Irish laws of every detail, that sixty-four pages are devoted to this subject. Certain general legal principles are first laid down;

these are explained and applied in glosses of less ancient date. The regulations of the pounds where cattle were kept—the sick apart from the sound—are set forth, together with rules which specify illegalities and enact adequate fines for each. Several classes of animals were exempt from seizure. The particulars show how lenient and considerate the laws were—characteristics observable throughout the volume. Debtors were liable to arrest, but not without a period of grace. The "steward-bailiff" of the king levied and paid for him; and the bishop appears to have obtained a like functionary. To distrain artisans it sufficed to put a withe on their tools, and prohibit them from working till they "ceded justice." A physician's whip or probe was seized, or a thread was tied on his finger; if then he did not yield what was due, it was considered equivalent to absconding, and distress could be taken, after due notice. Ecclesiastics and kings were "fasted on," by way of a mild preliminary coercion. A very characteristic passage is this, touching the trespass of bees: "The man that owns the land goes with witnesses along with him. He takes a 'tidal,' or a flowery branch with him, which has been eaten of by the bees; and he goes to the aperture of the hive, accompanied by witnesses until they have seen them, and the mark which they make on the flowers; and their violation of boundary-pledge is sworn upon them. This is secured to him: he is paid in fruit, or in a swarm of young bees, so that he might have bees of his own. If this is not secured to the owner of the land the penalty of the case is, the lawful right to such of them as he shall catch in his land." The Law of Hostage-sureties is allied to that of Distress, being, in fact, a regulation for the securing of a debt due by a native of one territory to the native of another. In the Law of Fosterage there is reference to raiment and food for the different grades of nobles. Yet this difference of clothes is indicated as a custom not referred to in the ancient books. There was fosterage for affection and for payment. The foster child had at least two suits, to be washed on alternate days. "According to the rank of each man, from the humblest man to the king, is the clothing of his son." "Satin and scarlet are for the son of the king of Erin, and silver on his scabbards, and brass upon his hurling-sticks." Purple and blue were for the sons of kings; red, green, and brown, for those of chieftains; yellow, black, white, and blay-colour, for those of lower grades. Brooches of gold and of silver were for the royal and noble youths. Certain accomplishments were to be taught them all, under a penalty: "Chess-playing, and 'brann'-playing, and riding, and swimming, and shooting, are to be taught to them [the sons]; sewing, cutting-out, and embroidery to the daughters." But some, at least, of the latter had to learn the use of the quern, the kneading-trough, and the sieve; and boys were instructed in herding, kiln-drying, combing, and wood-cutting. The laws relating to what are here called "saer-stock tenure" and "daer-stock tenure" are interesting in themselves, but illustrate only a small part of the Celtic land-question. The



chief gave cattle to his tenant, and received a yearly return, for seven years, of one-third of its value; he might claim this in manual labour or military service. The tenant could at any time give up the stock, and free himself from the obligations. This was "saer-stock tenure." In "daer-stock," the tenant gave security and yielded "food-rent;" but, although the relationship between chief and tenant was less freely dissolved, they did not stand towards each other as lord and vassal. The Law of Social Connections is in many respects highly important. It treats of eight kinds of connections—that between chief and the last-named class of tenants, between the church and tenants of church-lands, between father and daughter, sister and brother, son and mother, foster-son and foster-mother, tutor and pupil, man and woman. The church got tithes, first-fruits, and alms, and gave baptism, communion, requiem for souls, preaching, offering, and teaching to children. There is nothing more remarkable in the whole volume than the high position assigned to women. First, there was the connection of equal property: "the contract made by either party is not a lawful contract without the consent of the other, except in case of contracts tending equally to the welfare of both." If they separated, the law provided for an equitable division of property. The second kind of marriage-contract somewhat resembles the English, as the contract of the husband alone was valid; but there were exceptions to this. This connection was said to be that of "a woman upon the property of the man." The next kind was that of "a man on the property of a woman, with service;" and here the conditions were reversed. It is unnecessary to refer to the other kinds; but an equitable division of property, on a most painstaking survey of the labours and interests of both husband and wife, was directed in all cases, if they desired to separate. Separations, according to Campion, were not unusual in his time; and he was somewhat shocked at the fact. Even the interests of concubines were not neglected.

In the preface to the volume, the editors say that "the religious organization adopted by the Irish Druids, Brehons, and poets," was much the same as that which prevailed anciently in Gaul and Britain; but they adduce no authorities to remove this statement from the region of plausible conjectures. Indeed they go on to undermine any confidence that might be felt in them on this topic. Speaking of Dubhthach, who is described as chief poet and chief brehon of Ireland in St. Patrick's time, they say: "The position of Dubhthach, who exercised a general supervision and authority over the rest, was in most respects analogous to that of the Arch-Druid, as described by Cæsar." Proceeding on the assumption that he was something like an Arch-Druid, they find themselves surprised at his acquaintance with Christian doctrines and Scripture: "The speech and poem ascribed in the *Senchus Mor* to Dubhthach proved that he possessed some knowledge of the Scriptures and of Christian doctrine." A careful reading of the poem they mention ought to have made this appear less

strange to them; for the poet distinctly avows himself a Christian convert. "I shall pass a sound judgment," he says, "I follow Patrick since my baptism." There is more of this unsatisfactory kind of conjectural criticism, and in the passages relating to St. Patrick it reaches its climax.

The editors quote from St. Patrick's Confession his own emphatic statement, that, though he desired to go into the Britains and to Gaul, yet, "being bound by the Spirit (which witnesses against me if I should do so, and declares that I should be guilty), I fear to lose the labour which I have begun; yet not I, but Christ the Lord, who commanded me to come and be with them for the remainder of my life, if the Lord will, and if he shall keep me from every evil way that I may not sin against Him." In the face of this, the editors assert that he did abandon his trust, and returned to Glastonbury, where he died. They prefer a flimsy tradition to the saint's declaration of purpose, the authenticity of which they do not dispute. The Irish believe that he carried out his intention, remained till death in Ireland, and was buried there. In pursuance of the fancy that he returned to Glastonbury and was buried there the editors display an extraordinary credulity. Thus they say: "The accounts given of the ceremonies which took place at Saul, near Downpatrick, in A.D. 457, of obsequies which lasted twelve days, and celebrations of various kinds which continued for a year, are much more suggestive of a leave-taking than a funeral." It would be odd enough if the spectators did not know the difference between their apostle's leaving them for England and his dying; but it is still more odd that the editors should regard the accounts as "much more suggestive of a leave-taking than a funeral." Here is one of these accounts, taken from the Annals of the Four Masters:—"A.D. 498. . . When the time of St. Patrick's death approached, he received the Body of Christ from the hands of the holy Bishop Tassach, in the 122d (year) of his age, and resigned his spirit to heaven. There was a rising of battle and a cause of dissension in the province, contending for the body of Patrick after his death. The Ui-Neill and the Oirghialla attempted to bring it to Armagh; the Ulta to keep it with themselves. . . The body of Patrick was afterwards interred at Dun-da-lethglas [now Downpatrick] with great honour and veneration, and during the twelve nights that the religious seniors were watching the body, with psalms and hymns, it was not night in Magh-inis or the neighbouring lands, as they thought, but as if it were the full undarkened light of day." What the editors believe such accounts to suggest is this:—that the clergy and converts, hearing St. Patrick was about to retire from his labours, flocked to pay their respects and bid him farewell; that he improved the occasion to stimulate them by joining with them in religious services; that the scene was like the parting of St. Paul and the elders at Miletus; that (knowing he would not abide in Ireland any longer) rival Irish parties disputed as to where in Ireland he would abide; that "pos-



sibly" he queited them by telling the Armagh party that he would not go to Downpatrick, and the Downpatrick party that he would not go to Armagh; and that "he then fulfilled both assurances" by decamping from Ireland. In St. Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* there is an allusion to the custom of obsequies: "After your death," said a certain brother to Columba, "all the people of the provinces will come in boats to Iona to celebrate your obsequies, and will fill the entire island."

To the discussion of the question of St. Patrick's birthplace, the editors bring the same faculty of credulous imagination which they employ on the question of his death. St. Patrick was born at a place called Nemthor, which Colgan gives as meaning "Holy or Heavenly Tower." Finding that, on a hill to the north-east of Glastonbury, there is "a curious tower, called the Tor St. Michael," the editors consider this to be the place meant. They do not indeed say whether or not in Patrick's time this curious tower was called St. Michael's Tower, or had any repute for sanctity. Neither do they appear to have seen Mr. Cashel Hoey's essay on *The Birthplace of St. Patrick*, in which he attempts to identify Nemthor, or Nem-tur, with Tur-n-hem. Yet O'Curry's observation, which he quotes, that the word was originally written Emtur, is worthy of comment; and Mr. Hoey's own remarks on the word Tabernæ deserve attention.

It is desirable that eccentric speculations should be altogether excluded from the prefaces to a grave historical work, especially when its publication is a national undertaking. In the present case, however, these fancies form but a small portion of a preface in which the principles of the laws are summarized with sober accuracy, and inferences drawn with creditable reasoning.

12. M. DERENBOURG has published and translated the *Divân* or collection of poems of Nâbiga Dhobyâni, one of the last representatives of Arabic literature anterior to the appearance of Mohammed. The eminence of Nâbiga as a poet was always unanimously recognised. Even the pious Khaliph Omar was a fanatical admirer of his works. "Nâbiga," said he, "is the first of all Arabic poets." The same infallible judgment was also pronounced by the Khaliph Abd-el-Melek ben Merwan; and European readers will readily sympathize with it. Nâbiga is a true poet, as powerful in his utterance of warlike emotions and satirical invective, as he is picturesque in description, and tender and even sentimental in his expression of the softer feelings. The restoration of the text of an Arabic poet of his age is unfortunately impossible. The language of Nâbiga, like that of all the Arabic poets of the ages of "ignorance," has been modernized; and spurious passages have been interpolated, which no critical ingenuity can separate from the genuine. The ante-Islamic poems were preserved orally by the itinerant singers of the Arabian peninsula, whose imagination often came to the aid of their memory. When the grammarians first set about collecting the remains of the ancient

poetry, they found themselves in possession of a large number of fragments, without beginning or end, which had been preserved in consequence of some striking image or thought. And, on the other hand, a fortuitous resemblance of metre and rhyme had brought together, as into one composition, verses which had really no connection with each other. The differences of dialect were obliterated by a violent application of the grammar and vocabulary of the Koran. Other alterations were introduced in obedience to religious considerations. The 81st poem of the present *Divân* is probably attributed to Nâbiga for no other reason than that the name Omâma occurs in the first line. Other poems attributed to Nâbiga are the work of other poets. Khalif-el-ahmar boasted of having interpolated the poems of Nâbiga as well as of others. Different editions of the same poet varied very considerably from each other. "L'éditeur d'un poète anté-islamique," says M. Derenbourg, "ne peut donc pas plus se proposer de donner toutes les œuvres de son auteur qu'il ne peut espérer remonter au texte primitif. Son but doit être de reproduire aussi fidèlement et aussi complètement que possible le *divân*, tel qu'il était sorti de la main d'un grand philologue, d'un Asma't par exemple ou d'un Ibn Sikkft." Asma't, who was the first editor of the poems of Nâbiga, was a scholar who lived at the Court of Harun Al-Rashid. Among living scholars none is better qualified than M. Derenbourg for the task of editing, translating, and illustrating by appropriate notes, the favourite poet of the Kings of Hîra and Gassan.

18. IN 1830, Professor Dahlmann published a survey of the principal sources of German history, as a help to the students who frequented his lectures on the subject at the university of Göttingen. The work was soon more widely adopted; and a second edition became necessary in 1838, just when Dahlmann had been dismissed from his professorship and expelled from Göttingen, for opposing the revocation of the Constitution by King Ernest Augustus. This new edition contained a large amount of new matter of importance, including additional observations on particular works and events. Notwithstanding the immense advance that has been made since that time in every branch of German history, no new compendium of its sources and literature has appeared; and Dahlmann's *Quellenkunde* continued to be used, though it was no longer adequate, and had long been out of print. At last, Professor Waitz of Göttingen, one of the profoundest masters of German history, has published what is formally a third edition of Dahlmann, but essentially a new book on the subject. It is a laborious and valuable work. The whole plan has become more systematic, and has gained particularly in clearness by a division into longer periods. Notwithstanding the exclusion of many works that have now become obsolete, there is a great increase in the number of titles cited, by which the activity of the last thirty years is fully illustrated. Where Dahlmann, in 1838, only had given some 700, the present edition gives more than 2800. Besides inde-

pendent works, Professor Waitz has paid careful attention to the rich materials contained in periodicals, such as the *Forschungen sur Deutschen Geschichte*, the Historical Commission of Munich, Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, and Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*. On the other hand, he seldom gives observations or opinions of his own—a self-restraint which, if it deprives the book of much that would be valuable, keeps it within the limits of size required in the interests of its circulation. It should be mentioned that the relative importance of the different works referred to is indicated by corresponding distinctions of type. No one henceforth who undertakes the investigation of any part of German history, can dispense himself from the obligation of consulting this instructive work.

14. PRUSSIA proper, the kernel and starting-point of the Prussian monarchy, was originally a German colony, which in its remote position retained many special characteristics, and preserved a certain sentiment of independence. Its history is peculiar. It was conquered from the native heathen population by the Teutonic knights; and in a long succession of wars it passed from the dominion of Poland into the number of the German States. At one time, like all the border-lands of Germany on that side, it was enriched by the Eastern trade, which stimulated its industry; but since the introduction of the Russian prohibitory system, it has languished in common with the neighbouring provinces. As an agricultural, corn-producing region, however, it is still to some extent prosperous; and its population is hardy, industrious, and persevering. In the domain of science its reputation is sustained by many illustrious names. Its history was investigated by Professor J. Voigt, Archivist of Königsberg, who published a number of chronicles and other sources; and a younger generation is now following in his steps with a zeal not less than his own. In 1853 Dr. M. Toeppen published a critical analysis of the Prussian Chronicles; and on the basis of this work a collection of *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* was afterwards undertaken by him in conjunction with Professor Theodore Hirsch and the late Dr. Strehlke. Of this collection four volumes have now appeared; and one more remains to complete the series. This work was aided by grants from the provincial diet and from the government, and will be a monument of the diligence and critical discernment of the three scholars who are responsible for it. The sources are illustrated by introductions, commentaries, and critical dissertations, which clear up many controverted points, and, together with the main text, supply all the necessary material for the history of the country. The work is enriched by some additional sources which have been brought to light by a careful search in the libraries. It bears witness to the intercourse which has always existed between the Baltic countries and England. In the second volume there are particulars relative to the journey of Henry of Lancaster to Prussia in 1290 and 1291, with some extracts

from Henry's account-books, preserved at the Record Office, contributed by Professor Pauli. In the fourth volume the Danzig Chronicle of Caspar Weinreich contains some miscellaneous matter on England. Students of the general and commercial history of the Baltic provinces will appreciate the value of the whole collection, and will find it an indispensable aid in their investigations.

15. THE study of the Romance languages has of late made rapid progress in Germany. It is not yet fifty years since Frederick Diez wrote his excellent books on the poetry and lives of the troubadours; and now scarcely a year passes in which some important work of ancient French or Provençal poetry is not rescued from oblivion, or some question of grammar and literature scientifically treated by a German scholar. Of those who have dug amongst these buried treasures, Professor Karl Bartsch of Rostock is one of the most industrious. He is at home in the mediæval literature of his own tongue, as well as in that of the langue d'oc and langue d'oïl; and his numerous publications in the two latter branches of philology are the more valuable because, in a new science like modern philology, quantity is almost of as great importance as quality. In his *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles* he has done well to include the two classes of poems, since they are very nearly related to each other, and have their common source in the inexhaustible variety of popular life and feeling. The work is of course a critical one, and founded on the careful study of the principal manuscripts of Paris and Rome. His notes give the important variations of the different manuscripts, and are valuable material for philological purposes. The romances contained in the volume are for the most part by anonymous poets, poor unknown jonglers perhaps, who sang their songs to audiences of peasants on the village green, or in the marketplace of a country town. Their tone of moral feeling is not always a high one; but their simplicity gives them a charm which is wanting in the more refined romances of renowned troubadours like Audefrois li Bastars, Quesme de Bethune, or Collins de Chanpiaux. Their subject is almost always the same; and it is that which is still so often adopted in French novels and dramas, viz., the troubles and disturbances of married life. Generally, a young and beautiful woman is married against her own will to an old man, and tries to forget and avenge the cruelty of her husband in the society of a youthful lover. In poetical form the romances differ. Sometimes they are simply narrative, sometimes a monologue of the unhappy wife, sometimes a dialogue between her and the poet himself, in which latter case the troubadour of course always takes her side against her husband.

The difference between the Pastorals and the Romances is less important in point of form than of substance. The heroine of the Pastoral is always a beautiful shepherdess who feeds her lambs and muses on her beloved. The poet, on horseback, meets her in a lonely

valley, and tries to win her favour by gifts. The success of his courtship is different in the different poems. The ideal of unchangeable love is the young shepherdess Marion, whose beauty and fidelity to her rustic admirer Robin is celebrated by innumerable French poets, from the King of Navarre down to the simplest jongler. Adam de la Halle, the great "hunch-backed poet of Arras," made her the subject of his most renowned pastoral drama, *Robin et Marion*; and it is still a proverbial saying in France, "Ils s'aiment comme Robin et Marion." One of the greatest charms of both the Romances and the Pastorals consists in the refrain. Sometimes it is only a melodious musical exclamation, as "alatre libondaine la;" sometimes a short sentence, as "e or en ai dol;" sometimes also a longer phrase, which is always reintroduced very skilfully with slight variations. The constantly recurring burden,

"Des tant es douz li nons d'amors,  
Ja n'en cuidai sentir dolors,"

is an instance of the last kind.

16. HERR HÜFFER begins his monograph on the life and works of Guillem de Cabestanh by enumerating the seven different versions now extant in the Provençal language respecting the tragical end of that unfortunate troubadour. These versions agree in the main point, namely, that their hero was treacherously slain by the husband of his lady-love; and they name Roussillon as the scene of the tragedy, ascribing the murderous deed to Raimon of Roussillon, or of Castel Roussillon. But whilst in two of the versions the lady is named Seremonda, the remaining five call her Margarida. Herr Hüffer assumes the tale which gives the story in the simplest form to be the most ancient version, arguing that the taste of the period in which it was first promulgated was far too favourable to romantic adventures to render it in any degree probable that any circumstance contributing to its exciting or sentimental character should have been willingly omitted. He therefore supposes the accounts given in the Paris ms. 7614 (B) (printed by Mahn and by Bartsch) and in a Vatican codex (printed by Milá and by Orescimbeni) to be the originals out of which the other five have in course of time been formed. From these two the author of the third selected the facts which suited him best, whilst he furnished further subjects of variation to subsequent chroniclers, whose narratives vary or coincide in proportion to their having known and combined more or less of the older versions. Herr Hüffer undertakes the task of minutely comparing the various narratives, pointing out all the discrepancies, and tracing each detail to its source.

Guillem de Cabestanh is certainly not the only troubadour who met his death by the hand of an outraged husband; and, but for the ferocious vengeance which Raimon took upon his wife, he would probably have shared in the general oblivion. Raimon caused the heart of the troubadour to be dressed, and the dish to be placed before his wife. When she ap-

proved its flavour he informed her of what it consisted, showing the yet bleeding head of her lover, in token of his having told her the truth. The lady, thereupon, declared that after having tasted so divine a food none other could ever suit her; and she flung herself from a balcony. The king of Aragon, Raimon's feudal lord, appeared as her avenger; and whilst Raimon himself ended his days in a dungeon, the remains of the lovers were placed in a church at Perpignan. A monument was erected as a memorial of their misfortune; and numerous pilgrimages gave evidence of the popular sympathy. The writer of the Paris ms. 7614 adds scarcely any detail to these facts. Later scribes, however, seem to have considered it due to the troubadour's character that his sad fate should in some way be connected with his art; and they accordingly make him betray his unhappy passion in a song, some of them giving the identical one, and choosing for their purpose the finest of those which have survived. This device is however singularly unfortunate, as the details given in the same version cannot be brought to harmonize with the state of affairs which the poem implies. In the ms. preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence, a sister of the lady is introduced. Raimon, before proceeding to extremities, gives Guillem an opportunity of justifying himself; the troubadour at first succeeds in misleading him by turning his suspicions from his wife to her sister. The narrative of this ms. is the richest in incident and colouring; and this is why Herr Hüffer gives it in full, together with the more plain and meagre version contained in the Paris ms. 7614. He states the facts and the conclusions he draws from them with clearness and precision, analyses the seven yet extant songs of the poet, and gives an excellent translation of three of them.

17. HIGDEN's *Polychronicon* belongs to the same class of works as Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale*. It is a book of a bad kind; but it is the best of its class, and certainly deserved to be printed as a specimen of the highest results attained by historical students in the fourteenth century. Moreover, a man who wrote so copiously as Higden could not fail sometimes to communicate new information; and Trevisa, his first translator, freely incorporated fresh facts in the text. The most instructive instance of this is in the passage which discusses the national idioms. Higden, who probably wrote in the early part of Edward III.'s reign, says that "the present corruption of our native tongue comes very much from two causes: that forsooth since the first coming of the Normans, boys at school, in opposition to the custom of other nations, are compelled to renounce their own tongue and construe in French; moreover, that the sons of noblemen are trained in the French idiom from the very cradle." But Trevisa, who wrote in 1385, qualifies this statement with the words (modernized):—"This manner was much used at first, and is now somewhat changed, for John Cronwaile, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar school and construction

of French into English, and Richard Pencriche learned the manner of teaching of him, and other men of Pencriche, so that now . . . in all the grammar schools of England children leave French, and construe and learn English." An interesting passage in *Piers Plowman* (Passus, xv. l. 369) shows that this change was already matter of remark eight years earlier. It is probable that Trevisa exaggerates the importance of a single schoolmaster, when he credits him with a change which was really due to the strong national feeling that sprang from the English wars in France; yet the value and interest of the two paragraphs are great, and create a wish that Higden had contributed more chapters of his own to his work. His remarks on the manners of his countrymen, though not very subtle or profound, contain an amusing complaint that men of every class try to ape their superiors. It was precisely this spirit which undermined feudalism and won Cressy. In the two volumes already printed, Professor Babington notices some contributions of Higden's to English geography. Thus he describes Chester, where he lived, gives a good account of the Four Great Royal Roads, and is fuller than his authorities in describing Wales and the Isle of Man.

Considering the many sources from which Higden compiled, and the fact that two English versions have been printed beside the Latin text, it is obvious that the editor's labours are of no common kind, and must be tried by no ordinary standard. The result is not altogether satisfactory. Of one of the two English renderings, the Harleian manuscript of 1432-1450, Professor Babington says that it is "often bombastic, and can hardly represent the spoken English of any period, being, in fact, frequently unintelligible to persons unacquainted with Latin." It is therefore of no philological worth; and, as it has no special feature except the absence of such words as puzzled the translator, it is difficult to understand why it was ever printed. Its omission from the remainder of the series would probably effect a saving of two volumes out of the eight or nine which the *Polychronicon* will fill on the present scheme; and no regard for uniformity of appearance ought to hinder this change from being made at once. Again, the editor has not mastered the bibliography of his subject. He was probably deterred by the vast number of Latin manuscripts—more than a hundred in all—that still exist; but it is evident that until all have been collated a final edition has not been given to the world. Next, it is impossible not to regret that the amount of Higden's variations from his authorities should not somehow be expressed. Professor Babington gives a précis of them in his Introduction, and has evidently more or less mastered a most difficult subject. It is the more to be deplored that he has not given the world the benefit of his knowledge. Possibly the rule of the series, excluding notes, has been held to preclude any attempt of the kind. If so, it cannot be too speedily rescinded. Higden is no common book: the numerous copies of it were dispersed widely, as well as multiplied; and it was to

Englishmen for more than two hundred years what Camden and Baker were to the sixteenth century. Like all standard books, it was freely pillaged and reproduced. A careful analysis, pointing out from what authority every statement was really derived, and how much was original or erroneous, would be to modern knowledge what Higden was to his own times. Take, for instance, the list of British cities. Higden professes to derive it from Alfred of Beverley; and Professor Babington observes that the 67th chapter of Nennius is the fountain-head of some of the information. A reference to Alfred of Beverley will show that the spellings of the two lists are very different, and that Higden has added two names, Kair Dorm from Henry of Huntingdon, and Cserpaladour from Geoffrey of Monmouth, while he has omitted several towns, such as Kair Urnac, which he could not identify. Again, Higden's list of counties is professedly derived from Alfred of Beverley. It is, in fact, a confused compilation, professing to divide England into thirty-two shires, while it gives the names of thirty-seven, excluding Cornwall, Rutland, and Monmouthshire. It is certainly later than the list compiled by Alfred of Beverley, which recognises Cornwall, and divides all Northumbria into Yorkshire, Northumberland, and the diocese of Carlisle. Differences of this kind ought to be marked and commented on. Professor Babington observes in a note that the chapter is almost entirely taken from Brompton, but in his Preface prefers the view that Brompton took it from Higden. The clue to the mystery perhaps lies in Higden's method of calculating. Apparently he had both authors before him, and took Alfred of Beverley's computation of thirty-five in all, which he reduced first by leaving out Cornwall, and then by counting all between Humber and Tweed as one county, in both instances following Brompton, or the unknown author whom Brompton transcribed. This brought down Alfred of Beverley's list to thirty-two, the number Higden first gives. But as he went on he forgot his canon, and multiplied Northumbria again by the modern divisions which Brompton enumerates, and which did not exist in Alfred of Beverley's time. The result goes some way to prove that a work corresponding to Brompton's existed in Higden's time, though Brompton's present text may only have come down to us in a fifteenth-century edition. Perhaps it is too much to expect that any editor should add labour of this sort to the task of bringing out the text. Professor Babington is not to be blamed for shrinking from the attempt; but if it had been made, and even imperfectly executed, it would have trebled the value of the present work.

18. MR. SKEAT has now given us a second text of *Piers Plowman's Vision*; and no one who examines the volume is likely to think that it is work misspent. There are not many books which deserve such handling; but this one is among the greatest productions of early English literature, throws light on the thought and manners of the times, and was three times remodelled by the author,

with differences which are sometimes interesting and important. Mr. Skeat's editing seems to be almost faultless. He keeps strictly to the limits he has marked out for himself, and is, as far as we can see, exhaustive within these, giving the various readings, pointing out the anachronisms of the latter version, describing the different manuscripts, and supplying an excellent running commentary in the margin. If the notes and glossary that he promises in a future volume are as well executed, it may be hoped that *Piers Ploughman's Vision* will not require any further editing.

The authorship of the *Vision* presents a very curious question. Hitherto there have been three seemingly incompatible accounts, excluding Buchanan's arbitrary statement that the author was a Scot brought up at Aberdeen. Stow says in his *Chronicle* that John of Malvern, Fellow of Oriel, finished his book entitled *The Visions of Piers Ploughman* in 1342. Mr. Skeat's ground for rejecting this story may be accepted as conclusive. The real author certainly lived far into the reign of Richard II., and almost certainly beyond it. No tradition, no evidence, and nothing in his writings, connects him with Oxford. And the belief as to his name may have originated in nothing more than the fact that he speaks of the Malvern hills, and that there was indeed a John of Malvern, who was Prior between 1395 and 1415, and who continued Higden's *Polychronicon* down to the year before his election. But his style is quite different from the poet's. Accordingly, while it is just possible that the author of the *Creed*, whom Mr. Skeat distinguishes from the author of the *Vision*, was an Oriel man, and that the mistake originated in this way, we may practically disregard John of Malvern. This simplifies the traditional notices, which are, however, still sufficiently different. One seems to be derived from a note in a hand of the fifteenth century, written on a text now in the library of Lord Ashburnham:—"Robert or William Langland made pers ploughman," to which Bale (who was followed by Crowley, who first printed the book in 1550) adds that he was Robert Langland, a Shropshire-man, born in Cleobury Mortimer, about eight miles from the Malvern hills. This account has been generally followed. But Sir Frederick Madden discovered an entry, in a hand of the fifteenth century, on the fly-leaf of a ms. of *Piers Ploughman* in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, to this effect:—"Mem. quod Stacy de Rokayle, pater Willielmi de Langland, qui Stacius fuit generosus et morabatur in Schiptone under Whichwode in comitatu Oxon, qui prædictus Willielmus fecit librum qui vocatur Perys Ploughman." Mr. Wright, who did not know of the Ashburnham note, antecedent to Bale's, rejected the substitution of William for Robert, but suggested that Stacy de Rokayle might be traced. Mr. Skeat, on the other hand, argues for William, as Bale's authority is not of the highest, and as the poet says of himself that men call him

Long Will. But Mr. Skeat abstains from deciding what part of England the dialect of Text B, which he thinks represents the author's dialect, may be referred to. Nor do the geographical notices in the poem give much help. Those of London are rather numerous; and it seems likely that the author lived there, and was a copying-clerk. Of the other places it can only be said that they are scattered through central England, and are never north of Humber, or, except in the case of Canterbury, south of Avon and Thames. Several are references to places of pilgrimage; and, generally, it may be remarked that the poet's reputation for Lollard doctrines has been very cheaply earned.

It is worth while now to inquire if what may be called the Shropshire and the Oxfordshire accounts can be reconciled. Two surnames, and one very uncommon Christian name, Stacy, ought to be indications. But a difficulty occurs at starting. The only known family of Langlands has a very distinct history in connection with Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire, but never comes to view in the Midland Counties. Again, the name of Rokeale will almost invariably be found connected with land in Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and with employments in London. On the other hand, there are two hamlets, Langley and Ruckley, which formed part of the old manor of Acton Burnel in Shropshire; and the latter is generally written Rokela, in the fourteenth century, while the former is often written Langel', which a clerk might take at will for Langele, Langeledge, or Langland. There is also an entry in the *Excerpta de Rotulis Finium* (ii. 315) which states that in 1269 Bartholomew de Langley, Stacia his wife, and Avelina his sister, fined for an assize to be held in Essex. Now Langley in Essex is known to have got its name in 1886 from a family that migrated there (Morant, *History of Essex*, ii. 86); and it may therefore be assumed that Bartholomew was of some other county. Putting together the conjunction of the names Langley and Rokeyle in Shropshire, the tradition of the poet's birth in that county, the rare name Stacia in a family of Langleys, and the fact that there are no Langlands to be traced in the Midland Counties of England, it scarcely seems rash to assume that the poet's real family name was Langley, and perhaps even that it had been derived at some period from the Langley in Shropshire.

This hypothesis once granted, we begin to suffer from plethora rather than from dearth of presumptive evidence. For instance, we find in Shropshire that younger members of the Burnel family were occasionally known as Burnels de Langley (*Inq. p. Mort.* i. 12, 253); that there were other Langleys on the estate or in the employ of the Burnel family; and that even the name of Rokeyle may be traced in one instance with high probability to the Welsh borders (*Year-book of 32 Edward I.* 298). Passing to Oxfordshire we find a family of Langleys existing for nearly two centuries in the county, and latterly owning land in

Shipton-under-Wychwood, while a Warwickshire family of Langleys received land in Oxfordshire under Edward I.

Here, then, is an *embarras de richesses*. But the difficulty will disappear with a little sifting. The Burnels of Acton Burnel and Langley died out in the male line in 1877, an Edward Burnel being their last representative, and the Burnels of Castle Holgate, to whom Langley really belonged, were extinct in the male line by 1815 (Eyton's *Shropshire*, vi. 138, 184). The pedigree of the Langleys of Warwickshire is well known, and contains no member of the family whom we can connect in the fourteenth century with Shropshire and the western parts of Oxfordshire, or assume to have been the author of *Piers Ploughman* (Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 185). The William Langley we look for must therefore, in all likelihood, have belonged to the Oxfordshire Langleys, or to the Shropshire Langleys or Rokesles. The Langleys of Oxfordshire have not yet, we believe, found place in any county history. But their pedigree is abundantly proveable. They emerge into history with Thomas de Langley, who gives King John a hundred marks and a palfrey in 1213 to replace Thomas Fitz-Hugh in the guardianship of Wychwood Forest (*Rot. de Fin.* 485). From that time the Langleys, William, Thomas, John, John, and Thomas successively, were wardens of Wychwood, and owned land in Shipton-under-Wychwood as early as 1278 and as late as 1362 (*Rot. Hundred.* ii. 739, *Ing. p. Mort.* ii. 252). But the last Thomas died before the 86th year of Edward III., and was succeeded by his cousin and heir, Simon Verney (*Ing. p. Mort.* ii. 252, 290). From some feoffments which he had made there is reason to connect him with the Langleys of Warwickshire (Abbrev. *Rot. Orig.* 239). But nothing connects him with the Burnels or any Shropshire family. We are reduced therefore to supposing that the Langley we seek for was a sub-tenant of the Burnels; and this assumption of an obscure origin agrees altogether best with what we should naturally conjecture of the poet's antecedents.

The question then is now reduced to one or two very simple alternatives. If it can be proved that there was a family of Langley at Langley in Shropshire or a family of Rokesles at Ruckley, and that either may be assumed to be connected with the other and more or less in relations with the lord of the manor, it will only remain to trace the connection between the Burnels and Shipton-under-Wychwood. Now there are facts to support all these hypotheses. A William de Langley was a tenant of William Burnel in 1228 (*Testa de Nevill*, 57). A Robert de Langley receives fifty marks due to Robert Burnel, afterwards Chancellor, in 1272 (*Exchequer Issues*, 87). A Robert de Langley was instituted clerk of Rokesley chapel some time between 1311 and 1349 (Eyton's *Shropshire*, vi. 147). Again, in the suit already referred to, Henry de Rokesley and Richard de Waleys, whose name indicates a Welshman, both claimed to descend

from Robert Paytevin; and one of the few Paytevins who can be traced was a follower of Roger de Mortimer, the lord of Cleobury Mortimer (*Parliamentary Writs*, iv. 1269). Seemingly therefore there were two families, one of Langley and one of Rokesley, who lived in adjoining hamlets, attached to the same manor, and of whom one was connected with the service of the Burnels, the other more remotely with the Mortimers, as being related to one of their dependants. Here then we perhaps get a clue to the poet's birth at Cleobury Mortimer, which was a possession of the Mortimers (*Ing. p. Mort.* i. 190, ii. 224). It remains to explain the connection with Shipton-under-Wychwood. Edward Burnel (born 1287, d. 1315) married Alicia, daughter of Hugh le Despenser, of whom we only know that she survived him (Eyton's *Shropshire*, vi. 185). And a Hugh le Despenser died in 1349, seized of the manor of Shipton-under-Wychwood (*Ing. p. Mort.* ii. 160, Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*, ii. 102). Now, whether the poet's ancestor was a Langley or a Rokesley, it seems easy from what has gone before to understand why he first held a farm under the Mortimers and afterwards under the Despensers. In fact there was a group of great families connected by birth or position in Shropshire and Oxfordshire, and a group of small families who were naturally linked with their fortunes.

One point remains. Why were the surnames of father and son, Stacy de Rokesley and William Langley, different? Our own impression is that the family name was Langley, but that when the poet's father moved into Oxfordshire he changed it to avoid confusion with the knightly family which, as we have seen, held land in Shipton-under-Wychwood. Whether he was connected with the Shropshire Rokesles, or whether he merely held land in both hamlets, there was sufficient warrant by the usage of the fourteenth century to authorize the slight change he adopted. Anyhow it is highly probable that the poet was known by the name of Langley, not of Langland; and as he appears to have migrated to London his resumption of the older surname would be natural. Slight as these results may seem for the labour involved in attaining them, they will not be thrown away if they guide future inquirers on the right track. It will make all the difference between right and wrong, if a student exploring the Oxford archives, if any such there be of this period, looks for William Langley instead of Robert Langland. Perhaps, too, any result is valuable which tends to demolish the shallow scepticism which impugns varying traditions because their points of agreement are not easily discernible.

19. DR. WADDINGTON, in his *Congregational History*, does not conceal from himself or his readers the difficulty of writing the pre-natal history of an institution which came into visible being in the last of the years of which his book treats. He therefore divides his subject into the history of the "undercurrent of

opinion," the silent growth of principles and convictions, and the history of the Congregational body from the time when "eventually a company of Christian people, few in number, feeble in resources, and bitterly opposed by the great ecclesiastical parties of their time, resolved to organize a Congregational Church." In the present massive volume he only treats the former part of his subject; and indeed he only treats half of that. For he assumes that the Congregational scheme of Church polity is written in the code of the New Testament, and was practised by the Primitive Church, but was gradually obscured by the growth of Sacerdotalism, till, in 1200, when Rome was in the zenith of her power, it was completely eclipsed, only gradually and fitfully to struggle again into light, and assure itself a position among the organized bodies of Christendom. He has not proved that the principles whose history he traces are peculiar to Congregationalism, or that they are seeds which germinate into Congregational organization, and no other. He has found himself obliged to suppose that all the denunciations of abuses, all attempts to reform discipline, to form communities of stricter religious practice, to extend the study of Scripture, to stay the persecution of heretics, to abolish the crimes of the Inquisition, to reduce rich prelates to a more apostolic poverty, to set limits to their civil power, or to give the laity a greater share in the choice of their pastors, were in some special way precursors of the Congregational organization. It would be quite as easy to suppose that they were precursors of Presbyterianism, Lutheranism, Anglicanism, the French Revolution, the Gallican liberties, or the disciplinary reforms of the Council of Trent. To give any man, or any body of men, the exclusive interest in ideas which belong to the whole progressive history of Christianity, and therein to the general advance of the human race, is a preposterous assumption. Dr. Waddington has industriously collected a great many instances of the progress in question; but he has at present given no proof of his capacity to trace the historical development of an idea. History has been a surprise to him. He opened its volumes expecting to find nothing but sin and darkness; he was astonished to discover that *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, and that the principles on which Congregationalism is founded were fermenting in men's hearts and brains before the days of Robert Browne. This astonishment he unfolds to his readers, with the reflection that "if the proper exploration were made much would be brought to light that we now little anticipate;" and he recommends this exploration on the ground that "no educated Congregationalist can feel flattered by the ecclesiastical genealogy that takes its rise from Robert Browne." His fresh and simple confidence does not admit a doubt that whatever historical researches might be made, their results must always prove favourable to the distinctive claims of Congregationalism.

20. Mr. Froude has decided to close his contribution to the History of England at the de-

feat of the Spanish Armada, on the ground that the transition from Catholic to Protestant England was by that time substantially complete. His readers will regret that he should not have adhered to his first plan, to continue it to the death of Elizabeth, through years which, as he himself admits, were "rich in events of profound national importance." Whatever the shortcomings of his work may be, it is a narrative of singular fascination, with passages of perfect literary finish. It is taken in great measure from materials hitherto unknown or unused; and its spirit is in many respects original. Much of its popularity, there is little doubt, has been derived from the vivid apprehension of the past, its ideas, its statesmen, and its work, which makes Mr. Froude handle it as familiarly and confidently as the present. And, when all abatements have been made, no one can compare it with Camden or Stowe, Hume or Lingard, without feeling that Mr. Froude gives much that others have not touched or not understood. A large proportion of errors too may fairly be condoned to one who works with imperfect material. Twenty years hence, when the State Calendars for the sixteenth century are completed, an exhaustive history of England during that period will be possible. As it is, only a part of the reign of Henry the Eighth is thoroughly indexed. Meanwhile it is a real gain to history that our knowledge, such as it is, should be mapped out anew. To abstain from doing good work because it cannot in the nature of things be final, would be an unworthy sacrifice of a great temporary result to private vanity.

There is however another side to the question. It is possible for an imaginative man to conceive a world that never really existed, and could not quite have existed as he conceives it. Many of Shakespeare's plays are solid history, from the poet's insight into human nature and character, though it may not be possible to justify all their details. But Tasso's Crusaders and Saracens, in spite of the historical names they bear, are mostly such men and women as the eleventh century never saw. Mr. Froude's genius wants sympathy; and his judgment in consequence often fails in candour, his inferences in accuracy. Having convinced himself that a cause is right, and its representative worthy of it, he uses his facts thenceforward as counts in an apology or an indictment. Many men less eminent than himself have done this with comparative impunity. Sharon Turner's estimate of Henry VIII. was as one-sided as Mr. Froude's has been; but Sharon Turner's opinions have attracted comparatively little attention. The criticisms on Mr. Froude have been constant; and, if he has so far profited by them as to have risen far above the level of his brilliant but most untrustworthy first volumes, he yet seems incapable of correcting the one radical fault, and has only transferred his hero-worship from individuals to a nation. Writing, it must be said, more painfully, more thoroughly, and more scrupulously, as he has gone on, he has felt that Elizabeth was not the great Queen he had imagined, and has resigned



her. As he quits the altar he demolishes the god. She is not only a weak and passionate woman; she is denied honour, religion, and the capacity of deep conviction, in fact every moral quality except courage and economy. It is in her own despite if the country has been great and successful under her rule.

Now it would not much matter if this were merely a summing up after a colourless narrative of events. There would be an appeal from the judge to the depositions of the witnesses. But it is in fact a verdict for which Mr. Froude has been long preparing the way, and which often leads him to substitute his own inferences from facts for the facts themselves. Take for instance the massacre of Rathlin, by which he justifies the charge of a pitiless temperament against Elizabeth. His description of it has been drawn from singularly well-written despatches, and is in his own best style. "Ulster, as Essex admitted, was quiet;" but none the less Norris is ordered to go with a company of soldiers against the Isle of Rathlin, "a place of refuge," where Surley-boy and his people have sent "their wives and children, their aged and their sick, for safety." After a fierce assault, "the Scots yielded at discretion, and every living creature in the place, except the chief and his family, who were probably reserved for ransom, were immediately put to the sword." "It was then discovered that several hundred more, chiefly mothers, and their little ones, were hidden in the caves about the shore." "They were hunted out as if they had been seals and otters, and all destroyed." Surley-boy is depicted as witnessing these horrors from the mountain, and tearing his hair "for his pretty little ones and their dam." Essex boasts of the exploit; and Elizabeth "uttered no word of blame," "rather thanked the perpetrators," when she heard "of the women and children who were stabbed in the caves of Rathlin." Professor Brewer exposed the one-sidedness of this narrative, pointing out, in a letter to the *Athenæum*, that it was no proper part of "England's dealings with Ireland" if nationality counts for anything, as Surley-boy was a Scot preying upon the Irish, that some at least of his family were not killed, and that Essex, in his letter to the Queen, said nothing about the killing of women and children; so that Elizabeth's thanks were probably only for the destruction of a rebel stronghold. Mr. Froude's answer substantially admits all Mr. Brewer's points. But in fact the case is much stronger than Mr. Brewer, arguing for a special point, cared to make it. Surley-boy was one of a family of Scottish Macdonnells (not Macconells, as Mr. Froude calls them) who settled in Antrim about 1533. They were troublesome neighbours. In 1551 they defeated an English force sent to punish them for plundering; and in 1565 two of them were slain in a blood-feud with the O'Neils. In 1578, Surley-boy, then owning Rathlin and the parts of Antrim known as the Route and the Seven Glynnns, made peace with the English, and obtained a patent of denization to be considered a free denizen, "not as a mere Irish, or Scottish-

Irish, or a stranger." He thus made himself fairly liable to the last penalties of English law. However, in 1574 he joined a league with Terence O'Neil, under which sixteen hundred Scots were to be maintained for a war against the English. The attack on Rathlin was the last incident in the war occasioned by this league; and if Ulster was quiet at the time it was only because Surley-boy's confederates had been defeated. But in fact the expedition to Rathlin was on the 22nd of July; and on the 7th or 8th Surley-boy, at the head of 900 men, had begun a battle, which lasted two days, with Essex. Even Mr. Froude's incident of a favourable wind from the east is not borne out by the letter to the Queen, which says the winds were very variable. Nor is the account of the composition quite accurate. The constable surrendered under promise of life for himself, his wife, and his child. But terms were refused to the garrison; and the English soldiers, "being desirous of revenge," put them all to the sword. It is probable that some women and children were among the slain. But we know that Surley-boy's wife died in 1582, or seven years later; and of five sons whom we can assign him Angus fell in the battle against Essex, Donnell was killed by an O'Neil in 1577, and Alexander was slain by Captain Merriman in 1586. James and Randal survived their father, who died in 1590. Surley-boy's revenge at Carrickfergus, where he killed forty soldiers and an officer, and several townsmen, does not seem therefore to call for the "satisfaction" with which Mr. Froude regards it; and it is noticeable that the next Viceroy, Sir H. Sidney (Holinshed, p. 136), reports within five months after Essex's campaign, that Surley-boy's lands in Antrim were one of the few parts in Ulster that had not suffered by the war. Mr. Froude observes that Sidney restored Rathlin to its old owner, "perhaps that he might collect and bury his dead." The real reasons probably were that the Queen would not be at the expense of fortifying it, and that Surley-boy was still too strong to be pushed to extremities; but Sidney, who had taken part himself in one attack on Rathlin (Carew Papers, p. i. 859), was so far from disapproving Essex's policy that he deliberately recommended it as the best (p. 43), and wished the Earl to be made President in Connaught (p. 51). Surley-boy did something more with his recovered property than bury his dead in it. In 1580, the Lord Justice and Council report that "Captain Craiford is arrived in the Glinnnes with 50 English Scots, and Sorlie Boie, and means shortly at the charges of the King of the Scots to fortify the Raghlin" (i. p. 201). To sum up:—The massacre at Rathlin was a bad incident in a barbarous war, but it was a slaughter of alien settlers not of native Irish; Surley-boy's family escaped it; that women and children were killed is not certainly known; and there is no reason to suppose that Elizabeth knew more than that a horde of marauders had been sharply chastised. In contrasting her unfavourably with her father, "who ever struck at the leaders, and spared the followers," Mr. Froude surely forgets Henry VIII.'s letter to



Ferdinand (1512), begging that he would cut the throat of every English soldier who would not return to the ranks at St. Sebastian, and the hanging of eighty men a year later for taking part in an attack on the royal treasure. That Henry was comparatively lenient to the insurgents of 1587 is true; but it must not be forgotten that their cause was so popular and their strength so great that the King thought it advisable to temper his policy.

The question of Elizabeth's relations with Mary Queen of Scots is too wide to be shortly discussed. But those who agree with Mr. Froude in the main issues, that Elizabeth on the whole behaved well under very trying circumstances, and that Mary was an unscrupulous and vindictive woman, may yet protest against the moral considerations which he imports into the question. That other sovereigns had removed inconvenient rivals, that Mary was a bad woman morally, and that her life was a danger to the country, are assumed throughout as sufficient reasons to justify her condemnation. The different murders Mr. Froude cites, from that of Edward II. to that of the Princes in the Tower, really prove that English kings and governments in worse times than the sixteenth century did not dare to get sanction for the crimes they had determined to commit by an appeal to any judicial tribunal; and in every case public opinion declared instantly and emphatically against the perpetrators. The murder of the Prince of Orange by Philip II. was undoubtedly, in the eyes of the Spanish Court, the execution of a judicial sentence upon a rebel and an outlaw. With Mary's criminal antecedents before she came to England, Elizabeth and her ministers had no concern after once admitting her. But it was unavoidable at the time to choose between handing her over to subjects who might put her to death, and keeping her in England under surveillance. The position was full of difficulties; and if Elizabeth was not to blame for refusing her rival a passage to the Continent, where she would be a constant danger to two realms, it may yet surely be granted that Mary deserved great indulgence for her constant efforts to get free, though it were by kindling a civil war or by the death of her enemy. And it must be remembered that the evidence of her guilt on the worst charge is not of that overwhelming kind which is usually required when human life is at stake. "The practical wisdom," says Mr. Froude, "of a critical and difficult act has never in the world's history been more signally justified;" and he argues that the execution left the Catholics without a head, the English and Scottish malcontents without a point of union, and "determined Philip upon the undisguised pursuit of the English throne," in which he failed signally. On the other hand, it must be remembered that it exposed England to the greatest peril through which the country ever passed, by removing the one life which the enemy feared to risk, and that it exalted Mary into a martyr for the faith, and gave treason the romance it most needed. The only persons who really profited by it were Elizabeth's ministers, who would probably have lost their heads if Mary Stuart had come to the

crown, and between whom and her it was a duel to the death. But it is obvious that mere political considerations cannot be allowed to weigh in such a matter. If Mary Stuart's sentence was pronounced by men who had no other thought than to punish offences against the common law of mankind, and who dealt to her the same even justice that they would have dealt to any other human being, they may be thought needlessly severe, but they cannot be taxed with immorality. But if they really acted on the principle that it was expedient that one woman should die for the good of the nation, and that a war or a rising might be averted by the sacrifice of a single life, the guilt of innocent blood is upon their heads, whatever Mary's demerits may have been.

"She was remorseless when she ought to have been most forbearing, and lenient when she ought to have been stern," is Mr. Froude's verdict upon Elizabeth. We have seen reason to modify the former part of the charge as regards the gravest count Mr. Froude alleges: the latter part must be altogether rejected. Her weakness, as he regards it, was the keynote of her character, and the secret of her success. Judge her by her many and undeniable foibles, the childish vanity, the misplaced economy, the vacillating and dishonest policy, and it seems impossible to understand the veneration and affection which she inspired. That her most prominent contemporaries were a Philip II., a Henry III., and a Mary Stuart, no doubt threw her character into brighter relief, but will not explain why the best men of her nation served her with a chivalrous devotion that never took account of danger or disheartenment. Energy and talent had disappeared from the English councils and service under Edward VI. and Mary, and suffered total eclipse under James I. Under Elizabeth brave and capable men started, as it were, out of the earth; and if their services were often disowned or badly requited, it is all the more remarkable that they should have rendered them so unselfishly and well. And the secret seems to lie in the fact that the Queen had the instinct to apprehend greatness, the fellow-feeling to encourage it, and the magnanimity that can tolerate difference. Her worst favourites were Leicester and Hatton; and Leicester after all was the ablest of the English nobility, Lord Howard at most excepted, whom the Queen kept in employ, though he was a Catholic. But put on the other side the long line of worthies who made England a European power again, and the list of public servants is such as may be matched, but can hardly be surpassed, in the annals of any country. The State-Churchman like Cecil, the Puritan like Walsingham, the Catholic like Lord Howard, personal enemies like Norris and Leicester, ambitious adventurers like Raleigh, were all used indifferently for the public need. No doubt there were cases like those of Crofts, Stanley, and York, in which the Catholics employed betrayed the trust placed in them. A policy that should be uniformly successful must be a policy that is never tried by real difficulties. But when the Catholics rallied almost to a man round the English throne at

the time of its greatest danger, it is surely natural to suppose that they were influenced by the desire to support a Queen who had kept them in her employ and steadily interposed between them and her Parliament, as much as by the memory of Mary Stuart's execution. Mr. Froude says that Elizabeth's "entire nature was saturated with artifice." The affected dress, the involved letters, the euphuistic conceits of style, and the imperfect veracity may be granted. Trained from her youth up in policy and reserve, perpetually steering her difficult course through plots and rumours of wars, Elizabeth undoubtedly declined upon the state-craft of her day, and could lie on occasion like a Spaniard or a Medici. But her most flagrant instances of dishonesty are in excuses under pressure, or in the refusal to perform inconvenient engagements. That species of fraud by which a diplomatist like Parma could carry on negotiations with the most solemn assurances of honest intention, while he was really preparing for the Armada, was alien to the English Queen's nature. She was weak, and coarse-fibred, and shiftful, rather than cunning; and her lapses did not destroy her own self-respect, or very much scandalize an age which made large allowances for sharp practice. Her instability rather than her insincerity, so far as the two can be distinguished, was the great stumbling-block in her relations with foreign powers. The large many-sided nature which fitted her to see good in so many different men, the susceptibility to impressions which took instinctive and immediate note of all changes in the nation, the versatile intellect that balanced policies and faiths sometimes as it seemed without thought of personal interest, were the constant occasion of difficulties which a narrow and intense mind would have escaped. But they also help to explain why Elizabeth guided the nation almost bloodlessly through a transitional period, and left an impression of personal greatness behind, which the servility of popular style will not explain. Did any one but a divine ever call James I. great?

21. THE fifth volume of Mr. Spedding's *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon* contains three hitherto unpublished papers of great value. One of these (p. 81) shows how anxious Bacon was to maintain for the Benevolence its character of a strictly voluntary contribution; whilst the speech prepared by him for the King's use in opening the Parliament of 1614 (p. 24), and the long and weighty letter (p. 176) in which he reviewed the history of that unlucky assembly, complete a series which reveals more of his constitutional views than can be derived from the whole of his hitherto printed correspondence. It is difficult to form a satisfactory judgment on the plan which he borrowed from Cranfield for getting rid of the dispute about the impositions by converting them into protective duties, as the idea does not seem to have taken a final shape in his mind, and as the argument appended to it—that the King might abandon the duties in practice without giving

up his legal claim—may perhaps be set down to a desire to conciliate James.

The history of Bacon's dispute with Coke belongs to a lower stage in his career. He is no longer a calm and large-minded statesman, standing between both parties in order to moderate them: he is in the main an official defender of the King's cause. Yet that he was something more than this Mr. Spedding has succeeded in showing. Telling the story far more fully and more accurately than it has been told before, he maintains that, in supporting the prerogative, Bacon was upholding the existing state of things against the encroachments of the Bench. That this, or something like this, was the way in which the question presented itself to Bacon's mind is extremely probable. But there is much more to be said before it is possible to pass a final judgment on this part of his career. For when everything that Mr. Spedding says about Coke's arrogance and unreasonableness is admitted, the question remains whether Bacon's position would not have been assailable by a stronger champion. Externally and technically Coke was the innovator. In Elizabeth's time the Crown had been accustomed to consult the judges before the trial of a case, without considering how their conduct on the bench would be affected thereby. But then, embarked as they were in a common cause with the Queen, the Elizabethan judges did not feel that any sort of pressure was being put upon them. But in James's time the "little rift within the lute" had made itself perceptible. The mere fact that special precautions had to be taken when the opinion of the Bench was desired is enough to show that the old confidential intercourse was at an end. And when two have ceased to be agreed, the choice lies only between increased independence and increased subservience. That things should remain as they were is simply impossible.

Mr. Spedding would probably say that the difference was all Coke's fault. But, when we see how the first assumption of the new attitude grew out of the dispute about the impositions (p. 58), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the quarrel with the judges was only the sign and symptom of a greater quarrel with the nation. The new fact which had supervened was that there were now questions in dispute "between the King's Majesty and his people." This fact Bacon, being wise enough to wish it were otherwise, refused to face. But those who know what came of it cannot refuse to face it; nor is it possible to avoid seeing that Coke's awkward efforts were directed against an evil which proved to be the real evil of the time, whilst Bacon was throwing up ramparts against a mischief which was in great part, if not wholly, imaginary.

There is usually but little to criticise in Mr. Spedding's treatment of a subject, except by way of suggesting considerations which he has failed to take into account. But in dealing with Coke's opinion on Peacham's case he has been at less pains than usual to discover what the views of the Chief-Justice really were. Coke, he quotes Bacon as saying (p. 120), held "that no words of scandal or defamation im-

porting that the King were utterly unworthy to govern were treason, except they disabled his title;" and this view, he says, was neither in accordance with modern ideas nor with the ideas of the day. He then proceeds to guess that Coke came to this conclusion merely because the precedents happened to be confined to questions of title. In a passage in the *Institutes*, however, of which he takes no notice (8 Inst. p. 14. ed. 1644), Coke draws his opinion direct from the statute of Edward III. "Compassing or imagining the King's death" is with him a crime of intention "secret in the heart," and the law has nothing to do with asking whether the overt act was dangerous or not, but only with asking whether it was evidence of the conception in the mind of a treasonable intention. Now, though this view of treason would be condemned by modern political thinkers, on the ground that the law ought to deal directly with the acts themselves, and so far they would be in accordance with Bacon, yet it was Coke's view which, in a rough and unsatisfactory way, was the lever by which the modern ideas on the subject of treason were admitted into the practice of the courts. Bacon's theory, that what was dangerous to the Crown was treason, would soon have made the most innocent criticism to be treason. Coke held that no criticism which fell short of arguing that the King had a bad title to the throne was evidence of an intent to kill him. Other lawyers followed by arguing that even this was not enough. In short, the complaint against Coke really amounts to no more than this, that though he had started on the way towards modern ideas, he had not succeeded in reaching them.

22. *THE FIVE LETTERS* selected by Don Pascual de Gayangos from the mass of Gondomar's correspondence will hardly serve to do more than to whet the appetite of historical students. But they are skilfully chosen, so as to exhibit in a strong light the versatility of the writer. By the side of a letter in defence of his native Galicia, breathing the very spirit of a Spanish hidalgo, we have an account of a dispute on a question of diplomatic precedence, and a sketch of the historical writers of Spain, which closes with a characteristic proposal that all future works should be submitted to the approval of a board of grave and learned chroniclers. The two remaining letters are of more historical importance. One of them is the despatch in which the ambassador gives account of his arrival in England. After recording his own success in refusing to dip the Spanish colours in the presence of an English man-of-war, he proceeds to a description of the principal personages of the Court, and in the course of it mentions that the Queen was in the habit of hearing mass at Denmark House whenever a priest could be smuggled in for the purpose. The substance of this letter is already known; but the other, a despatch written in 1616, is entirely new. In spite of his success with James, the ambassador clearly saw how precarious his hold over England was. In view of the possibility of war, he urged his master

to strengthen Spain by invigorating her commerce, and by sweeping away the internal custom-houses. A maritime war with England, he added, would only end in ruin. Philip's only chance lay in an invasion with a land army. England itself, however, was too well defended, and Ireland was within easy reach of English reinforcements. The best plan would be to land an army in Scotland, where James was so unpopular that the whole country would welcome the Spanish troops. On the whole, the letter goes to confirm what was previously known of Gondomar as a man thoroughly clear-sighted in things within his own range, but apt to indulge the wildest hopes about matters which were either morally or physically beyond the scope of the vision.

Don Pascual de Gayangos has prefixed to the volume a sketch of Gondomar's life, which will be in some respects more valuable to his foreign readers than to his countrymen. His statements on the affairs of the Northern nations are sometimes misleading. He says for instance (p. xi.), that Mathias was Emperor in 1623, that (p. 71) Lord Roos married a daughter of "the celebrated Secretary Cecil," and that (p. 23) "Don Gualterchut"—in reality the Sir Walter Chute who obtained a temporary notoriety in the Parliament of 1614—may have been a brother of Sir Robert Shute, subsequently Recorder of London. These are, however, matters which will be easily corrected. It would be in vain to look elsewhere for so complete an account of Gondomar's career; and there is a special interest in tracing a deep love of the literature of his country in one who has hitherto been regarded only as a wily diplomatist.

23. *THE* author of *The Private Life of Galileo* has extracted from the various authentic remains of the philosopher just those details which relate to his personal and domestic history. The plan of the book is a good one, and is well carried out, the translations from the various letters being made with great felicity. Perhaps some of Galileo's family and correspondents fare rather hardly, from the author's habit of delivering a definite judgment on each character as it comes upon the canvas. It is clearly impossible that the whole nature of a man should be revealed in a letter or two; and to conclude that the salient feature which appears in a short correspondence was the ruling motive of a life is a dangerous process. The decisive judgments concerning Galileo's brother, his younger daughter, and his son, are founded on evidence too scanty to justify the sweeping conclusions drawn from it. And as the receptivity of the leeches who sucked the hero's fortune is laid to the account of their selfishness and unthrift, so is his generosity laid to the account of his own noble nature, without considering how far the circumstances and opinions of the day allowed the demands of the first, and prescribed the compliance of the second. If Galileo's kindness was exceptional, the pretensions of his kinsfolk must have been also exceptional; but he treats their demands as just debts due by him. The principle

followed by the author might easily prove the heroic hospitality or endurance of a Cherokee Indian from facts which are common to the whole tribe, and afford no argument for exceptional virtue.

In general the author abstains from technical details, and only professes to treat of Galileo's private life. But there is one notable exception, in a somewhat dogmatic assertion, at p. 259, that the condemnation of Galileo does not affect the claim of Papal infallibility, because, though the sentence was decreed and carried out by command of the Pope, he affixed his signature to none of the documents. "Neither Paul v. nor Urban viii. ratified these documents by their signatures;" therefore Galileo was "not persecuted by the Pope as infallible Vicar of Christ, but by Maffeo Barberini in his private capacity"—as if the acts were not formal and official, and as if any conceivable "private capacity" could extend to such public and international proceedings as the trial and condemnation of Galileo. The translations from the Latin are also defective. But with these qualifications the book is well done. It presents a curious and instructive view of Italian manners and society at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and shows how strong was the feeling of family communism, how fully recognised was the right of brothers and cousins to prey on a more fortunate kinsman, and how strongly the domestic affections worked in spite of the domestic disorganization which forbade a family to keep unmarried daughters at home, and consigned them at an early age to convents. With regard to the great moral moment of Galileo's life—his abjuration of a doctrine which he believed—the details given in this book tend to reduce the philosopher's lapses to a minimum. His conduct was neither saintly nor heroic; for he was certainly bound, whatever might be the consequences, not to deny what he knew to be true. But the difficulties of his own conscience, in weighing the relative importance of truths of different orders and duties of different obligation, the active interference of powerful friends, who almost removed the conduct of his own case from his own hands, and the weakness and weariness of old age, sickness, and sorrow, make up a mass of greatly extenuating circumstances.

24. JUST as Shakespeare was ignored or neglected for half a century in England, so in Germany during the epoch of Kantian and Hegelian supremacy Leibniz was scarcely known except by name. It is only since the elucubration of new systems, which so long engrossed the German mind, has given way to a study of the history of Philosophy that he has resumed his place in public estimation. The more deeply he has been studied the greater he has been found. It is like a new discovery. He had before been regarded exclusively as a deep thinker and a man of varied learning; but it has now come to be recognised that he was still more a great patriot and statesman, and that this practical tendency was the very

essence of his character, and forms the only explanation of his life and works, considered as a whole. This new conception of his character was first established by the careful and learned writings of Guhrauer; and now a copious and very instructive work by Dr. Pfeiderer follows the same direction, and treats exclusively the practical side of his career.

Later German philosophers have been almost without exception Professors, and, as such, have constructed formal systems, in accordance with the exigencies of their office; and to this fact no doubt is due the abstract scholastic character and difficult form of German philosophy. Leibniz, on the contrary, never occupied a professorial chair, but developed his philosophy amidst the occupations of real life. Born in Leipzig in 1646, he studied in his native town, and early acquired an extraordinary knowledge, especially in jurisprudence. At the early age of twenty-one he entered the service of the once famous Baron von Boyneburg, minister to the Archbishop Elector of Mentz, who, according to the old constitution of the Empire, was Arch-Chancellor of Germany. Thus he at once found himself at the focus of German affairs, which again were complicated with the general affairs of Europe; and this circumstance permanently influenced the direction of his life. At that time Germany lay prostrate after the sufferings and devastations of the Thirty Years' War, and seemed threatened with complete dissolution. France was in the ascendant, and was pushing those schemes of aggrandizement, chiefly at the expense of Germany, which were the chief influence in European politics down to the peace of Utrecht. Leibniz lived through the whole of this period; and he took the keenest interest in all public questions till his death in 1716. From 1670 he was in constant communication with German princes and statesmen, and with the Imperial Council at Vienna. His own part in these correspondences has not yet been fully brought to light. Even what was printed at the time is still incompletely known; for all his political writings were published anonymously, and many of them had been forgotten altogether. A great number have been brought to light by recent researches. In the Tübingen library Dr. Pfeiderer himself has discovered twelve which in all probability belong to the collection, and which were previously unknown. Many more may lie hidden in other libraries; but those which are already known show that Leibniz was one of the most fertile of German publicists. The diversity of their style and form is surprising; and so is the inexhaustible fund of their author's resources. To attract the attention of the general public, he sometimes assumes the garb of a courtier or diplomatist, sometimes of a pamphleteer and agitator. His deep learning, the acuteness of his logic, his eloquence, his wit, his satire, all serve him by turns. He enlists even poetry in his service, and according to circumstances propagates his political ideas in the form of German, French, or Latin verses. That his nature was not devoid even of a martial vein is shown by the lines:—

"Fasst einen Heldenmuth, ihr kühnen Reichs-soldaten,  
Setzt gegen Eisen Stahl, schlagt auf den  
Franzmann zu."

He wrote on the improvement of the military organization of Germany; and in 1692, when the French fleet had been destroyed at La Hogue, he planned a campaign for the allies, in which he proposed a landing in Biscay, with the view of operating against France from that quarter. So deeply was his mind engaged in practical politics, down to the very end of his life, that after the peace of Utrecht he wrote one of his most spirited works, *La Paix d'Utrecht inexorable*, in which he specially attacks the naval powers for their breach of faith. Dr Pfeiderer gives interesting extracts from all these works.

To the same connection belongs the Egyptian project, which Leibniz hoped would divert the attention of France from Germany, by the suggestion of conquests in the East. In 1672 he sent a memoir on this subject to Paris, whereupon he was himself invited thither, and lived there for about four years, during which time he paid a visit to London. The *Consilium Aegyptiacum*, which he wrote in Paris at this period, was first rediscovered in 1798, when the enterprise which he had thus counselled to Lewis XIV. was undertaken by Napoleon. Even of the Canal of Suez he had spoken at the same time. So ideas work on, and ultimately attain their realization, just as Leibniz himself expresses it in one of his main axioms; "No force perishes. It may be dispersed, but it reunites. Not only men's souls, but also their actions live for ever."

In 1676 Leibniz entered the service of the Duke of Hanover (Hanover only obtained the Electoral dignity in 1692), and thenceforth lived in the city of Hanover. Having been invited to write the history of the Guelphs, he went for a short time to Vienna and Rome to collect the necessary materials. A result of these researches was his *Codex Diplomaticus*, and his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium*, followed by the *Annales*, which are of great value for early German history. This last work actually remained unprinted for 127 years, and was recently, for the first time, published by Dr. Pertz.

Leibniz's residence in Hanover was not without influence on his efforts to unite the Catholic and Evangelical Churches. For the then Duke having become Catholic, while the whole country remained Lutheran, was of course deeply interested in the possibility of a reconciliation. Leibniz was a man to whose mind such an idea was exactly fitted. He was earnestly religious, and at the same time free from all sectarian prejudice, tolerant in disposition, and always bent on reconciling and accommodating differences; and as a German patriot he had daily before his eyes the evil results of confessional antagonisms. His efforts in this direction lasted for several years, and were the occasion of his *Systema theologicum* and his correspondence with Pelisson and Bossuet, but remained without any decisive results.

Nor did a better success attend his labours for the union of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions through negotiations between the courts of Hanover and Berlin. They brought him however into close relations with the latter court, where the accomplished Electoral Princess (Prussia became a kingdom only in 1701) gave him every possible assistance. At Berlin, the Academy of Sciences, of which he was the first president, remains as a scientific monument of him. His desire was that the academy should not simply minister to the vanity of scholars (although this happened to it later as it happens to all academies), but should, above all things, aim at making the sciences practically useful, and that no less in the domain of material life, than in the highest spheres of the spirit, so that it might aid in the advancement of Christianity. For the glory of God he regarded as the highest aim of all science. He had various relations with missionaries, who sent him scientific reports of their labours; and his correspondence of this kind extended as far as China. He was also personally acquainted with Peter the Great, and promoted the formation of an academy at St. Petersburg. It was not established till after the Czar's death, when Leibniz's plan was carried out.

But all this did not by any means exhaust his activity. His energies were employed, as Dr. Pfeiderer shows, on every question of Society and the State—the improvement of justice, education, political economy, the technical accessories of agriculture, mining, handicrafts, and trade. So comprehensive was his mind that compared even with such a man as Humboldt he appears like a giant beside a dwarf. For Humboldt, in the main, embraced mathematics and physics only: Leibniz added to them the moral, political, and historical sciences, in addition to that religious and ecclesiastical sphere which was altogether strange to Humboldt. Moreover, he was constantly engaged in practical politics. They were indeed his favourite pursuit, and prompted his remark: "Those who know me only by my published works do not know me at all." And in fact it is only of late that the world has begun to know him. Dr. Pfeiderer's work is a valuable contribution to this end, though its plan is sometimes confused and not always worked out with due care. The Horatian canon of delay applies with special force to any work on Leibniz.

25. PROFESSOR RANKE has published a series of letters, from the Archives at the Hague, as a supplement to the correspondence of Frederick the Great, issued by the Berlin Academy of Sciences. The work consists of Frederick's correspondence with Prince William IV. of Orange and his wife Anne, daughter of George II. of England. Frederick had made the acquaintance of his relative in 1734 in the Rhenish camp; and their friendly intercourse dates from that time. The Prince then occupied a subordinate place as Stadtholder of Friesland; but his ambition was fixed on the Stadtholdership of the United Netherlands,

which was in abeyance. A sudden turn in the affairs of the Republic in 1747, which brought the Orange party into power, gave effect to his wishes; and the Stadtholdership became hereditary, which suited Frederick's interests. This is the main topic of the seventy-three letters exchanged between them. For the rest, they contain little beyond expressions of civility and friendship, and applications to Frederick to support the Prince's hereditary claims in the Empire. William died in 1751, and had gained so much influence in the Netherlands that his widow was recognised as the guardian of his son, William v. This Prince afterwards married a niece of Frederick the Great, from which marriages sprang the reigning house of Holland. But the original foundation of the Dutch throne was the hereditary Stadtholdership of William iv.; and this circumstance gives particular importance to his memory and that of his wife, Frederick, who was personally acquainted with the Princess, had a high opinion of her; and her admiration and friendship for the King continued till her death in 1759. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War she repeatedly gave him important information; and he applied to her to use on his behalf the influence she possessed in the Low Countries, and with her father. This correspondence consists of fifteen letters, which bear witness to the mutual good-will and esteem of the writers. The editor thinks they shed "a gleam of poetry on the great military events of the Seven Years' War:" in their prose aspect they give striking evidence of the defects of the King's literary style.

26. M. FEUILLET DE CONCHES has not been very happy in his connection with the correspondence of Louis xvi. and his family. The authenticity of the earlier letters was attacked by Sybel in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and by Geoffroy in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the third volume of his *History of Gustavus iii.*; and the defence put forward on the other side was one which involved some unfortunate contradictions. The criticism thus evoked, however, has had a good effect in controlling M. Feuillel's subsequent volumes. The number of letters described as autographs "de mon cabinet" has sensibly decreased; and the exact indication of the quarters from which most of the documents have been gathered—the chief Archives of Europe, and those of a few private families—makes any further investigation of their authenticity superfluous. The interest of the whole work, however, has been much diminished by the publication of the correspondence preserved in the Austrian Archives; and several—and not the least important—of the documents are also to be found in the collections of Arneth and Wolf, whose names are a sufficient guarantee for their scientific value.

The present volume, the fifth of M. Feuillel's collection, contains one hundred and eleven letters (Nos. 649-759), all except four of them belonging to the years 1791 and 1792. Of these not less than seventy-three have already appeared in other recent collections. The second

volume of Arneth's *Marie Antoinette, Josef II., und Leopold II.* contains nineteen of them; twenty-six are in the correspondence between Leopold II. and Maria Christina, published by Wolf; and one is in the small collection of Feidet. The correspondence of Marie Antoinette with the Landgravine Louisa of Hesse-Darmstadt, which contains twenty-one letters concerning Madame Elisabeth, was published by M. Feuillel de Conches himself in 1868, with an introductory preface by the Archbishop of Paris; and six letters of Louis xvi., mostly addressed to the national assembly, had long been known from the *Moniteur*. There remain thirty-eight letters, hitherto unknown, for the sake of which the present publication has been undertaken. They belong to the Archives of France, Russia, Sweden, England, and certain private families; and only a small number come from the editor's own collection. The majority of these last are unimportant, as, for instance, the first two addressed to the Duke de Chartres, at the beginning of the volume; and no question, therefore, need be raised about their authenticity. But this is not the case with No. 735, a letter of the 17th of March 1792, from Marie Antoinette to Madame de Polignac. It is one of deep pathos, full of the tender recollection of the days "que nous avons passés ensemble, et où votre amitié embellissait tout;" and in the editor's opinion it is the last the Queen wrote to her friend. But the style is different in many respects from that of the Vienna letters. Neither it nor the six others to the Duchess de Fitz-James contain anything new; their value chiefly depends on their giving expression to the feelings of the writer. On the other hand, there are twenty letters which contain much valuable information about the affairs of the emigrants, the relations of the reigning sovereigns to Louis xvi. and Catherine II., and the efforts of the different European Courts to subdue the revolution. The *Émigrés*, headed by the King's brothers, are subsidized by Russia and Sweden, but treated with reserve, or even hostility, by Austria and Prussia. They all urge an immediate crusade against the revolution. The King and Queen are afraid of being compromised in the eyes of the nation by this indiscreet zeal, and place their reliance on the unanimous action of the Powers. Leopold II. and Kaunitz agree in the main with these views, but try to avoid the complications that might result from an interference in French affairs. The letters from the Russian Archives, addressed by the King's brothers to Catherine II. (678, 690, 711, 739), display firm trust in the policy of the Czarina, and look to her for the redemption of France. The letters of Breteuil to Bombelles (721, 745, 749), and those of Bombelles to the Russian Chancellor Ostermann (691, 696) and Catherine II., afford a good insight into the reckless conduct of the *Émigrés*. Catherine is of opinion that such councillors as Breteuil and Calonne "ought to be sent to the devil."

The reports of the Russian ambassador Simolin (695, 716, 730) throw light on the dispositions of the Courts of Austria and France, and the relations existing between them at the

beginning of 1792. Simolin, on leaving Paris, was charged by Marie Antoinette with a special mission to Leopold II. In a conversation of several hours with him before his departure, the Queen complains of having been betrayed by a servant-girl in her hurried attempt at flight (p. 168); both the King and herself, she says, are of opinion that the noblesse and the parliaments would prove the ruin of France, and that a bankruptcy is inevitable (169). She speaks of Austria, the Emigrés, and the possibility of effectual assistance from the Powers. She does not conceal her irritation at her brother's cold and variable demeanour, and inclines to think that he "conservait sur le trône la façon de penser d'un petit duc de Toscane, qui avait fait dix-sept ou dix-huit enfants qui l'occupaient, et qui ne prenaient aucun intérêt à ses parents." She is disturbed at his long silence, but hopes everything from the oral and written account of the situation, confided to the charge of Simolin. As to the princes, she has no doubt of their attachment to the King, but does not understand how the intrigues of Calonne could have led to misconception, and thinks Artois had better betake himself to Spain or Turin: "qu'il serait à souhaiter que l'influence des Princes et des émigrés fut nulle, et qu'il n'y eût que les Puissances qui parussent." Of her own safety she thinks little. Simolin represents that perhaps the danger which threatened her may be the motive of her brother's reserve, and of his desire to avoid any definite engagement; but the brave Queen replies that the King and the Dauphin are necessary to the nation, and provided they are saved, all other matters are indifferent: "qu'elle redoutait moins la mort que de vivre dans l'avisement et d'avalier tous les jours des coupes de mortification, d'amertume et de fiel." Simolin, in the discharge of his mission, went to Brussels, and entered into relations with Mercy, "dont la politique est aussi changeable que celle de sa cour," and then on to Vienna, whence he reported minutely the nature of his reception (No. 716). Kaunitz was not much inclined to take action in French affairs. In his private opinion the restoration of the past was impossible; even changes in the constitution were scarcely conceivable; and the foreign Powers had neither a motive nor a plausible title for interfering with the internal concerns of an independent State. Nothing but superior force would be able to overawe the French; and then, when that was withdrawn, things would probably look worse than before: "la nation pourrait enfermer le Roi ou s'en défaire même par une voie plus abrégée." Other States need not fear the infection of revolutionary principles; they had only to stop the propaganda by hanging any of its emissaries who might fall into their power; and the decay of France, since the new ideas had been adopted, would deter the world from imitating her example. Moreover, the King, in accepting the constitution, had authorized every one to believe that he was contented with it, and had acted as a free agent.

The Emperor himself treated Simolin with marked reserve, though sympathizing with his sister's fate, and with her share in events. He

admitted that neither she nor the King could possibly like the new order of things, which moreover endangered the quiet of his own Belgian possessions. Then he spoke of the possibility of war, referring especially to the state of his military resources, and his engagements with Prussia and England, and at last inquired whether Breteuil was really the confidant of the French king; for the calumnies of the Emigrés against Breteuil had reached him. Finally, he declared that his policy had been misconstrued, "qu'on aurait voulu le mettre seul en avant et lui laisser le soin de s'en tirer comme il aurait pu," but that he thought the French national assembly should be approached with reasonable and well-considered proposals. From Colloredo Simolin heard that Kaunitz and Spielmann, "qui est un genre retréci et d'un caractère craintif et difficileux" (p. 265), had positively opposed an attack on France.

Leopold died on the 1st of March 1792, while Simolin was at Vienna; and this gives occasion for a letter to Catherine II. (730, p. 308) on the dispositions of the new Emperor Francis. With regard to France, he merely adopts the policy of his father. Kobentzl also, says Simolin, had expressed his disbelief in the possibility of a counter-revolution, and thought that, while the Court of the Tuileries only looked to a modification of the constitution, the Emigrés were cherishing hopes of a reaction. He informed Simolin, moreover, of the "singular" attitude of the Court of Madrid (which desired to observe a complete neutrality), and acknowledged that the Powers could do nothing till they arrived at a common understanding. Shortly after this France declared war. The last document in the book touches this new phase of events, in a report by Noailles on the policy of Austria. The reports of French diplomatists ought to be easily accessible to M. Feuillet de Conchas; and his future volumes would profit by the introduction of these and other documents of like value, especially from northern archives, in the place of sensational though unimportant ones from his own collection, and others which, however important, are already well known.

27. CLICQUOT-BLERVACHE belongs to that small class of men, much more rare in France than in England or America, who begin life with commercial affairs, and afterwards raise themselves to an honourable place among theorists. He was a son of a merchant of Rheims, and was born in that town on the 7th of May 1725. Having received a good education, he entered into business, and published several works. In 1755 he obtained a prize, given by the Academy of Amiens, for his work on *Le taux de l'intérêt*, in 1756 another for a *Dissertation sur l'état du commerce en France depuis Hugues Capet jusqu'à François I<sup>er</sup>*, and in 1757 a third for his *Mémoire sur les arts et métiers*. In 1760 he was elected by his fellow-citizens Procureur-du-Roi-Syndic; and in 1766 the King made him Inspector-General of manufactures and commerce. In this capacity he helped Turgot in his struggle against the art



and trade corporations. He died on the 81st of July 1796. M. de Vroil has written his life at some length; but his published works are the most interesting part of him. Of those already mentioned, his *Taux de l'intérêt* is the weakest, and his memoirs on the art and trade corporations the most remarkable. The latter contains curious information about these mediæval institutions which the revolution of 1789 swept away at a stroke in France, which in Germany have gradually been abolished as obsolete, and of which England has only retained the outward form in its City Companies. Among Clicquot-Blervache's other publications, that on the commercial treaty of 1786 between England and France is worthy of note. The treaty has often been violently attacked, and on the same grounds as that of 1860, particularly as having been made without regard to the will of the nation. Clicquot-Blervache does not appear in a liberal light in this work, which may perhaps be accounted for from the fact of his not having been consulted in the matter. His *Agriculture et les habitants des campagnes* contains some excellent things; and in writing on *Les moutons mérinos en Champagne* he traces their "introduction into this province of France." He was not more than a second-rate man; and his influence has not been great. But it has been useful, and would have been more so, if the revolution had not precipitated events, and in a certain sense progress also.

28. In a work on the French conquest of Hanover, published in 1862, the son of the minister Ompteda combated the attacks to which the Hanoverian policy of 1803 has been exposed, and put forward a view of the catastrophe of Sühlingen which differs in many essential points from that adopted by Häusser, and generally received in Germany. He argued that Hanover must be judged by a different standard from Austria and Prussia, and that a badly equipped and ill-trained force of 18,000 men, sent out against the legions of Napoleon, is a very different thing from a disciplined army occupying important strongholds, and commanded by such generals as Mack, Kleist, and Hohenlohe. The indignation expressed by Hanoverian officers at the blundering and incapacity of their government may show that in the first moment of disaster they were unable to judge calmly, but does not show that the capitulation of Sühlingen was a counterpart of the capitulations of Ulm, Magdeburg, and Prenzlau. The same author has now given to the world a portion of his father's *Politischer Nachlass*, which throws much light on the Hanoverian and English policy during the war against Napoleon, as well as on the career of Ompteda himself. Gentz has remarked that the Germans did not understand the great benefits conferred on mankind by England's firm and strenuous resistance to Napoleon, and were accustomed to abuse her "Krümerpolitik" without reflecting that the real way to overcome the enemy would have been to adopt the political virtues of the English—their tenacity and their calculating selfishness. Ompteda shared this opinion; and his

correspondence is a continuous illustration of Gentz's view as to the respective positions of England and Germany.

In the summer of 1811, Ompteda, who had long been initiated into the secrets of the anti-French policy, was intrusted by England with a confidential mission. A courier of Count Hardenberg's brought to him at Dresden an order from the Prince-Regent, which had gone round by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and which directed him to set out at once for Berlin, to exert his influence on the Prussian Cabinet, and to represent the importance of concerted action on the part of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The correspondence which, in obedience to the Prince-Regent, he kept up with Count Münster in London, and Count Hardenberg in Vienna, is of great value for the policy of the time, and contains many important disclosures. The two Hanoverian diplomatists kept up a brisk correspondence with Metternich and the Chancellor Hardenberg, as well as with Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and Gentz. Count Hardenberg and Ompteda were the medium of the secret communications between the Cabinets of Austria and Prussia, with which the other ambassadors were unacquainted, and of which the archives of Vienna and Berlin gave no account. Baron Jacobi Klöst who had been in correspondence with Metternich since the autumn of 1811, and General Scharnhorst whose mission is here made public for the first time, were sent to Vienna to bring about an Austro-Prussian alliance. They were both directed to communicate with Count Hardenberg, not with the Prussian ambassador, when any papers required to be put into cipher. Hardenberg wrote them in cipher, and sent them to Ompteda at Berlin; and Ompteda deciphered them and communicated them to the Chancellor Hardenberg. The key to this cipher is to be found in the letters of the Vienna Hardenberg; and thus a valuable addition is made to the diplomatic materials of the time. The motive for neglecting and ignoring the Prussian ambassador was the personal dislike and distrust which Humboldt inspired. The Chancellor Hardenberg said to Ompteda: "Si vous me dites quelque chose, je le crois; si Humboldt me dit quelque chose, je n'en crois pas mot, il est faux comme Galgenholz." Accordingly, Humboldt never knew anything of Scharnhorst's mission. Scharnhorst himself was not well received at Vienna, where he was regarded as a member of the Tugendbund, though Ompteda did his best to dispel the prejudice against him. The mission proved a failure; and events followed the course which the King had indicated when he wrote in the margin of a despatch to Scharnhorst: "Wenn Oesterreich auf die preussischen Vorschläge nicht eingeht, so bleibt für Preussen kein andrer Ausweg als die Französische Partei zu ergreifen." Metternich's professions with regard to the French alliance and the marriage of Maria Louisa are characteristic. When Jakobi expressed his astonishment at the Emperor's selling his daughter for a few provinces, Metternich explained to him that Napoleon had formerly accused the Austrians



of being "bösaartige, ungraziöse, geringe Menschen mit denen man nicht leben könne," and that they wished to refute the calumny, and at the same time to avoid a Russian marriage: "Nous n'avons absolument rien voulu, absolument rien, que de donner une preuve que nous savons faire les choses de bonne grâce."

In 1813 the situation of 1811 was repeated. When the first intimation arrived of Russia's separation from France, Frederick William III. wished to act in conjunction with Austria. Knesbeck accordingly was sent to Vienna; but his reception there was not favourable. At this time the Hanoverians were even less contented than before with Metternich's policy. The Cabinet of Vienna, they thought, though it wished to limit the power of Napoleon, did not desire his fall. Metternich's dislike to the popular character of the war was evident. In March 1813 he obtained from King Frederick William a severe order against all political societies in Prussia. Considerable importance attaches to Ompteda's revelations with regard to the position of England. In the spring of 1813 it was suggested to divide Germany by the Main line, making Prussia the leading power on the north side, and Austria on the south. The Prince-Regent strongly objected to this, declaring "that he never would become a vassal of Prussia." As the price of the subsidies eagerly sought for by Prussia, England demanded Hildesheim, Minden, and Ravensburg. Instead of the two last, Prussia proposed East Friesland and a part of Munster. But the contract contains nothing definite about this. A remarkable memoir by Stein, "über eine deutsche Verfassung," which was not known to Pertz, dates from the time of the interruption of the Prague negotiations. Stein proposes the union of Germany under Austria; Prussia to be excluded from Germany with Mecklenburg and Holstein, and Electoral Saxony to be aggrandized and closely connected with the Empire.

The characters of the Austrian and Prussian diplomatists, and the parts they played during the war, come out clearly in Ompteda's correspondence. Metternich and Hardenberg, while constantly anti-French in their tendency, are often irresolute in their measures; and the efforts of patriotism are frequently thwarted by mere weakness and frivolity. Gentz offers a striking contrast to this, when he exclaims, "The devil cannot subdue men's souls; and the Source of all light has said, 'Fear not them that kill the body, but cannot kill the soul.'" Again, he writes to Ompteda, on the division of Europe under the military dictatorship of Russia and France:—"Preis und Ruhm allen denen, die wie Sie durch das Unglück zwar gebeugt aber nicht gebrochen, in dieser allgemeinen furchtbaren Sündfluth wie einsame Denkmäler einer besseren Zeit stehen bleiben." Ompteda writes in a clear, lively style; his judgments bear witness to a firm and manly temper; and he never lacks that moderation and equity which his position must often have made it difficult to preserve.

29. HERR PERTZ, the biographer of Stein, to whose life he devoted six large volumes, has for some years been engaged in a work of the same kind on Gneisenau. The three volumes which have appeared only come down to the end of 1814; and as Gneisenau did not die till 1831, it will probably take three more to complete the work. The published portion contains some very valuable, and some very worthless matter, and is not well digested. The narrative of military and political affairs, and the documents and letters connected with it, are so mixed up with the personal and domestic concerns of the hero, that the character of a biography is lost, without that of a history being attained. Herr Pertz is diligent and careful; but he lacks the faculty of literary composition.

Gneisenau was the son of a Saxon officer, and was born in the midst of the Seven Years' War. Deprived of his mother soon after, by death, and of his father's care by the events of the war, he grew up in great poverty to his ninth year, having to go barefoot and to tend a flock of geese. It was by chance that his grandfather, a major in the artillery, came to know of his condition; he at once adopted the poor boy, and gave him an education which, later on, enabled him to study at the University of Erfurt. There he fell in again with his father. But the means of continuing his studies failing, he joined the Austrian regiment quartered in the town, and after a while became a lieutenant in an auxiliary corps furnished to England for the American war. On his return from America he entered the Prussian service, took part in the Polish campaign of 1794, and was present in 1806 at the battles of Saalfeld and Jena, where, for the first time, his military talent attracted notice. The retreat of the beaten army carried him to East Prussia; and he was then sent as commandant to Kolberg, in Pomerania, where he greatly distinguished himself by his defence of the place. After the peace of Tilsit, he worked with Scharnhorst at the reorganization of the Prussian army, and was intimately associated with all the men to whom Prussia at that time owed her regeneration. As ardent as Stein, he endeavoured to force Prussia into the conflict when Austria entered on her desperate struggle in 1809. But his purpose failed; and he was obliged to leave the army. For it was a political necessity, if Prussia desired peace, that the officers who were conspicuous as enemies of France should lose their employments. But, though divested of his official character, he remained in confidential relations with the Government, and went on a military errand to England, Sweden, and Russia. At the outbreak of the war of 1813, he became quartermaster-general to Blücher, at whose side he remained during the following years, and whose renown is inseparable from that of Gneisenau. He did not possess that rude force which wins the sympathy of the common soldier, and in which lay the secret of Blücher's strength; but in moral courage and quickness of perception he was fully equal to

his chief, while he far surpassed him in knowledge and comprehensiveness of mind. A cultivated man, of commanding presence and winning address, he was doubly valuable in a war which depended on the co-operation of so many different Powers, where politics exercised so great an influence on military operations, and harmony had to be preserved among so many important personages. During the armistice of Poischwitz, he organized the Silesian Landwehr; and after Scharnhorst's death he became head of the staff. On the renewal of hostilities he shared with Blücher the first great victory on the Katzbach. This was followed, in accordance with his plan, by the passage of the Elbe at Wartenberg, and the battle of Möckern, the decisive moment in the series of combats that are known as the battle of Leipzig. But at Leipzig itself he was but coldly received by the King, who did not love him; and it was not till December that his services were rewarded by the rank of lieutenant-general.

One point which Herr Pertz has taken pains to elucidate is the equivocal conduct of Bernadotte, who was manifestly governed by conflicting interests of his own. On the one hand, regarding himself as still a Frenchman, he cherished the chimerical notion of possibly becoming Emperor after the overthrow of Napoleon; and hence his secret wish was to spare France as far as possible. On the other hand, as heir to the Swedish throne, he was specially interested in the acquisition of Norway; and his desire of popularity with his future subjects led him to favour the Swedish troops under his command, and to keep them as much as possible out of action, while he pushed the Russians and Prussians to the front. On all accounts, he was anxious to play a great part in the campaign, and would gladly have taken command of all the forces of the allies. According to the plan of operations adopted at the Conference of Trachenberg, he only commanded the army of the North, while the main force was in Bohemia, under Prince Schwarzenberg, and the Silesian army, under Blücher, between the two. Bernadotte was to co-operate with Blücher; but, instead of doing so, he held aloof, and sometimes put positive obstacles in the way. A few days before the battle of Leipzig, he wanted to retire behind the Elbe, and to carry Blücher with him, alleging that the Emperor Alexander had given him the command over Blücher. Even on the 18th of October he at first remained passive; and it was with difficulty that he was brought to take part in the attack. This conduct was bitterly resented by both Blücher and Gneisenau. Herr Pertz thinks that some promises may possibly have been made to the Crown Prince at Trachenberg, upon the strength of which he was able to claim precedence of Blücher, and a certain influence over the Silesian army; but he admits this to be doubtful. The matter, however, is not very important. Apart from the secrets of Trachenberg, there are plain motives at hand, which psychologically explain the conduct of the Crown Prince; and the historical interest

concerns the matter of fact, which in itself is sufficiently clear.

80. SIR CHARLES BELL's discoveries with reference to the nervous system have won him an eminent position. But the author of the preface to his recently published *Letters*, whilst ranking him with Harvey, on the authority of Müller, fails to point out where his experiments have not been confirmed by others. It is true that on points questioned both by Müller and Magendie his views have prevailed, having been strengthened by more recent discoveries; but, considering the researches of Valentin, and the cases recorded of columnar disease without loss of the alleged functional property, the editor would have done well to enter further into the subject. The preface, however, is a mere eulogy. The letters, on the contrary, tell the tale of Bell's struggles, his buoyant enthusiasm, his scientific hopes and triumphs, his private joys and sorrows. He appears in them as a man of eminently emotional disposition, gifted with a very imaginative mind and a strong will. That he was strong-principled and affectionate there cannot be a doubt. But his shrewdness was visible in the plan he devised for setting forth his discoveries before the public; and the following instance shows that he was not perfect in self-abnegation. One of his brothers, Robert, had died; and the other, George, with whom he corresponded, added to his own labours the task of lecturing on conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow and family. Charles writes to him:—"I cannot tell you how much the circumstance of your undertaking Robert's lectures, and your consequent want of time to help me, retards me. I was wont to depend upon you." What Charles did to assist the bereaved family does not appear; but George lectured for them for two years. Indeed, from these letters, George appears to have been the most generous of the brothers; and his works on Scottish law prove him to have been a man of great talent. But it must be remembered that he was four years older than Charles, and that their father died when the latter was a child. In a family of brothers so circumstanced less must be expected from the youngest, to whom his elders may hold something of the position of a parent. It was upon the advice of George that Charles undertook the struggle for fame and fortune in London; and thus he naturally looked for and received, rather than gave, counsel and aid. In this way it is possible to account for some defects in a man whose excellent and genial qualities, whose intellectual abilities and strong sympathies, made and retained for him so many devoted friends. It is rather odd to find him writing what follows:—"I have just returned from Sydney Smith's; the party stupid, excepting one beautiful Frenchwoman. She looked sense and intelligence, but spoke not." Yet Sydney Smith might have confessed that there was a spark of wit in this description of his party, where the only person who did not talk stupidly was silent. At the Beefsteak Club, Bell met the

princes, and notes that, "the Duke of Sussex is like his Majesty; there is in his face a straining and projecting of the mouth and starting forward of the eyes, which is certainly majestic." The Duke of Wellington he did not not much like, and, rather inconsistently, for the reason, it would seem, that he had nothing "majestical" about him. "He is a modest man, and a little deaf, with very little of the nobleman in his manner; more like a man who could rough it, a devil-may-care sort of manner." Besides, the Duke did not take the trouble to "say things well,"—to make epigrammatic sentences. One of the most generally interesting parts of the volume is that which gives Bell's letters from Waterloo. He went there when he heard of the victory, without any other passport than his case of instruments. The opportunity of studying gun-shot wounds attracted him; and a tragic spectacle of mutilated humanity, writhing in neglect, met his sight. It had been thought that all was ready beforehand for a great battle; but eleven days after it they were only making preparations to receive the wounded. He volunteered to perform any surgical operations on the French soldiers. Six years before, he had similarly attended the wounded from Corunna at Portsmouth.

31. THE yeoman farmers of the United States have always been the strength of the republic; and nowhere can a more attractive picture of the class at the end of the last century be found than in the early chapters of Mr. Curtis's *Life of Daniel Webster*. At that time, in America, to give a boy anything more than an elementary education entailed heavy sacrifices upon a poor man; and though Ebenezer Webster had sat in both houses of the State Legislature, and served as judge of the Court of Common Pleas for his county, it was not without great difficulty that he contrived to send Daniel, who was his second son, "to College." But he had set his heart on giving the boy the advantages he himself had wanted; and by the time when Daniel was seventeen he had repaid his father in the way the latter most valued, by offering to maintain himself by teaching during his College course, in order that his elder brother Ezekiel might have the same opportunity of study. Two years later his sincerity was tested. His father found himself unable to bear Ezekiel's expenses; and the younger brother, who had just begun to study law, took the charge of an academy at Fryeburg, in the neighbouring State of Maine. His salary was about £70 a year; and by copying deeds in the evening he succeeded in keeping this sum untouched, for his brother's education. After eight months' teaching he was able to resume the study of his profession, first in the office of a local lawyer, afterwards at Boston. He had sufficient confidence in himself to reject the offer of the clerkship in the court in which his father was judge; and, after practising near home during the short remainder of his father's life, he settled at Portsmouth, and at once obtained a considerable provincial business. It was during this

period that Webster made his first essay in politics. He took a prominent part in opposition to the war with England, and was returned to Congress on that ground in 1818. In 1816 he determined to abandon public life, and to leave New Hampshire for Boston, as being more favourable to his advancement at the bar. The event fully justified his choice. "The position which he at once occupied at the Boston bar was that of an equal and competitor with the oldest and most eminent of its members." To the six years of his absence from Congress belong three of his greatest speeches—that in the case of Dartmouth College *v.* Woodward, that on the basis of the Senate in the Massachusetts Convention, and the discourse delivered at Plymouth on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New England. Enough attention has hardly been paid in Europe to the constitutional history of the several States in the Union. On some points, as for example on the formation of a second Chamber, it is more instructive than that of the United States, from the absence of any peculiarly federal characteristics. By the old constitution of Massachusetts the members of the Senate were chosen in proportion to the amount of taxable property in each district, and the members of the House of Representatives in proportion to the population. In the Convention of 1820 it was proposed to base the representation in both houses on population. Webster resisted the change, and for the time successfully—the main argument used by him being the impossibility, under republican institutions, of securing by any other means the necessary difference between the two houses. Since then the basis of the Senate has been altered; and "it has become apparent," says Mr. Curtis, "in Massachusetts, as it has elsewhere, that where there is no difference between the two branches of a legislative body, there will be no difference of sentiment and feeling; all will be actuated by the same motives, and be under the same influences: and thus the practical value of a division into two Chambers will be greatly diminished by the absence of every efficient check."

From the time of Webster's election to the House of Representatives as a member for Boston in 1823 his life becomes closely interwoven with the political history of America. The most important event of the period comprised in the present volume is the Nullification Controversy. "Whoever," says Mr. Curtis, "would understand that theory of the constitution of the United States which regards it as the enactment of a fundamental law must go to" Webster's answer to Calhoun "to find its best and clearest exposition. Whoever would know the doctrine that enabled the government of the United States thirty years later to call forth the physical energies of a population strong enough to encounter, and to prevent the dismemberment of this union by, the secession attempted in 1861, and finally suppressed in 1865, must find it in the position maintained by Webster in 1830 and 1833." The other side of the discussion was equally well main-

tained. Calhoun's speech "was the embodied result of" the "political studies and teaching of many years; and it is not to be doubted that it sowed the seeds which in another generation produced the opinions that made the right of secession from the Union a firm political faith, which multitudes of men have sealed with their blood. The occasion on which the speech was made was the last time when these doctrines came prominently into discussion on the floor of Congress; the last in which they were to be subjected to that forensic ordeal which was to fix the convictions of a majority of the nation on the one side or the other." The essential difference between the theories set forth in these two speeches was the depository of the power charged with judging of infractions of the Federal constitution. Calhoun asserted that from the necessity of the case this power could exist nowhere else than in the several States, and consequently that when a State had pronounced any act of the general government to be unconstitutional, she had a paramount claim to the allegiance of her citizens, and was bound to protect them against the consequences of resistance to the Federal authority. Webster's position was that in cases "capable of assuming the character of a suit" the Supreme Court, and in all other cases the Federal Congress, is the final interpreter of the constitution. Clay's compromise, by which the tariff was so modified as to meet the objections of South Carolina, deprived the controversy of its practical importance; but these speeches, together with Calhoun's rejoinder to Webster, became the chief storehouse from which the arguments on both sides were drawn in after years. It has been contended that Webster subsequently modified the views put forward by him against Calhoun; but there is nothing in any of his later speeches which is not capable of being reconciled with his profession of faith in 1838. The point on which Calhoun had the advantage of him seems to be this—that even if Webster's doctrine was the truest interpretation of the constitution, it was not the sense in which it had been accepted by many of the States which acceded to it. A contract may be fairly put an end to, not only if the terms of it are broken by either party, but also if it turns out that the two parties have honestly understood it in contradictory senses. In the later years of his life Webster had to defend the constitution against an opposite class of attacks; and he was as firm in his stand against abolitionism in New England as he had been against nullification in South Carolina. Upon the slavery question he was what came afterwards to be known as a "free soiler." He held slavery to be an evil; but he did not acknowledge that it was a matter upon which the citizens of non-slaveholding States had any legal or moral right to take political action. At the same time he held that the enlargement of the area of slavery by the addition of non-slaveholding States was a question which concerned the whole Union, and, as such, came properly under the jurisdiction of Congress. In relation to new territory he thought slavery ceased to be an institution pe-

culiar to this or that State, and resumed its ordinary character of an evil never to be consented to. But at the date at which the present volume closes only the first mutterings of the storm which afterwards rent the Union in two had yet been heard. The debates in the Senate, with reference to the reception of petitions against slavery in the district of Columbia, mark the transition to the later phase of the long controversy between North and South.

82. UNTIL very recently the development of memoir literature in Germany has been restrained by the fear of public scandal and a regard for the feelings of living personages. The abundant collection left by Varnhagen first excited the indignation of Berlin society; and its suspicions fell not only on Varnhagen himself, but also on Alexander von Humboldt, who had had the misfortune to be in his confidence, and to whom his revelations had been addressed. The publication of the *Correspondence of Nagler*, the Prussian Minister, is not unlikely to be attended by similar results. It clearly shows that he abused his position for purposes of the most odious political oppression, and that he did not scruple to violate the secrecy of the Post-Office. In the period of the reaction, the Austrian Cabinet also persecuted the men of the time, and made liberalism a subject of police instructions; but their method was of a higher type than the Prussian one under Frederick William III. Gentz and his romantic friends lived in the past, and on that ground appealed to public opinion, claiming for their political system that it was both liberal and popular, as being founded on the deeper sympathies of human nature. The Prussian ideas and the views of Nagler were far from having any such colour of sentiment. The policy which embodied them was much sterner. Absolutism and discipline stood foremost in it. The whole government was an official and police mechanism; and in the absence of public spirit and popular sympathy the system seemed to exact "la mort sans phrase." In 1823, when Nagler was Prussian Envoy at the Diet, he became acquainted with Kelchner, an official in whom he found a useful agent. Kelchner perceived the political tendencies of the epoch, possessed a detailed knowledge of the public careers of its prominent men, and had no objection to enter the Prussian secret service. From the year 1835, when Nagler became Postmaster-General and Minister, he seems to have kept up an uninterrupted and almost daily correspondence with this agent of his till his death in 1846. If he had suspected that this confidential correspondence would ever be made public, he would no doubt have been careful to present himself in a more favourable light. It exhibits him as a dull bureaucrat, whose only conspicuous talent is for prying into the affairs of other people, opening their letters, and circumventing them. He tries to entice democrats into the Prussian territory, in order to imprison them. He rejoices at the death of a liberal like Rotteck: "bei der Leiche des edlen Rotteck ist die Leiche immer die Hauptsache." Writers in-

terest him only as persons to be bought or punished. He is anxious to know the dispositions of all members of legation, agents, and reporters. But he cares nothing about the views and temper of the masses. The people and public opinion scarcely seem to exist for him.

After the accession of Frederick William iv., Nagler was more and more neglected; and, as his influence declines, he gives open expression to his disgust. He complains of the corruption of the times, when even liberals are received at Court, and thinks regretfully of his former illustrious master. This attachment to Frederick William iii. is the only human feeling he manifests. For the rest, he has this advantage over his colleagues, that he remained faithful to his narrow-minded programme, preserving his antipathies unimpaired to the last, and never allowing himself to be seduced by a generous impulse. The way in which he treated his faithful agent and correspondent Kelchner is characteristic; he rewarded all his services with a few empty words. The whole secret correspondence of the Prussian Cabinet passed through Kelchner's hands. He had charge of the confidential letters of the Duchess of Cumberland, afterwards Queen of Hanover, the correspondence of Klindworth, the whole direction of the affairs of the Elector of Hesse and the Princess of Hanau. These personages gave him their entire confidence and abundance of work, and assumed that the consciousness of having done his duty would be a sufficient reward. Thus Kelchner, according to the saying, worked "pour le Roi de Prusse;" and his resentment at being so treated may have something to do with the publication of Nagler's correspondence. Germans of the present day must find it difficult to realize that only a few years ago government and influence were in the hands of such a minister—a man who thoroughly hated material as well as moral progress, a stupid and heartless champion of absolute political sterility.

33. DR. PAULI's new volume of *Essays on English History* is rather a series of contributions to the better knowledge of English history in Germany than the embodiment of any original research. He has taken the best books that come out from time to time in England, and given the substance of them in a review. Sometimes he has drawn from several authors: sometimes almost entirely from one. Thus, for instance, in the article on Richard iii. he has used Mr. Gairdner's preface to the Letters and Papers, Mr. Nichols's preface to the official documents of Edward the Fifth's time, his own history and the two essays of Oettinger, and Kuno Fischer on Shakespeare's *Richard III.* But in the article on "Henry viii. as Ally of the Emperor Maximilian," he has drawn almost exclusively from Professor Brewer's admirable prefaces to the Calendars of Henry viii.'s reign. The article on Sir Peter Carew is merely a translation from Vowell's life, printed by Professor Brewer and Mr. Buller in the Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts. Work of this kind is very valuable, and it may almost

be said indispensable. Until English history has been rewritten from first to last, a work which is not even possible at present, the public can only follow the course of inquiry by the aid of trained scholars like Dr. Pauli. All that can be demanded of him is that he should be exhaustive in his knowledge and use of the newest materials, and that he should tacitly correct the obvious errors of the books he is reproducing. Tried by this standard, he reaches a high mark, but not by any means the highest. His style is simpler and more popular than it was in the History; but he seems to be partly trading on his old knowledge, and a little careless what sort of work he may produce.

Take, for instance, the essay on Ireland, which particularly deserves examination, as it is partly based on the author's personal observations during a tour, and ought therefore to be the result of special labour. What a single tourist may see is, in fact, not often of much importance; but the judgment of one who has studied a nation in its history acquires an enhanced value when he tests his conclusions by actual observation. It is apparent that Dr. Pauli has never gone to the sources of Irish history, or rather perhaps has never strongly mastered them. He speaks (s. 196) of coyné and livery, as a primitive custom, to compensate the head of the sept for the nominal curtailment of his demesne by the creation of private properties. That it was based on an old Irish custom, the bonaught, is very probable, but it had English analogues, as Spenser has pointed out, notably in purveyance; and it pretty certainly originated in nothing but in the fact that rulers in early times found it easier to take lodgings and provisions for their retainers than to raise taxes in money. Neither can tanistry have come into conflict in the time of Henry ii. with any Norman custom of primogeniture; for primogeniture, if Glanville may be trusted, was not yet the rule in England, even with lands held by military tenure. These matters may seem slight, but they are indications of general looseness in Dr. Pauli's conceptions of Irish antiquity. When we pass to more modern periods he is scarcely more satisfactory. He seems quite ignorant of Mr. Prendergast's book on the Cromwellian Settlement, the most important contribution which has been made of late years to the history of that period. He draws very largely from Mr. Goldwin Smith's résumé of Irish history and Irish character; and he could easily have chosen a worse guide. But he copies statements that are palpably overcharged. Sir William Petty in 1672 estimated the population of Ireland at 1,100,000; and a computation based on the returns of the hearth-money collectors put it at 1,969,810 in 1782. These estimates are generally accepted, and ought at least to be disproved if they are unsound. What then is to be thought of the assertions that 400,000 persons died in 1741, and that 450,000 Irish died in the French service between 1691 and 1745? The former, though most improbable, is just possible; the latter virtually assumes that half the able-bodied males in Ireland emigrated to

France, and enlisted there during the course of about half a century. And it is a little disheartening to find that a writer now occupied with the more recent history of England appears to know nothing of the emigration from Ulster during the years that succeeded the termination of the great war.

The last article, that upon Prince Albert, is rather a dithyrambic hymn of praise to a man in high place, who had many praiseworthy qualities, and with whom, as a German by birth, the writer especially sympathizes, than a serious review of personal character and position. Such friendly appreciations have their place in literature, if not altogether in history, and are not to be roughly criticised or tested. But there is an undertone throughout the article of attack on "British jealousy" (s. 489), and "the distrust by which his course in England was attended" (s. 504). No doubt there is a certain justification for this. Prince Albert excited some jealousy as a foreigner and a man of indisputable ability; and some dislike for his contempt of fashionable frivolity, and for the almost austere tone which he gave to the Court. He would have been better liked during his life, if he had been less estimable, and he has been over-rated since his death, because his faults have not lived after him, and hearty justice can be done to his well-meaning. But it must be remembered that he was believed to have sympathies which were specially distasteful to those who would naturally have supported him. He was regarded as Russian in heart during the Crimean War, and Austrian during the Italian. He showed that he had imbibed the two worst bigotries of the countries with which he was connected, when he told Humboldt that he was wrong in sympathizing with the Irish, for they were no better than the Poles. The great success of his life, the Exhibition, was curious evidence of the materialistic tone of his mind, which judged knowledge by its most obvious results. Dr. Pauli, regards the Albert hat as an instance of the clear-sightedness with which the Prince detected those numerous faults of detail which the English army expiated so dearly during the Crimean War. It proves also the want of tact which so perpetually marred what he did. For one who saw the necessity of sweeping reforms to waste his strength in carrying out a minute change, was at least an error of judgment which may reconcile us to the small part the Prince actually played in English politics. His true position was that which he himself chose, and which he could not safely have quitted. As critic and counsellor, as one who judged England from without, yet with a warm personal interest, and who possessed a power of expression which was at least adequate to his power of thought, he performed functions of real though not the highest constitutional value.

84. MRS. GORDON has recorded *The Home Life of Sir David Brewster* with the affection of a daughter and the admiration of a woman of sense for a man of genius. The result is a book which gives not a very dramatic, but a

very vivid picture of the habits and life of the philosopher. As a composition the book is scarcely in keeping. It professes rather to be notes for a biography than a biography; and yet there is a good deal of ambitious description of scenery and the like matters, which it is a fashion to suppose have much influence on the character of the man who looks upon them. But in general the task is as well as it is conscientiously fulfilled; and a complete and fair view is given of the chequered social and moral nature which underlay and supported Brewster's scientific intuition. His physical timidity and moral courage, his pain when opposed and his pleasure in opposing, his mixture of science and impulse, superstition and scepticism, dogmatism and inquiry, are all fairly displayed. Ordinary human nature is permitted to indulge in its superiority to the philosopher who could not bear the toothache patiently, who feared animals, and was afraid of ghosts though he did not believe in them. Putting entirely aside his great merits as a natural philosopher, it is rarely that one man is able to play so many important parts on the world's stage as Brewster did. He has impressed his seal on the organization of British science; and his name holds one of the chief places in the movement which founded the Free Church of Scotland. His relations with religion were always noteworthy. Educated for a minister, he resigned the profession, after the delivery of a few sermons had convinced him that he would never overcome his nervousness as a speaker; but when he adopted the more congenial occupation of a scientific discoverer he by no means lost his interest in clerical matters; rather he mixed up his two favourite pursuits into one insoluble compound, which engaged his passionate interest. Thus his belief in the scientific supremacy of Sir Isaac Newton carried with it the corollary that he was no Arian, a proposition which he maintained in the teeth of overwhelming evidence.

He was one of those philosophers whose ways were familiar to the last generation, who mixed up geology and Genesis, and spent much learned leisure in harmonizing Moses and Cuvier. It must however be remembered that his special studies in optics did not bring him into hostile contact with the traditions of the divines, and that the science which he obscured with theology was not that special science in which he was the highest living authority. He was led to take great interest in clairvoyance and spirit-rapping, an interest which gave rise to his book on "natural magic." At first he explained away the phenomena; but at last he was disposed to attribute them to the devil. But perhaps the most interesting episode of his theological activity is his controversy with Whewell on the question of the plurality of worlds. Whewell was probably biassed by the difficulty of removing doubts about the Incarnation, if it is to be supposed that all the stars are centres of systems, with planets inhabited by intelligent creatures; and he framed an argument, the culminating point of which was that, as the period of man's inhabiting the

earth has been but as a point in the immeasurable epoch of its duration in the past, so it may be presumed that the extent of the habitation of intelligent animals is but a point in the expanse of the universe. In other words, he maintained it to be just as likely that the earth should be the sole seat of intelligent animal life as that such life should be confined to a mere instant in the earth's duration. This central assumption he strengthened with a wealth of mingled science and imagination, which made his book a nine days' wonder. Its effect on Brewster was extraordinary. He both criticised it sharply in the *North British Review*, and wrote a book against it, in which he declared that the existence of more worlds than one was not only the creed of the philosopher, but also the hope of the Christian. This latter proposition he was too good a scholar to found on the phrases "the next world," "sæcula sæculorum," "αἰῶνες" or the like, in Scripture and Christian writers, which refer to worlds distinguished not in space but in time. His creed was expressed thus:—"This earth is not to be the future residence of the numerous family it has reared;" "the material body which is to be raised must be subject to material laws, and reside in a material home;" "it is impossible to doubt for a moment that on the celestial spheres his future is to be spent." But Whewell himself might have admitted this without changing his creed. Whewell talks of the improbability of other intelligent races similar to, but distinct from, mankind inhabiting the planets, and argues that at present the planets are unfit for habitation. Brewster supposes them to be man's future abode, to be at some future time prepared for his habitation. But afterwards he touches the tender place of the dispute when he asks, "May not the Divine nature, which can neither suffer nor die, and which in our planet *once only* clothed itself in humanity, resume elsewhere a physical form, and expiate the guilt of unnumbered worlds?"—a passage which may some day cause as grave difficulties in proving Brewster's orthodoxy and freedom from Docetism or Nestorianism as Newton's sayings gave him. He thought also that the Christian hope of the philosopher must be concerned with the occupation of man in his future abodes. Man's soul, he supposed, after leaving his skeleton to become a fossil, migrates to other spheres, and puts on various forms. Equally various are the functions of these "citizens of the spheres," their modes of life and their habitations. "On a planet more magnificent than ours may there not be a type of reason of which the intellect of Newton is the lowest degree?—a telescope more penetrating, a microscope more powerful, induction more subtle, analysis more searching, combination more profound?" In the conception of future beatitude the gravest theologians have never gone beyond the principle,

Look what is best; that best I wish in thee.

The red Indian looks for better hunting-grounds, and the philosopher for clearer vision. It has yet to be considered how far the common

conception of heaven and hell is the result of ages of metaphysical speculation, when the physical universe was not regarded as a worthy object of human contemplation. When philosophy pronounced the act of contemplation to be the highest human act, and pure or abstract being to be the highest object of contemplation, the imagination was forced to contrive a heaven and a hell totally different from those whose outlines are filled in by men brought up to physical instead of metaphysical studies. The metaphysician's heaven is a realm of abstract contemplation: the natural philosopher's, a transcendental observatory and laboratory.

It was only in the later years of his life that Brewster added to his polemical orthodoxy a hearty acceptance of all parts of the creed which he professed; and on these last years his daughter dwells with a very intelligible pleasure. Even then, however, it does not appear that he admitted the Sabbatarian views popular in Scotland; in earlier years he was vehemently opposed to them.

35. HERR FREITAG's biography of the Baden minister Mathy will be hailed with delight by the admirers of the author's muse, and by his political allies. Historical students, however, will not be able to receive it without a certain apprehension, which its contents will fully justify. It is a brilliant picture, but not true to nature. The author has transformed a sober, cold, prosaic shade into a sort of poetical hero; and while Mathy, in point of fact, was regarded in Baden as a narrow and intolerant partisan, and was decidedly unpopular, he not only invests him with the attributes of a political Luther, but even turns him into a Moses of the annexation policy, who, "from the height he stood on looked down over the promised land to which he had led his people." The sources from which Herr Freitag has drawn are Mathy's own diary, the communications of his widow, the reports of his political friends, and the pamphlets and journals of the national-liberal party; and the book not only gives a great many unimportant details, but often gives them wrongly. It is incorrect to say (p. 404), that "Herr von Treitschke resigned his professorship at Heidelberg," for at the time in question he had not been appointed there; and the duel between Mathy and Hecker (p. 242) has been related very differently by the friends of Hecker, whose personal courage, moreover, was amply proved in the American war. The whole portrait of Mathy is exaggerated and over-coloured. He is represented as the type of a practical politician, on no better ground than the taste which he certainly had for details of taxation and monetary affairs. He thought the "German mission" of Prussia self-evident because she had established the Zollverein. But a predilection of this kind was very different from a practical turn of mind. On the contrary, it made him, both as a minister and in opposition, blindly egotistical and unable to take the true measure of affairs. In the year 1830, when he was editor of an opposition organ called the *Zeitgeist*, he came across the authority of the censorship and the Bundestag.



Forthwith he took himself for a dangerous political character, and went into voluntary exile in Switzerland, though neither his life nor liberty was in the least danger. The days he spent as a schoolmaster in Grenchen were the best and most honourable of his life. But he thought himself destined for something higher than teaching Swiss rustics, and longed to be a minister. In the spring of 1848 he fancied himself the saviour of Baden, because he had seized his friend, the democrat Finckler, who was going to proclaim the republic, and had handed him over to the police. Herr Freitag admits that this act of questionable heroism was entirely useless, since "the rising would have been put down by the troops, even if Finckler had remained at large" (p. 266). Mathy, however, immediately reached the aim of his ambition. He became a councillor of State and minister, as well as the most unpopular man in Baden. Herr Freitag does not relate how he drew back at the Frankfort Parliament in 1849, while consistent men like Uhland held out to the last, and went to Stuttgart; but he describes at length the honours bestowed on him in his journey to the north "als Mann der Ordnung und der Zucht." The year 1866, which ought to have crowned Mathy's political career, brought him only disappointment. He had expected to be able to bring Baden into the North German Confederation, "either," as he said, "by direct or indirect means." But Count Bismarck rejected his overtures; and the ridicule which the fiasco brought on him had a fatal effect. Herr Freitag has published his memorandum of November 1867, and detailed the circumstances of the repulse he sustained.

36. DR. EBELING has been induced by various solicitations to publish the first volume of his life of Count Beust before the intended time. It would have been better to wait, in accordance with his original plan, till the whole work was complete. Nevertheless the volume is one of much interest. The author presents his subject neither heroically idealized nor overlaid with frivolous gossip, but according to the organic conception of a serious historian. He regards Count Beust's political activity as a central point round which, since 1848, the quasi-diplomatic history of Saxon vicissitudes and political struggles has revolved. The work will be substantially confined to the period of the Saxon administration, only touching the Austrian one so far as the internal harmony of the subject requires. The analysis of the minister's character is made subordinate to the chronological exposition of his career, which is illustrated by diplomatic notes and parliamentary speeches. Hence it was the more advisable that the whole account of the Saxon administration should have been given to the world at the same time; the present volume on the contrary reaches only to the year 1861.

Count Beust is of Brandenburg extraction. Dr. Ebeling traces his family up to the fourteenth century. He was born in 1809, and entered the diplomatic service in 1833, through the instrumentality of Baron Lindenau, the first

constitutional minister of Saxony. From 1836 to 1841 he was secretary of legation at Berlin and Paris, then chargé-d'affaires at Munich, resident minister in London from 1846 to 1848, and finally, at the revolutionary epoch, ambassador at Berlin. Almost immediately before the Dresden revolution of May, on Pfordten's retirement, he entered the new ministry as foreign minister; but his real predominance dates from June 1850, when his courage in dissolving the so-called Unverstandslandtag, and re-establishing the old constitution, rescued Saxony from the action of demagogues and from Prussian mediatization. Some sections of Dr. Ebeling's work treat of the position of Saxony with regard to the German constitutional questions of the time, and illustrate the policy of Count Beust at the Zollverein crisis of 1852-53. But the most generally interesting are those which relate to his action during the Crimean and Italian wars, and its bearing on the general politics of Europe.

37. EMANUEL GEIBEL is a favourite poet in Germany, and is not unknown in other countries. His charm lies in the harmony of his language and the graceful attractiveness of his thoughts; and though severe critics may find little in his poems, the multiplied editions of them show that he has touched the popular taste. His reputation rests chiefly on his songs, which are well adapted for music, and have been frequently used by composers. In believing himself a dramatist, however, he seems to be mistaken. His plays, including *Sophonisba*, the last, are not without merit, and have considerable beauty of language; but they are hardly such as will keep their ground upon the stage.

While he is yet living, Dr. Goedeke, the author of several valuable works on German literature, has commenced a biography of him, which is to be completed in two good-sized volumes. The task is a difficult one: for his life comprises no extraordinary events, but only social relations with people of whom many are still alive. A brief and graphic sketch of his mental development would have been more germane to the circumstances. No doubt there are large circles of his admirers who will welcome Dr. Goedeke's book, in the hope of finding the poet's life illustrated by a catalogue of the beauties he has celebrated; but, from the necessity of the case, their curiosity will be disappointed. For only a few of Geibel's songs have sprung from motives of real life. His Venetian reminiscences were written in Berlin, before he had ever seen Venice. When his biographer endeavours to trace the origin of the songs, he is reduced to searching out, with a painful erudition, what author the poet had last been reading, so far as it may be discernible by analogies of thought and feeling. The trivial details which he has gleaned from the young poet's letters to his mother will scarcely be attractive to the most zealous of his admirers, and certainly will have no interest for posterity. On the first impressions and influences that awakened Geibel's sleeping genius the book is not only unsatisfactory, but defective. Geibel's



father was a highly-gifted man, and an eloquent preacher. In his large library, the boy had the run of old and new books, poems and collections of poetry. He lived with and in these books; and thus, at an early age, he was imbued with poetic learning. Amongst his college friends he founded a kind of Academy, each member of which had to produce some sort of poetical essays. An eccentric old lady, not mentioned in the present book, a daughter of the "Wandsbecker Bote," Matthias Claudius, soon discovered his talent, and in every way encouraged its development. Of all this Dr. Goedeke knows nothing, though he might easily have learned a good deal. Indeed, his statements with reference to this part of Geibel's life are not even correct. In the Preface he refers to the Horatian "nonum prematur in annum;" and it appears that, by an ingenious combination against possible amendment, the book has remained through the prescribed period not only written but printed. The Preface also says—what may well be believed—that the hero of the book has had nothing whatever to do with its production. The present volume extends to the time of Geibel's removal to Munich; the succeeding one must of necessity be still more insipid and superficial, or else still less discreet.

38. To the second series of Sir Charles Eastlake's *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*, his widow has prefixed a memoir, written with singular clearness of vision as to the intellectual character of the man whose successful but uninteresting career it traces. His life derives unquestionable importance from the position he occupied in the movement begun by the building of the Houses of Parliament, and as Director of the National Gallery just at the time when it rose from an insignificant national collection to one of the best in the world. Lady Eastlake has not unduly lengthened her work; and she has not given any considerable amount of correspondence or extracts from her husband's note-books. The memoir occupies little more than half of the volume, and the remainder gives the few papers left complete by the author, principally on the Theory of the Arts. To compare them with the writings in the first series would not be to their advantage. The essays in the earlier book were thoroughly well-studied inquiries of a practical kind. They exhausted certain technical subjects of permanent importance to artists and to the history of art. The learning of the author, which was considerable, his habits of research, which were still greater, and his professional artistic insight, combined to make the *Materials for a History of Oil Painting* almost a unique production. In the present volume, however, the papers are æsthetic and speculative, such as many have attempted before and will attempt again. They are only three in number:—"How to Observe," written in the prime of life in 1835, "Difference between Language and Art," and a "Discourse" delivered in 1869 on the differences between the formative arts and descriptive poetry, a subject which carries us back nearly a century, and recalls the thick

paper-covered volumes of writers like Dubos. "How to Observe" goes over a very wide field, and seems to have resulted from notes and observations on many subjects, made at different periods, united by a common point of view, not so much that of the inventive artist as that of the connoisseur. And in truth this is what Sir Charles Eastlake was; and the writer of the memoir begins her work with a kind of acknowledgment of the fact. "In perusing the life of a painter," she remarks, "the reader is reminded at the outset that it is the man rather than the artist who invites attention." The annals of a painter's work, she goes on to say, may be comprised within a brief catalogue; the critical estimate of them may be given in comparatively few words; the events in his life are generally scanty. It is not safe, she thinks, to infer that his mind may in great measure be read through his works, or that he will always be in harmony with them. This is said as an introduction to the view that Sir Charles Eastlake could have attained distinction in any walk of life to which he might have applied himself. No doubt, acumen, judgment, knowledge of a definite profession, and knowledge of the world, with certain decided negative qualities, may lead to high success in any walk of life not requiring original and inherent faculties. Sir Charles Eastlake's success, however, was only official and external, very different from that of a great artist or poet or man of science. Out of his profession he did not distinguish himself. His choice of a painter's life was curious. It was a cool and reasoning choice by a boy who had never apparently made a sketch from nature, or had a pictorial idea of any sort. And the most remarkable thing that comes out in the memoir is the boy's maturity of thought and language. At the age of fifteen he writes from school that he has made up his mind to be a historical painter, and ends a Johnsonian letter of three octavo pages thus:—"Above all I must remind you that this is not the effect of the mere ebullitions of a fervent imagination—it is an irresistible propensity which will remain for ever, if not untimely nipt." And afterwards, "I do not prefer splendid negligence to painful and humiliating exactness." He then reminds his father that "nothing disturbs plans of economy more than irregularity in the receipt of money." And again: "Such a work as painting an historical picture may be divided into two parts—the conception of the subject and the execution;" both of these, he continues, need aids—the one books, the other colours, both of them expensive. "Now comes the *q. e. d.* of my proposition;" and a financial difficulty of a pound or two is stated. Besides sentimental Italian bandits, bandits' wives, and contadini, Sir Charles Eastlake painted sentimental representations of the New Testament histories, the acts in the life of our Lord, which were exceedingly popular, and are still imitated by a few inferior hands, with some measure of the same success. His work however as Director of the National Gallery, as Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts, and as an inquirer into processes of painting in past ages, was very different and exceedingly valu-

able. He purchased 139 pictures for the National Collection, and presented several fine works to it himself. His notes on pictures seen by him in the course of his numerous journeys over Europe have been placed in the hands of his successor, and must be of great value. He died at Pisa in 1865.

39. THE economical revolution caused by the extension of machinery has had a beneficent effect, inasmuch as it has transferred the hardest labour to forces which are unconscious and untiring, and has multiplied industrial products so as to make them more accessible to the masses. But it has also acted injuriously, by centralizing industrial establishments, and thus substituting mere labourers for the artisans, who formerly lived in a certain independence in the midst of those family ties which it is the tendency of factory life to weaken or destroy. Professor Schmoller of Halle, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe*, has undertaken the interesting task of depicting this transformation, as it were in process, at least in Germany, showing its evils and seeking the remedies for them. His work has, in the main, been well done. It is open to the criticism that it dwells disproportionately on the dark side of the picture; but the surgeon must have full liberty to probe the wound before he applies the balm that is to heal it. After glancing at the position of the question in the eighteenth century, Herr Schmoller proceeds to deal with the industrial census of Prussia from 1795 to 1861, of Baden from 1829 to 1861, of Württemberg from 1835 to 1861, of Bavaria from 1810 to 1861, and of Saxony from 1830 to 1865. He then investigates the cause and methods of the transformation, distinguishing between town and country, reviewing particularly ten of the most important branches of industry, and then gives his conclusions.

A priori probability would seem to favour his opinion that the small industry loses ground greatly, while the large grows in proportion. But his book rather shows, against his own intention, that, while the large industry grows considerably, the small does not diminish in proportion, since machinery increases the number of consumers. The case of boot-making will furnish an example. In 1816 a great part of the population went barefoot in summer, and wore wooden shoes in winter. Suppose that steam machines for sewing the leather, and an easier process of tanning, lower the price of shoes by one half, then in 1861 50 or 80 per cent. of the people who went barefoot in 1816 will wear shoes, and at the same time the number of hand-working shoemakers will not be diminished. The machines will perform the ordinary work at a cheap rate, and the skilled artisans will serve their richer customers. Moreover, a greater number of cobblers will be required. This reasoning is confirmed by the following statistics taken from Herr Schmoller's book, and showing the proportion borne by the artisans (masters and men) who form the *Kleingewerbe*, or small industry, in Prussia, to the whole population. The census is taken every third year:—

1816, . . .	3.88 per cent.	1840, . . .	4.51 per cent
1819, . . .	3.79 "	1843, . . .	4.63 "
1832, . . .	3.90 "	1846, . . .	5.20 "
1835, . . .	4.08 "	1849, . . .	5.77 "
1838, . . .	3.96 "	1852, . . .	5.90 "
1841, . . .	3.93 "	1855, . . .	5.82 "
1844, . . .	4.21 "	1858, . . .	5.93 "
1847, . . .	4.38 "	1861, . . .	5.91 "

Thus the number of these artisans, instead of diminishing, has been augmented. No doubt the number of factories has increased also. But when it is argued that the small industry suffers by reason of this increase two things must be borne in mind: (1.) That the large industry also complains, so that the evil must be attributed to more general causes; and (2.) that the small industry has been suffering for more than a century, so that machinery cannot be held responsible for it. On this last point, Justus Moeser (quoted by Herr Schmoller) says, in his *Patriotische Phantasien*, published in 1775: "Look through the registers of our artisans, and see how their number has diminished by half in the last 100 years, while the number of merchants has tripled. The blacksmith has been replaced by the ironmonger, and the cabinetmaker by the furniture-dealer." Nevertheless, the small industries are in a suffering condition; and practical suggestions for its amelioration are entitled to be seriously considered. But Herr Schmoller's suggestions are not practical. He contents himself with vague generalities about the selfishness of the middle classes, and the nature of property, which is not sacred, and of which great sacrifices may on occasions be demanded. "In grossen ausserordentlichen Zeiten können auch grosse Opfer gefordert werden" (p. 687). But it is necessary to know what sort of sacrifices, and who is to regulate them. Herr Schmoller's phrases are the expression of a kindly feeling, but do not help to solve the problem. Social economy cannot dispense with the principle of self-interest. The wheels of the machine would no longer turn if their teeth were not made of steel.

40. SIGNOR FANO is the Deputy Syndic of Milan, and a member of the Italian Parliament. He has published several works on savings banks and charities, and is himself an administrator of provident institutions. On such subjects he may be regarded as one of the best informed men in Italy. The title of his last new book, however, *Della Carità preventiva*, is open to criticism. For there is some confusion of ideas in calling providence preventive charity, since it is to others that people are charitable, but to themselves that they are provident. Providence indeed seems precisely to imply the notion of dispensing a man from the necessity of accepting charity. But apart from this question, the book itself is of importance. The author rightly upholds the principle of charity, but at the same time maintains that "la panacea sociale sta dunque nell'ordine e nella libertà, nel lavoro e nella moralità privata." The moral origin of provident institutions he finds in the necessity of counteracting one of the most active causes of misery—improvidence. He gives an historical sketch of friendly societies, with a statistical account of

those of France and England. One of the most interesting chapters of the book is that on pauperism and the working classes in Italy. The author admits the extent of Italian pauperism, but maintains that it is not to be attributed to an excessive development of industry, as that of England often is, or to the sterility of the soil, or to the climate, but to a bad distribution of the land, and to the ignorance, and in some degree to the indolence, of the populations. The amount of ignorance is shown by the following figures:—Of 100 children of the working class, in Southern Italy scarcely 1 can read, in Tuscany 10, in Lombardy and Venice 50. In the canton of Ticino instruction is compulsory; but Ticino is not Italy. In Italy itself, out of three millions of children between the ages of five and twelve, there are two millions who do not go to school.

Italy contains, according to Signor Fano, 1,865,341 paupers; but she has no system of legal charity (p. 104). "Se non che," he adds, "la moltitudine degli istituti d'assistenza, i modi tenuti a governarli, le doviziose rendite di cui possono disporre, e l'improvvisa destinazione che sovente ne fanno gli amministratori, sono vizij che producono per noi gli stessi effetti, o peggio, della carità legale." It is a truism to say that the surest means of subduing misery would be to increase instruction, the love of work, and the spirit of economy; but it is precisely for the application of truisms that it is generally most difficult to awaken the requisite passion.

The author devotes a long chapter to the interesting question of the civil personality of friendly societies and their legal status in different countries. In Italy the government does not interfere in their affairs, and, on the other hand, they do not enjoy any civil personality. The following statistics are interesting:—Of 7720 communes in the kingdom, only 248 have friendly societies. The total number of such societies, according to the latest return—that of 1862—was 443. Their relative distribution amongst the people of the different provinces was as follows:—For each 100,000 inhabitants, there were in

Piedmont and Liguria	4.95 societies, with 1,043 members.	
Lombardy	2.71	780
Parma and Piacenza	1.69	489
Modena, Massa and Reggio	3.80	616
Romagna	3.27	938
The Marches	3.15	709
Umbria	2.73	578
Tuscany	3.01	920
Neapolitan Provinces	0.28	81
Sicily	0.33	73
Sardinia	0.63	178
Total	2.08	512

In his last chapter Signor Fano speaks of "other institutions useful to the working classes," and especially of co-operation. The chapter is written in a good spirit; but perhaps the author expects too much from the co-operative system, which, with all its merits, is only a human agency, and not the philosopher's stone.

41. DR. ECKARDT'S *Baltische und russische Culturstudien* are a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the Russo-German provinces

of the Baltic, and are connected with the author's previous work *die Baltischen Provinzen Russlands*. The two together form a collection of sketches founded on a thorough knowledge of the subject, and written in a very lively and entertaining style, the particular topics which engage the author's attention being always such as to throw light on the general condition of the country. The Baltic provinces are well adapted for this method of treatment; for the development of their civilization offers a variety of elements and phases which can scarcely be found in that of any other country. They form the advanced guard of Germanism and Protestantism, against the action of the Slavonic race and the Greek Church, and are accordingly the field of a perpetual conflict between German and Russian interests. Before the time of Peter the Great the country was under Swedish and Polish dominion, having in the middle ages belonged to the Teutonic order, which itself was a result of the crusades. A crusade having been preached against the aboriginal heathen populations, the German knights who settled in the country were regarded as champions of the faith. But in their train came merchants from Bremen and Lübeck; and the rising towns became important members of the great Hanseatic League, which extended its branches as far as Novgorod on Lake Ilmen. The effects of this process remain, not only in material monuments, but also in institutions which are still in full vigour, and in the half mediæval constitution of the towns and the nobility. Another point is the peculiar character of the aboriginal race which forms the great mass of the inferior population. It divides into two branches—Finns and Lettonians. These two branches differ widely from one another; and the Lettonian, which is the more numerous, forms a connecting link between the Germans and Slaves, and is interesting from an ethnological and philological point of view. The German population, which is confined to the nobles and the middle class, does not exceed 200,000 souls; and this handful which has survived the desolating wars fought in the country two centuries ago between Swedes, Poles, and Russians, offers at the present time a strenuous resistance to the advance of Russian absolutism. On any revival of the Polish question, the Baltic Provinces, which are threatened by an oppression similar to that of Poland, would necessarily be an element of the situation, and would thus become an object of immediate practical politics. Among persons of note in modern times they have produced Field-marshal Laudon, the greatest Austrian general since Prince Eugene; Frau von Krüdener, the friend of the Czar Alexander; and the well-known Princess Liwen, the Egeria of M. Guizot, who has raised a literary shrine to her memory.

42. MR. PATTERSON'S work on the Magyars gives the conclusions of a foreigner who has lived among the people, learned their language, and inquired carefully into the working of their institutions. It is so far imperfect that the author leaves the Slavonic part of the po-

pulation almost entirely out of sight, and deals comparatively little with the Germans and the Wallachs. It is so far prejudiced that he has perhaps imbibed a slight bias against the Saxons of Transylvania. Still the book gives a general impression of thorough honesty, solidity, and good sense. Its central idea, so to speak, is that the differences between the Magyars and their neighbours are rather from their traditions and surroundings than from any ineradicable facts of race. The question the author mainly has in view is whether the Magyar nationality will be able to maintain itself in the struggle for existence. The treatment is by a series of chapters dealing severally with the institutions, the society, the religion, and the literature, of the dominant people. Some of the heaviest chapters are placed rather mistakenly at the beginning; and generally the book is that of a thoughtful rather than an imaginative man. Much of it, however, is on topics of general interest; and there is a sprinkling of good stories and apt illustrations throughout.

Like their neighbours the Poles, the Magyars have been a military horde, encamping and settling down in a plain where only a warlike race could maintain itself, and partially assimilating the conquered people of the surrounding parts. But they have been more fortunate than the Poles in several respects. The rich alluvial plain of the Alföld has favoured the growth of a compact nucleus of Magyar population; and its wealth feeds the great cities in which the political life of Hungary is centred. Then again the Magyar has a defensible frontier on two sides, and a neighbour in the south with whom he claims affinity, and whom he has called in at times when Turkish rule seemed more endurable than Austrian. Again, the very defects of the constitution have sometimes pleaded for it at Vienna. "*Totus mundus stultizet et constitutiones imaginarias querit,*" said the Emperor Francis to a Magyar deputation, "*vos habetis constitutionem et ego amo illam et illæsam ad posteros transmittam.*" By "*illæsa,*" as Mr. Patterson suggests, the Emperor no doubt meant "unimproved." As long as Hungary was governed by an aristocracy, in the interest and through the support of only one of its races, there was little probability that democratic watchwords would be clamorously obtruded upon the sovereign. Now, of course, this state of things is at an end. The old nobles still retain an anomalous privilege of voting without any property or other qualification, but are otherwise on a par with the races anciently subject. They owe their political pre-eminence at present to the fact that the greater number of wealthy and educated families are Magyars either by birth, or, like the Germans of Pesth, by feeling, and that it is consequently the ambition of every rising man to procure recognition for himself and his family as Magyars. Mr. Patterson gives two amusing stories in illustration of this feeling. One is of a peasant noble, apparently a Magyar by race, who was settled among the Wallachians, and had quite lost his nationality, but insisted on being described in

the census papers as a Magyar, though he allowed that his wife and children might be Roumans. The other is of a return from a Protestant college situated in a Slovak colony, in which only three of the students reported themselves Slovaks. The report was sent back for correction; but meanwhile the unlucky trio had been subjected to such persecution that, when the names were entered again, only one had the courage to declare himself a Slavonian. It would be interesting to know whether this fact could be paralleled in parts more densely peopled by the Slaves. If so, there has been a marvellous change of feeling since Kollar's *Slavay Deera* was written and accepted as a national epic.

But if the Magyars have on their side fashions, organization, and the habit of political life, there are some causes in operation which have told fatally against them. In Transylvania "the short-sighted Magyar landlords," says Mr. Patterson, "always preferred Roumans as tenants and serfs to men of their own race," as more docile and submissive. The result has been a continual exodus of the Magyars into the Principalities. Again, there has been a certain denationalization of the Transylvania Magyars, as many as half a million of them by one estimate (which Mr. Patterson however thinks exaggerated) having changed their language and religion. One reason has been that the Wallachians were largely patronized at Vienna between 1849 and 1867; another and curious one is that the Greek Church is so much cheaper than Protestantism. But the main causes, no doubt, are that the larger race naturally absorbs the smaller, and that the race at the lower level of civilisation steadily increases upon the race at the higher. Hence, as Mr. Boner showed very forcibly in his book upon Transylvania, the Saxons are rapidly dying out, and have entirely disappeared from whole districts. But further, Hungary, like all countries, has its conservatives, and, as a thinly-peopled and remote country, develops an intense feeling of nationality. The men who took their children away from school, and preferred to see them peasants rather than officials under a German government, have naturally adopted the same principle for their present policy. They dread any changes that will destroy the existing character of the people and their institutions, and would sooner do without railways, roads, and commerce, than sacrifice the predominance of the agricultural interest. While their nationality was threatened, this feeling was intelligible, and to some extent justifiable. At present, it practically means that reforms and changes coming from Germany are viewed with extreme suspicion, and that the Magyar may easily fall behind the neighbour races of the kingdom. Yet Mr. Patterson does not regard him as essentially averse to innovation. In fact, where the German peasant refuses to change, from a belief that he cannot be taught anything, the Magyar appears to take a pride in showing that he has mastered the new idea.

The chapters on Hungarian Protestantism are among the most interesting in Mr. Patter-

son's work. Among the Magyars almost all the Protestants are Calvinists. They object to the Lutherans as not sufficiently decided. The resolution passed by a Lutheran synod to retain the sign of the cross, but to make it in such a way "ut Catholici videant et Calvinistæ ne animadvertant," certainly seems to savour more of policy than of the faith which makes martyrs. In general, Protestantism appears to be losing ground. Its strength has lain in the fact that it was not favoured by Government, and in the excellence of the Protestant schools; but the former motive for supporting it has ceased to be very powerful. It was so strong a few years ago that the two Confessions declared they would secede in a body to Unitarianism if the Cabinet persisted in forcing State aid upon them. Now that all religions are to be on a common footing, Catholicism is gaining upon its rivals, partly by the influence of numbers, partly, Mr. Patterson thinks, by the better education and higher social rank of the Catholic clergy. Naturally, he regards their foreign culture as, on the whole, better for Hungary than the narrow national training of their rivals. The nation, he observes, is singularly fortunate in having glorious traditions connected with the predominance of either faith. The fact goes far to explain the large practical tolerance for which Hungary has been honourably distinguished.

43. ENOUGH matter has been put into Mr. Pumpelly's *Across America and Asia* to furnish forth three or four very respectable books of travel. The chapters relating to Arizona, the mining region which lies along the boundary line between the United States and Western Mexico, are full of exciting adventures; and, though the author lived for months in the continual expectation of being murdered by hostile Indians, his sense of the wrongs his foes have suffered at the hands of the American settlers has not been weakened. "In the history of no other conquest, heathen or Romish, do we find such a record of long-continued atrocity and treachery on the part of the conqueror, or of utter failures of badly conceived and dishonestly executed plans for the elevation of the conquered race." The Indian reserves were sacrificed to the gradual extension of agricultural settlement in the West; and of late years even the remotest hunting-grounds in the Rocky Mountains have been occupied by miners and gold-seekers. That wholesale massacre is not inseparable from conquest by white races is shown by the examples of the Hudson's Bay Company, of the Jesuit missions in Spanish America, and of Russian rule in Central Asia. What is the characteristic common to all these instances as distinguished from that of the government of the Indians by the United States? It is not philanthropy; for the object of the Hudson's Bay Company was the preservation of the fur monopoly, and that of the Russians the advancement of their frontier. It is not the control of a central authority; for the Jesuits lived in constant and immediate contact with the tribes they ruled. The problem would be one of importance if it were not

for the imminent probability that before the solution is found the material on which to make experiments will have vanished.

Mr. Pumpelly was not much more favourably impressed with the conduct of the foreign residents in China. A great deal is said of the insults offered to Europeans by the native mobs, or even by the native authorities; but the tale of wrongs on the other side too rarely finds a hearing. Writing of Shanghai in 1863, Mr. Pumpelly says:—"It has long been the practice of foreign vessels to run into and sink any junks or boats that might be in their way, no matter how crowded with passengers these might be; and probably scarcely a day passed without a boat being thus sunk in Chinese waters." Of the Chinese character, especially of its energy and its openness to new ideas, when not forced upon the people in disregard of long-standing prejudices, Mr. Pumpelly formed a very high estimate; and in two valuable chapters he discusses the principles which should regulate the conduct of Europeans and Americans towards them, whether in China or in the United States. The calculation that, if the emigration from China to the latter country should increase as rapidly as on many grounds seems likely, a few years might show "a preponderance of male adults of Mongolian blood" on American territory, will prove how important one aspect of the subject may easily become. Siberia, through which Mr. Pumpelly made his homeward journey, is the one instance perhaps of a country successfully peopled by convicts. Of course, the explanation of this is the proportion that the political element bears to every other in the offences for which banishment has been inflicted. The wealthier exiles are often "accompanied by their wives and families, thus bringing with them the social cultivation of the higher circles in Europe." It is singular that the descendants of these exiles become firmly attached to the home thus forced on them. Mr. Pumpelly was invariably told by Siberian ladies that, "although they were very fond of making long journeys to Paris and Italy, they would never choose for their homes any other country than Siberia." The extreme severity of the winter is in part atoned for by the brilliance of the sudden summer; and, as is mostly the case in very cold climates, every Siberian town is the scene of a constant succession of amusements, including a vast amount of drunkenness among the men, and of gambling among both sexes. Mr. Pumpelly speaks with cordial enthusiasm of the hospitality accorded him in his journey through Russia, and of the "just appreciation of the war between the North and South which he everywhere found." This was partly due, he says with curious frankness, "to the many points of resemblance between the rebellion in America and the one then being crushed in Poland." The confession is not usual in the mouth of a Northern partisan.

44. THE vast regions that constitute the Western States of America have, within half a generation, acquired a population which already demands the material benefits of modern civili-

sation. But the conditions under which railways can be constructed there differ widely from those which generally obtain in Europe. Here, the preliminary survey for a main line is little more than a pleasant out-door pastime; there, it becomes a military operation. Every rock may, and probably does, conceal a savage; and the forests, which crest ravines a thousand feet deep, are all but certain to shelter bands of foes, who peer down with eager eyes to take advantage of the least entanglement or confusion in the party of armed intruders who carry on their work below. It is difficult to get a clear idea of what the task really is, to bind together places which are separated by fifty degrees of longitude, but which must by some means be brought speedily into free communication with each other, if the West is hereafter to be effectually governed from Washington. Of the absolute necessity of these inter-oceanic railways the American Government has, for a long time, been fully convinced; and, under its protection and control, one has already been practically completed, which traverses the whole continent, nearly through the centre of the States, to San Francisco. But this leaves the more southern district altogether untouched; and the Pacific must again be reached through New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California. In the spring of 1867, when the termination of the war once more permitted active operations, an extensive survey, to determine a southern route, was undertaken by the Kansas Railway Company. For the work, as far as the Rio Grande del Norte, three parties were organized; and for the remainder of the distance, comprising the Rocky Mountains, their plateaux and basins, five separate parties were engaged on different parallels of latitude. Cavalry escorts and transports were furnished by the United States Government, without which the undertaking would have been impossible, owing to the active hostility of the native Indian tribes.

Dr. Bell's *New Tracks in North America* contains a graphic and brilliant record of the results achieved by the whole expedition, his personal share and experiences being supplemented by details supplied by friends serving in the other parties into which it was divided. He himself travelled over some 5000 miles of comparatively unknown country. The end of the Kansas Railway Company was finally attained, and more than one route successfully mapped and graded, but not without severe hardships and some loss of life. Dr. Bell settles the "savage" question off-hand. "Civilized man," he says, "takes care to reproduce by artificial means as much as, if not more than, he destroys; the savage, however, does not always do so; and when he does not, this is surely a proof that he is *not* destined by Providence permanently to exist." However this may be, there is no doubt that the Navajos and Apaches of Arizona and New Mexico will shortly cease to exist as independent tribes, and that such a consummation will be greatly hastened by the iron road which Dr. Bell has helped to carry through their fastnesses and hunting-grounds. Of all savages, perhaps the Apaches are the

least to be pitied; for they exceed all others in cruelty and rapine. In turn they have ravaged, tortured, and murdered, Aztecs, Mexicans, and Anglo-Saxons, till every man's hand is against them, even that of the peaceful Pueblo Indians. The violent passions excited by their depredations may be estimated by the United States Marshal's reports, from which it appears that in less than four years they carried off, in round numbers, 13,000 mules, 7000 horses, 31,000 head of horned stock, and 450,000 sheep. When to this is added the scalplings and mutilations which invariably attend their successful raids on small towns, villages, and homesteads, the exasperation of both the rough settler and the native Mexican, and the bloody and indiscriminate vengeance not infrequently executed, become intelligible. Dr. Bell did not escape ocular evidence of the nature of Apache warfare; but he would have shown better taste in omitting the ghastly record of it which he has printed from a photograph taken by himself. He is a genuine traveller. The vivacity and interest of his narrative never flags as he goes on through the wild and strange scenery of the Rocky Mountains; and he paints every incident with so firm and lifelike a touch as to convert his reader for the time into a member of the band of explorers.

The mere height of the range offers no great obstacle to the engineer; but its peculiar character requires careful and extensive investigation to enable him to conquer its difficulties. A cañon is by no means a mere ravine, pass, or even gorge, as those words are commonly understood in connection with mountain ranges in Europe. It is a deep cleft, intersecting a mountain plateau, mainly or entirely water-worn, which may be aptly compared to a deep crack left in stiff clay at the end of an intensely hot summer. Cañons must be crossed or evaded by the railway engineer; and in either case the problem is a hard one. In size, some are immense. The great Cañon of the Colorado cleaves a plateau of the average elevation of 7000 feet, and extends probably 550 miles, for 800 of which, according to Dr. Newbery, as quoted by Dr. Bell, "the cut edges of the tablelands rise abruptly, often perpendicularly, from the water's edge, forming walls of from 3000 feet to over a mile in height." Of the mysteries of this deep abyss nothing was known until 1867, when three gold "prospectors" in the course of their wanderings reached a point towards the upper end. Here they were attacked by Indians. One was immediately shot down; the other two fled by a side cañon, but found no means of escape, except to descend the river as best they might. With a few sticks of drift cotton-wood they made a raft, and embarked. For four days they were swept down the dark stream, when a fierce eddy dashed one into the waters, leaving the survivor, James White, to struggle on alone. On the fourteenth day the raft drifted on to the Mormon settlement of Colville; and White, imbecile and speechless from starvation and suffering, was rescued. He recovered, however, and told his story, which is accepted by American authorities who are perfectly competent to form a sound judgment

on the matter. They estimate the distance travelled to be over 500 miles, between walls nearly perpendicular.

San Diego, at the extreme south of California, will probably become the Pacific terminus of the southern system of railways, and may possibly prove a formidable rival to San Francisco. It possesses a better harbour, with depth sufficient for ships of the largest tonnage. Dr. Bell's return journey was made by the upper route through Nebraska, Utah, and Nevada, and in the depth of winter. Though this ground is comparatively well known, his account is not without interest. In addition to his narrative of the survey he gives information of importance on other subjects connected with it. His chapters on the Physical Geography of the Western States correct several false notions, and give a clear idea of the nature of the country and of its material resources; and those on the savage and semi-civilized tribes of Arizona and New Mexico have both a general and an ethnological value. The illustrations are, as a rule, much above the average; but the author's statement that he took great pains to make them true to nature must be qualified by one exception. The illustration of White's adventure in the Colorado Cañon must obviously have been imagined by the artist from description only.

45. M. DE LAVELEYE is a Belgian writer whose literary sphere embraces art and artists, nature and natural history, politics and political biography, and the actual struggles between religious and civil society. On all these subjects he writes with thoughtfulness and care. In one of his *Etudes et Essais* he relates the life of Wiertz, whose works he criticises with some discrimination. In another he gives a sketch of artist life in Rome, which is a piece of psychological sensationalism, tinged with common sense. The essays on the voyage of the Novara, and on the country round Monte Rosa, are good summaries of the subjects; and that on Leopold I. as "constitutional king," is generally sound in its views. It is in the two most important essays, "La crise religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle," and "le parti libéral et le parti catholique en Belgique," that the author, with all his pains and moderation, most fails. In the first he fails by his moderation itself. For when he says that the clergy are all on the side of morals, and their opponents on that of merely material well-being, and that the action of the clergy is necessary to preserve even that measure of the mild and minor virtues which at present distinguishes European society, he disables himself from opposing their pretensions. And, as he errs on the side of weak compromise in judging between the religious tendencies of the epoch, so he errs on the side of absolute principle in holding the balance between the two Parliamentary parties in Belgium. One, he says, bases itself on the Ecclesiastical idea of justice, the other on "la notion clairement perçue du juste et du bien," such as pure reason teaches. Belgian parties therefore are,

according to him, divided into those absolutists who believe in the Canon-law pure and simple, and those other absolutists who believe in the Belgian Constitution, or the principles of 1789. Of course between absolute thinkers no compromise is possible. But he overlooks the actual existence in Belgium of a vast number of men whose education, prejudices, and ignorance, forbid them to forswear the Ecclesiastical system of politics, and yet permit them to swear allegiance to the Belgian Constitution. Unless Belgian liberalism were infected with the same dogmatic absolutism which it detests in its opponents, it would gladly embrace those who can cordially co-operate with it in all practical matters, and only reserve in their minds a corner for an abstract system which they own to be inapplicable to modern society, for which they have no real leaning, and which they only refuse to condemn explicitly because they have a respect and affection for those who hold it. Even though the Belgians who have been followers of Montalembert may hesitate to disavow the Syllabus, it is ridiculous to suspect them of wishing to impose its policy on Belgium. Their political principles are well known, and are to be gathered, not from a document which is not their own, and concerning which they simply keep silence, but from their own sayings, writings, and acts. Their position is in itself indefensible; but, since it is clear that they really reject the principles of the Syllabus, there is a want of rudimentary political intelligence in demanding from them anything more than the practical assurance they are ready to give—the assurance that they will not join in the Quixotic task of reimposing those principles on emancipated Europe.

46. MR. GREG thinks clearly, and expresses his thoughts in vigorous language. He rarely writes on a subject without having taken considerable trouble to master its details. And the questions which, in his *Political Problems for our Age and Country*, he offers for solution or attempts to solve, are of great and immediate importance. For all these reasons his book will repay study. Yet he seems better suited for a journalist than an essayist. There are perhaps few more useful, certainly few more effective, modes of criticising the measures of a ministry in a constitutional government—measures often timid, vacillating, and inconsistent—than that of comparing them with what might be expected from an ideal, omnipotent, and omniscient administration. It is the journalist's business to point out defects: he is not responsible for finding the omnipotence, omniscience, and benevolence requisite for providing an adequate remedy. But it is a very different matter when the flaws inherent in constitutional government are used as an argument against constitutional government altogether. And this is really the scope of Mr. Greg's book.

The subjects treated in the earlier essays are the foreign policy of England, her criminal classes, and certain economical and social



questions, especially those suggested by Trades-Unionism. As to the foreign policy, Mr. Greg, while regretting the days when England assumed to rule the destinies of Europe, and sorrowfully declaring that she can no longer keep her colonies in hand, consoles himself with the thought of her position in Asia. With respect to the second question, he approves the Habitual Criminals Act, but thinks that it did not go nearly far enough. Apparently he would like to arrest summarily all those whom there is good reason to suspect of belonging to the criminal class, and put them through a course of solitary imprisonment and reformatory schools till they emerge harmless citizens—a somewhat indefinite date. The essay on Trades-Unions is a vigorous, but bitter and one-sided, attack on the whole system. The author admits that Unions must be recognised, but would impose rigid conditions on their recognition. The evils arising from high prices, adulteration, and other incidents of a commercial and highly artificial state of society, he would attempt to remedy by more direct legislation than is usually considered practicable or expedient. It is amusing to find the vigorous denouncer of Trades-Unions hankering after a law to limit the number of bakers' shops. Then, under the head of "The Parliamentary Career," "The Price we pay for Self-Government" and "Vestryism," follow a series of vehement onslaughts on the whole system of Parliamentary and Constitutional Government. The praise which is generally due to Mr. Greg's style must be qualified with regard to this part of the book. In his indignation at the present system of English Government, he heaps together abusive epithets, superlatives, and italics, until his language often degenerates into a feminine shriek. His ideal is a bureaucratic despotism. What he wishes for is a number of departments, permanent, irresponsible, and within their own sphere omnipotent. He is intolerant of the checks of popular government, of that necessity of conciliating parties and conceding to prejudices which makes ministers appear timid, laws illogical, and measures incomplete. Of course, with the most conspicuous parts of recent English legislation, actual or in process—the Reform Act, and the measures relating to the Irish Church and Irish Land—he has no sympathy whatever. The first he regards as an advance towards that democracy which he dreads and dislikes; the others he believes to spring from a merely sentimental grievance, or the necessity of raising a party cry, whilst all of them he considers as so many obstacles in the way of those social reforms which are more urgently needed.

Many of Mr. Greg's criticisms are excellent. He rightly condemns the attempt of Parliament to usurp the function of administration, and demands greater organization and a strong government. But he fails to justify his general position. In order to organize it is not always necessary to centralize; nor need a government, in order to be strong, cease to be responsible. It is strange that he should not

see that his ideal is one which has been, or is being, rejected as impracticable and pernicious by every civilized country, that intelligence in a government is useless without sympathy, and that its only real strength is that which is based on public confidence.

47. THE third part of Mr. Morris's *Earthly Paradise* is calculated to dispel any doubts which the former volume may have left as to the importance attached by the author to his Prologue and the persons of the wanderers. The verses in which he recalls them after each fresh story are amongst the most uniformly pleasing in the book; and it is characteristic of renascent art, like Mr. Morris's, to labour with equal zeal to adorn the picture and the frame, to enrich the setting and to engrave the gem. But as, with the star-gazer Gregory, minstrel and hero, dreamer and vision, melt interchangeably into one, so here the Prologue seems at times itself the poem, and the stories of the months only a chorus, ending each time the earthly *Paradise* has been again sought and found, won or lost, with the refrain, "So he lived and was happy but the time was short," or "He ended miserably but his misery had an end." Pre-occupied with the idea of a terrestrial hiding-place for happiness, or perhaps affected by the less cheerful associations of autumn, the present volume has a monotony, and almost a gloom, to which its predecessors were strangers. Even the echoes of Grecian story are sadder, and troubled with an undergrowth of conflicting passion, only in one case—the story of "Acontius and Cydippe,"—yielding place to the short-lived bloom of human happiness. The poet seems a prey to hesitation whether he shall enter the lists against the faith and hope of past ages, by daring to invent a happy climax for himself; and the doubt mars the satisfaction with which he formerly seized on the traditional triumphs of love. Whether by accident or design, most probably by a half-conscious mixture of the two, the tales of the Northmen seem always to agree in seeking the superhuman felicity which, expressed or understood, is the motive of all their thoughts, in some far-off country not perhaps to be reached without magical aid, or in some ghostly bride before whose fatal smile the world is worthless, or in an immortality of unconceived content, or even in an inconstant or a hapless earthly love. Their hosts of the far west, on the other hand, take for granted the power of happy rapturous enjoyment, which the wanderers believe in, only because without it their quest would be objectless as well as hopeless. In "Atalanta's Race" and "Pygmalion and the Image," in "The Love of Alcestes" and "Acontius and Cydippe," the tale tells of human wishes strangely granted,

"nor might I hear  
That aught of evil on them fell,"

except that in due course father makes place for son, and lover and beloved pass away in their turn, since



"Such is our frail mortal lot,  
Love itself would did they not."

The undetermined longings of Rhodope, and her doubtful entrance on an unknown future, are a degree further removed from the buoyant realism of Greek art; and the unities of suffering are violated in "The Death of Paris" by the treatment which brings together in one picture the bereavement of Ceneone, Helen, and Paris divided by love, death, and remorse.

"Well-nigh they blamed the singer too, that he  
Must needs draw pleasure from men's misery;  
Nathless a little even they must feel  
How time and tale a long-past woe will heal  
And make a melody of grief, and give  
Joy to the world, that whoso dies shall live."

But the secret of this pleasant pain is half lost when the audience begins to think as well as to listen, though there are worse faults, even in a poet, than giving necessary rise to certain trains of thought.

One explanation of the difference between the first and the present volume of *The Earthly Paradise* is that in the latter the author has relied more upon his own powers of invention. But a story, short, complete in itself, and altogether distinct from any previous one, has very seldom been invented. In Mr. Morris's pages there are glimpses of heavenly bliss or unfathomable despair, and one enchanting landscape follows another with dazzling rapidity, leaving the impression of a dream-like unreality, and making even the sense of pleasure complex and restless. The simple, short-lived triumph which, in the Grecian legends, hails the accomplished union of beauty and love is entirely congenial to his muse; but, with all his delight in the brilliancy of sun and sky, he is never quite himself except when there is a suggestion of the thunder-cloud looming on the horizon. His wanderers are in love with immortality, because the poet's fancy might bestow any other gift, which, granted, would only leave them a prey to the fear of its future loss, by death if not before. He veils the contradiction of an earthly Paradise, by picturing a happy land which might be Paradise if there were no death in it; but since there is, it is needless to inquire closely whether the dwellers in the Fortunate Isles only need to add immortality to fair weather and abundant harvests before finding themselves masters of the summum bonum.

If the fairy tales are taken as they are, without insisting on their moral, or even following out their meaning too closely, they are as full of beauty as ever, and perhaps have an added richness in detail. In "The Land East of the Sun and West of the Moon"—a mystical territory of which the only description is that it is somewhere, and which may be anywhere to the poet who seeks at twilight—we are brought nearest to the gates of the promised land; but in this poem Mr. Morris writes for himself, only grouping and borrowing the forms of more hopeful legends; and instead of resting with Ogier in the happy valley of Avilion, the stargazer awakes, and lo! everything was a dream. "The Lovers of Gudrun"—a less fascinating, Icelandic Helen—is nearer common earth, but

in the regions of strange weird passions made familiar by the Sagas. The actors in the tragedy are real and living; but they belong to an extinct order of things. Their love and their jealousy have uncouth forms of their own; and that which, if told in outline, would seem a simple story enough, becomes instead an absorbing struggle against fate, with half hidden calls for sympathy, and deep suggestiveness.

The atmosphere, so to speak, of all the stories is the same, though the incidents and descriptions are as various as is compatible with that failure of dramatic consistency to which Mr. Morris's poems owe their peculiar pleasure-giving character. Images of beauty are the only ones that seem to find a place in his consciousness; and the road to despair in "The man who never laughed again" is as thickly beset with them as the maiden solitude of the dreary Rhodope. The keenest pain he recognises is the privation of beauty; but since the illusion he aims at producing is only subjective, poet and reader do not suffer with the phantoms of the story. The melancholy element is found rather in the failure of all this profusion of beauty to banish the thought of its own unreality and insufficiency,

"Since neither love nor joy, nor even pain,  
Should last for ever."

If the poems for Autumn were compared with those for Spring and Summer, criticism might perhaps have to pronounce them less perfect in form, though in substance of more and fuller interest. And they contain, on the whole, fewer of blemishes in the versification—halting monosyllabic lines which in their want of modulation used to recall *In Memoriam* by sheer force of contrast. This reform, still only partial, is favoured by the greater diffuseness of most of the present poems, where the author, instead of restricting himself to known and circumstantial originals, gives the reins to his fancy, and can amplify the sense if the verse seems bald to the ear. It may be a question whether he gains or loses by coming in closer contact than before with ideas forming a part of the stock in trade of modern thought. But the doubt is not very serious; for it is still open to those who read *The Earthly Paradise* to delight in its brilliant stories of love and fairy adventure, without taking into account the curious underlying assumption—which again those who please may detect—that happiness and misery are each the *sine qua non* of the other's existence, if, indeed, either has an existence at all.

48. An idyll is necessarily a poem of limited horizon; and this circumstance seems to have had a considerable influence on the poem of "The Holy Grail" in Mr. Tennyson's recent volume. In the oldest versions of the story of the Grail, it is itself an epopee: even in Mallorey's abridgment it is still a gigantic episode, with all sorts of allusions which mark its connection with a whole legendary cycle. In Mr. Tennyson there is nothing of the castle of Maidens, nor of the ghastly queen whose sickness is to be healed by blood, nor of le Roy Pescheur, with all the mournful pageantry of

his castle. Everything is clear, compact, and intelligible. If Mr. Tennyson were the only author who had preserved the story, there could have been no question whether it was originally a myth or a pure allegory. To Wolfram von Eschenbach the Order of the Grail was an allegory of the Order of the Temple and the aims of Christian Chivalry. To Mr. Tennyson the quest of the Grail is an allegory of the disturbing influences of the ideal half understood. The first version that has come down to us embodied the spirit of the crusades: the last embodies in the most subtle, the most rectified form, the reaction from their failure. The Round Table breaks down under the strain of the quest as mediæval Christendom broke down under the strain of the crusades. And the Round Table breaks down under a mistake. Arthur is just enough to distinguish between the sight of Galahad and the faith or the credulous sequacity of the others, in one of Mr. Tennyson's best epigrams,

"Lo one hath seen, and all the blind will see ;"

but in reality he rates his own mission higher. It is more universal, and not less ecstatic, if any can rise to its full height. It is natural to judge an allegory in some measure by the truth of its moral; and it may be doubted whether practical work, even in the highest sphere, is rewarded by mystical ecstasy. Nor is it easy to put Arthur above Galahad; for characters become perfect and pass, while constitutions remain and become corrupted. The treatment of the poem, if it was to be turned into an idyll at all, is a model of graceful compression. No device could be better than to make Percivale tell the tales that the knights told Arthur on their return; but it may be the fervour and stress of the Quest rather evaporate in consequence. The great scene of the departure of Galahad is unquestionably splendid, but perhaps a little mechanical. It recalls both the farewell of *Hiawatha* and the phantasmagoria of purifications in Moore's *Epicurean*. Of course no one would put it on the same level; but the possibility even of the external coincidence suggests the danger that when an allegory is taken up, even by a great poet, in order to be inverted, invention sometimes may take the place of imagination. A less ambitious passage gives a specimen of the rich musical English which is likely to be always unique:—

"O brother, had you known our Camelot,  
Built by old kings, age after age, so old  
The king himself had fears that it would  
fall,  
So strange, and rich, and dim; for where the  
roofs  
Tattered toward each other in the sky,  
Met foreheads all along the street of those  
Who watched us pass; and lower, and where  
the long  
Rich galleries, lady-laden, weighed the necks  
Of dragons clinging to the crazy walls,  
Thicker than drops from thunder, showers of  
flowers  
Fell as we past; and men and boys astride  
On wyvern, lion, dragon, griffin, swan,  
At all the corners, named us each by name,

Calling 'God speed!' but in the street below  
The knights and ladies wept, and rich and  
poor  
Wept, and the king himself could hardly  
speak  
For grief, and in the middle street the Queen,  
Who rode by Lancelot, wailed and shrieked  
aloud,  
'This madness has come on us for our sins.'"

The first part of "*Pelleas and Ettarre*" contains some of Mr. Tennyson's happiest writing. Nothing can be more delicious than the first appearance of Pelleas, or his first meeting with Ettarre; and the analysis of her coquetry is entertaining and not ungraceful. But the sequel is simply intolerable; and the attempt at subtlety in the beginning only makes it worse. If such stories are to be told, they should be told of beings that bear the greatest possible resemblance to dumb animals. In attempting to explain the story, Mr. Tennyson only makes Pelleas contemptible and Ettarre loathsome. In *Mallory* it ends as well as it could have ended: Ettarre comes to seek her forfeited lover, and finds him happily appropriated by Nimue, the chief of the ladies of the Lake, who in the old legend is always beneficent, in spite of her entrancing Merlin. This is a more poetical destiny than to sink into a theatrical portent to terrify the sinful queen. "*The Passing of Arthur*" has not been improved by being completed, though the additions at the beginning and end are far from being inferior to the rest in workmanship. At the end of the new beginning the join shows; for the old beginning was not easy to write up to, and certainly was much too fine to be altered. The desolation in which the old poem closed was immeasurably more impressive than the very chastened note of triumph which has been appended since. "*The Coming of Arthur*" is the least interesting poem in the volume, but very far from the least successful. If it had been the introduction to a really epic treatment of the whole legend, it would have been quite interesting enough: as it is, though the three-fold account of Arthur's parentage is very skillfully worked up, it is impossible to resist the impression that nothing comes of it. If curiosity was to be stimulated, not satisfied, the little novice in Guinevere said enough, and not too much. It is too soon to pronounce a definite opinion; but it seems as if the *Idylls of the King* had been completed without adding anything equal to the pathos of "*Elaine*," or the best part of "*Guinevere*," the ironical scene with the novice, or even the tormenting cleverness of "*Vivien*."

"*The Golden Supper*" is taken from Boccaccio; and perhaps the subject is better suited to the objective art of the fourteenth century than to the subjective art of the nineteenth. The "*Northern Farmer, New Style*," is curious and instructive as a foil to his predecessor. If the two had appeared together it would have been needless to remark that he is unworthy to figure as a pendant. "*Lucretius*" is undeniably a very fine and wonderful poem, and would have been yet finer had the fundamental thought of the poet been Lucretius instead of

a pitying Theist's apology for him. "The Victim" is a very artistic presentation of a situation to which it was not possible to add anything except artistic workmanship.

49. Mr. GILES's lectures on *Human Life in Shakespeare* were delivered before vast audiences at the Lowell Institute in Boston. They form a continuous dithyramb in honour of the poet, and are rather perhaps orations than lectures. They do not enter deeply into criticism; but they set forth clearly and connectedly the views held by most critics on the general influence of Shakespeare, on his method of portraiture, and on his comic and tragic force. The author enlarges much on the subtlety and thoroughness of the feminine element in Shakespeare, and shows in detail the different principles on which woman and man are treated in his dramas. One of his remarks exhibits the studies of Boston in an unflattering light:—"The literature which has no feminine element or interest wants the most vital element of humanity. If so it be with simple exclusion, what must it be with the literature which depreciates woman, scorns her, mocks her, ridicules her, and satirizes her? The one she will neglect, the other she will detest. What woman reads Rabelais? What woman reads Montaigne or Boyle? What woman reads Alexander Pope or Jonathan Swift? And with all the genius of these writers, they can scarcely be said to have any *living* interest in the world. What woman reads them? But also, it may be inquired, what man? If women read them, men would, and they would not so soon have become obsolete." Mr. Giles holds that Shakespeare properly gives genius to men, and therefore humour. Men, he thinks, are the sole subjects or objects of humour: women may be detestable, but hardly ridiculous. Women surpass men in wit; but most peculiarly "man excels woman in the faculty of being a fool." "To be a fool, characteristic and decisive, it requires to be a man, not a woman, and to this law Shakespeare certainly adheres." It would be difficult to show why and how Mrs. Quickly or Juliet's nurse are less fools than Shallow or Bottom, whose folly is sufficiently notorious. In the last lecture a very pretty theory of the spring, summer, autumn, and winter of Shakespeare's genius is marred by the writer's ignorance of the later determinations of the dates of the plays. Ever since Mr. Hunter's essay in 1845 the *Tempest* has been removed from the winter to the summer of Shakespeare's annus mirabilis.

50. *The Secret of Swedenborg*, by Mr. James, is the work of a man who reveres his hero both as prophet and as philosopher; it is only in the latter aspect that his volume falls within the scope of secular criticism. In his view, Swedenborgianism is the decisive result of the long struggle between deism, pantheism, and atheism. The doctrine of creation, or origin, is the place where these systems come into the crisis of their antagonism, and therefore occupies the largest part in the volume. In discussing the theist idea, Mr. James knows nothing

of the distinction between the Semitic, the Christian, and the artistic, or Rousseauite ideal. He can only conceive of a theist's God as an individual inhabiting heaven, who maintains the universe as a separate realm, which he governs according to his fancy: "a God who has nought to do but to receive assiduous court for a work of creation done myriads of ages ago, and which is reputed to have cost him in the doing neither pains nor patience, neither affection nor thought, but simply the utterance of a dramatic word; and who is willing, accordingly, to accept our decorous Sunday homage in ample quittance of obligations so unconsciously incurred on our part, so lightly rendered and so penuriously sanctioned on his." Mr. James then denies a personal absolute infinitude, and substitutes for it "one of character:" "no longer a Sunday but a week-day divinity, a working God, grimy with the dust and sweat of our most carnal appetite and passions," who will not inflate "our worthless pietistic righteousness," but will cleanse our physical and moral existence from its odious defilement. He agrees with the pantheists in identifying the creature and Creator, but differs from them in denying the reality of one-half of creation, in that he makes nature not being but only a seeming, not substance but only a shadow. Nature for him exists only to sense, and has no rational or substantial reality. It is but a scheme for exhibiting the Creator to the creature. It is the immersion of creative perfection in created imperfection, so that the more the Creator alone is, the more the creature alone appears. We have, therefore, only two realities, man and God. Nature stands between them, as the manifestation of one to the other. But then there is no real distinction between God and man. God is not an infinite person, but the character of humanity raised to infinite perfection. This doctrine is really pantheism, and only differs from the vulgar pantheism by denying the reality of much that is usually considered part of the *pan*, or all. If man is the all, and man is god, then the doctrine which affirms this god is pantheistic. In its theory, human vices must be in God just as much as virtues; only, for Mr. James, the vices are the mode in which the natural seeming is fermented away, and the substantial being left clear and sheer. Thus vices are reckoned part of the method by which man comes to God: "God never quarrels with his creature for his moral defects, but accepts them cordially as the needful purchase of his spiritual mercy." A doctrine like this would seem a priori to shed a sinister light on the Swedenborgian theory of the sexes, and to justify much that Mr. Hepworth Dixon says of it in his *Spiritual Wives*. But Mr. James strenuously denies the truth of Mr. Dixon's theories and assertions, and ends his book with a very indignant protest against him.

Mr. James is a scholar and an eloquent writer; but some philosophers are so thorny that the attempt to express them ruins all expression. The book consists of paragraphs like this: "A distinctly supernatural creation, once so fondly urged upon our faith, is quite unin-

telligible to modern culture, because it violates experience or contradicts our observation of nature. Everything we observe in nature implies to our understanding a common or identical substance, being itself a particular or individual form of such substance. If, then, the objective form of things were an outward or supernatural communication to them, it would no longer be their own form, inasmuch as it would lack all subjective root, all natural basis, and confess itself an imposition. Thus, on the hypothesis of a supernatural creation, every natural object would disclaim a natural genesis; and nature consequently would disappear with the disappearance of her proper forms." This is a strange argument both as coming from a man who denies substance to nature, and as addressed to men who believe natural substance to be only so far real as it is, each instant, upheld by the Creator in whom it lives, moves, and is. Again, Mr. James says, "It is preposterous to allege that my consciousness or subjectivity involves any other person than myself, since this would vitiate my personal identity, and hence defeat my possible spiritual individuality or character." It is only upon such violent assumptions as this that the Swedenborgian theory of conscience, as the method of adjusting the relation of one's-self to one's nature, can be founded.

51. MR. MAURICE makes ethics an historical science; that is, he derives duty, not from the nature of the individual man, but from his external relations. In his lecture on *Social Morality* he divides his subject into three parts—domestic morality, national morality, and universal morality. The first he derives from the necessary relations of every human being to his parents and to the domestic circle into which he is born; the second he founds in the aggregation of families into tribes, and of tribes into nations with international relations; the third he traces through the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Eastern Empire, the "Latin family," and the Humanitarian systems of recent philosophy, to his own ideal of a universal Christianity tolerant of all men, acknowledging the soul of goodness in things evil, encouraging all discoveries, and embracing all truth. Of course he puts into his system more than he finds there. History by itself is quite incapable of furnishing the criterion of morals: it shows what has been done, not what ought to have been done. Inductive morals is as defective as inductive theology, which can only prove God to have that precise degree of power, intelligence, and benevolence, which appears in his workmanship, and nothing further. "We cannot," as Mr. Maurice says, "pick up divinity or morality on the seashore; they do not grow amidst any flowers that we have examined." Neither are they in the merely outward phenomena which alone history can give. Mr. Maurice protests against "independent" morality, but he assumes it. He does not construct the ideas of right and wrong, virtue and vice, out of history; but he starts with an implied, though not expressed, assumption of the whole system of morals, and

only shows how the progress of society developed first one principle, then another principle, till the original faint idea of good and ill stood forth in all the distinctness of a reality recognized by society.

But if in one way this method of treatment detracts from Mr. Maurice's power, in another it adds to his freedom and persuasiveness. Starting with the fact of Fatherhood, he transforms the material fact into the spiritual and universal Fatherhood of God; and in like manner the brotherhood of the primitive family becomes the brotherhood with Christ, the Head of Humanity, in the universal family. God becomes the personal Patriarch of the human family. All the great historical developments, whether of force, or intellect, or sentiment, take place under His direction. Hence proceeds not only a toleration, grounded on the sinfulness of interfering with God's work, but a syncretism in philosophy, in which a place is found not only for truths but for errors, in which error is a protest against one-sided orthodoxy, and contributes a necessary quota to the total of truth. In Mr. Maurice's system moreover the earlier developments remain, without being absorbed in the later developments. He blames Plato for losing the particular in the universal, and praises Aristotle for building up the universal from the totality of particulars. Morality is a syncretism of domestic, national, and universal morality. Each smaller system remains perfect within the sphere of the larger system. Thus the competition of interests, which might endanger national morality, is checked by a fraternity borrowed from domestic morality. Mr. Maurice's devotion to his social and historical system of morals is exemplified in his refusal to call Christianity a religion, and his insisting on calling it a kingdom. His syncretism might have acknowledged that both propositions are true. But he is somewhat of an enthusiast, and his feeling leads him into contradictions. Why should he at once rejoice that the Americans have put down slavery by force, and deprecate their treating polygamy in the same way? It is difficult to see how they could be right in the one case without being right in the other also.

A further result of this frame of mind is Mr. Maurice's disdain for mere notions. Morality for him is fact, and not theory. He holds that there are no such things as attributes in God; for his own attributes are God. Mr. Maurice is a realist, in such a sense that with him language is a thing, and false statement becomes in itself, apart from intention or consequences, one of the worst of crimes. Connected with this is his contempt for the "polysyllables" of the philosopher, and his respect for the English monosyllables in which the common-sense of the people is summed up. His impetuosity sometimes makes him unfair to systems which he criticises. But on the whole his lectures are excellent; and he comprehends in his survey and uses in his construction all the chief ideas which are working together in the minds of the present generation as far as England is concerned.

52. MR. HAZARD'S *Two Letters on Causation and Freedom in Willing*, contain excellent criticism on two well-known positions of Mr. Mill, who denies both tenets. With regard to Causation, Mr. Hazard argues that our notion both of power and cause is derived from an innate knowledge of effort, and its anticipated effect. Those who will not admit that the notion of cause is derived from intelligent effort, take one of three courses. First, they substitute for cause generalized phenomena, as gravitation; but this makes the facts collectively the cause of each fact of the collection, that is, makes humanity the father of each man. Or, secondly, they substitute phenomena themselves, the "whole antecedents;" but the "whole antecedents" are the same everywhere at the same moment, so that their effects should be the same; and each effect modifies the whole antecedents, so that the same effects should never continue. Or, thirdly, they substitute uniform succession, or uniformity itself; but this is equivalent to making the collective events the cause of themselves individually: for succession is effect, and to make it cause is to make it its own cause. The ontological thesis is ably defended in this first letter against both Mr. Mill and Sir William Hamilton.

The second letter controverts the position that volition is the necessary effect of its antecedents and present conditions. Mr. Hazard classes Mr. Mill's arguments for that position under four heads, and controverts them all. Against the first, namely, that volition is the necessary effect of its antecedents, he argues that an intelligent conative being, among changing events, can of itself begin to act, and that his action is determined not by the events, but by himself. The object of volition is not to continue the current of events, but to change its uniformity. Volition has two distinct purposes: first, to produce external change by the effort to move; next, to produce knowledge by a mental effort. Neither of these is necessarily determined by any special antecedent. Against the second head of Mr. Mill's arguments, namely those which assert the dependence of volition on the necessary action of present external conditions, Mr. Hazard, while owning that those conditions are always present, argues that it is more reasonable to attribute the volition to the active agent who uses them as passive objects of his action than to the passive objects themselves. Volition does not vary with and conform to the conditions; but effort is conformed, not to the conditions, but to the mind's perception of a mode of acting on them. The third class of the controverted arguments makes volition the necessary result of the character, knowledge, habits, and wants of the agent: and Mr. Hazard argues that conformity of acts to character indicates freedom. A thing is necessarily like itself; and a man's action is a manifestation of his own character, and not that of another. Such conformity indicates self-control or freedom. Again, the conformity of the present action to the present inclination is essential to the manifestation of freedom. It is not reasonable to say that freedom is not free because it must

necessarily be free. Mr. Hazard gives a good description of motive as "the mind's expectation of future effects." That the effort is always according to the expectation does not indicate lack of liberty. "It would be a queer sort of freedom in which a man would or could do, or try to do, what he did not want to do or try to do." The fourth class of controverted arguments is derived from the possibility of predicting actions. But it is not the volition, but the knowledge which affects the volition, which is the object of foresight. If we can know the whole knowledge of an agent we may predict his determination. In instinctive, habitual, and customary actions no new knowledge comes in; and here prediction is most trustworthy. The difficulty of prediction is least at the extremes of intelligence, because there the liability of change in knowledge is least. This section of Mr. Hazard's second letter is perhaps the most original part of his book.

If many of Mr. Hazard's arguments have the appearance of verbal quibbles, the arguments which he controverts are usually little better. When Mr. Mill says, "I am convinced that I could have chosen the other course if I had preferred it, but not that I could have chosen one course while I preferred the other," the right answer to him is, "to choose what you prefer is liberty, not necessity." Mr. Hazard comes so near a happy phrase of Hamilton's that it is wonderful he did not hit it: Hamilton speaks of the creation of motives. It is only necessary to show that the mind can, on occasion, create its own motives, to show that it is a self-determining force, even on Mr. Mill's principles. Freedom of will shows itself in the power of giving to any motive whatever value we like. A man may do what he pleases, simply to show that it is his pleasure to do so. He may thus make the lightest motive outweigh any combination of weighty ones. And it would be merely gratuitous assumption to assert that the compulsory cause of his doing so was in his character or his previous habits. Such an act may be the first of its kind, and may contradict all previous actions. When a man can, if he chooses, destroy himself simply to assert his freedom, it is idle to quibble about the reality of that which produces so real an effect.

53. THE little volume in which Mr. Burgess discusses *The relation of language to thought* clearly exhibits the analysis of language into its subjective and objective, or ideal and demonstrative, elements. According to the theory advocated by the author, only ideas can be named; objects can only be pointed out by gesture, or indicated by words which mean no more than *this* or *that*. All words, therefore, which now are applied to things contain two elements—one demonstrative, the other ideal; thus "sun" may mean "the shiner." All words therefore are propositions, stating the coincidence of the object with the idea; and, as all real propositions are references of objects to ideas, every real proposition becomes a name. To this theory Mr. Mill ob-

jects that when we say "John walked out this morning," it is not true that we wish to make "a person who has walked out this morning" one of the innumerable names of John. Mr. Burgess makes an unintelligible answer: "The question is not about the event, but about the assertion of an event." The truth is that "the walker," or "a person who can walk," is one of the innumerable names of John; the proposition fixes the time and place for the development of the possibility into act. So the proposition, "The sun rose two minutes ago," simply assigns a tense and time to the act implied to the sun's name, "the riser." It would be absurd to say that a name of the sun is "that which rose two minutes ago." Mr. Burgess in fact has not given himself room enough for the proper development of his ideas. The proposition he wishes to demonstrate is, that the subjective and objective in language correspond to the subjective and objective in thought. He shows that the subjective element is originally the immensely larger element of language, and that objective nomenclature gradually grows up from merging the subjective predicate in the objective or denotative element. Thus the name becomes a name not only for the individual thing pointed at, but for all things which are susceptible of the bundle of predicates which is connoted in the name. But he does not show the existence of any corresponding peculiarity in our ideas. He believes with Locke that all ideas are but sensations transformed; he not only disbelieves in innate ideas, but doubts whether, as we cannot know them, they would be of any use if they existed. Yet he owns that we acquire ideas passively and unconsciously; so that he admits a large unconscious element in each idea, namely, that which modifies the impression, and turns it first into a sensation and then into an idea. Some philosophers have given the name of innate idea to this subjective mental power, which works the change, and makes a simple impression become an idea. Perhaps, on the principle that nothing can give what it has not got, it is allowable to call by the name idea that which gives to something not yet an idea its ideal character. But it is useless to quarrel about terms. The substantial thing is this: any one who undertakes to show the correspondence between language and thought, and who, as one term in the comparison, recognises in language the enormous preponderance of the subjective element, is bound to show an analogous preponderance of that element in thought. He should show that thoughts about things are evolved in like manner with the names of things. If this is impossible with the mental philosophy of Locke and Mill, it is a reason for making a similar attempt with a different theory of thought.

54. M. VICTOR BONNET, in his *Etudes sur la Monnaie*, has collected together some articles which he originally published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and has added a few documents as an appendix to them. The articles are easy and agreeable reading; and the documents are very useful. But the book is intended for

general reading, and might perhaps have done more to inform opinion on the questions at issue if it had been confined to simple exposition instead of leaning to a particular solution. The author maintains that the abundance of the precious metals has not exerted any direct influence on the price of commodities; and he seems almost ready to maintain, in spite of evidence, that the price has not risen. It may be allowed that the precious metals are a peculiar kind of commodity, and have social functions of a special nature; but there is no need to go deeply into the subject to be convinced that the more gold and silver a man has the more readily he spends, so that the abundance of these metals will lower their value, and become evident by a rise in the price of commodities which cannot be multiplied at pleasure. M. Bonnet thinks that the influx of Californian and Australian gold has merely had the effect of stimulating commerce, and has caused a plethora of the metal, but he has no better way of explaining the accumulation of specie at the Bank of France than by reference to Sadowa, the fear of war, personal power, and other like formulas. The battle of Sadowa was fought four years ago; and personal power is dead. Moreover the French foreign trade is on the increase; and France continues to lend money on the promise of good interest. Nevertheless the accumulation increases—the dead heap grows bigger. Money accumulates because there is not employment for it. A country may have too much specie; and then it is like a man who has eaten too much food. It cannot digest.

In sustaining his thesis M. Bonnet contradicts himself. At page 59 he says:—"Après la découverte de l'Amérique le principal effet de l'importation du numéraire se fit sentir dans les villes. . . il ne faudrait pas croire qu'elle [the rise] existât au même degré dans les campagnes." On the next page he says:—"Le prix du blé [etc.] tend à se mettre partout en France à un niveau commun." He attributes this levelling not to the precious metals, but to the railways. Be it so. But apparently it is not the prices in the towns, "où l'importation du numéraire se fait sentir," that have sunk to the level of the country prices, but the country prices that have risen to the level of those of the towns. Consequently the influence of gold has been felt everywhere. Again, it is difficult to see why M. Bonnet should wish to "reduce the circulation of the metals" (p. 226), since the increase of that circulation is precisely the means of counterbalancing their increased importation. He pronounces against the simultaneous gold and silver standards, and wishes to retain the gold one, according to the English law. In discussing the international money question, he excludes the gramme d'or, because, he says, the logic of the decimal system has no place in social sciences, "qui s'applique à ce qu'il y a de plus relatif, qui doivent tenir compte des goûts, des habitudes, et des traditions." He rejects the gold five-franc piece as being too small, not decimal, and too different from the coinage of other countries. He also objects

to Mr. Bagehot's proposal to make the pound sterling equal to 1000 farthings; and ultimately he proposes to take the ten-franc piece: "elle est parfaitement décimale, *cadre assez bien avec tous les systèmes*, et donne une unité assez forte, aussi forte qu'on le désirera." He has been somewhat inconsiderate in using the words we have italicized. An eight-shilling piece would be very nearly equivalent to a ten-franc piece, but not exactly; two dollars are about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  francs; the thaler is  $\frac{37}{100}$  of ten francs; the Rhine florin  $\frac{21}{100}$ ; and the Austrian florin  $\frac{25}{100}$ . And so of other countries. The question of an international coinage has not been solved by M. Bonnet; nor can the practical difficulties that attend it be immediately overcome. For it implies both a struggle against rooted habits and a heavy expense; and there are still many who doubt whether the value of the result would be equal to the magnitude of the effort.

In the appendix M. Bonnet gives:—1. the report of the English Royal Commission of 1868; 2. that of the French Commission; 3. a note under the title of "La grève du milliard;" 4. and 5. price tables of different commodities.

55. M. JOANNE'S *Dictionnaire Géographique de la France*, is an improved version of a very useful work, published about five years since under the title of *Dictionnaire des Communes de la France*. A comparison of several articles in the later work with the corresponding articles in the former one shows a considerable advance. The old figures have been replaced by the most recent ones; and a large amount of new matter has been added. The eighty-nine articles which relate to the Departments were never so good as the rest, and have not been perceptibly improved. Those on Algiers and the Colonies have had much better treatment; but it would have been better to insert them in their respective places in the body of the work, instead of placing them in an appendix which is already too long. The Introduction is a complete summary of French statistics. It furnishes information on all important points, and is derived from the best sources. But, considering the nature of the work, the author too often arranges his figures from a political point of view; and his criticisms excite antagonism even where they are well founded. The betrayal of his opinion subjects him to the suspicion of partiality. Not that he ever puts wrong figures for right ones; but what he does is to accept one set of calculations as trustworthy, and to reject another set as untrustworthy, according as they do or do not harmonize with his preconceived ideas. Still his likes and dislikes are never allowed to become passionate, unless, indeed, it be his admiration for symmetry, which inspires him at the outset with a sort of dithyramb in honour of the configuration of France:—"La France se distingue entre toutes les contrées de l'Europe par l'élégance et l'équilibre de ses formes. Ses contours, souples, et mouvements, s'harmonisent de la manière la plus gracieuse avec la solide majesté de l'ensemble, et se développent régulièrement en une série d'ondulations rythmiques." These, however, are trifling faults. As

a dictionary of the French communes the work is excellent; it is only when it goes beyond these limits that it gives signs of weakness.

56. THE Government of Victoria deserve credit for having brought out Mr. Brough Smyth's book on *The Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria* at the public expense. It possesses very great technical and scientific value. No pains appear to have been spared in collecting information; and the result is that nowhere else can such a mass of apparently well-authenticated information concerning the mode of occurrence of gold be found. The description of the different species of gold-mining—"surfacing," shallow-sinking, sluicing, and hydraulic mining, deep mining and tunnelling, and quartz mining—is so full that the part forms a complete treatise on the subject. For although there may be differences in the mode of occurrence of gold in the Ural, Sajan, and Rocky Mountains, and California, yet Australia appears to offer general types of almost all known modes of occurrence, and of nearly every mode of extraction, with the exception, perhaps, of the treatment of auriferous copper pyrites at Denver City. Thus gold is found in veins in granite and diorite, and in the granite itself; in the planes of bedding of soft yellowish and reddish-brown Silurian claystone, and in sandstones of the same age; in blueish-white plastic silicates in the veins, not unlike some of those in the Ural; in veins with calcic carbonate (calcite), manganic peroxide (pyrolusite), manganese carbonate (diallogite), and rarely with baric sulphate (barytes), and in alluvium. It has been obtained from Silurian, Mesozoic, and Miocene rocks, as well as from Pliocene deposits, and the soils derived from the breaking up of the slates and sandstones. And the forms of the particles of gold are as various as the circumstances under which the metal is found.

One of the most curious modes of occurrence of gold, and one amply illustrated in this book, in the section on "Deep Sinking," is in ancient river valleys, and denudation troughs, representing the drainage system of the country before the great outbreaks of volcanic activity, which filled up these valleys and troughs with basalt and ash beds. After this event new water-courses were cut out, sometimes out of the basalt itself. Sometimes these old river beds lie under hills of basalt, the new water-courses lying at either side of the hill, and often at a much lower level. No more beautiful examples could be given of the antiquity of the present surface of the Australian land, and of the enormous extent and the mode of action of denudation than those islands, as it were, of old surfaces, which have been preserved high up in a hill by a mass of basalt, and under which a line of charred matter indicates the grass-covered surface, and the rolled gravel and sand of the old river bed. In some of these ancient river valleys the old river beds are now covered up by three or four successive flows of basalt, separated either by bole, as in other basaltic districts, or by drift gravel and sand, showing that a sufficiently long interval of time had elapsed between one flow and another to



produce, by denudation or floods, six or seven feet of sand and gravel. In one of the shafts sunk to reach these old river beds, where the gold was collected which had been washed down before the basalt was poured out, the section passed through was: Basalt, 85 feet; red clay (bole), 7 feet; basalt, 118 feet 6 inches; grey clay (probably volcanic ash), 9 feet; drift gravel and sand, 6 feet; basalt, 89 feet—in all, 259 feet 6 inches of rock, covering 4 feet of auriferous river deposit, termed "wash dirt."

Scientific theories, if logically worked out, are useful as scaffolding for raising up the structure of science; but in the early stages of the growth of any branch they can have no practical value. It is only when what may be called the predictive stage is reached, that theory becomes fruitful in practical predictions. The facts gathered by the miners regarding the mode of occurrence of gold in Australia afford an excellent illustration of this; for they show clearly that several of Sir Roderick Murchison's predictions have not been fulfilled. Thus, in his *Siluria* he stated:—(1.) That gold belongs exclusively to the crystalline or palæozoic rocks; that the original position of the metal is in quartzose veinstones that traverse altered Silurian slates, chiefly Lower Silurian; and that it has not been found in any appreciable quantity in Mesozoic or Tertiary rocks. (2.) That, although gold was originally deposited in, or diffused through, the mass of ancient Silurian rocks, it was only a short time before the epoch in which powerful and widely extended denudation took place, and during which the large extinct Mammalia perished, that it was brought together into rich veins and separate lumps and strings. (8.) That, as a necessary consequence, the gold cannot have very deeply penetrated into the veins, and therefore that deep mining in the solid quartz rock is usually unprofitable. As to the first statement, it is true that auriferous veins are chiefly wrought in Silurian and Devonian rocks; but in both the Lower and Upper Silurian rocks the veins traverse unaltered rocks. It is also true that as yet there is no evidence that in Australia the auriferous veins traverse newer rocks; but in California the great metalliferous belt is composed of Jurassic and Triassic rocks, and auriferous veins intersect, beyond doubt, Cretaceous rocks. The second statement is also incorrect; for the gold must have been deposited with the quartz, since the Mesozoic rocks rest unconformably on the upturned edges of denuded Palæozoic rocks, and are everywhere penetrated by auriferous quartz veins. Unless it could be shown that the quartz veins were formed immediately before the period of great denudation, which is not the case, the third statement is groundless, as there is no known process, natural or artificial, by which the gold could get into the quartz after the latter was formed. If the gold was deposited contemporaneously with the quartz, the auriferous solutions must have penetrated the fissures until the metal was reduced. But, in our present ignorance of the nature of the auriferous solution or the precipitant, we could not predict with certainty that deep mining in quartz would be unprofitable. Indeed,

so far as chemical theory can as yet help us, it seems to indicate the contrary; and the abundance of evidence brought forward by Mr. Brough Smyth, that deep mines have not only been profitably worked, but are being sunk deeper, shows that practice has so far been a surer guide than theory.

The book contains a very ample list of nuggets, including a few not found in Australia. This list has been compiled by Mr. Birkmyre. Mr. Ulrich's theory is that all the large nuggets were found where basaltic eruptions took place on a large scale, namely in the Western districts,—Ballarat, Daisy Hill, etc.,—while in the Eastern and Northern gold-fields,—Gippsland, Yarra, Ovens, etc.,—where basalt is absent, or occurs rarely, the gold is fine and nuggets rare. Mr. Birkmyre's list shows not only that this theory is incorrect, but that, on the contrary, the districts most remote from basaltic areas have been richest in big nuggets, and that if the nuggets are not large in Gippsland they are numerous. It is well known that Mr. Selwyn, the Colonial geologist, has suggested that nuggets may be formed, and generally, that particles of alluvial gold may gradually increase in size, by deposition of metallic gold from solution, as in electro-gilding. That the water which circulates through the auriferous drift contains gold in solution, is shown by the occurrence of flattened nuggets in some of the auriferous strata of the deep "leads," and irregular pieces of native copper and native lead, with fine particles of gold adhering to them, pieces of fossil wood, and even wood used for supporting the "drives" when it has remained some years in the mine, have also exhibited under the microscope particles of gold adhering to it, and intermixed with, crystals of iron pyrites all through the central part of the wood. The association of the pyrites is very interesting in connection with the almost universal traces of gold in deposits of iron and copper pyrites, and to a paying extent in copper pyrites at Denver City, in the Rocky Mountains, where a good deal of native gold is also obtained from the river alluvium, called "Gulch Washings." There is apparently some connection between the deposition of gold and salts of iron. If nuggets grow in the way stated, they ought, on being cut, as was suggested by Mr. Ulrich, to exhibit an internal nucleus, which chemical analysis might show to be of different composition from the external deposited part. Mr. G. Foord has, however, never found a greater difference than 1 to 2 in 10,000 between the inside and the outside—a difference which is within the error of observation. Some light may be thrown on their mode of formation by the microscope. It would be desirable to ascertain whether any of the waters of the auriferous districts contain gold. Whatever may be the result of the latter inquiry, the mass of facts regarding auriferous quartz lodes, collected together in the section of Mr. Brough Smyth's book devoted to "Quartz Mining," clearly proves the aqueous origin of these mineral veins. In other respects, too, these facts are of great scientific and practical value.

Mr. Brough Smyth's book contains also some



account of other minerals of commercial value besides gold, among which may be mentioned tin. Although the ores of that metal have as yet been found only in stream-washings, the value of ore exported and of tin reduced in the colony, since the discovery of gold in 1851, to the end of 1868, is £209,964; the estimated value of all other minerals, exclusive of gold, produced in the colony being only £80,555.

The following summary of the gold statistics is interesting:—The value of the gross produce of mines of all kinds from 1851 to the end of 1868 is estimated at £147,638,286, of which gold represents £147,342,767, or an average of £98, 10s. 4d. per man per annum for all engaged in gold-mining during eighteen years. In 1852 the average earnings were £262, 11s. 6d., in 1862 as low as £67, 14s. 5d.; since then they have increased to £104, 18s. 8d. in 1868. The value of the machinery employed in gold-mining is only £2,150,482. The total area of the land held as "claims" under the bye-laws of the Mining Boards, and under lease from the Crown, was, on the 31st of December 1868: under bye-laws, 100,941A. 3R. 15P.; under lease, 15,337A. 2R. 28P.—total, 116,279A. 2R. 8P. The estimated value of all "claims" in the colony is £8,869,504. The number of mining companies up to the end of 1868 was 2471; the number of shares in those companies, 7,421,492½; and the nominal capital, £24,431,205, 10s. The length of water-courses constructed by gold-miners, 2434 miles, 20 chains, at a cost of £310,270, or at the rate of £127, 9s. 2d. per mile. The average amount of gold per ton obtained from 5,811,669½ tons of quartz, about which accurate information has been obtained, is 1 dwt. 12·37 grains. The total revenue derived directly from gold-fields, as fees, gold-licenses, miners' rights, business-licenses, rents, etc., from 1851 to 1868 inclusive, was £5,211,465, 19s. 1d.

57. MR. PEACOCK'S monograph upon the changes of coast outline on the north and west coasts of France and the south-western coasts of England is a really valuable book, disfigured by many obvious but small defects. The author is apparently new to writing books, and has put down his thoughts and discoveries as he worked them out, without caring to recast or arrange them. He is also unfamiliar with history and historical research in any large sense of the word, and has taken good and bad almost indifferently as it came in his way; while on the other hand there are manifest gaps in his knowledge. At least half the evidence he adduces is either worthless or irrelevant. Still, if the book be estimated by what is really new and sound in it, or by what, if not altogether new, is now brought together for the first time, its value is very great; and its very faults are, in great measure, due to the fact that it partially breaks ground in a new department of literature.

Mr. Peacock starts from the assumption that the changes on the French coast between, say Cherbourg and Port-vieux, and the English about Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, are too

recent and extensive to be accounted for by the mere action of the sea. That land does not remain permanently submerged because the sea has overflowed it during high tide or a storm, if it is not below the ordinary water-level, will, of course, be conceded by every one, with the slight reservations which Mr. Peacock would admit, namely, that an inundation may wash away so much soil as to reduce the level of the land, and that an enormous weight of water may sometimes permanently depress the level of the land it has swept over. Experience seems to show, too, that the action of the sea upon cliffs, though not to be disregarded, is extremely slow. In parts of Norfolk, for instance, where the yearly loss is considered enormous, it is only estimated at three feet a year, so that nearly 1800 years would be required to wash away a mile of coast. Mr. Peacock's first conclusion therefore may be accepted, that, where a large tract of land has been lost within historical times, its disappearance must probably be referred to subsidence.

The next question is how to prove that land has been lost; and this is especially difficult in the parts Mr. Peacock discusses, Brittany and Cornwall being among the least known districts of France and England in early historical times. An analysis of Mr. Peacock's arguments about Cornwall will show the nature of the evidence that an inquirer has to proceed upon. First, there is the statement of Strabo that the Cassiterides or Scilly Islands were ten in number, and were very rich in tin. Compare this with the fact that they are now said to be as numerous as 140, very small, separated by shallow channels, and without mines, and that foundations of buildings can be found ten feet under high water mark; and it seems natural to accept the theory of a subsidence which left only the hills above water, ruined the mines, and increased the distance from the mainland. On the other hand, Strabo's statement seems conclusive against a land of Lionnesse stretching out from Cornwall to the west; and the 140 churches ascribed to it are evidently based on the number of isles, supplemented by a tradition of subsidence, and perhaps also by familiarity with submerged forests along the Cornish coast. Next take the question of St. Michael's Mount. Tradition says it stood anciently six miles inland within a forest; and Mr. Pengelly has accepted this view on geological grounds, and believes the change to have taken place within the time when Cornwall was inhabited by men speaking the British tongue. Mr. Pengelly however would make St. Michael's an island rather larger than at present, and with a harbour to it, as late as the eleventh century. On the other hand, Mr. Peacock points out that the traditions of two Mounts St. Michael—in Cornwall and in Brittany—have been confounded. He therefore reduces the total amount of change ascertainable from history, but on the other hand makes it greater within the last eight centuries than Mr. Pengelly, arguing, in all probability rightly, that the early name, "St. Michael juxta mare"

could not have been applied in the eleventh century to an island. His argument is clenched by a fact which has escaped his notice—that the name changed in the twelfth century to St. Michael's "in periculo maris," the only certain name in mediæval Latin for an island. He seems also to be right in discarding the identification of St. Michael's Mount with the Iktis of Diodorus Siculus. That Iktis was near Cornwall is very doubtful. No place in Brittany is likely to have been a commercial entrepôt; and in the early days of navigation the shortest sea-passage across the Channel must always have been the best for commerce. Moreover, it is significant that Cæsar's informants seem to have known the eastern part of the island better than the western, and that Exeter is the last Roman station in the Itineraries, as if the tin travelled along the coast instead of being exported directly. On the other hand, Mr. Peacock's argument from Domesday is less conclusive than he supposes. The two hides there mentioned as belonging to St. Michael's may no doubt have contained the acreage he mentions, or even more, as the Cornish hide was a large one; but there is no proof where they were situated. The charter of Edward the Confessor, which endowed the monastery, mentions various appurtenances, "and the whole land of Vennefire and the harbour of Rumenel." Neither Vennefire nor Rumenel occurs in Domesday; and the chances are that both are comprised in the two hides, and that the Mount took in Marazion on one side, and Perran-Uthno, and, perhaps Trevean, on the other. The burial-place for Marazion was at the mount—a strong presumption of old connection between the two—till in 1818 leave was given to change it to St. Hilary's on account of the continued encroachments of the sea.

The changes of outline on the French coast have been much greater than on the English. Ancient records go far to prove that as late as the fifteenth century St. Malo was united by marshy meadows, in which cattle pastured, to the island of Ceseembre, now two leagues distant; that a great forest, known as the forest of Sissy, extended from Ceseembre to near Coutances, and was gradually covered by the sea between the eighth and the fifteenth century, as many as eleven subsidences being noticed in chronicles; and that the island of Jersey was once close to the mainland, and perhaps so nearly part of it that it could be bridged. These are only a few of many changes; but they are among the most interesting and the best proved. The evidence is of the most various kind. In the case of Jersey there is the negative evidence that it was not known to the Romans, or indeed for centuries afterwards, as an island; for the identification of Jersey as Cæsarea is a mere conjecture, and its earliest known name is Augia. There is the positive evidence that there has been a subsidence of a large tract within about five hundred years; the slighter but important testimony of the chronicle of the Abbey of Fontenelles, which speaks of the island as "adjacent to Coutances;" and the evidence of submerged

trees and land shells lying between the island and the shore. In the case of the old forest of Sissy there is some evidence of a very curious kind. Ten submerged parishes can be traced to it. It is said that in 1685 the Pope's attention was called by a local wit to the fact that one of these was in his gift, and a priest was accordingly presented, who arrived to find his cure covered by the waves. There is also more ancient evidence that cities and monasteries and part of a Roman road must be looked for in the bay of St. Michel. Of course every fresh proof of change in one direction tends to confirm the presumption that it has occurred elsewhere. Mr. Peacock places more trust in the accuracy of Ptolemy's degrees than is altogether warrantable; and of the two lines which he gives to show the approximate ancient coast, that for 709 seems far better established than the far more sweeping curve which represents the coast of Gaul as Cæsar and Ptolemy knew it. Nor does there seem to be much force in his argument that the neutrality of the part of the Channel enclosing the Channel Islands is derived from their old connection with the mainland, and originated because the sunken part was once private property. Why should private property in Jersey and Guernsey convey any privilege that it does not possess in France and England? The arrangement is more likely to have been one of mutual convenience. Still, when all is said, Mr. Peacock's book is a repertory of much very valuable information, and his theory appears essentially sound.

58. THE Agricultural College of Cirencester has published a second sample of the quality of its work. The new volume of *Practice with Science* contains thirteen essays—two on pure science, three on the results of experiments on crops, three are on cattle-grazing and feeding and farm accounts, two on agricultural labour, one on the education of the rural population and the employment of women and children in agriculture, one on the laws of real property as affecting agriculture, and one on the Irish land question. Judged as a whole, the essays are practical, sensible, and very much to the purpose; so that, although the book is not large, there is a good deal of grain, and very little chaff.

In the essay on the very important subject of the "Absorptive Power of Soil," Mr Robert Warington describes some experiments made in the College laboratory to determine what part is taken by oxide of iron and alumina in the phenomenon in question. Referring to some former experiments published in the first volume, he says:—"These results suggested the question, Whether the property of soils of withdrawing phosphoric acid from the solution of its salts, was not owing to the presence in soils of oxide of iron and alumina?" It is evident from this passage that the author believes there is a free alumina in a soil. This was the general belief a few years ago, and could only be accounted for by the erroneous way in which the amount of silica set free when a soil was boiled with hydrochloric acid was

estimated. Any one who casts his eye over the tables of the results of the analyses of soils, which formed so prominent a feature a few years ago in agricultural journals and books, and are even yet used to give an air of science to such works, will observe that while from about 3 to as much as 19 per cent. of iron and alumina are represented as having been dissolved, the silica with which these bodies had been combined is probably set down as 0.2 per cent., or even less. Hence it was erroneously supposed that alumina in the free state existed in soils. Free alumina has, however, never been found in a soil. Notwithstanding its abundance in nature in combination, alumina occurs very rarely as a mineral in a free state, or indeed in other combinations than as silicates. In the free state it occurs in the anhydrous form as the different varieties of corundum, in the hydrated state as Gibbsite or Hydrargyllite and diaspore. Emery, spinel, gahnite, cryolite represent combinations of alumina free from silica, which occur under such peculiar conditions, or so rarely, that they afford strong negative evidence against the universal occurrence of free aluminic hydrate in soils. The greater part of the iron which is dissolved when a soil is treated with acid, exists in the soil as a silicate. But ferric hydrate may and does also occur in soils. Aluminic hydrate does not exist in any soil. The silica which had been in combination with the ferric and aluminic hydrates obtained in soil analyses is to be found in the "insoluble silica and undecomposed silicates," or whatever else the *caput mortuum* of such operations may be called. The reason why ferric hydrate can occur, and aluminic hydrate cannot, is very simple: ferrous silicates are decomposed by carbonic acid and ferrous carbonate dissolved out, which in the presence of water and oxygen is converted into ferric hydrate. Alumina is not dissolved out of silicates by carbonic acid, and can only be dissolved out of them by sulphuric acid formed in volcanic districts, or by the oxidation of pyrites in alum shales, etc.

The truth is, nearly all the analyses of soils hitherto made are worthless; and it is to be feared that the same observation will apply to much of the agricultural analyses which practical agriculturists mistake for science. As to the question investigated by Mr. Warington, he is right in thinking that the absorptive power of soil depends both on the chemical action of the constituents of the soil, and also on what Liebig calls its physical attraction.

The majority of agricultural experiments are of just as little value as soil analyses. The results of the action of manures, of different modes of cultivation, etc., which fill such imposing tables in agricultural journals, are rarely worth the paper they are printed on. The growth of plants depends upon so many circumstances—quality of seed, quality of soil, kinds of weather, etc.—that it is almost impossible, when we want to determine the special action of one set of causes, to eliminate the action of the others. The experiments of Professor Wrightson on wheat, barley and grasses, and clover, the results of which are recorded here,

seem to have been made with care. Although in a scientific point of view they are not of much consequence, yet, as they seem to have been made entirely for practical ends, the conclusions are worthy of the attention of farmers, especially those interested in the question of thin or thick sowing. Professor Wrightson's experiments on the action of nitrate of soda, sulphate of ammonia, and superphosphate, on grasses and clover, are interesting. He finds—that what might have been anticipated *a priori*—that mineral fertilizers do not much affect the clover, but increase the growth of grasses.

Mr. Arthur J. Hill's article on "Farm Accounts" is evidently addressed to large farmers, to whom it will be useful. But there is one suggestion made by him which applies to farms of any size, namely, that "*crops consumed on the farm* should be regarded as an item of expense in the production of meat, and incidentally also of manure; but *crops sold off the farm* should rank with sheep, etc., as being *articles produced with a view to direct and profitable barter*." Roots should consequently be taken at cost price, as by analogy they would be in any other business. Roots are often set down in valuation at 20s. a ton, which did not realize in meat more than 10s. a ton.

The tables of the prices of various kinds of agricultural labour done by task, compiled by Mr. C. S. Cantrell, is made very valuable by the column headed "constant of labour," which indicates the time occupied in performing each unit of work. The compilation of such tables for other districts would be useful. The prefatory note of Mr. John Constable, who suggested the compilation of the tables, shows how statistics may be made to work either way, according as they are manipulated. Finding that men earn at the rate of from 2s. to 5s. a day at various kinds of agricultural work done by task, he asks: "Can it be justly said that in any large area of our country the whole earnings of a family are no higher than £26 a year? I believe that it cannot." He does not, however, tell us how many days in the year these men worked, and how many they were idle.

Mr. Elias Pitts Squarey has a thoughtful article, chiefly upon the effect of the Law of Settlement on the position of the agricultural labourer. He advocates the expansion of the parochial into a union or county, or possibly a national, settlement.

The two lectures on the "Laws of Real Property as affecting Agriculture," are by Mr. R. G. Welford, Judge of the County Court of Warwickshire. In case of intestacy he would divide the estate equally among the children, without, however, interfering with the power of an owner to divide his property unequally, if he think fit to do so. He would also divide land under settlements in some proportion or other among the children, instead of giving the estate to the eldest son, and charges on it to the rest of the family. "In Kent," he says, "where the law of primogeniture does not prevail, but, under the law of gavelkind, land undivided of descends to all the sons equally, it is because the original and equal Saxon law of the land was preserved by the sturdy Kentish-

men against the power of their Norman conqueror." The slight error involved in this passage illustrates a very common ethnological prejudice in favour of a particular race; and yet few persons take the trouble of really learning what were the particular laws of the Saxons which other people did not possess. It is quite true that all lands in Kent are taken to be gavelkind except those disgavelled by special Statute; but it is also true that a good deal of the land of Kent has been disgavelled on the petition of divers of the "sturdy men of Kent" themselves, by the 31 Henry VIII. c. iii. The land of Wales was disgavelled by the Statute of 33 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. 26. The land of Ireland was disgavelled by a decision in the 5th of James I. Succession by gavelkind was not a special law of the Saxons, but was common to all the nations of Northern and Western Europe.

Mr. Ynyr H. Burges, in his paper on "The Land Question in Ireland Economically Considered," fully admits that there are grounds for exceptional legislation regarding the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland, and thinks that one of the simplest and perhaps most effective remedies would be that, "in place of the present legal presumption that improvements which have become affixed to, or incorporated with, the soil, are the property of the landlord, the legal presumption should be that they belong to the tenant, in the absence of documentary evidence to the contrary, i.e., that, lacking a written agreement, the tenant should also have a claim on the landlord, or on the succeeding tenant, for their value." This is the principle of retrospective improvement contended for in the agitation of 1851, and subsequent years.

59. THE excitement recently occasioned by the discussion of Protoplasm is an evidence at once of public interest in striking scientific results and public carelessness of scientific progress. Not much of what occasioned it was unsaid a quarter of a century ago, even in England. Something, it is true, has been done to translate into scientific language operations hitherto included under the term of "vital actions," a form of speech denoting our ignorance of anything but results. Nevertheless, the work cannot be said to have been pushed so well forward as to yield grounds for a decision. An important residuum remains; and for the ultimate explanation to be obtained more than one branch of science must be employed. Dr. Beale is the able advocate of "vitality," and, disputing the ground inch by inch in his book on *Protoplasm*, does good work in exposing and preventing hasty inductions, even though he carry his opposition against legitimate inferences. To the proposition that "life is a form or mode of energy or motion" he opposes the proposition that "life is a power, force, or property of a special and peculiar kind, temporarily influencing matter and its ordinary forces, but entirely different from and in no way correlated with any of these." Between these views, the abiotic and panbiotic, there is a conceivable third view, the protobiotic, which would admit an initial objective force

and a continuous subjective action. Dr. Beale objects to the first view, that, although it professes strictly to be founded on facts, it appeals to "tendencies" while facts do not support it. If "vitality" is to be ridiculed, he sees no reason why "tendency" should be tolerated. As an argument it is untenable; but as an inference it may assist in finding the true path. On the other hand, is this argument more sure: "if the dead thing only differ from the living thing by a few degrees of heat or units of force, why can we not, by supplying more heat or force, prevent dissolution, or cause the actions to go on again after they have once stopped?" Perhaps, it might be replied, because we do not, or cannot, go the right way about it. The force of the argument cannot be limited to living things, but applies to non-vital things as well, and thereby is self-defeated. A blow will heat one metal: another it will break to powder, without any heat supplied by hammering being able to bring it into its earlier form. By a blow marble is ground to dust; and it might be asked, why can we not reproduce the continuity as before? Professor Owen holds that there are organisms (*vibrio*, *rotifer*, *macrobiotus*, etc.) which we can devitalize and revitalize, devive and revive, many times. To this Dr. Beale legitimately objects. Professor Owen in fact assumes the question at issue, takes for granted the points in dispute, by identifying revitalization and revivification, without giving proof. Dr. Beale has a perfect right to say that "the animalcule that can be revived has never been dead, but that which is not dead cannot be revitalized. The difference between the living state and the dead state is absolute, for that which has once lost its life can never regain it." It may be said that this position renders proof of revitalization impossible, as in any case it would be called merely a reviving. But among human beings, who have been known occasionally to bury their dearest relatives under a mistaken idea of their death, some proof of death other than apparent cessation of function must be obtained for certitude. Even Dr. Beale himself, when referring to vacuolation, seems to assume the death of protoplasm on insufficient grounds. After stating that protoplasm becomes thus honeycombed, until mere protoplasmic threads are seen stretched across the cavity, he adds: "The transparent fluid material occupying the spaces and the intervals between the threads is supposed to be the less important matter, and yet it is the living, growing, and moving substance; while the threads and walls of the spaces are composed of matter which has ceased to manifest these properties—matter which no longer lives, and which has been *formed from the living matter*." He calls it too "a product of the death of protoplasm, and asks if it shall be called by the same name as the living, moving substance which it once was. If there be a transfer of vitality here between protoplasm and what has been called the watery cell-sap, he may have found what he doubted when he wrote: "Those who advocate this doctrine do not believe in the annihilation of force, when a living thing suddenly passes from the living into the dead

state; but yet they do not demonstrate the new form or mode which the departing life-energy assumes, or explain to us what in their opinion becomes of it." If the protoplasm interposed between the vacuoles, say in *Sphaeroplea annulina*, be "lifeless, passive, formed matter which cannot move or grow or multiply of itself," then is it capable of revitalization, since it occasionally becomes transformed into agile reproductive corpuscles. Dr. Beale will probably not maintain that here the fluid vacuole contents are the superior formative living substance. Starch-granules may form in vacuoles, and may be developed as in maize and potato-cells until the protoplasm is reduced to a mere network; but in such cases the contrast is so palpable that none would compare the protoplasm bands as dead matter with them. Undoubtedly Dr. Beale is right in requiring that the term protoplasm should be defined and restricted, so that no argument should be fashioned out of its double sense. When cooked meat is called protoplasm, and the living cells called protoplasm also, the ambiguity of terms results in a sophism. In the discussion of "vitality" and "aquosity," much weight cannot be attached to the argument that "the constituent elements of the same particle of water may be separated and recombined again and again as many times as we please; but the elements of protoplasm once separated from one another can never be combined again to form any kind of protoplasm." This is to base a plea on our comparative ignorance; and is it fairly done? Not long ago water could not be thus treated, and could not then be so distinguished from protoplasm. Had Dr. Beale written in those days he might have ranked water with protoplasm. There is no reason given why protoplasm may not now be ranked with water, the question of scrutability being taken as one of time. Twenty years ago it was maintained that, while a chemist could construct a crystal of alum from its elements, he could not make an atom of sugar from its elements; because in their aggregation the vital force was held to co-operate. Great advances have since been made; and chemistry, which has mastered the method of building up the oleaginous alimentary group, which has taken charge of the saccharine group, does not and need not despair of the albuminous. Dr. Beale rests his argument on an insecure foundation, and, as it seems, somewhat needlessly. With respect to cells he reproduces his well-known opinions on the demonstrable presence of matter in two states—first, living, active, formative, and secondly, lifeless, passive, formed. He demonstrated this, he says, in the tissues of plants, animals, and man in health and disease, "in the spring of 1860." "As the investigation proceeded," he adds, "I became more and more convinced of the importance of the distinction I had drawn." But, so far as plant issues are concerned, Henfrey seems to have sustained the same view three years before. In his *Elementary Course of Botany*, published in 1857, he wrote: "Starch granules, in fact, appear to be formed by secretion in the inside of a utricle of protoplasm, exactly in

the same way as the cellulose wall of the cell is secreted on the outside of the primordial utricle." Dr. Beale has not yet succeeded in convincing all physiologists of the absolute lifelessness of his "formed matter" in the animal economy. "Matter in the second condition," he says, "although it may possess very remarkable properties, and have a highly complex chemical composition, never grows or multiplies, it never converts or forms. New matter may be added to it, but it cannot convert matter of itself; in short, it does not live." Generally speaking, the fact of actual passiveness may be admitted, even while the inference of death is doubted. But is not the inner coat of pollen formed material; and does it not grow into a pollinic tube, occasionally greater in length some thousand times than the diameter of the cell? Matter capable of this growth, say by intussusception of molecules, can hardly be regarded as utterly dead. Doubtless the case is exceptional; but can it be said that cell walls when first formed thenceforth surround the living contents as dead walls, and is there not reason to believe that when young they occasionally yield and accommodate themselves by a similar intussusceptive growth? A decree of absolute lifelessness against them may therefore be objected to, although it may be admitted that they are generally and comparatively passive. Sometimes Dr. Beale's enumeration is imperfect, as where he says:—"One characteristic of every kind of living matter is spontaneous movement. This, unlike the movement of any kind of non-living matter yet discovered, occurs in all directions, and seems to depend upon changes in the matter itself rather than upon impulses communicated to the particles from without." This definition does not hold good, for instance, in the case of certain of the Diatomaceæ, where rectilinear movements take place in particular directions by isochronal impulses. He is more careful in his attempt to define life, recognising that in the life of a man or an animal phenomena of essentially different kinds are included, some being mechanical and chemical while others belong to a totally different category. It is possible, however, that, if he proceeded to classify these, objections might arise. He scarcely gives sufficient scope to interpretations of operations by chemical and physical science; and he might have deferred a little more to the heat-force of the sun. But it is impossible not to respect his book, as evidence of earnest, patient, and intelligent labour. He disputes, of course, in his chapter on the mind, the unproved assertion that thought is merely a result of chemical action; and he adds to our knowledge many new facts and valuable observations.

60. THE extensiveness of the Fauna helminthica was made the subject of remark by Dr. Eschricht; and the development of its peculiar literature may reasonably be looked for. Dr. Spencer Cobbold has done much for Helminthology; and the additional experiments which he has made and records in his *Entozoa*, together with his observations, are valuable. He first gives an account of the discovery of the

*Trichina spiralis*, the "so-called flesh-worm." The results of his twenty-nine attempts to propagate it by administering trichinized flesh are of interest. Seven experiments on birds (five fowl, one goose, and one crow) were all negative. The Heidelberg experimenters, Professor Fuchs and Professor Pagenstecher, found ingested muscle-trichinæ acquire sexual maturity in the intestinal canal of birds; but they did not observe that the escaped embryos tended to migrate, nor discover any young trichinæ in the muscles. This need not have been unexpected. The discovery that some birds exhibit an indifferent tolerance to huge doses of opium may have been too recent to be referred to by Dr. Cobbold. But although this is new, it was known that birds frequently eat seeds and berries which are poisonous to other creatures. For instance, they swallow belladonna seeds, whilst a boy who ate thirty of the berries showed violent symptoms of poisoning. Holly-berries are strongly emetic and purgative, but thrushes and blackbirds eat them. Twenty berries of buckthorn formed a cathartic dose; and it has been asserted that the flesh of birds who pecked them acquired a similarly purgative property. Dr. Cobbold administered five prepared boluses at intervals to a donkey; but it left the college without any information being obtained as to the result. Three sheep which he tried proved negative. Sheep vary much in their food; but they will often eat acrid plants which cows avoid. It seems highly probable that had a goat been experimented on by Dr. Cobbold the effect would likewise have been null; for goats will subsist on plants highly injurious to other animals, cropping the acrid anemones and the celery-leaved crowfoot, and showing a remarkable fondness for the disagreeable tame-poison. Professor Pagenstecher and Professor Fuchs have tried a goat, and with as little result as in the case of the birds. Dr. Cobbold is wise not to generalize too hastily as to the greater liability to trichina of carnivorous over herbivorous animals. "On account of the expense, comparatively few experiments have been made on herbivora, and therefore perhaps it is as well not to speak too positively from the data already afforded." We have shown how diverse is the tolerance of poisons which they exhibit; and Dr. Cobbold's experiments have happened to be on the hardier section. It falls in with our view to find that what failed with sheep, goats, and birds, succeeded with a calf, in which the Hei-

delberg professors succeeded in rearing muscle trichinæ. Of course it is evident that carnivorous and omnivorous animals are more likely than others to receive such unwelcome guests. In the experiments on rearing the larvæ of *Tenia mediocanellata*, it was found that only a few imperfect vesicles were formed in the heart. The temptation, no doubt, was to consider this due to the density of its fibre and constant powerful contraction. Dr. Cobbold might have examined whether the larvæ were more readily formed in muscles kept in a state of inactivity than in those in frequent motion. The tongue itself was free from them, though a few were in the muscles supplying it. They increased in number towards the ends of the muscles. But the lungs, liver, kidneys, spleen, thymus, and brain, were free; so that other considerations come into play. Again, Dupuytren found hydatids in the wall of the right auricle: Andral, one as large as a walnut in that of the left ventricle. Dr. Cobbold is therefore right in recognising that there "are instances on record where large hydatids have formed within the muscular substance" of the heart, which tell against his first supposition. They are not however commonly recorded as existing in the hearts of "the lower animals," although the bear's heart in the museum of Guy's Hospital shows them. It is not quite clear what is to be gained by recording instances such as this: "Exp. 2. On the 6th of April 1865 a similar administration, with a brain-hydatid furnished with about 100 cephalic processes, was performed on a stray dog. Two days subsequently however the animal was claimed by his rightful owner, and we had therefore in this instance no opportunity of ascertaining the result of our experiment." With reference to the danger of raw meat in the transmission of parasites, Mr. Parkyns, in his *Life in Abyssinia*, makes one or two instructive remarks. The Abyssinians are afflicted with tapeworm, and affect raw meat. Some persons allege that the former is a result of the latter, and some, oddly enough, that it is owing to the use of large quantities of cayenne pepper. Mr. Parkyns, however, while he admits the first to be the more probable cause, speaks of many instances where persons, himself included, had eaten raw meat in considerable quantities with impunity, whilst others, one or two being Europeans, who had never touched it, had nevertheless suffered.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CIV.

JULY, 1870.

---

ART. I.—ASSYRIAN ANNALS, B.C.  
681—625.

ESARHADDON, king of Assyria, was only known by a few short notices in the Bible, and some extracts from early writers, until the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions supplied the history of his reign, and furnished a view of the condition of Western Asia at that period. Sixty-four years before his accession the foreign policy of Assyria was changed by Tiglath-Pileser II, who ascended the throne B.C. 745. Up to that time it had been the custom of the Assyrian kings, or their generals, to invade the surrounding countries, demanding submission and tribute, and to make war upon those who refused. But although in these expeditions they sometimes reached the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, they had no hold on the more distant provinces; and each king in succession had to go over much the same list of conquests, without thereby extending the boundaries of the empire. It was customary, indeed, for them to allege, when they had conquered a distant region, that no former king of Assyria had ever been there; but the annals of earlier kings often show this assertion to be untrue. Tiglath-Pileser introduced the system of the wholesale deportation of turbulent tribes; and, wherever it was practicable, he substituted Assyrian prefects in the place of revolting kings, and garrisoned the most important cities with Assyrian troops. By these means the frontier of the empire rapidly advanced; and in no part was its progress so marked as in Syria. Arpad fell in B.C. 740, after a siege of three years; Damaskus was taken B.C. 732, after two years' siege; and Hamath and Samaria followed about B.C. 720. The kingdom of Judea was then the only re-

maining state of any importance between the frontier of Assyria and Egypt. At the time of the accession of Esarhaddon, the Assyrian empire nominally extended from the Persian Gulf, along the Elamite frontier on the east of the Tigris, and along the frontier of Media as far as the mountains of Armenia; then, turning to the west, it skirted the south of Armenia, and, turning again, passed along Tubal and Cilicia in Asia Minor, touching the Mediterranean, the coast line of which formed the boundary. Cyprus was under tribute; the southern boundary in Palestine was uncertain; and Judea had thrown off the Assyrian yoke. The southern limit of the empire was formed by the border of the desert which extends from Palestine to Babylonia. Beyond these boundaries tribute was demanded and sometimes given; and the Assyrian armies had penetrated some distance into Media and Arabia. But these remote conquests could not be retained. Repeated revolts had taken place in the newly acquired districts of Syria, Asia Minor, and Babylonia, prompted for the most part by the intrigues of the three great States which retained their independence—Egypt on the south-west, Armenia on the north, and Elam on the east. But most of the revolting districts had suffered so severely in their conflicts with Assyria that there was little disposition to resist her authority.

Sennacherib, after his return from his second expedition to Palestine, was murdered by his two sons, Adrammelek and Sharezer, who, in the absence of their brother Esarhaddon, hoped to secure the empire for themselves. Assur-ahiddina (Esarhaddon), the meaning of whose name is "Assur has given a brother," was a younger son of Sennacherib, and probably resided



during part of his early life at the palace of Bit Riduti, in Nineveh, where his son Assurbani-pal was brought up. In the latter part of the reign of Sennacherib, he commanded the army which watched the Armenian frontier. Although on most of the borders there was peace, the Assyrians were obliged to station a force permanently on the northern boundary of the empire. The dispatches of the Assyrian generals to the king (now in the British Museum) show that there was a state of constant war with the hardy inhabitants of Armenia, who, on every available opportunity, issued from their mountain fastnesses and descended on the territory of Assyria. Here the news of his father's murder reached Esarhaddon; and, being at the head of an army, he resolved to strike for the crown. The exact date of the death of Sennacherib is uncertain; but it was in the eponymy of Nabu-ahi-essis, which extended from B.C. March 681 to March 680. Esarhaddon heard of the event in the month Sabatu (January 680). He was delayed two days by a snow storm, and then pushed on with his forces towards Nineveh. His brothers, anticipating that he would dispute the crown with them, gathered a large army, which they posted in the country of Hanirabbat (north-west of Nineveh), to intercept his advance to the capital. Their new levies, however, were not able to withstand the veterans brought against them by Esarhaddon; and he gained a complete victory. His own description of the events, commencing with the effect of the news of his father's murder on his mind, is as follows: "I trembled at heart and was greatly afflicted; on the taking of the empire of the house of my father I fixed my desire. To the god Assur, Sin, Samas, Bel, Nabu, Nergal, Istar of Nineveh, and Istar of Arbela, my hands I lifted up; and they favoured my plans. In their supreme divinity and mighty power they commanded me thus: 'Go, delay not, we will go with thy forces, we will cast down thine enemies.' The first and second day I moved not; I did not trust the face of my army; I looked not behind me; the troops of horses trained to the yoke I did not assemble; my army I did not arrange; the stores of my expedition I did not fill. There was a violent storm and snow in the month of Sabatu, and extreme cold; and I did not march. Like the flight of a powerful bird, to overthrow my enemies I spread out my forces; on the road to Nineveh rapidly advancing, I marched. Before me in the land of Hanirabbat all their powerful army in front of my road was placed; and they had arranged their troops. The fear of the great gods my lords over-

whelmed them; and the advance of my powerful army they saw; and they were in great terror. Istar the goddess of war and battle supported my feet; my forces she strengthened, and their bows she broke in pieces. The army they had gathered she scattered; and in their ranks they shouted, 'This is our king.' By her powerful will my forces formed a circle. . . . ." After this victory Esarhaddon advanced to Nineveh. His brothers are said to have escaped into the country of the Armenians, the most active enemies of Assyria.\*

The first country that engaged the attention of Esarhaddon, after his accession, was Babylonia. The old kingdom of Babylonia, once the most powerful state in Asia, had been ruined by the wars with Assyria on the north, and the encroachments of the Chaldees on the south. The Chaldees first appear as occupying the country next to the Persian Gulf. They were divided into two principal tribes—the Ukina or Yakin, who held the sea-coast, and the Dakkuri, who were situated nearer Babylon. As they spread over Babylonia other tribes sprang up; but all were ultimately united under the leadership of Merodach Baladan, who took possession of Babylon B.C. 722. After thirty years' war with the Assyrians, Merodach Baladan died in exile at the city of Nagitu, in Elam, leaving four sons. The first of these, Nabu-zikir-iskun, joined in the revolt of Suzub, and was captured by Sennacherib at the battle of Halule, B.C. 691. The second was named Nabu-zira-napisti-esir (Nebo makes the seed of life). During the last years of the reign of Sennacherib, he obtained possession of his father's original territory on the Persian Gulf; and in the confusion which ensued on the death of Sennacherib he declared himself independent, and not only refused to acknowledge Esarhaddon as king, but gathered an army and marched into Babylonia. He laid siege to the city of Ur (modern Mugheir) then governed by a prefect named Ningal-iddina,† and the city and garrison fell into his hands. The Assyrian generals in Babylonia were then ordered at once to collect their forces

\* Abydenus says that Axerdis (Esarhaddon) pursued the mercenaries of his brother Adrameles (Adrammelek) as far as Byzantium; one of these mercenaries has the Greek name Pythagoras. Unfortunately, the cylinder of Esarhaddon which mentions his contest with his brothers is much mutilated; the passage translated in the text is all that remains of this part.

† A younger son of Nergal-iddina, was named Bil-zikir-iskun. He was made king in some part of Babylonia, late in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and was probably the father of Nergal-sar-uzur (Neriglissar) king of Babylon.

and march against him, and Esarhaddon himself, as soon as he had settled affairs in Assyria, proceeded to Babylon. The Chaldean prince, fearing to meet the forces which gathered against him, made a hasty retreat over the frontier into the land of Elam. There had been several wars between Assyria and Elam, on account of the interference of the latter country in the affairs of Babylonia; and in one of these wars Sennacherib had advanced to capture the capital city Madaktu, which was only saved from destruction by the severe weather, whereby the roads were made impassable to the Assyrian army. Having so lately felt the power of the Assyrians, the king of Elam was in no disposition to afford Esarhaddon a pretext for hostilities; and, disregarding the appeal for protection, made by the son of their old ally Merodach Baladan, the Elamites put the fugitive to death. Nahid-marduk, a third son of Merodach Baladan, had been concerned with his brother in the revolt, and had shared his flight into Elam. Struck with fear for his own safety, on seeing his brother's violent death, he fled and recrossed the frontier, throwing himself on the mercy of Esarhaddon, who not only pardoned him but restored to him the territory formerly governed by his brother. The fourth son of Merodach Baladan, who was named Nabu-sapan, makes no political figure. His son joined the Elamites in one of their wars with Assur-bani-pal.

On arriving at Babylon, Esarhaddon had himself proclaimed king of Babylonia as well as Assyria; and he burned Samas-ipni king of the Dakkuri (the second great branch of the Chaldeans), who had seized the lands belonging to the inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa. Nabu-sallim son of Balasu was placed on the throne of Bet-Dakkuri; and the fields of which the Babylonians had been dispossessed were restored to them. Bil-basa the king of the Gambuli, a tribe inhabiting the marshes between Chaldea and Elam, presented himself before Esarhaddon, and made his submission. As a matter of policy Esarhaddon accepted it; for, though there was peace between himself and the king of Elam, neither of them trusted the other, and he was anxious to strengthen his frontier in this direction. He accordingly assisted Bil-basa to fortify the city Sapi-bil, on condition that the Gambuli should garrison it, and hold it as a frontier fortress against Elam. This precautionary measure, however, was not justified by the event: for the Gambuli joined the Elamites afterwards, and the fortress was turned against Esarhaddon's son, Assur-bani-pal.

The affairs of Babylonia and Chaldea be-

ing now settled, Esarhaddon turned his attention to Syria, the part of the empire next in importance. Abdi-milkutti, king of the wealthy city of Zidon, had made an alliance with Sanduarri king of Sisu and Kundi; they had sworn to each other by the names of the great gods and revolted against Assyria. Esarhaddon laid siege to Zidon, which he captured, plundered, and destroyed. Abdi-milkutti and Sanduarri were both taken and beheaded; and the conqueror had their heads carried round the city of Nineveh, for the inspection of his people. In Phœnicia he built a city which he called after his own name; and in it he placed the captives taken in this war, an Assyrian general being appointed governor. The rest of Syria and Palestine now submitted, including Manasseh king of Judah; and the kings of Cyprus also gave tribute. The following is the list of these monarchs as given by Esarhaddon. It is from the same cylinder as that in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, v. i. p. 48, but is corrected in some parts from a fragment found since that publication.

Bahlu king of Zurri (Tyre).  
 Minase (Manasseh) king of Yahudi (Judah).  
 Qavusgabri king of Udumi (Edom).  
 Muzuri king of Mahab (Moab).  
 Zilli-bel king of Haziti (Gaza).  
 Mitinti king of Izqaluna (Askalon).  
 Ikasamsu king of Avgarruna (Ekron).  
 Milkiasapa king of Gubli (Geba).  
 Matan-bahal king of Aruadi (Arvad).  
 Abibahal king of Usimuruna (Samaria?).  
 Puduil king of Bit-ammana (Ammon).  
 Ah-milki (Ahimelech) king of Azdudi (Ashdod).  
 12 Sarri sa ahi tamta, 12 kings of the side of the sea.  
 Ekistusu (Ægisthus) king of Edihal (Idalium).  
 Pisuagura (Pythagoras) king of Kitrusi.  
 Kin . . . . . king of Sillua (Soli?).  
 Itu-andar king of Pappa (Paphos).  
 Eresu king of Silu (Soli?).  
 Damasu (Damastes) king of Kuri (Curium).  
 Rummisu king of Tamizi (Tamissus).  
 Damusi king of Antihadazti (Amochosta).  
 Unasaqusu king of Lidini.  
 Puzuzu king of Upridissa (Aphrodisia).  
 10 sarri sa Yabnana, 10 kings of Cyprus

The conquest of Syria was completed by the capture of Arza, a city situated on the small stream in the south of Palestine, which is called, both in the Bible and in Esarhaddon's annals, the River of Egypt.

Asia Minor was at this time imperfectly known; and the Assyrian arms had not penetrated further, in this direction, than Tubal and Cilicia. In the days of Esarhaddon the great movement of tribes across the Caucasus had commenced; and a division of the Cimmerians, headed by a chief named

Teuspa, occupied the land of Hupuska, situated between Armenia and Asia Minor. This band and their chief were destroyed by Esarhaddon: but the progress of the migration was not stopped, and a few years later they overran a large part of Asia Minor. Esarhaddon marched into the districts of the Duhua and the Hilakki (Cilicia), where he burned twenty-one cities and many villages, and brought the people under his yoke. He was next called to the east, the people of Tel-assur having rebelled; and after punishing them he attempted the conquest of the Medes. The Median tribes were warlike, and occupied a barren and difficult country. Split into a number of petty principalities, they were powerless to resist the advance of the Assyrians, who often invaded their territory; but, on the other hand, their habits of independence made it impossible for the Assyrians to hold the conquests they made. Sargon, the grandfather of Esarhaddon, had warred in this direction for several years, and had fortified some of the cities he captured, with a view of holding the districts in subjection. On one occasion he received tribute from forty-six Median chiefs. Very little, however, had been really gained; and in the reign of Esarhaddon the Manni (Minni), one of the principal Median principalities, had recovered several districts from the Assyrians. Esarhaddon claims to have defeated the Manni, who were in alliance with Ispakai king of Asguza. Ispakai was killed; but the Manni do not appear to have been subdued. Esarhaddon afterwards marched through Media as far as a district called Patusarra, on the border of Bikni, which was supposed at that day to be on the confines of the earth. Two chiefs captured here, Sidirparna and Eparna, were brought as captives to Nineveh; and we are told that three lords of the Medes—Uppis of Partakka, Zanasana of Pardukka, and Ramatea of Uraka-zaparna—voluntarily submitted and came to Nineveh with tribute. These chiefs, however, represented a very small portion of Media; it is probable that there were at least fifty of these small principalities in the country.

Though Esarhaddon failed to extend his dominions in the east, he was more successful in the west; and his conquests of Arabia and Egypt rivalled the exploits of the greatest of his predecessors. Arabia in the time of the Assyrian empire was a country of considerable importance. The principal state lay near Palestine; and Edom was one of its cities. It was called the kingdom of Aribi or Arabia, and is sometimes known under the name of Kidri (Kedar). Besides this there was the kingdom of Nabaiti (the

Nabateans), and a number of petty sovereignties in the interior and south of the country, in the regions called Hazū and Bazu, probably the Uz and Buz of the Bible; the desert is also sometimes written Vas. Both Tiglath-Pileser II. and Sargon invaded Arabia and took tribute from some of its princes; and Sennacherib, in his second expedition to Syria, ravaged the territory of several of the tribes, and stormed the city of Edom, one of the strongest places in the country, whence he appears to have carried off the king Bir-daddi\* and the sacred images of the Arabians. The event shows the religious feeling of the people. Hazail, who had succeeded to the crown of Arabia, voluntarily made the journey from Arabia to Nineveh to supplicate Esarhaddon for the return of the idols, placing himself under the Assyrian yoke for the sake of regaining them. Several princesses also had been carried off to Assyria; and Hazail asked for the return of one of these named Tabua. The Arabian gods had been broken by the Assyrians; but now, by Esarhaddon's order, they were repaired, and a cuneiform inscription was carved on them, setting forth the glory of Assur, the great god of Assyria, with the name and titles of Esarhaddon. Hazail then departed from Nineveh with his gods and with Tabua as his queen. In return for the favours he received, he consented to give Esarhaddon sixty-five camels in addition to the tribute fixed by Sennacherib. He died some time after this, and was succeeded by his son, the different spelling of whose name, in various Assyrian documents, shows the uncertainty that existed about foreign proper names. In the Esarhaddon Cylinder, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, v. i. p. 46, l. 20, he is called

\* Assur-bani-pal's inscriptions seem to make Hazail king at this time. They read as follows:—"To the goddess . . . who with Hazail king of Arabi did . . . into the hands of Sennacherib the father of the father who begot me, she delivered him and he defeated him . . . 'I will not stay with the men of Arabia,' she said, and to Assyria she took [the road] . . . Assur-ah-iddina the father who begot me, beloved of the great gods . . . which in the worship of the gods and goddesses, he had taken . . . Assur and Samas, in the throne of the father who begot him, seated [him] . . . the captive gods he restored . . . Hazail king of Arabia with [great] gifts . . . to his presence came and kissed his feet . . . for the gift of his goddess he prayed him; and he granted to him the request and . . . the ladies Tehellunu and Kumirta, who formerly to . . . concerning the lady Tabua and his gods, he prayed thus:—'She . . . with his goddess he restored . . . he caused to be made also a Mulu of beaten gold, adorned with precious stones,' " &c., &c. As in many other cases, the tablets are in a mutilated state; not a single line of this curious inscription is perfect.

Yahlu; in an unpublished copy of Esarhaddon's annals Yahta; in Cylinder B. of Assur-bani-pal Yautah, and in Cylinder A. of Assur-bani-pal Vaiteh. For convenience we will here call him Yahta. He was confirmed on the throne by Esarhaddon, but had to pay that monarch an additional tribute of ten maneh of gold, one hundred precious stones, fifty camels, and one hundred gunzi (some unknown article). Late in the reign of Esarhaddon the dominions of Yahta were disturbed by a revolt, headed by a chief named Wabu, which became so formidable that the assistance of the Assyrians was invoked against it. By their help it was put down; and Wabu was carried to Nineveh. Previous to this revolt, Esarhaddon had planned and executed an expedition to subdue the regions of Hazu and Bazu. In the course of this expedition the Assyrian army marched about one thousand miles,\* penetrating into the middle of Arabia, and engaged in battle with the kings and queens of the interior of Arabia, eight of whom—Kisu of Haldili, Akbaru of Napiati (Nabatea), Mansaku of Magalani, Yaphah queen of Dihtan, Habisu of Qadasih, Niharu of Gahpani, Bazlu queen of Ihilu, and Habanamru of Budah—were slain. All the Arabian tribes seem to have been characterized at that time by the high respect in which they held women; queens often occur among their sovereigns, as in this list. One sovereign, Laile king of Yadih, having escaped the slaughter, Esarhaddon tried the same plan with him that had succeeded so well with Hazail. Amongst the spoil of the various princes he carried off Laile's gods. Laile followed them to Nineveh, and sub-

mitted to Esarhaddon, praying for their return. The king received him well, restored the gods to him, invested him with the title of king of Bazu, and appointed him a yearly tribute.

These various wars had occupied Esarhaddon for about eight years (B.C. 680-673); and by wise government he had been able to cement together the provinces he had acquired. He now undertook a bolder enterprise than any of his previous ones—the conquest of Egypt. Ever since the subjugation of Palestine, in B.C. 732, the Egyptians had incited revolts against the power of Assyria; viewing with alarm the extension of the Assyrian empire to their own border, they had intrigued with the various princes, promising them assistance, and constantly watching to take advantage of any discontent with the Assyrian rule. It was customary even in those days, when a great power was bent on aggression, to devise some plausible reason for the commencement of hostilities. It is very likely that on the present occasion the provocation came from Egypt. Tarqu (Tirhakah) the ruler of Egypt in the time of Esarhaddon, had, some years before marched an army into Palestine to support Hezekiah; and, as we know from the Jewish records that Manasseh, King of Judah, rebelled against Esarhaddon, it is very probable that Tirhakah supported him. Manasseh was put in chains and carried to Babylon, and Samaria once more subjugated. Unfortunately we do not possess the records of this part of the reign of Esarhaddon; and the events are only known from the accounts given by Assur-bani-pal his son. Egypt had for some time lost its independence, and was ruled by the Ethiopians, to which nation Tirhakah belonged; so that at the worst the conflict could only end for them in a change of masters. Esarhaddon invaded the land of Egypt, and was met by the forces of Tirhakah, whom he routed; and as Tirhakah, though he had ruled for twenty years, had no great hold on the country, that battle decided the fate of Egypt. The Assyrians marched upon Memphis, which was then the capital, and took it. Here an immense spoil fell into their hands. The few mutilated inscriptions of Esarhaddon referring to this event mention, among the captures, the family and relatives of Tirhakah, jewelry, gold, silver, precious stones, furniture, images of the gods and goddesses, oxen, calves, sheep, &c.; the conquerors even took the gold ornaments from Tirhakah's concubines. The next place in importance was Thebes, often the rival of Memphis. Esarhaddon ascended the Nile to Thebes; and

\* The Assyrians give long distances in *kaspu*. From a tablet recently found at the British Museum by the present writer, he has obtained the following information about the measures of length in use in Assyria and Babylonia:—The smallest measure was 1-60 of a cubit, or about  $\frac{1}{6}$  of an inch; 6 cubits make 1 qani (this name is lost on the tablet, only the number being left.); 360 qani make 1 kaspu. Taking the cubit at 20 inches, a kaspu will be about 7 miles. Now Esarhaddon states that he traversed 140 kaspu with his army in this campaign; and  $140 \times 7 = 980$ , or about 1,000 miles. It appears that the desert proper, through which Esarhaddon passed, was of the extent of 40 kaspu, or 280 miles; and therefore he had a journey of 700 miles before reaching it. The name Napiati, or the Nabateans, occurs among the conquered tribes; and it is curious that Assur-bani-pal states that "from Nineveh to Nabatea was 100 kaspu," or 700 miles. From these points we may conclude that Esarhaddon did not descend further into Arabia than the 20th degree of latitude, and probably not so low; but still the march of a hostile army so far into Arabia in that age must always remain a remarkable event.

with that city his southern conquests appear to have ended. Tirhakah all the while was retiring before the advance of the Assyrians; but he still held Ethiopia, and only awaited an opportunity to return to Egypt. Esarhaddon now organized a system of government for the country. He first of all divided it into twenty districts, and placed a king over each. Of these kings and their cities, the complete list, which has not hitherto been published, is as follows:—

Niku (Necho) king of Mimpī (Memphis) and Sai (Sais).

Saru-ludari king of Zianu (Pelusium).

Pisanhuru king of Nathu.

Paqruru king of Pisabtu.

Pukku-nannihapi king of Hathiribi.

Nahke king of Hininai.

Pudubisti king of Zahnu (Zoan).

Unamunu king of Nalahu.

Har-si-yesu king of Zabnuti.

Puaima king of Bindidi (Mendes).

Susinqu king of Busiru (Busiris).

Tapnahti king of Bunubu.

Pukku-nannihapi king of Ahni.

Ipti-Hardesu king of Pizatti-hurunpiku.

Nahti-huru-ansini king of Pisabdinut.

Bukur-ninip king of Pahnuti.

Ziha king of Siyaut.

Lamintu king of Himuni.

Ispimadu king of Taini.

Manti-mi-anhe king of Niha (Thebes).

Niku (Necho), to whom Memphis the capital, and Sais the leading city in the Delta, were assigned, was evidently the leader of these kings, and was in fact the legitimate sovereign of the country. Of the whole twenty tributary kings, only two, judging by their names, were Assyrian, the rest being Egyptians. The cities given in the cuneiform list can most of them be identified; the greater part lay in the Delta. Lower Egypt was called by the Assyrians Muzur, and Upper Egypt Kūsu (Kush)—both well known names in the East; but in some of the inscriptions these names are replaced by Magan or Makan, and Miluhha. The great river of Egypt, the Nile, is called Yaruhu. Pelusium, it will be noticed, is assigned in the above list to an Assyrian governor Saru-ludari; being looked on as the key of Egypt, it was necessary to place it in trustworthy hands. Each of the kings had an appointed tribute, which, according to a mutilated inscription of Esarhaddon, was given in grain, always a famous product of Egypt. The amount due from each city was set down, measured in imir or omers; but, owing to the defective condition of the tablet, very few of the numbers are now preserved. Garrisons of Assyrian troops were placed in the most important cities; and Esarhaddon made alterations in

the names of the cities, changing Sais to Karu-Bilmatati, and naming others Karu-banit, Karu-Assur-ah-iddina, Limur-patis-Assur, &c. He also had statues of himself set up in the cities, and took the title "King of Muzur and Kūsu."

After settling the affairs of Egypt Esarhaddon returned home, passing along the road by the river Nahr-el-kelb, in Syria. Here, where so many conquerors of different ages and countries have left their records, he had a bas-relief of himself cut in the rock. The inscription across it records his titles, his genealogy, the conquest of Tarqu, the capture of Memphis, and other matters relating to this war. It is the best preserved of the Assyrian tablets on this rock: but nevertheless it is much worn, and there is no good copy of it in Europe. After returning home from his Egyptian expedition, Esarhaddon did not take the field again. A life of constant activity began to tell upon him, and he fell into an illness from which he never recovered. Meanwhile the Egyptians, however easily they might have borne a foreign yoke, were discontented with the radical changes made by Esarhaddon. In their own country, however, there was no one who could be trusted to revolt against Assyria. Neko had been greatly honoured by Esarhaddon, and like the other smaller sovereigns, owed his advancement to him: besides which the fidelity of the various princes was insured by the presence of the garrisons. Tirhakah was therefore the only alternative to the Assyrians. The following is one of Assur-bani-pal's narratives of these events in his father's reign:—Assur-ah-iddina king of Assyria, the father who begot me, had descended and gone into the midst of it [the land of Egypt]. The overthrow of Tarqu king of Kush, he had accomplished; and he had broken up his forces. The country of Muzur and Kush he had taken; and innumerable spoils he had carried away. That country the whole of it he ruled, and to the borders of Assyria he joined. The old names of cities he abolished, and named them anew. His servants to the kingdoms and governments over them he appointed within it. Taxes and tribute to his government he established upon them. Images of his majesty . . . . [he carved] the glory acquired by his hands and . . . . [upon them he wrote, and] in the cities and temples which were in the midst [of it he set them up. The people] from the father who begot me revolted . . . and Tarqu hater of the gods, to recover the land of Muzur, gathered his forces to [fight]. The power of Assur my lord he rebelled against, and trusted to his own

forces. The sickness which to the father who begot me had happened, turned not from him. He [Tarqu] went and into the city of Mimpi (Memphis) he entered; and that city he took for himself. Against the men of Assyria who in the midst of Muzur were subjects of mine, whom Assur-ah-iddina king of Assyria, the father who begot me, to the kingdoms had appointed in it, to slay and spoil those who did not submit he commanded his army."

Before the Tirhakah had accomplished the re-conquest of Egypt, the government of Assyria had passed into other hands. Esarhaddon, unable to take the field against him, resolved to proclaim his eldest son Assur-bani-pal king of Assyria. To this end he appears to have called a public assembly of the people, and made a proclamation that it was the will of the gods that Assur-bani-pal should be invested with the sovereignty. In the words of Assur-bani-pal (Cylinder A. col. i. l. 8 to 20), "Assur-ah-iddina king of Assyria, the father who begot me, the will of Assur and Bilat [Beltis] the gods his trust he performed, who commanded him to make my empire. In the month Airu, the month of the god Hea, lord of mankind, on the 12th day, a fortunate day, on the festival of Gula [Bel] in performing the words [?] which Assur, Bilat, Sin, Samas, Vul, Bel, Nabu, Istar of Nineveh queen of Bit-kimuri, Istar of Arbela Ninip, Nergal and Nusku commanded; he gathered the men of Assyria small and great, and of the upper and lower sea, to the inauguration of my empire, and afterwards the empire of Assyria I rule." Soon after Assur-bani-pal was installed at Nineveh, news reached that city of the capture of Memphis by Tirhakah, and his complete conquest of Egypt. The laws and regulations of Esarhaddon, his subject kings and governors, his fortresses, commanders, and garrisons, were all gone; and the last and greatest of his conquests had slipped from his grasp. The old king did not long survive the blow. He died a few months later (B.C. 668-667) at Babylon, to which city he appears to have retired. The capture of Memphis by Tirhakah and the crowning of Assur-bani-pal took place in the eponymy of Marlarni B.C. 668. It appears to have been the intention of Esarhaddon to divide his empire between his two sons Assur-bani-pal and Saul-mugina (the Sam-mughes of Polyhistor, Saosduchinus of Ptolemy); and he seems to have taken Saul-mugina with him to Babylon, for on one of his later tablets he prays to Maraduk (Merodach), the great god of Babylon, for himself and Saul-mugina his son, who after-

wards succeeded him at Babylon. There is a mutilated fragment of a letter, now in the British Museum, which bears at the end the name of Assur-bani-pal, and must be referred to this period. The first part can be restored as follows:—"To Assur-ah-iddina the great [king], king of nations, king of Babylon [king of the four races] the king my father in consort with me [from Assur-bani-pal the great king] king of nations, king of Assyria thy son."

Esarhaddon was a great promoter of public works. At Nineveh he rebuilt the palace called Masartu, and adorned it with great magnificence. For this work he sent orders to the twenty-two kings of Syria and Cyprus, and commanded them to send cedar and other woods and stones, which were transported to Nineveh for the work. At Kalah also he built a large palace, late in his reign; but here he was guilty of an act of vandalism, in taking down and defacing the slabs of Tiglath-Pileser and fitting them to his own walls. The building of this palace was interrupted by his death; but enough remains to show that it was designed on a grand scale. At Tarbizu (now Sherif Khan, northwest of Nineveh), he built a palace for his son Assur-bani-pal; and he restored many of the Assyrian temples, particularly the great national temple of Assur at the city of the same name (now Kileh-shergat). Some of these buildings appear to have suffered during the troubles which followed his father's death. He restored the crown of the god Assur, made of beaten gold and precious stones; and he cultivated the worship of that divinity. He declares that "before the presence of the great lord Assur greatly he prayed, and his powerful god granted his desires."

Towards Babylonia, the policy of Esarhaddon was the reverse of that of his father. Sennacherib had carried fire and sword through the country to compel submission, and had broken up the images of the gods and carried them away from the temples. Esarhaddon, on the other hand, gave back the image of Maruduk, the national deity, to Babylon, and restored the gods to the temples of Dur, Larsa, Uruk, and Ur.\* He rebuilt the temple of Maruduk at Babylon called Bit Sag-gal, and restored the temple of Ulbar at Agani, besides many others. He often made Babylon his residence; and he brought back the captives his father had carried away from that city. He also rebuilt its walls, and did all he could to repair the injury inflicted by Sennacherib.

\* Esarhaddon takes the title, on some of his monuments, of "Restorer of the Images of the Gods."

An extensive commerce was carried on at this time through the whole of the Assyrian empire, and on all sides for some distance beyond the frontier. Most of the carrying trade was in the hands of the Phœnicians, whose ships visited various ports in the Mediterranean, between the sea-coast and Nineveh. The principal centre of trade was the city of Kar-gamas (Carkemesh) situated on the west bank of the Euphrates. Carke-mesh was at one time the most powerful city in Syria, and had its own kings down to the time of its capture by Sargon, B.C. 717. It had since been the residence of an Assyrian governor; and so great was its commercial importance that the Assyrian contract tablets often quote the standard of Carkemesh for the weights of the precious metals. Besides quoting the Syrian weights, the tablets of the period have sometimes Phœnician dockets explaining their purport. Thus, one of them, written in the month Tizri in the eponymy of Dananu (1st year of Esarhaddon), B.C. 680, relates the sale of a man named Huseh, or Hosea, and his family, seven persons in all, the property of a man named Arad-sa. They were bought by Simadi for three mana of silver; and the first line of the Phœnician legend reads "The sale of Hosea." From the time of Tiglath-Pileser II. the Assyrian weights had inscriptions in Phœnician as well as cuneiform characters, cut upon them; and it is evident that, with the large additions made to the empire in Syria, the use of the Aramean language and characters became a necessity. Esarhaddon having destroyed the city of Zidon, the principal part of the commerce flowed through the sister city Zurra or Tyre; and as Tyre was in subjection to himself, he did everything in his power to foster its commerce. Esarhaddon himself built a fleet with the aid of the Tyrians; and in return for these and other services, he ceded to Bahal king of Tyre the coast line of Palestine as far south as Accho and Dor. This is recorded in the following extract from one of his tablets:—"These are the cities and roads which Assur-ah-iddina king of Assyria, to Bahalu his servant appointed; to the city of Aku [Accho. Judges i. 31] and Duhri [Dor. Joshua xii. 23], all that was in the district of Pilistie [Philistia] and all the cities dependencies of Assyria, by the side of the sea, and the city Gublu [Gebal. Ezekiel xxvii. 9], Labnana [Lebanon] and all the cities which are in the mountains . . . . ah-iddina king of Assyria; Bahalu [his] servants [to Assur-ah-iddina] king of Assyria gave . . . ." The rest of this interesting passage is lost; it is preceded

by a paragraph relating to the services performed by the men of Tyre for Esarhaddon.

The literature of the reign of Esarhaddon is not nearly so extensive as that of his son Assur-bani-pal. Most of it is pervaded by a strong religious tone; in fact, a large number of the royal tablets of this reign consist of nothing but prayers and praises to the principal divinities. Among the more important works may be noticed the following:—1. A hexagonal cylinder of which the lower half only is preserved. It is published in Mr. Layard's *Inscriptions*, pp. 54 to 58; but the copy there given is very imperfect and incorrect. This cylinder gives three things not preserved on any other monument:—the passage translated in this article with reference to Esarhaddon's contest with his brothers, the list of the kings of Bazu in Arabia, and the list of the kings of Syria and Cyprus. There were always four copies of the cylinders made (for the four corners of the building); and if one of the other copies should hereafter be found, so as to complete the text, this will be one of the most important Assyrian inscriptions. 2. Two other cylinders, from a set which gave an abridged edition of the inscription before mentioned, omitting Esarhaddon's war with his brothers, &c. The inscription on these cylinders is almost perfect; it is published in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, v. i. p. 45-47. 3. Some fragments of tablets giving various details of Esarhaddon's wars; all these fragments are unpublished. 4. Two tablets with a long inscription, giving the titles of the king, his genealogy (in which he claims descent from an ancient conqueror named Bil-bani), his devotion to the gods, his rebuilding of their temples and restoration of their images; this is also unpublished. 5. An inscription on a black stone from Babylon, giving an account of the restoration of that city, published in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, v. i. p. 49-50. 6. A number of rough tablets from one of the temples to Samas (the sun), with prayers for the king and Assur-bani-pal his eldest son. These tablets sometimes contain historical allusions. Among numerous other mythological tablets of Esarhaddon there is one, almost perfect, devoted to the goddess Istar.

Of the art of this period we have not many specimens. Between the age of Senacherib and Assur-bani-pal the art of sculpture made decided progress; and, so far as Esarhaddon's works are preserved, the sculpture of his reign appears to resemble that of Assur-bani-pal. Very little, however, of Esarhaddon's palace at Nineveh has been excavated; it lies buried under the mound

called Nebbi Yunas, and would no doubt repay excavation.

Esarhaddon left four sons and one daughter. His eldest son Assur-bani-pal succeeded him in Assyria; his next son, Saul-mugina, was made king of Babylon; another son named Assur-mukin-pali-ya is often mentioned on the tablets; and a fourth son has the long name Assur-ebil-same-variziti-irbi. The daughter was called Seru-edirat. Of the character of Esarhaddon it is difficult to judge from the partial accounts in the inscriptions. He appears, however, to have been a good general and a wise ruler, though perhaps he carried political innovation too far in Egypt, a country not given to change. He does not appear to have been so cruel as most of the Assyrian kings. The kings of Sidon and Kundi are the only princes we know him to have executed for rebellion. His reign, which is a little known period in the annals of Assyria, appears to be much more intimately connected with that of his son Assur-bani-pal, than with that of his father Sennacherib.

Assur-bani-pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, before he came to the throne, had, like his father Esarhaddon, the command of the northern army, and was engaged in checking the advance of the Cimmerians, then pouring across the Caucasus. One of his dispatches to his father respecting the Gimirra (Cimmerians) is now in the British Museum. It was no doubt the presence of a strong force on the Assyrian frontier, which determined the march of these nomads into Asia Minor. After he had been associated with his father in the government, the news of the reconquest of Egypt by Tirhakah arrived; and immediate orders were given to Marlarmi, the tartan or commander-in-chief of the Assyrian armies, to assemble the forces and march to Egypt. The troops passed through Syria, and by the coast of the Mediterranean; and on their way the twelve kings of Palestine and ten kings of Cyprus gave in their submission. So far as the list is preserved, these kings are the same who submitted to Esarhaddon. Tirhakah, aware of Assur-bani-pal's expedition, was not idle, but raised an army, though he did not himself take the field. Confiding his troops to the care of a general, he sent them on towards the frontier, while he himself stayed at Memphis. The Assyrian and Egyptian armies met at a place near the frontier, which the Assyrians had named Karubanit; and there the forces of Tirhakah were completely overthrown. Tirhakah, on hearing of the rout of his army, did not wait for the arrival of the Assyrians, but at once abandoned Memphis, and, taking boat, sailed

down the Nile to Thebes, followed by the wreck of his army. The commander of the Assyrian forces (here called the rab-saki, Rabshakeh) was now joined by the district kings who had been dethroned by Tirhakah; and the Assyrians and their allies crossed the Nile and entered Memphis. The Egyptian princes raised a fleet to co-operate with the Assyrian army; and Assur-bani-pal sent them down the Nile to Thebes. The army took forty days for the journey; and when they arrived at Thebes Tirhakah had fled, having retired once more into Ethiopia. Assur-bani-pal restored again the princes and institutions of his father, binding all the kings by an oath of allegiance to himself; and, having taken the precaution of strengthening the Assyrian garrisons in the country, he returned in triumph to Nineveh. His care to secure Egypt, however, was of little avail. His garrisons were strong enough to keep out Tirhakah; but his rule was so oppressive that the subject kings, hitherto faithful to Assyria, formed a conspiracy against him. The leaders of the movement were Necho king of Sais, Saruludari king of Zihnu, and Paqruru king of Pi-sabtu. These kings sent secretly to Tirhakah, offering to acknowledge him as suzerain, on condition that they should retain their respective governments; and they proposed that Tirhakah should make an attack on the southern frontier, while they at the same time raised a revolt in Lower Egypt. They thus hoped to divide and overcome the Assyrian forces. Tirhakah entered into the conspiracy and collected an army. These movements, however, did not escape the notice of the Assyrian commanders; and their suspicions being roused, they arrested one of the messengers, and read his dispatches. The plot was thus discovered and the revolt brought to a head. The cities of Sais, Mendes, and Zoan declared for Tirhakah. The Assyrian generals at once seized Necho and Saruludari; but Paqruru contrived to escape them. They then moved upon the revolted cities of the Delta, which were taken and sacked, and their walls destroyed. Necho and Saruludari were sent in chains to Assyria to Assur-bani-pal; and the Assyrian generals turned their attention to Tirhakah. During the revolt in the Delta he had marched into Upper Egypt and captured the city of Thebes; and, though the failure of the revolt disconcerted his plans, he held Upper Egypt against the Assyrians until his death. Assur-bani-pal now attempted to conciliate the Egyptians by pardoning Necho, who was a prisoner in his hands at Nineveh, and making him magnificent presents of clothing and personal ornaments of gold and jewels. Necho, on his



part, once more swore allegiance to the Assyrian king, who raised a fresh army and sent it into Egypt, commanding his generals to proclaim Necho once more king in the city of Sais. Necho was now accordingly restored; and the account of his return to power is immediately followed in the different copies of the annals by the statement: "And Nabu-sezib-ani his son, in the city of Hathariba the [Assyrian] name of which is Limur-patesi-assur, I appointed to the kingdom." This certainly seems to imply that a son of Necho had an Assyrian name given to him, and was made king at Athribes, when his father was restored. Tirhakah died about this time, and was succeeded by Urdamanē, who is called "son of the wife of Tarqu," and has been identified with Rud-ammon,\* a royal name found in Egyptian hieroglyphics. According to the Assyrian account, Urdamanē, when he came to the throne, fortified Thebes, and, gathering an army, made that city the basis of his operations against Lower Egypt. The Assyrian generals collected their forces to oppose him; but they were forced to retire into the city of Memphis, where they were besieged by the Ethiopian king, who ultimately captured the city and the whole of the Assyrian troops. Urdamanē now obtained possession of the whole of Egypt, and fixed his court at Memphis; while Assur-bani-pal, on hearing of the disaster, levied a large army and resolved once more to conquer the country.

\*Dr. Haigh has proposed (*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, January, 1869), to identify this king with an Ethiopian monarch named Nut-ammon-mi, whose history is a striking parallel to the Assyrian account of Urdamane. According to the inscription of Nut-ammon-mi (*Revue Archéologique* May, 1868), in the year of his accession to the throne the king had a dream, in which he saw two serpents, one on the right and the other on the left; and this dream was explained to mean that as he possessed the south so he should conquer the north. After this he entered Thebes, and marched against Memphis. Near Memphis he met the enemy and routed them, entering the city in triumph. Afterwards the northern chiefs, the leader of whom was Paqru(ru) of Pi-supt, submitted. According to the Assyrian records the leaders of the Egyptian kings were Necho, Saruludari, and Paqruru. Now the Assyrians claim to have carried Necho and Saruludari to Assyria, but not Paqruru; and, if the conquest of Memphis by Nut-ammon-mi took place during Necho's captivity, Paqruru would naturally be the leader of the Egyptian kings. Against this remarkable coincidence must be set the difference in the names Nut-ammon-mi and Urdamane, the Egyptian name Rud-ammon being a much better parallel. Variations in names, however, constantly occur in the Assyrian inscriptions; Psammitichus is not only written Pisamilki, but in one copy Tusamilki.

The second campaign of Assur-bani-pal in Egypt is, in most respects, a repetition of the former one, the principal difference being that Urdamanē did not risk a battle with the Assyrians, but, as soon as he heard that they all had crossed the frontier, fled from Memphis to Thebes. On their advance to Thebes he abandoned that city also, and retreated to Kipkipi. The city of Thebes, on coming again into the hands of the Assyrians, was sacked by the army; and the conqueror had two of the obelisks from one of the temples transported to Assyria as trophies of the war. The division of Egypt into twenty kingdoms was again established. But of Necho we hear no more; from the account of Herodotus it might be supposed that he was put to death by the Ethiopians. His part of Egypt passed to his son Psammitichus, who may possibly be the same as Nabu-sezib-ani mentioned above.

Meanwhile Bahlū king of Tyre had revolted. The Tyrians had been increasing in power and wealth for some years; and their present aim was to throw off the yoke of Assyria. Assur-bani-pal marched his army against Tyre and closely besieged the city. Earthworks were raised round it; and the Assyrians were able to cut off its communication with the sea. The inhabitants suffered greatly from want of water; and ultimately the king offered to submit. He gave his son Yahi-milki as a hostage, and sent his own daughter and the daughters of his brothers, with rich presents, to the Assyrian king, who restored Yahi-milki, but retained the princesses and presents. This is the first indication which Assur-bani-pal's annals afford of his sensuality. Various other kings were afterwards compelled to give their daughters to swell the number of his wives. After the conquest of Tyre several princes from the surrounding countries sent rich presents to Nineveh. Mugallu king of Tabala (Tubal) in Asia Minor, and Yakinlu king of Aruada (Arvad), who is called Ikkilu in one inscription, both sent embassies with their daughters. Soon afterwards Yakin-tibu died; and his ten sons, Azibahl, Abi-bahal, Aduni-bahal, Sapadi-bahal, Budi-bahal, Bahal-yasubu, Bahal-hanunu, Bahal-maluku, Abi-milki (Abimelech) and Ahi-milki (Ahimelech), came to Nineveh for Assur-bani-pal to decide the succession to the crown. He selected Azi-bahal as king, and, having given presents to the other brothers, sent them all back to their country.

We now come to one of the most interesting parts of Assur-bani-pal's annals—his dealings with Gyges king of Lydia. The story of Gyges and the wife of Candaules is well known from Herodotus; but there is

so much of the marvellous in his account that it is satisfactory to find notices of this king in contemporary records. Assur-bani-pal relates that Guggu (Gyges) king of Luddi (Lydia) a remote country which was across the sea (the Mediterranean) had a dream, in which Assur, the great god of the Assyrians, appeared to him, and told him of the great power of Assur-bani-pal, commanding him to send a messenger and give tribute to the Assyrian king, and assuring him of help against the Cimmerians (by whom he was hard pressed) if he obeyed. Gyges at once sent a messenger with rich presents. From the way in which the Assyrian annals speak of Lydia as a country beyond the Mediterranean, it is evident that they had no notion of its being part of Asia Minor; and the messenger from Gyges must have come by ship from Lydia to one of the Phœnician ports. A considerable trade was carried on between Phœnicia and various places in Asia Minor and Greece; and the campaigns of Assur-bani-pal in Egypt and Syria were well known to the merchants, whose principal city, Tyre, had so recently suffered a severe siege by him. From them, no doubt, Gyges must have heard his account of the Assyrians, and derived the idea that Assur-bani-pal would be likely to assist him. Besides the general statement that he received the ambassador of the king of Lydia, Assur-bani-pal had a longer account of the embassy written, part of which is preserved. It runs as follows:—"The envoy came] to the borders of my country; the men of my country spoke to him thus: 'Who art thou brother?' Not at any time had an ambassador . . . . . made the journey to . . . . . to Nineveh the city of my dominion [he came] and they brought him to my presence; the languages of the rising of the sun, and the setting of [the sun] which Assur had placed in [my hand they spoke]; his language they had not, and his language . . . . . they heard not . . . . . from the border of my country . . . . . with him he brought . . . . ."—It appears from this fragment that the language of the Lydians was strange to the people of Assyria and its dependencies; but from the mutilation of the passage we cannot tell who acted as an interpreter. Assur-bani-pal made a diversion against the Cimmerians, and enabled Gyges to gain a victory over them. After this Gyges sent him two Cimmerian chiefs bound in chains. They had been captured in a battle, his success in which the Lydian king ascribed to the help of Assur the Assyrian god.

About this time Assur-bani-pal was engaged in punishing the people of Harbit.

This district was situated near Elam, at the south-east of Assyria; and, being mountainous, it formed a secure retreat for its inhabitants, who constantly plundered the people of the plain. The inhabitants of the town of Dur had complained of these raids to Assur-bani-pal, and he sent an army against Harbit. Tandai the lord of Harbit was captured, and the inhabitants transported to Egypt, captives from other countries being sent to Harbit to replace them.

The next war was against Ahsêri king of Mannai (Minni). The Mannians were the most powerful of the Median tribes, and had successfully contended with the Assyrians. The districts of Paddirî, Güzaine (Gozan), and other cities on the borders of Assyria, had been taken by them; and an expedition was prepared to recover this territory. Assur-bani-pal himself, engrossed by his pleasures, stayed at Nineveh; but he sent a powerful army to the frontier to prosecute the war. Ahseri, king of Minni, aware of his preparations, assembled an army and marched against the Assyrians. He made an attack on them in the middle of the night, but failed in his attempt to surprise them; and although his army fought bravely he was utterly defeated. For a space of three kaspu (twenty-one miles) the ground was covered with the wrecks of the Mannian army; and Ahsera at once fled to his capital, Izirtu. After this victory of the Assyrian generals Assur-bani-pal himself advanced in triumph into Minni. The cities of Aiusias, Pasa . . . . . Busut, Asdias, Urkiyamun, Uppis, Sihû, and Naziniri were captured by the Assyrians; and the country as far as Izirtu was ravaged by them. Meanwhile Ahseri, who had lost all heart, fled from Izirtu to one of his fortresses—to Adrana, according to some copies of the Assyrian annals, and to Istatti according to others. The Mannians, displeased with the ill success of their sovereign in the war, now revolted against him; and his attendants murdered him, and threw his body over the wall of the city. The popular indignation extended to his brothers, who, with several other members of his family, was also killed. Assur-bani-pal, continuing his career of devastation, took Izirtu and many other cities, killing Raidi-sadi, the Mannian general who was entrusted with their defence. He then resumed possession of the districts which the Assyrians had lost, and returned to Nineveh. After the murder of Ahseri his son Vahalli, who escaped the slaughter, ascended the throne of Minni, and sent an embassy, headed by his eldest son, Erisinni, to Nineveh, to make terms with the king. Assur-bani-pal demanded his daughter and

thirty horses, in addition to the tribute formerly demanded. About this time the Assyrians reduced several chieftains in Media, among whom were Birizhadri lord of the Samati and Sarati and Parihi sons of Gagi (Gog?) lord of Matsahi. The period is also signalised by the revolt of an Assyrian general named Ilu-dari, who marched against a city named Kullimmir. The men of the city attacked his force in the night and routed them; and his head was brought to Nineveh to the king.

The annals now turn to the affairs of Elam (modern Kuzistan). Umman-aldas I.\* king of Elam had died during the reign of Esarhaddon; and, though he had two sons, Kudurru and Parū, by the law of succession in Elam they were passed over in favour of his brother Urtaki, who was on the throne at the time of the accession of Assur-bani-pal. During the reign of Urtaki a severe famine occurred in Elam; and numbers of families emigrated to Assyria to escape the dearth. By order of Assur-bani-pal these Elamites were supplied with corn; and they remained in Assyria until the end of the drought in Elam. Urtaki himself received presents of corn at the same time; but, forgetting the favours bestowed on him, he resolved to break the peace between Assyria and Elam, which had now lasted about thirty years. He induced Bil-basa, the chief of the Gambuli, to revolt against the Assyrian king; and, being joined by Nabu-zikir-essis and Maruduk-zikir-epus, two neighbouring chiefs, he collected a large force and invaded Babylonia, which was then ruled by Saul-mugina, the brother of Assur-bani-pal. Seeing the invasion of the Elamites, Saul-mugina sent a messenger to Assyria to ask assistance against them; and Assur-bani-pal appointed an officer of his own to go to Babylon and report to him on the state of affairs. The officer returned to his master with the following account:—"The Elamites like a flight of locusts cover the whole of the land of Akkad. Over against Babylon their camp is fixed; and they are making war." On receipt of this intelligence the king called out his army, and marched into Babylonia. The expedition of Urtaki had been evidently more for the purpose of plunder than conquest. On hearing of the advance of the Assyrian army he collected his scattered forces, and commenced a retreat to the fron-

tier; but before he could reach it, Assur-bani-pal came up with him, and inflicted a severe defeat on his troops, driving them in confusion across the border. Urtaki was so mortified at his defeat that he threw himself on the ground and prayed for death; and Assur-bani-pal significantly adds that he died within a year of these events, and that Bilbasa the Gambulian died about that time also. The other chiefs, according to Assur-bani-pal, lived in fear for some time, expecting that he would send and punish them for their share in the raid.

On the death of Urtaki an important change took place in Elam, which is thus related by the Assyrian annals:—"Through the might of the goddess who protected me the time of his [Urtaki's] empire expired; and the dominion of Elam passed to another. Afterwards Te-umman,\* like an evil spirit, sat on the throne of Urtaki; and to destroy the sons of Urtaki and the sons of Umman-aldas, the brother of Urtaki, he devised a plot." Te-umman, who succeeded Urtaki, was the brother of Umman-aldas I. and Urtaki, and, like the latter monarch, inherited the throne before his nephews; but he appears to have contemplated murdering them in order to secure the succession to his own sons, since, as the law stood, his five nephews would inherit before them. From fear of their uncle, Kudurru and Parū the sons of Umman-aldas I., together with Umman-igas, Umman-appa, and Tammartu, sons of Urtaki, and sixty persons of the seed-royal of Elam, besides a large body of adherents, fled from the country, and threw themselves at the feet of Assur-bani-pal. Te-umman, not satisfied with their exile, sent Umba-darā and Nabu-damiq, two of his chiefs, to demand that the fugitive princes should be given up. This the Assyrian king refused; and the ambassadors returned to Te-umman, who now began to prepare for war. Assur-bani-pal considered him a formidable antagonist; and in the month Duvusu a remarkable darkness was observed, as well as various other portents, which were supposed to refer to the coming struggle. It is possible that the ambassadors of the king of Elam did not see Assur-bani-pal in the most favourable light, absorbed as he was in the pleasures of the capital; at any rate they must have undervalued his courage,† for

\* Sometimes written Umman-aldasi and Umman-aldasu. According to a Babylonian dispatch, found while this article was in the press, he was murdered by his two brothers, Urtaki and Te-umman, because he refused to let them invade Chaldea, then ruled by Nahid-marduk as the viceroy of Esarhaddon.

\* This name is once written Tu-umman. In the time when his brother Urtaki was king of Elam, during the reign of Esarhaddon in Assyria, Te-umman began to show his hostility to that country. Complaint was made to Esarhaddon that he had sent emissaries into Chaldea to tempt the people to revolt.

† Although generally in the inscriptions Assur-bani-pal writes as if he commanded in the various

they consented to be the bearers of another message, one of defiance, to him. On their second journey the Elamites arrived in Assyria in the month Abu, and met the king at the city of Arba-il (Arbela), to which place he had gone to celebrate the rites of the goddess of that city, to whom he was especially devoted. At Arbela the envoys delivered to him the message of Te-umman, which the Assyrian describes as follows:—"Thus spake Te-umman of the goddess Istar and of me. [In] the judgment of his mind, I did not dare to go with him to make war." This taunt stung Assur-bani-pal; and, like Hezekiah, when insulted by Sennacherib, he went into the temple of Istar, and laid the matter before the goddess, in a prayer commencing with these words: "Goddess of Arba-il, I am Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, the workmanship of thy hands;" and then he goes on to say how Te-umman had defied him, and had gathered his forces and prepared for war, and how his soldiers were now on the road to Assyria. He tells us that the same night the goddess appeared to him in a vision, armed with a bow, and encouraged him to fight, promising him a complete victory. No time was lost on either side. In the next month, Ululu (August), the Assyrian army marched southward against the Elamites, who had advanced to the city of Dur (Dura); but, on the approach of the Assyrians, Te-umman, who had underrated his antagonist, fell back to the river Ulai, and took up a position between the river and the city of Susan (Shushan), so as to cover the capital. A desperate conflict ensued. The Assyrian army forced the passage of the river, the superiority of their archers soon becoming apparent; and the Elamite army was totally routed. The river Ulai and the vicinity of Shushan were filled with the bodies of the slain. Te-umman himself, pierced by an Assyrian arrow, seeing the rout of his army, turned his chariot, and, accompanied by his son Parritu, attempted to escape from the battle. But his chariot was overturned and broken in the confusion; and the riders were thrown to the ground. Parritu, seeing the danger of his father, took him by the hand and tried to lead him away. But it was too late. For the Assyrians saw them; and, although Parritu stood over his wounded father and defended him, they were both captured, and at once beheaded to satisfy the fury of Assur-bani-pal, who had not forgiven Te-umman's

expeditions, it is quite possible that in many cases he only claims the victories of his generals. Some of the tablets, however, give the victories to the Assyrian commanders, and make no mention of the king being present.

insulting message. Elam now lay at the mercy of the Assyrian king, who sent a general into Shushan to proclaim Umman-igas,\* son of Urtaki, king in that city; while, according to the general policy of the Assyrians, he set up the younger brother Tammartitu as king in the east of the country, with Hidalu as his capital.

It remained to punish the Gambuli. Bilbasa, their chief had been succeeded by Dunanu his son, who had allied himself with Te-umman the Elamite. After the conquest of Elam, that of the Gambuli was an easy task. The city of Sapi-bil, the capital, was taken; and Dunanu and Samqunu his brother, with their forces, were made prisoners. Sapi-bil, which was situated in the midst of the marshes at the south east of Chaldea, was levelled with the ground.

The Assyrian army now returned home in triumph with the prisoners and trophies of these expeditions. On reaching the city of Arbela on his way back, Assur-bani-pal met some ambassadors from Rusa king of Urarda (Armenia), who had come to congratulate him on his victory. The object of such congratulation is obvious. Rusa had seen the strongest independent state in Asia fall before Assur-bani-pal; and, as his own kingdom was the only one of any importance left, he must have felt that his turn would be likely to come next, unless he succeeded in conciliating the Assyrian monarch. In the presence of the messengers of the king of Armenia the Assyrians began to torture the prisoners taken in the war. Umba-dara and Nabu-damiq were exhibited bound with heavy fetters, having probably been detained in captivity since they brought the defiance of Te-umman. They were now taken from Arbela to Nineveh and shown the head of their late lord Te-umman, which was one of the chief trophies of the war. Umba-dara showed his grief by tearing his beard; and Nabu-damiq, taking his sword, ran himself through the body and expired. The head of Te-umman, which had been carried about in triumph, was ultimately fixed over the principal gate of Nineveh. Dunanu and Samqunu, the Gambulians, had their tongues pulled out, and were afterwards flayed alive. Paluja, the son of Nabu-sapan and grandson of Merodach Baladan, who had also engaged in this war, was delivered up by Umman-igas king of Elam to Assur-bani-pal; and his limbs were chopped off.

The date of this war and the conquest of

\* Umman-igas is the king whose name has been read Umman-ibi. The present writer has lately found the phonetic variant, giving the true reading, in one of the dispatches.

the Elamites was about B.C. 655. Assyria had now reached its widest limits; and Nineveh was now the capital of the whole known world. But the empire was not destined to last long. Assur-bani-pal, though successful as a conqueror, could not hold his possessions together; and the subject nations resented their oppression by the Assyrians. It is singular that the disaffection first manifested itself, not in one of the outlying dependencies, but in Babylonia, which was under the rule of Saul-Mugina. Assur-bani-pal, though he had given Babylonia to his brother, still kept a tight hold on the country. He placed garrisons of his own in the Babylonian cities, and appointed the provincial governors. Thus Saul-Mugina had little but the name of sovereign; in fact, in his communications with Assur-bani-pal he addressed him as "the king my lord." Neither Saul-mugina nor his subjects were satisfied with this position; and it became evident that a revolt was imminent. Assur-bani-pal was kept well informed of the state of affairs by the constant reports of his officers. Kudur the governor of Uruk (modern Warka) was one of the most active of these officers, and regularly sent the king the political news; several of Kudur's letters are now in the British Museum. Foreseeing the storm, Assur-bani-pal issued a proclamation to the Babylonians, dated the 23d day of the month Airu, in the Limu of Assur-dur-uzur, B.C. 652-51; and in the same year the revolt broke out. Saul-mugina dispatched a messenger to the court of Umman-igas at Shushan, to propose to the monarch that Elam and Babylonia should unite against Assyria;\* and at the same time negotiations were entered into with the Arabians. Umman-igas king of Elam, although he owed his life and crown to Assur-bani-pal, readily entered into the conspiracy, and promised, in return for a large sum of gold and silver, to send his army into Babylonia, to co-operate in the war. His son Tammaritu went with an escort to Saul-mugina to receive the bribe; and the Babylonian monarch seized the treasures of the temple of Bel at Babylon, of Nebo at Borsippa, and of Nergal at Cutha, and sent them by the hand of the messengers to satisfy the demands of Umman-igas. The kings of Babylon and Elam now openly proclaimed themselves independent, and prepared for war, first attacking the Assyrian garrisons in Babylonia. Nabu-bel-zikri, the grandson of Merodach Baladan the Chaldean, revolted;

and a number of Assyrians then in Chaldea, sided with him. Yahta king of Arabia raised a large army, one wing of which he sent to Babylon to co-operate with the Elamites and Babylonians, while he himself, at the head of the other, passed up the east of the Jordan and conquered the country as far as Lebanon. Meanwhile Psammitichus king of Sais had formed an alliance with Gyges king of Lydia, and, having revolted against Assyria in concert with him, proceeded to make himself master of Egypt. All the smaller potentates were soon drawn into the struggle; and from Elam on the east to Lydia and Egypt on the west the Assyrian empire was wrapped in a flame of war. For a time Assur-bani-pal seemed totally unable to cope with the difficulties that surrounded him; and if the insurgents had held together they might have overthrown the Assyrian power. But their divisions, disunion, and bad policy so effectually helped Assur-bani-pal that he ultimately regained all his dominions except Egypt.

The Assyrian history now follows the fortunes of the several revolting states. Pisa-milki, the Psametik of the hieroglyphics (Psammitichus), was the son of Necho, the king of Sais, who had been set up by Esarhaddon, and is mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus as originally one of the district kings of Egypt. He ruled the most important part of the country, his territory extending from the sea-coast to Memphis, and including both that city and Sais. It appears from the classical writers that Psammitichus carried on an extensive commerce with Greece and other countries bordering on the Mediterranean; and after the district kings had reigned fifteen years he is said to have engaged in war with them, having as auxiliaries Carians and Ionians from Asia Minor, by whose aid he defeated the other kings, and made himself master of Egypt. The Assyrian account agrees well with this, and further states that it was Gyges who sent the forces to help Psammitichus. The following is a translation of this curious passage from the annals of Assur-bani-pal:—"The will of Assur the god my creator, he [Gyges king of Lydia] did not regard. To his own power he trusted, and hardened his heart. His forces to the aid of Pisamilki king of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion, he sent; and I heard [of it], and prayed to Assur and Istar thus: 'Before his enemies his dead body may they cast, and may they carry captive his servants.' When thus to Assur I prayed, he requited me. Before his enemies his corpse was thrown down; and they carried captive his servants. The Gimirai [Cimmerians], whom

\* He endeavoured to mask his proceedings by sending an embassy to Assur-bani-pal at the same time, to assure him of his continued devotion.

by the glory of my name he had trodden under him, conquered and swept the whole of his country. . . . . Su\* [Ardys] his son sat on his throne, that evil work at the lifting up of my hands, the gods my protectors in the time of his father had destroyed. And he by the hand of his envoy sent and took the yoke of my empire, saying: 'The king whom God has blessed art thou; my father thou didst turn from, and evil was done in his day; I am thy devoted servant, and all my people perform thy pleasure.''' Thus it appears that Gyges lost his life in an invasion of the Cimmerians. This is most probably the inroad of which Herodotus speaks, when he says of Ardys: "During the time that he reigned at Sardis, the Cimmerians, being driven from their seats by the Scythian nomads, passed into Asia and possessed themselves of all Sardis except the citadel."† The passage in the annals of Assur-bani-pal is important from its bearing on the chronology of the period; it fixes the date of the death of Gyges to a time after the revolt of Psammitichus, which took place B.C. 652-51. And it is curious to find Gyges king of Lydia in alliance with Psammitichus of Egypt, against Assyria, just as Cræsus king of Lydia is found in the next century allied with Amasis king of Egypt, against Persia. Although Ardys renewed the homage which his father had formerly given, Egypt was never recovered; and Psammitichus became strong enough to advance into Palestine and besiege the city of Ashdod.

In Babylonia and Elam, where the revolt against Assur-bani-pal first broke out, the insurgents seemed for a time to carry everything before them. Umman-igas king of Elam, on receiving the treasures from Saul-mugina, collected his troops and committed them to the charge of Undasi, a son of Tc-umman the late king of Elam. With Undasi he associated Zazaz lord of Telati, Parû lord of Hilmu, Attamitu commander of the archers, and Nesu the general of the Elamite army; and he endeavoured to excite the ardour of Undasi by the exhortation, "Avenge the murder of the father who begat thee." Having received their orders, the Elamite army marched into Babylonia, and joined the forces of Saul-mugina. They then laid siege to the cities in which the

Assyrian garrisons were placed. But Tamaritu, the younger brother of Umman-igas, to whom Assur-bani-pal had given the eastern half of Elam, was only waiting his opportunity to grasp the whole; and as soon as he saw his brother's army fairly in Babylonia, he marched his own troops against Shushan, and the two brothers met on the battle-field. Umman-igas who had sent his best troops into Babylonia, fell an easy prey to Tamaritu, who killed him and all of his family that he could lay his hands upon. Tamaritu now ascended the throne at Shushan, and reunited the country of Elam into one monarchy. During these events, Assur-bani-pal stayed at Nineveh, imploring his gods to help him, and ordering his astrologers to watch and report from time to time whether the portents were favourable to him. Several of his prayers and of the reports of the astrologers are preserved in the British Museum. One of the latter—made in the month of Nisannu, the fourth day in the Limu of Sagab, B.C. 651-50, states at the close that it was written "when the men who belonged to Assur-bani-pal king of Assyria, the Assyrians, the Akkadians, the Chaldeans, and the people of Gundunias, against Assur-bani-pal, who was created by thy hand, revolted; to make war and fight against them he prepared." Of course it was agreeable to Assur-bani-pal to see his enemies destroying each other; and in some of his inscriptions he acknowledged the benefit to be due to the interposition of the gods he had invoked. Tamaritu when seated on the throne of Elam, like his brother before him, went to help Saul-mugina; but he took care not to separate himself from his army. Taking the command of his troops, he went to Babylonia; but a conspiracy was preparing against him, similar to that which he had entered into against his brother. One of his servants, named Inda-bigas, raised an insurrection in Elam, and defeating the troops left by Tamaritu in the country, proclaimed himself king. Tamaritu, not feeling strong enough to march back and meet him, fled to the sea-coast, in company with the remainder of the royal family. These civil wars were ruining the cause of the insurgents; and in the third year of the revolt, in the time of Bil-harran-sadua, Assur-bani-pal, having made great preparations, marched his army into Babylonia. Advancing step by step, he defeated the allies in numerous engagements, the forces of Saul-mugina and his confederates being ultimately driven into Babylon and the neighbouring cities of Borsippa and Cutha. The natural results now began to follow from the long duration of the war and the vast number of men it had em-

\* In this place, where the word Ardys has been restored, the construction of the passage requires the word "afterwards"; but there is not room in the fractured part of the inscription for both words. The rest of this interesting passage has been recently completed from some fragments in the British Museum.

† B. i. 15.

ployed. A famine began, and became so severe that the Babylonians are said to have eaten their own sons and daughters to satisfy the cravings of hunger. On the 5th day of the month of Airu, Assur-bani-pal issued a proclamation to the people of the sea-coast (Chaldeans), telling them that he had appointed a general named Bil-ibni to take charge of the southern part of his dominions. Bil-ibni prosecuted the war with vigour, and the cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha fell. Saul-mugina, who first instigated the rebellion, was burnt in the fire; and a severe example was made of the Babylonian cities.

Nabu-bel-zikri, the grandson of Merodach Baladan, who had been made king of Chaldea by Assur-bani-pal, had joined the king of Babylon in this revolt; and, when the cause of the insurgents was growing desperate, he fled to the court of Inda-bigas king of Elam. Inda-bigas judged better than his predecessors, and stood aloof from the affairs of Babylonia; but still he allowed Nabu-bel-zikri to take refuge at his court, as well as several Assyrians who had fled with him. He may have justified this course on the ground that Tammariu and the other Elamite princes\* who had fled with him, after suffering great hardships, had presented themselves before the general of the king of Assyria, when Tammariu had prostrated himself to the ground, and declared his sorrow for his revolt against Assur-bani-pal, and had been forgiven and again trusted. On the present occasion Assur-bani-pal ordered Bil-ibni to negotiate with Inda-bigas for the surrender of Nabu-bel-zikri; and the king of Elam sent an envoy to Assur-bani-pal to arrange for peace. This embassy came to nothing, through the violence of Assur-bani-pal, who was elated at the reconquest of Babylonia and Chaldea. He tells us himself: "Concerning Nabu-bel-zikri the son [grandson] of Merodach Baladan, my tributary, who had fled and gone to Elam, and the rest of the Assyrians whom Nabu-bel-zikri had treacherously taken and carried with him, by the hand of his messenger to Inda-bigas, I sent word thus: 'If these men thou dost not restore, I will come and thy cities I will destroy; the people of the cities of Shushan, Madaktu, and Hidalu I will take captive; from thy royal throne I will hurl thee, and another in thy throne I

will seat; as I formerly crushed Te-umman, so I will cause thee to be destroyed.'" It cannot be wondered at that the envoy failed to deliver this message to the Elamite monarch. Assur-bani-pal then sent an officer of his own with his demands. But when he reached the city of Dur Inda-bigas was dead: Umman-aldas, son of Attamitu, commander of the archers, had raised a revolt against him and killed him, and had ascended the vacant throne. This fact was communicated to Assur-bani-pal by a letter from his general Bil-ibni, now in the British Museum. Umman-aldas II. was not allowed to retain the throne undisturbed; for in a subsequent dispatch Bil-ibni informs the king of Assyria that he has received the following news from Elam: "Umman-nigas, son of Amidirra [in other documents Umman-igas, son of Um-badara] a revolt against Umma-haldasu [Umman-aldas II.] had raised; from the river Huthut [Itite] to the city of Haidanu with him had joined. Umma haldasu his forces then collected urgently; and across the river in front of each other they are placed." Thus the Elamites once more stood ready to shed each other's blood, while the Assyrian army waited across the border to try conclusions with the victor. Umman-aldas II. defeated Umman-igas II., and then had to deal with two other claimants for the crown—Umbagua or Imba-gua, and Pahe. These two held out against him in the east of Elam, until the conquest of the country by the Assyrians, when Umbagua fled from Elam, and Pahe after awhile submitted to Assur-bani-pal. After the conquest of Umman-igas II., the envoys of Assur-bani-pal arrived in Elam to demand the surrender of Nabu-bel-zikri, who committed suicide.\* With him, so far as we know, ended the trouble to the Assyrians from the family of Merodach Baladan.

Although the vengeance of the Assyrian king was satisfied when he received the body of Nabu-bel-zikri, he soon after contrived to pick a quarrel with Umman-aldas II., and, leading out his forces in the month of Sivan, prepared for an attack on Elam. Umman-aldas had foreseen the war and made some preparations. The city of Bit-imbi, a frontier fortress of Elam, had played an important part in the struggles between Assyria and Elam during the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib. It had been captured and destroyed by Sennacherib, and had since been neglected. Umman-aldas II., on coming to

\* The following is a list of these fugitive princes:—Tammariu king of Elam, Umman-aldasi and Par(ritu) his sons, Umman-aldasi son of Te-umman king of Elam, Umman-amni son of Umman-pia grandson of Urtaki king of Elam, Umman-amni grandson of Umman-aldasi king of Elam.

\* See *The North British Review*, li. (January 1870). The head of Nabu-bel-zikri (or Nabu-bel-sumi) was cut off on the arrival of the corpse in Assyria, and was suspended round the neck of one of the other prisoners.

the throne, built a new town in front of it, which he surrounded with towers and walls, making it very strong; he then garrisoned it, and appointed Imba-appa commander. To this place Assur-bani-pal advanced with his army. Before he reached it, a number of Elamite tribes who had abandoned Umman-aldas came to Assyria with their flocks and herds and submitted to him. He then crossed the frontier and stormed Bit-imbi. The resistance he met with excited his fury; and he behaved with savage brutality on taking the city. He spared the life of the commander, but sent him in chains to Assyria. In Bit-imbi he found some members of the family of Te-umman; and them also, with the other prisoners, he sent to Assyria. Umman-aldas, on hearing of the capture of Bit-imbi, left the city of Madaktu, and, abandoning the defence of the plain, retired to the mountains. The Assyrian army now overran the whole of the western half of the country; and Assur-bani-pal gives the names of twenty-nine of the principal cities of Elam captured in this campaign. Tammariu, whose former rebellion had been forgiven, accompanied the Assyrian army, and was made king by order of Assur-bani-pal, in the city of Shushan. But the treacherous Elamite, as soon as he was settled in the government, plotted the destruction of the Assyrian force which had placed him on the throne. In this he was unsuccessful; and Assur-bani-pal at once dethroned him, and had him brought to Assyria. He truly remarks that this was "not the first transgression of Tammariu;" but his conduct towards him stands in marked contrast with his treatment of other rebellious vassals. While they were punished by death and sometimes torture, he appears to have spared the life of Tammariu even after this second rebellion.

On the deposition of Tammariu, Umman-aldas II. returned from the mountains, and once more possessed himself of all the country. Assur-bani-pal now resolved on the complete conquest of Elam; and, taking the field at the head of his army, he crossed the frontier, passing Bit-imbi, which he had destroyed in his former campaign, and entered the districts of Rasi and Hamanu. Umman-aldas once more retired from Madaktu, to the city of Dur-undasi, and crossing the river Itite, which he had strongly fortified, resolved to make a stand there. Assur-bani-pal meanwhile took city after city, ending with the capture of Dur-undasi. He then stood with his army on the west bank of the Itite opposite the position of the Elamites. The Assyrian soldiers, when they saw the other side of the river crowned by the forces

of the enemy, were afraid to cross; and Assur-bani-pal had recourse to the old expedient of a vision.\* His account is as follows: "My army the river Itite crowned with the enemy saw, and feared the crossing. The goddess dwelling in the city of Arbela in the middle of the night to my soldiers sent a dream, and said these words to them: 'I will march in front of Assur-bani-pal, the king whom my hands have created.' At this vision my troops rejoiced, and crossed the river triumphantly." The army of Umman-aldas was now overthrown; and he fled to the mountains. Assur-bani-pal then marched through the rest of the country, desolating it as he went; and fire and sword were carried for two months through Elam. All active resistance had now ceased. The record becomes little more than a list of cities plundered and burned, and of people killed or carried into captivity. Elam, which had been one of the foremost states in Asia ever since the time of Abraham, was reduced to a howling wilderness. The statement of the Assyrian king in one place is: "For thirty-one days the land of Elam to its utmost borders I swept; the passage of men and the treading of herds and flocks I caused to cease utterly; the goods of their fields I carried off; beasts of the desert, hyenas, wild animals, and birds undisturbed I caused to lay down in the midst of them." The account of the destruction of Shushan, which is very long, records the destruction of the walls, palaces, and temples, the overturning of the monuments, the carrying away of the gold, silver, images of the gods, and statues of the kings, the desecration of the altars, and the captivity of the priests. One point in connection with the sacking of Shushan is of especial interest, namely, the recovery of an image of the goddess Nana. This image, according to Assur-bani-pal, had been 1635 years in the hands of the Elamites; and he further declares it to have been originally carried off from Babylonia by a king named Kudur-nanhundi. Here we should have a positive date of a very early period, only that we cannot at present fix the time when Assur-bani-pal restored the image to the city of Uruk (Warka). Some of his inscriptions mention the restoration after the first conquest of Shushan, cir. B.C. 655; others, after the first war with Umman-aldas, cir. B.C. 645; others, after the destruction of Shushan, cir. B.C. 643. This makes an uncertainty of about twelve years as to the

\* This is the fourth dream mentioned in the annals of Assur-bani-pal. One copy of the annals (Cylinder A.) states that he was encouraged by a dream before proceeding against his brother Saul-mugina.



date of the conquest of Babylonia by the Elamites, which must have been between B.C. 2290 and 2278. At a later period of his reign Assur-bani-pal gives us the last act in the Elamite drama: Umman-aldas II., who had taken refuge in the mountains, after concealing himself for some time, was captured and brought a prisoner to Nineveh; and Elam was formally annexed to Assyria.

Assur-bani-pal now turned to Arabia. Vahta, king of Arabia\* (as before stated) had divided his army into two parts. The main wing he commanded in person; and he possessed himself in succession of Udu-mi (Edom), Azaran (Hezron), Haurina (Hauran), Muhaba (Moab), Zubite (Zobah), and other places. While he was fighting with the Elamites, Assur-bani-pal sent one of his generals to reconquer these districts; and the forces of the king of Arabia were driven out of Palestine with great slaughter. Vahta fled from the Assyrian army, and sought refuge with the Nabateans, then governed by a king named Nadnu (Nathan). The king of the Nabateans, however, had already submitted to Assur-bani-pal; and he reminded Vahta that he was powerless to help him. Vahta had been joined in the invasion of Palestine by Ammuladin, called "king of Kedar."† who fell into the hands of the Assyrians, together with Adiya the queen consort of Vahta; they were both sent to Assur-bani-pal to Assyria. Meanwhile after the flight of Vahta, the people of Arabia proceeded to choose another sovereign, and selected a nephew of Vahta, who bore the same name as himself, and whom we will call Vahta II. Vahta I. had likewise sent an army headed by two brothers, Abiyateh and Aimu, to aid Saul-mugina. These chiefs had gone to Babylon, and shared and suffered with the besieged Babylonians; but before the city was taken they tried to escape by flight, and failed to pass the Assyrians. Abiyateh now presented himself at the camp

of the Assyrians, and swore allegiance to Assur-bani-pal, who received him with favour and conferred upon him the crown of Arabia. He, on returning to that country, shared the power with Vahta II., whom the Arabians had chosen, and began to intrigue with Nathan the Nabatean. All three kings ultimately joined in hostilities against Assyria. Bands of Arabs and Nabateans now spread themselves along the Assyrian border, ravaging and plundering wherever they went. Assur-bani-pal, after the conquest of the Elamites, determined to put a stop to these inroads. His army was collected at Nineveh; and, though the floods had not subsided, they at once crossed the Tigris and subsequently the Euphrates. They then passed through the desert of Vas, which extends from the neighbourhood of the Euphrates to Palestine. The march across this desert was a severe strain on the troops. One copy of the annals says: "They passed across the land of Vas, a region of very great thirst, where the birds of heaven had made no nest, and the beasts of the desert were not in it." Another copy only applies this description to part of the region, calling Vas "a region of very great thirst, where birds of heaven and beasts of the desert are all that exist in it." The march of the Assyrian army carried them about 700 miles from Nineveh, into the territory of the Nabateans. Here they arrived at a city called Hadatta, and thence marched to Laribda, a city having a tower built of stones, where there were springs of water. By the side of these springs they pitched their camp; and from here they struck again into the desert to the cities of Hurarina, Yarki, and Aialla, and came up with the forces of the Nabateans, the Isammih, and the worshippers of Adar-Samain,\* the great national deity of the Arabians. They routed the Arabs, capturing great numbers of men, asses, camels, and sheep. The spoil was brought to Aialla, where there was water; and from that point the Assyrians marched on Quziiti, a city about 40 miles distant, to which Vahta had retired. They captured the place, taking Vahta, his family, and great spoil, including camels, sheep, and asses. The army now returned to Damascus to deposit the spoil; and then again setting out they took the city of Hulhuliti, 6 kaspu (42 miles) from Damascus. Here Abiyateh and Aimu† fell

\* The Arabian campaign is the most difficult to understand of all the wars of Assur-bani-pal; and it is the only one the text of which we have not been able to complete. The copies vary very much; and some of the events are repeated. It is evident that the writers have been more intent on showing the glory of Assur-bani-pal than in tracing the history of the war. One copy gives the following imaginary conversation between the Arabians: "The men of Arabia one to another addressed each other thus concerning these many evil things which happened to Arabia: 'They are because of our duty to the god Assur, which we have neglected, and have been rebellious against the benefits of Assur-bani-pal, the king who delights the heart of the god Bel.'"

† Considerable confusion is caused by the fact that some copies of the annals call Vahta king of Kedar.

\* Probably a name of the sun. The Assyrian inscriptions elsewhere speak of the sun-worship among the Arabs.

† From the mutilated state of the inscriptions, the ultimate fate of the Arab princes is uncertain, except in the case of Aimu, who was carried to Nineveh and flayed alive.

into their hands. The fugitives from the city took refuge in the district of Hukkurna; and the Assyrians returned to their own country laden with booty. So plentiful were camels in Assyria after this war that they were sold in the gate of Nineveh for half a shekel (between 4 and 5 drachms) of silver.

After the conquest of the Arabians Assur-bani-pal punished the cities of Usu and Akku (on the coast of Palestine), which had refused their tribute. This brings the history of the reign down to about B.C. 640, or possibly a little later; for in most cases the Assyrians have given no clue to the years when the campaigns took place. Of the political history of the last years of the reign of Assur-bani-pal we know nothing. He died about B.C. 626, and was succeeded by his son Assur-ebil-ili-kainni. His death was the signal for a general revolt; and under his son the empire rapidly declined, and Nineveh itself was captured and burned by the Babylonians and Medes.

The literature of the reign of Assur-bani-pal is very extensive, and comprises almost every variety of subject. Among the most important inscriptions are those giving the history of the reign. They are generally called "annals," though no regnal years are given in any of them, and the events are classed rather according to the localities in which they occurred than in their chronological order. The various editions of the royal history differ both in the substance and order of the events. One inscription boldly transfers the embassy of the king of Arabia from the reign of Esarhaddon to that of Assur-bani-pal. Whereas, in the original account, Sennacherib carries away the Arabian gods, and Hazail comes to Esarhaddon to ask for their return, this copy of the history makes Esarhaddon carry off the gods, and Vahta the son of Hazail comes to Assur-bani-pal to beg for them. The great number of the inscriptions in some measure compensates for their discrepancies, and makes it possible to give a fairly correct account of the reign. The most important of the historical texts is the decagon cylinder found in the ruins of the palace of Assur-bani-pal, at Kouyunjik. This cylinder when perfect contained over 1,200 lines of cuneiform writing. It is now in a fragmentary condition; but the inscription can be restored by the aid of duplicates, except about twenty lines, which are altogether lost. Another good text is on an octagon cylinder, called Cylinder B, to distinguish it from the decagon; but it only carries the history down to the rebellion of Saul-mugina, whereas the other carries it to the capture of Akku and the captivity of

Umman-aldasi. Several good historical tablets belong to this reign, the most important being one with the history of the Egyptian wars and the submission of Gyges of Lydia. A considerable portion of the historical information is written on the dispatch tablets sent from the various governors and generals to the king. There are about 1,000 of these dispatches in the British Museum; and they afford valuable information as to the state of the empire. Interspersed with them are the orders and answers of Assur-bani-pal to his officers. The following is a letter from the king to Bil-ibni, his general in Babylonia, who had just sent him a dispatch regarding the movements of the Puqudi, a Chaldean tribe then located on the great canal near Babylon:—"The will of the king to Bel-ibni. Peace from me to thy heart; may thy health be good. Concerning the Puqudi [Pekod] who are over the canal, of whom thou sendest to me, good is the man who exalteth the house of his lords, who seeth and who is silent, and the ears of his lords he openeth to it [i. e. informs his superiors of the matter], by the matter which thou sendest to me thou hast opened my ears." Many of the mythological tablets of this reign are very fine; and those with lists of good and evil omens are extremely curious. Most of these tablets belonged to the great library\* of Assur-bani-pal at Nineveh. The knowledge of writing was, however, not confined to the court scribes; for there are letters and other written documents of this age belonging to the general mass of the people, and some from women.

Of the arts Assur-bani-pal was a great patron. He built many temples and palaces, the principal one being the palace called Bit-riduti at Nineveh. This had been founded by Sennacherib, and was repaired and enlarged by Assur-bani-pal. The sculptures which adorned its walls were the finest found in Assyria; the hunting scenes, now

\* Since the date of the article on "Babylonian and Assyrian Libraries," in *The North British Review*, for January, 1870, the present writer has found in the British Museum part of an old Babylonian library from Senkereh. It dates at least as far back as the sixteenth century B.C. There are mythological tablets, with lists of the gods, lists of temples, a geographical list made before Babylon was the metropolis, a tablet of measures of length (referred to above), and a list of cube roots similar to the list of square roots discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson. These tablets give some valuable information, including characters for fractions. The attention of students should be directed to the tablets of birth portents, and similar inscriptions of the time of Assur-bani-pal; they will be found to give a number of words not used in the historical inscriptions.

in the British Museum, are especially remarkable, and form one of the most valuable parts of the collection. He likewise made additions to the palace of Esarhaddon (now buried under the mound of Nebbiyunas); but these have not yet been explored. The principal temple of Nineveh, called Bit-masmasu, one of the most ancient structures in the country, which had been founded in the nineteenth century B. C., was also rebuilt by him, as well as the temple of Nergal at Sheref Khan. The temple of the goddess of Arbela was entirely rebuilt, and adorned with great splendour by Assur-bani-pal, who considered himself to be especially under the protection of this deity. In Babylonia, according to his annals, he restored the principal temples, including that of Nipur (Niffer), which in early ages had been the national temple of the Babylonians, and that of Bit-saggal at Babylon, and Bit-Zida at Borsippa. In the temple of Bit-saggal at Babylon, there was a celebrated chariot for the god Merodach to drive in: it is the subject of one of the old Babylonian chants; and it was redecored by Assur-bani-pal with gold, silver, and precious stones. The public works show that the period was one of great splendour, but at the same time of great cruelty. The tortures and mutilations already described are represented on the walls of the palaces, as things to be gloried in. The captives taken in war were ground down with heavy toil, having to do all the rough work of building the palaces; and even the Arabian princes who had been captured were compelled to carry the bricks for the building. Outside the eastern gate of Nineveh, Assur-bani-pal had large preserves for keeping his hunting dogs, and the animals of the chase. Lions were caged here ready for the king's sport; and the sculptures show the keepers opening the doors of these cages and letting the animals out, while further on the king is engaged in shooting and spearing them. One at least of the Arab kings, Ammuladin of Kedar, was kept a prisoner here, shut up with the king's hounds, as a degradation.

The military strength of the empire was kept up at this time in the following manner. All the governors of districts had to pay a certain fixed sum to the royal treasury, and also to attend, each with a body of troops, whenever the king made war. These troops constituted the main body of the army. Auxiliaries, furnished by kings either subject to or in alliance with Assyria, formed the remainder. The officer next in power to the king, in fact the commander-in-chief of the army, was the turtanu tartan: he also governed a province which lay on the bor-

ders of Babylonia. Another title of the first rank was that of rab-saki, Rabshakeh. Sennacherib was rabshakeh during his father's life-time; and this title was sometimes held by the tartan. In the time of Assur-bani-pal a second tartan was created, whose station was on the northern frontier, and who was called the "Tartan of Kummuhu." In the absence of the king it was the duty of the tartan to conduct military expeditions or see to the defence of the country. But no expedition was undertaken, no city besieged, no battle fought, without enquiring of the oracles whether the time was propitious. Assur-bani-pal was at least as superstitious as any of his predecessors; and in his reign a tablet was written in which the favourable and unfavourable times for warlike operations are given. According to this authority the month Abu (July) was the only one entirely unfavourable for military operations. The most interesting point in connection with the tablet is the account of the divisions of the night. Among the Assyrians and Babylonians the night was divided into three watches—the first watch which was favourable for an attack on a city, the middle watch which was unfavourable for a night attack, and the morning watch which was again favourable.

Assur-bani-pal was selfish, arrogant, and cruel, fond of pleasures and display, slavish to his gods, and capricious in the choice of his favourites. His reign marks the grandest era in Assyrian history, whether we regard the extent of the empire, the magnitude of its wars, or the state of its arts; but the constant drain on its resources, caused by the great military expeditions, rapidly exhausted the strength of the nation, and prepared it for its final fall.

#### ART. II.—PARPAGLIA'S MISSION TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

AMONG the riddles of history there is one, much debated but still very far from solution, concerning the reasons which prompted Queen Elizabeth to establish the Church of England, the means she employed for this end, and the attitude of Rome in the matter. The many historians of the Queen tell each a different tale; and their accounts vary so much, and are so often perfectly irreconcilable, that a student who seeks for truth in the collective evidence of earlier writers is apt to become utterly bewildered. And this confusion can only be heightened by the superficial study of a mere fraction of

the documents preserved at Simancas or elsewhere. It is true that even the published Calendar of State-papers at the English Record Office, and a bare hundredth part of the correspondence of Philip II. and his agents, are quite sufficient to destroy the credit of the old stories told by Sarpi or Burnet, by Fox or by Dodd; but the materials thus supplied are utterly inadequate to build up a new and accurate version of Queen Elizabeth's history. Such a work must remain impossible till the archives and libraries of Simancas and Madrid, of Brussels and Paris, of Vienna and Rome, have been systematically searched, and the collections in England fully explored. But when this has been done, there is little doubt that all or nearly all those strange ways of Elizabeth which puzzle present historians will receive an easy and natural explanation. She may not come out as a person who from the first acted upon a preconcerted plan, who had principles to which she was firm under all circumstances, or an end she never lost sight of. She will probably still appear as a wayward and passionate woman. But she will not justify the picture that has been drawn of her as a monstrous compound of blindness and perspicacity, of violence and self-control, of indecision and promptitude, alternating between selfishness, folly, and statesmanship, now mean and now heroic, but never logical and consistent.

Elizabeth was a woman of singularly strong mind, of considerable talents and energy, but of inordinate vanity and self-conceit. This vanity and self-conceit led her into many errors; but at critical moments her daring and self-reliance enabled her sometimes to brave and overcome the perils she herself had created. Her moral feelings were probably very much of the sceptical or utilitarian kind. In other words, she had no principles. Whatever she considered to tend to the good of herself and her people, however bad it might be in itself, became good and just in her eyes. In this respect she was the exact reverse of her sister Mary. Mary was conscientious to the extreme, and sacrificed both her own and her people's happiness to abstract theories; Elizabeth simply aimed at being firmly seated on the throne of a powerful England. Mary was a true and staunch friend, but a cruel and unrelenting enemy: Elizabeth was false and fickle, but rather humane for her times. Mary would not swerve for any earthly consideration from what she regarded as the path of salvation, and would never conform to what she considered a false and heretical worship: Elizabeth had no insuperable objection to any creed. Under Henry VIII.

she had lived a member of his Church; under Edward VI. she had readily submitted to the Puritan discipline, though it appears from her subsequent behaviour that she disliked it; under Mary she had indeed offered some resistance to the pressure employed to make her frequent the Catholic worship; but as soon as Mary died, and she herself was Queen, she became, if not a devout, at least a regular attendant at mass.

But while it is highly probable that Elizabeth looked with equal indifference upon most dogmas of the different communions, and would on theological grounds have quarrelled with none of them, her feelings towards the clergy were far from friendly. She could not brook the control which at that time the clergy sought to exercise over the private acts even of the Sovereign. She could not bear the epithets with which their admonitions from the pulpit were seasoned. Her imperious temper could not allow an independent body to censure Sunday by Sunday the acts of her Government. She hated the clergy, even of her own Church; and for the casual admonition she had to submit to she avenged herself by deliberate insult. But the intensity of the feeling was not the same in all cases. Those who were least dependent upon her, who could brave her rage and set her anger at defiance, the powerful clergy of Rome, or those again who, though without worldly power, were still prepared to confront every danger in proclaiming what they considered the word of God, the disciples of Knox, Calvin, or Beza, had for these very reasons a chief place in her aversion. Nor could the clergy of the more moderate persuasion of Augsburg and Heidelberg be entirely acceptable to her. They were independent of her; the nucleus of their church lay in Germany, so that, in case of their opposing her wishes, she would have had no means to reduce them to obedience.

And on one matter she had a serious disagreement with all these churchmen—Catholic and Calvinist, Lutheran and Reformed, alike. Freethinker and latitudinarian as she was upon most points, there was one doctrine to which she clung with the utmost tenacity; and this doctrine was rejected by all the churches just enumerated. It was the one which had led to the first separation of England from Rome, and which was now to lead to the second. A marriage with a deceased brother's wife, the Queen said, was contrary to the law of God; no authority on earth could allow it, no sanction made it valid. Whoever would not agree to this she held to be openly or covertly her enemy, since he maintained that the marriage of

Henry VIII. with Catherine of Aragon was valid, and consequently the one with Anne Boleyn invalid, and Elizabeth herself, the offspring of this latter, illegitimate. To the honour of the Protestants of Germany, Switzerland, and France, it must be said that, however much they had courted Henry VIII., however much they looked to Elizabeth for help and support, they would never concede this point. Even at the risk of losing their most important ally, they had boldly proclaimed their belief in the perfect validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine; and they could no longer retreat from this position. But Elizabeth could not afford to have anything of this kind openly maintained in her dominion. It was not only a question of vanity with her: it was one of vital importance. The great majority of Englishmen of the sixteenth century considered their Sovereign as placed upon the throne by a special grace of the Almighty, conferred upon the legitimate heirs of their ancient kings. That such a grace could be conferred upon the offspring of an adulterous intercourse few of them would have believed; so that if it became openly acknowledged and generally understood that the Queen was a bastard, and that her right rested only upon an Act of Parliament, the loyalty of multitudes of her subjects would receive a severe shock. In this respect it was even questionable whether, at the moment of her accession, Catholicism or Protestantism was the more favourable to her. Though they both agreed as to the fact of her legitimacy, their behaviour with regard to it would be different. If she embraced Protestantism, the more important members of the Protestant clergy might understand the necessity of being silent on the subject of her birth. But the preachers who had only just shaken off the yoke of Rome, and had not yet submitted to a new discipline, were not the men to be mute at the bidding of their chiefs. In a moment of ill-humour outbursts might occur; the Queen might be reminded of the fact that she owed her power to worldly measures alone; and the people, listening to such declamations, might lose the respect due to the sovereign. If, on the contrary, she chose to remain an obedient daughter of the Church of Rome, the question as to her right to the throne would not be raised. The Papal ministers would find some technical device to cover her illegitimacy; and the Catholic clergy would not throw doubt on the claims of a queen who was recognized by the Pope.

For these reasons it has been maintained that Elizabeth, if she had preferred inglorious

safety to the bold and adventurous course she pursued, would have done well to remain a Catholic and to marry an archduke. This opinion, however, does not appear a sound one. Though Elizabeth might certainly, for the moment, have reckoned upon the forbearance, even upon the assistance, of the Holy See, yet, sooner or later, a quarrel would have arisen. Elizabeth personally was haughty and overbearing; her people were intensely averse to all foreign interference in their affairs; and, while the reforming Popes Pius v. and Sixtus v. would have claimed an absolute obedience, she would, both from inclination and policy, have refused it. Rome accordingly would have thrown her over as a mere political instrument, to which no respect was due; and it is very questionable whether, in such a case, she would have had an equally good position for opposing to the Church of Rome a Church of her own. Still there were other reasons of great weight, which, at the moment of Elizabeth's accession, made it imperative upon her to remain for a time a Catholic, at least in appearance. When Queen Mary died, on the 17th of November 1558, she left the realm at war with France, unable to defend itself by its own exertions, and possessing only one ally—Philip II. of Spain. Thus, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, she found herself in a political league, which, besides herself and Philip, comprised, as one of the most important members, Paul IV. In the opposite camp were the King of France, Mary Stuart, and the Protestant Princes of Germany. The men who a few years later were Elizabeth's friends, Coligny, Dandelot, Vendôme, Condé, were now eager for Mary Stuart's claim, against which Philip was the only barrier. Philip's party, therefore, had to be treated with consideration; and nothing could be done that might weaken it. For these reasons it was that Cecil, at the moment of Elizabeth's accession, wished to send a special embassy not only to Philip, Ferdinand, and the other secular Princes of the Catholic side, but also to the Pope himself.\* It is true that for a moment Elizabeth thought of abandoning this wise policy, and getting out of her awkward position by simply betraying Philip. In return for her treachery she would have asked for the complete recognition of herself as Queen of England, and the restoration of the fortress of Calais. On this subject François de Vendosme, Vidame de Chartres, Governor of Calais,†

\* London, Record Office, Eliz. For. vol. i.

† Mr. Froude and the Calenderers of the English Record Office mistake this man for Anthony

corresponded with her, and sent Guido Cavalcanti over to England; but mutual distrust and the extravagance of Elizabeth's demands prevented the scheme from being carried any further. Thus Elizabeth had to remain friends with Philip and the Pope. Her policy was to go to mass; and to mass accordingly she went.

At last, however, on the 12th of March 1559, the long-desired peace between France and England was concluded at Câteau-Cambrésis. The terms were such that the Queen could consider herself free; and she accordingly began to prosecute her aims in England. The essential object for her was the reconstitution of the Church of Henry VIII., since this Church was the only one which considered her legitimate. She lost no time. At a disputation held at Westminster between Protestant and Catholic divines, marked partiality was shown to the former by the royal officers; and when the latter ventured to protest, an order came from Court committing them to the Tower. Hostilities having begun, the allegiance to Rome was thrown over. Elizabeth, who had but just refused the title of Supreme Head, now accepted that of Governor of the Church of England. The liturgy was again used instead of the mass; the communion was given in both kinds; and the crucifix was banished from the altar. The point at which the Queen really aimed in all these changes—the law about forbidden marriages—was carried quietly and almost unheeded along with the other reforms. Without any noise being made about it, the Queen was legitimated.

The opposition to these proceedings was not an organized movement. Rome had not yet spoken out. The authority of the Holy See had not yet been thrown into the balance. For at Rome Elizabeth had a powerful protector in the person of Philip II., who, in his dread of the pretensions of Mary Stuart, forgot his religious intolerance, and shielded the heretical Queen. Paul IV. was thus prevented from acting against her for a while; and just at the moment when he seemed decided to do so, he died. A long interregnum followed, leaving Elizabeth free for more than four months, to establish as firmly as might be the discipline of the new Church. A new Archbishop of Canterbury had been named in the person of Matthew Parker; and this done, the other Sees were quickly filled with Elizabeth's creatures.

Thus it came to pass that when, at Christ-

of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, though the one signs F. de Vendôme and the other Antoine de Bourbon.

mas 1559, the Cardinal de' Medici<sup>†</sup> ascended the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Pius IV., he found his spiritual domain as disordered as his temporal one. Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the north of Germany, were almost wholly Protestant. In Poland, according to the Nuncio Delfino, only a spark was wanted to kindle the flames of a general rebellion. In Germany the accession of Maximilian to the Imperial throne would soon give the upper hand to the Reformers. In the Low Countries manifest signs of the coming storm appeared; and in Switzerland religious war was already raging. France was drifting the same way; and the Huguenots, though they had as yet not broken out in open rebellion, were daily gaining in strength and boldness. The very fact of the accession of Francis II., and the influence which, by means of his queen, Mary Stuart, the Guises obtained over the feeble king, tended rather to injure than to fortify the cause of Catholicism. Latitudinarians such as Catherine de' Medici, Montmorency, and St. André, afraid of the growing power of the house of Guise, were less averse to an alliance with the Reformers. A national council, which was already talked of, might, under such circumstances, prove the first step towards a national schism. For all these movements England was a natural centre and ally. While the northern States were too far away, while in Germany the several princes were too insignificant and only half sovereign, while in France the parties were matched, England had the advantage of a central position, a government supreme and independent of all other powers, and an official recognition of the Reformation. It was the one country which was always ready to encourage revolt against Rome, a safe refuge from persecution, a constant focus of infection. Already the Protestants of Scotland, encouraged by Elizabeth's agents, had formed the famous League of the Congregation, and risen in open rebellion; the French Reformers were plotting underhand with the English Ambassador: and the crews of the English ships trading along the coast of Flanders, France, Spain, and Portugal, carried the seeds of heresy to countries which hitherto had remained comparatively pure and orthodox. It was therefore a matter of the highest moment for Catholicism that Elizabeth should not be allowed to pursue her course, and revolutionize all around her. If England was not to become a permanent centre of opposition, a struggle must be made to gain it back. Nor did such a struggle appear hopeless; on the contrary, it was thought that the task might prove an easy

one. In England, unlike Protestant Germany, a great number, perhaps even a majority, of the people had remained firm in their creed, and were only prevented by the tyranny of the Council from openly professing their religion. While help was due to these faithful brethren, their numbers made it probable that under proper guidance they would themselves be able to stem the tide. What was wanted was an organization of the many elements hostile to the Reformation; and the accomplishment of this the Pope regarded as a duty.

At that time the theoretical panacea for all the evils of Christendom was a General Council; nor was Pius iv. by any means doubtful of its salutary effect. From the day of his election, he had been decided to call such a Council together; but owing to the disturbed state of Europe—the very anarchy it was to heal—its convocation would require some time. Pius, however, well knew that too much time had already been lost, especially with respect to the Queen of England, who had for months past been allowed to proceed without any check from Rome. If something was not done quickly, it might prove too late. The English Catholics, finding no assistance in the very quarter from which they had a right to expect it, and seeing that the course taken by the Queen was not even censured at Rome, would lose heart, and give up all opposition. And thus England, sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of heresy, would be lost irretrievably.

Perhaps a Pope of transcendent genius and strength might still have brought England back to his obedience; but Pius iv. was not such a man. His election had been due much more to the absence of those distinctive qualities which had excited hostility against his competitors than to any pre-eminence of his own. A kind, upright man, of considerable capacity and intelligence, and very earnest in his work, he might in quieter times have proved an excellent Pope. But his position was so complicated and difficult that it required both a minute acquaintance with the details and a vast and statesman-like view of the whole. Pius had neither. Under the rule of his predecessor he had scarcely had any share in the government of the Church or of the Pontifical States. He had not, like many of his former colleagues, been sent on embassies, and lived in foreign countries. Without previous opportunity to develop any talents he might possess, and to gain by practice the habit of affairs, he had come to the throne of St. Peter without any formed views as to the policy it would be necessary to pursue; and

in English affairs, as well as in all others, he was dependent for information upon his counsellors.

At that time there were two sets of men at Rome who were held to be particularly well acquainted with England, and fully able to judge of the remedy to be applied to its state. One of these sets consisted of the English Catholics who had flocked together to Rome. Their leaders were Dr. Edward Carne, lately the Queen's ambassador, and Sir Francis Englefield, who had been of Queen Mary's council; and they were in constant correspondence with the English malcontents. The other set consisted of the Italians who had lately been in England, and were nearly all of them friends or servants of the late Cardinal Pole—Commendone, Priuli, Ormanetto, Parpaglia, and others. Pius considered that these men would be able and ready to tell the truth and to give good advice, and consulted them on what should be done with regard to England. But they could not give good counsel; for their view of the case was narrowed by their own passions, and they were entirely unacquainted with the real grounds of the new schism, and with its relation to general politics. The English malcontents, seeing the Queen rather favourable to the outward forms of Catholic worship, and rather violent against the ultra-Protestants, fondly believed that she might not after all be really disaffected to the ancient creed, and that, if only Cecil and his adherents could be driven from office, she might, out of fear of Puritanism, return to union with Rome. The Italians were probably better aware of her real position. They understood that she had provoked the whole schism only because of the marriage prohibition contained in the English Book of Common Prayer, and not contained in the Canon Law; so that, as the Canon Law could not be changed to please her, and as she would not and could not give up her point, no conciliation would be possible. But they had nothing to lose, and would only gain in importance and perhaps even in emoluments if a negotiation were begun. They had, moreover, a grudge against Elizabeth. Some of them had been treated rather roughly at the Queen's accession; and they had all lost the prospect of advancement from England. Thus both the Englishmen and the Italians agreed on one point: a Nuncio was to be sent to England in order to admonish the Queen to give up her errors and live as a good Catholic. The policy of inaction which had hitherto been pursued showed, they said, a spirit of unbecoming weakness; and carelessness on the part of

Rome could only disgust and dishearten the faithful Catholics. The King of Spain, who recommended it, did so from political motives. His dread of Mary Stuart, his jealousy of France, made him forget the real welfare of Christianity. The Pope might easily perceive that the accounts which the Spanish ministers gave of Elizabeth's doings were always too favourable, that they tried to colour over whatever she did, but that they could not deny that ever since her accession she had steadily gone on in her work of separation from Rome. On the other hand, the course which the French seemed to desire—that the Pope should declare against her immediately and without previous conciliatory efforts—was equally fraught with dangers. The English people would resent such a measure; the Catholics would be pursued with violence, and no toleration whatever shown to them; bloody wars would be the result, and who could know how they would end?\*

All this was true enough. The Pope had long suspected both the French and the Spanish ministers, and all the more as the latter were unable to tell him of their one solitary hope—Elizabeth's inclination for Dudley. So he took the middle course. He yielded to the repeated entreaties of Elizabeth's enemies; and, having decided to send a Nuncio to her, at the end of April 1560, he, at their request, appointed Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, to the office. The Abbot was to proceed by way of Germany and Flanders, and once arrived in England was to admonish the Queen to leave her evil ways and return to the obedience of the Holy See. If she would only do this, he was to promise her a most benevolent welcome, and all possible help on the part of the Pope. But if he found her obstinate in her heresy, he was to explain to her the dangers to which she exposed herself by braving the censures of the Church and the deprivation of her realm.†

Vincenzo Parpaglia was a Piedmontese by birth. He had, we do not know at what time, entered the service of Charles III. of Savoy, his liege lord, and had been employed by him in several diplomatic affairs, and rewarded by the title and income of an Abbot of the convent of San Saluto. Having left the service of the Duke, he entered the household of Cardinal Pole, with whom he acquired considerable influence, and whose entire confidence he enjoyed. He was employed by Pole in delicate mis-

sionable skill. He was sent to procure the hasty and inconsiderate nomination of Pole as legate to England, while the country was still in open rebellion against Rome, and, finding that Julius III. had already forestalled his master's wishes, he went, nevertheless, to Rome to settle the minor points. Again, when the Cardinal had finally been received in England, he almost exclusively conducted the negotiations which his master, as Legate pro pace, kept up with France and Spain, until the conference of Mark was brought about. He continued to intrigue at both courts, until at last both French and Spaniards, suspecting the agent of Pole, and suspecting Pole himself, concluded a truce without their intervention.\* All this time he had shown proof of considerable ability; but at the same time he had evinced so great a love of intrigue and mischief that Philip strongly remonstrated with Pole, who was forced to dismiss and disown his servant.† Parpaglia now went to Paris, there to plot and intrigue with Cardinal Caraffa, whom he followed to Rome; and next, all at once, he left for Flanders, with the ostensible purpose of entering the service of Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy. There we find him at the moment of Queen Elizabeth's accession eagerly endeavouring to excite distrust and jealousy between her ministers and the French and Spaniards. He was, however, so well known already at Philip's court that he excited universal suspicion; and, no patron stepping in to shield him from the royal anger, he was arrested and afterwards banished from the King's dominions.‡ He was returning to Rome by way of France, when he was once more arrested. His intrigues had not been more acceptable to the French than to the Spaniards; and the treatment he had to undergo in the French prisons seems to have been still worse than that he had to submit to in Flanders.§ His imprisonment however was not of long duration; for in the beginning of 1560 we find him again at Rome, exerting himself in his accustomed way, quite ready to go on any dangerous errand, provided it gave scope for the display of his abilities.

Pius IV., in deciding upon this mission and choosing such a man as Parpaglia for it, fully understood that it might and even must lead to further action; that it would occasion considerable excitement in England; that it might weaken the Government, and

\* Paris, *Affaires Etrangères*; and Venice, *Inglaterra*, vol. I.

† Simancas, *Guerra*, Leg. 62, fol. 8.

‡ Granvella Papers, vol. v. pp. 389, 399.

§ Simancas, *Est. Leg.* 886, p. 25.

\* Samancas, *Est. Leg.* 520, fol. 40.

† Ibid. *Leg.* 886, fol. 25.



even lead to its total overthrow, and make the country an easy prey to a foreign conqueror. Ten years earlier such considerations would have restrained the action of the Pope; but the last few years had strangely altered the position of the different parties.

Europe, in the early part of the sixteenth century, presented a spectacle resembling in some points that which three centuries later it presented under Napoleon I. The ambition of Charles V. equalled that of the great French Emperor; he, too, dreamed of nothing less than a universal empire. When the battle of Pavia seemed to have decided in his favour, his conduct became so oppressive that he met with resistance even from his former ally, Pope Clement VII. He answered by ordering the Constable of Bourbon to take Rome; and the Pope had to fly for his life to the Castle of St. Angelo. Seeing the immense danger to which the ambition of Charles V. exposed all the sovereigns of Europe, Clement set aside all other considerations and became the ally of every enemy of the Emperor. Only a few years before, when the national movement in Germany had taken a religious form, when a friar had attacked the papal and foreign emissaries, and he and his adherents had declaimed against the divine service being held in a foreign language, the Holy See had strongly opposed the movement and anathematized the new heresiarch. The heresy, however, had grown; it was now not only an opposition to Rome, but an opposition also to the foreign Spanish Emperor; it represented the national party in Germany. The French were already allied with them against the common foe; and into this league Clement VII. entered. The most Christian king, the German Protestants, the Turks, and the Pope, who soon became the acknowledged chief of the Italian patriots, were from that time allies against Charles V. Sometimes, indeed, when the Emperor's star seemed waning altogether, when it was thought that misfortune and sickness had broken his spirit, when no danger was any longer apprehended from his ambition and power, and when at the same time the Protestants, heated by religious fanaticism, went further and further in their innovations, and gained over one province after another, the Pope felt again as Supreme Pontiff and forgot for a moment the secular prince. Forsaking his allies, he assisted Charles V. against the heretics, and lent him his aid to re-establish the Catholic worship along with the imperial power. But invariably at the very first successes, Charles again became overbearing, and the Pope, offended and

frightened, at once returned to his former policy of opposition to the Emperor. And thus it was that, after more than thirty years of war, after many a battle seemingly decisive, Charles found himself in much the same position as before, while the only party which had been steadily gaining ground was that of the Protestants.

But now all this was changed; and the stormy conclave which led to the election of Pius IV. was to mark a new era in the policy of Rome—the era of reaction. Charles V., the Emperor before whose ambition the Popes had hitherto trembled, was no more. At the end of 1558 he had died at Yuste; and with him had died that ambition and that energy which made him so terrible. Philip, his son, succeeded him in all his dominions, and wore all his crowns except one which practical men might sneer at, but which to Charles appeared the most important of all—the one which sanctioned all his wild schemes—the crown of the Emperor of the Romans. Philip's influence in Germany, vigorously combated by the younger Austrian branch, was but small; and in Italy, though he obtained the title of Imperial Vicar, his power was less than his father's had been. The crown of England and Ireland, which he had worn in right of his wife, he lost by her death a few weeks after that of his father; the crown of Portugal he could not yet hope to inherit. Both on account of this altered position and of the difference of character between him and his father, a total change of politics took place at the Spanish Court. Abandoning all ideas of further conquest, Philip seemed only intent on keeping his own. His ambition was not to be feared; aggression was not to be apprehended from him. The Pope could lay aside all jealousy of the power of the Catholic King, and proceed fearlessly against the enemies of the Church, in the confidence that he would not want them again to defend his temporal throne.

So far Pius had fully understood the question; what lay beyond had not yet become clear to him. Incautiously, and without calculating the consequences, he disclosed his intention of sending a nuncio to England (which had been kept strictly secret) to Francisco de Vargas, King Philip's ambassador.\* Great was his astonishment at the violent opposition his plan immediately met with from the Spaniard. The Pope had never realized the fact, but too well known to Vargas, that if Philip had not the inordinate ambition of his father, that ambition had not died out of Europe, but only

\* Simancas, Est. Leg. 886, fol. 25.

changed sides, and taken up its abode at the court of France. On the 24th of April 1558, the Dauphin Francis, heir to the French crown, had married Mary Stuart, who claimed at Queen Mary's death to be the legitimate heir of the throne of England. A year later Francis and Mary had become King and Queen of France; and they were at the time nearly at open war with Elizabeth. That they harboured plans to drive her out of England, and to take her place for themselves, was certain; nor would the accomplishment of this success have been the last step of their ambition. Having united the British Islands to France, the King and Queen would have been masters of the Channel; they would have been able to cut off the Flemish Provinces from the rest of Philip's dominions, and might have brought about sooner, more completely, and with greater advantage to the French interest, that rising of the Netherlands against Spanish oppression, which was to happen a few years later. A like position and aim give rise to like views and conduct; and thus Francis and Mary, finding themselves successors to Charles v.'s ambition, began to play Charles v.'s game. Casting off all deference for national feelings, they put a strong pressure upon their Scottish subjects. They abandoned their former allies, the Protestants, and became zealous Catholics. They plotted and intrigued both in Italy, and in Flanders and England; and though they were at peace with every one, they kept up a considerable army and navy. They hid their policy so little that Philip would have been blind not to see through it, and a fool not to counteract it. To defend the national independence of England, therefore, became to him an imperative duty: to favour the natural friends of her independence, a secondary but also very important obligation. Already at Câteau Cambresis the Spanish ministers had stoutly maintained the interests of England. To their exertions, to the decided attitude of Philip, it was chiefly due that a promise was extorted from the King of France for the restitution of Calais, that the Dauphin and Dauphiness had to ratify the treaty, thereby recognising Elizabeth as Queen of England, in short that all guarantees were given for the safety of Elizabeth's throne. The Catholic King it had been who had arranged the quarrels between the Queen of England and the Protestant Hanseatic towns. It was in Philip's dominions that Elizabeth borrowed money; his subjects furnished her with arms and ammunition for her troops; in short he proved, if not her friend at heart, her true and faithful ally. He defended the

heretical Queen of England against the French, in order that he might the more securely burn the heretic burghers in Flanders.

But he did even more than this, willingly or unwillingly, for Elizabeth's safety. It was greatly to her advantage that the English Catholics had not been quick to understand the altered position of the Kings of Spain and of France. The latter still appeared to them as the ally of Northumberland, as the aider and abettor of Wyatt, as the instigator of constant revolt against Queen Mary, as the friend of Elizabeth and of heresy. Themselves most earnest in their creed, they were unable to understand that political motives may be stronger than the promptings of religious zeal; that Henry II. of France might have been a good Catholic, though he assisted the heretics; that Philip would assist them in his turn, though himself perfectly orthodox. To them Philip still appeared as the restorer of the faith five years ago, as the husband of pious Queen Mary; and some of them, in their hate of Elizabeth, even saw in him the successor of his wife. Some of them realized part of the truth; but even they either were still hopeful that he would prefer the inspirations of piety to those of policy, or else despaired of convincing the bulk of their party of the change that had taken place. All of them expected from him, and from him alone, advice, guidance, and support. To his soothing influence, to the friendship he showed the Queen, notwithstanding her heretical doings, it is chiefly to be ascribed that the English Catholics offered so little resistance, that as yet no symptom had appeared of rebellion, and that many a faithful son of Rome was fighting in Scotland for the Protestant Lords of the Congregation against the Catholic Queen Regent. Philip's ambassador in England, Alvaro de Quadra, had been directed to act with the greatest circumspection. To the overtures of those who applied to him with a request for assistance, and an offer of services against the Queen, he gave evasive replies. To the more ardent he represented that the time had not yet come, and exhorted them not to squander their forces in too early resistance. To the less violent he intimated that gentle means might still be found to change the Queen's mind, and bring her back to reason. Being himself a Catholic bishop of undoubted zeal for the Church, his influence was sufficient to balance the natural impatience of the more violent adherents of Rome, and the incitement they received from France. De Quadra's policy towards the Queen was in accordance with his behaviour with re-

spect to her subjects. By all gentle means he tried to bring her back to the obedience of Rome. Now he played on her fears of France, upon her aversion to Calvinists and other violent reformers, frightening her to the best of his ability, in order to keep her back from any bold movement against the Catholics; now he encouraged with all his might the intrigue with Lord Robert Dudley; now he threatened her with his master's anger. But he never at that time plotted against her. By the arrival of a nuncio this happy quiet would immediately be disturbed. However great the influence of De Quadra might be, the authority of the Pope's representative would, with the Catholics at least, throw it into the shade. Philip's minister would no longer be master of the situation. Parpaglia, if the Queen admitted him into England, would pursue a policy contrary to that of De Quadra. He would flatter and deceive her; he would allay her fears, lull her vigilance to sleep, rejoice in every fault she committed. And instead of quieting the Catholics he would incite them to resist. The conflicting influences, the different modes of speech of the Spanish ambassador and the nuncio, would shake the credit of both, would disorganize parties and rouse individuals, would lead to disturbance and revolt; and, in the confusion that would ensue, England might become an easy prey to France.

All this Vargas well knew. He had received repeated instructions to prevent any step which might prove dangerous to the Queen of England: \* here was such a step, and it was his duty to oppose it. Scarcely had the Pope told him that a nuncio was to proceed to the court of Queen Elizabeth, to admonish her to forsake her evil ways, when he remonstrated in strong language. He dwelt on the many disadvantages of such a mission. It was well known, he said, who were the real instigators of such a measure, and what were their aims. The Pope ought to remember that England was not alone concerned; that it was not the only country infected with heresy, nor the worst. And what if the nuncio were refused admittance? The Pope must either swallow the affront offered him in the person of his ambassador, and raise the spirit of the heretics by the impunity with which they were allowed to insult him, or he must begin proceedings against the Queen. This latter course would destroy every hope of a peaceful settlement of the question, would make it impossible for the Queen to give way, and would drive her to extreme courses and to retaliation

upon her Catholic subjects. It would, moreover, strengthen her position and weaken the Catholic party in England. Many an Englishman would resent the proceedings against his Queen, would look at the deprivation pronounced against her by the Holy See as an undue interference, and, when called upon to choose between his allegiance to Rome and his allegiance to his Queen, might prefer the latter. It was far more probable that by this mission his Holiness would endanger religion in Flanders and in France than restore it in England. The Pope, seeing Vargas take the matter so earnestly, became rather uneasy. He expressed his regret at not having told him before of what he was going to do. The nuncio, he assured him, would act with the greatest prudence. The man chosen for the office was perfectly fitted for it, knowing England well, having been already employed in delicate negotiations, and therefore sufficiently discreet to feel his way, and do nothing against the true interests of the Holy See, or, what was the same thing, against those of the Catholic king. It was, he said, the abbot of San Saluto. At this name Vargas started afresh, and protested that the Pope had chosen the very worst person for this very worst errand; Parpaglia was a reckless intriguer who would take pleasure in embroiling everything. He was going to proceed in this strain, when, to the great relief of the Pope, some cardinals entered to hold a congregation under his presidency, and gave him a pretext for dismissing the ambassador and escaping his remonstrances.

But Vargas was not to be so easily suppressed. He straightway repaired to Cardinal Charles Borromeo, the Pope's nephew and confidential minister, and freely expounded the reasons which made him object so strongly to the proposed mission and the person chosen for it. As to the mission, he urged strongly the arguments he had already brought forward in the Pope's presence; as to the person, he roundly declared that Parpaglia was the man least of all fitted for the office. Being a servant of the late Cardinal Pole, the abbot was naturally odious to the Queen and to the majority of Englishmen, and on his side could not but still nourish some grudge against those who, in his late master's lifetime, had thwarted his designs. At heart more French than Piedmontese, Parpaglia would not be sufficiently impartial and moderate. His love of mischief, which had been so manifestly shown on former occasions, would lead him to embroil matters even more than they were embroiled already; and, instead of doing good

\* Simancas, Leg. 812, fol. 1; Leg. 885, fol. 208 and 204, etc.

to the cause of religion, he would only promote the cause of France. Besides, as the abbot had, on account of his misconduct, been banished from Philip's dominions, Vargas felt sure that the king could not but resent his nomination, as a sign of small respect to himself. He charged Borromeo to tell the Pope all this, and earnestly to beg of him to abandon the project. The diplomatic cardinal did as he was bidden; but, himself rather favourable to the nuncio, he was no good advocate of the opposite cause. The Pope replied on the following morning, the fourth of May, that he was very sorry the thing gave so much displeasure to Vargas, but that, having gone so far, Parpaglia having already received his commission and leave to depart, it could not be recalled. In future, the Pope promised he would first consult Vargas. To soothe, however, the apprehensions of the ambassador, Borromeo assured him that the abbot had orders to consult about everything with De Quadra, and to be guided by his advice, and that, on his way to London, he was to stop at Brussels to wait for a safe-conduct from the Queen, and at the same time to confer with the Duchess of Parma and Granvella.\*

Still Vargas was not content. He fully understood that all these protestations meant nothing, that the fact of Parpaglia's going, however quiet his outward behaviour, however fair his speeches, would be pernicious to Elizabeth, and that he ought not even to be allowed to ask for admittance into England and to put the Queen in the position of refusing it. Again he went to the Pope, and repeated his remonstrances with such energy that Pius became perplexed, and reluctantly gave way. In order that Vargas might write to Philip about the matter and receive his reply, a courier was sent after Parpaglia, who had already left home, to stop him till the King's answer had arrived. The courier was fortunate enough to overtake the abbot, who, being to his great regret forced to postpone his journey, preferred returning to Rome, there to expostulate with the ministers of the Pope and with Vargas himself,† rather than stay at Viterbo. The same day other couriers were galloping to Spain and to Flanders to warn King Philip, Granvella, and De Quadra of the danger that was threatening the Queen.‡

When Parpaglia's nomination had become certain, the spirit of the English malcontents at Rome rose. When his departure at last took place, their exultation became so strong

that they could no longer hide their joy, and forgot that prudent secrecy which had hitherto served them so well. Little acquainted with the real state of European affairs, they did not foresee the opposition which would be offered to their plans. Sanguine as all refugees are, they already saw the Queen humbled to the dust, and religion restored to their country. Those indeed among them who occupied a more distinguished position, who had still some prudence left, did not manifest their joy too openly, but professed still an outward loyalty to Elizabeth. Sir Edward Carne wrote to the Queen, and apprised her of Parpaglia's coming;\* while Sir Francis Englefield wrote to Bacon, the Lord Keeper, upon the same subject.† Neither the one nor the other thought fit in these letters to explain what share they had had in this mission, what fruit they thought would come of it, or what were their feelings on the subject. But in private letters to their friends they seem to have been less prudent. In one of these, it appears, Carne exultingly declared that Parpaglia was to begin the cognizance of the Queen's right to the throne, and that it was easy to foresee what, in case of obstinacy on her part, would be the award.‡ Others were even more imprudent. Feeling certain that the days of Elizabeth's insolent reign were numbered, they scarcely held it worth while to hide their thoughts any longer, and forgot that the very friends and relations to whom they were addressing their treasonable missives were still in the power of the Queen whom they wished to overthrow.§

All this while the English agent at Venice, John Shers, was keenly watching their proceedings. Whatever he could gather of their doings from the communications of the Venetian Government, from private reports, or by the accounts of his spies, he wrote to Cecil and to the Queen; and by him it was that Elizabeth was first apprised of the danger that was threatening her.¶ The news reached her at a critical moment. Trusting that, whatever she might do, Philip would protect her against the resentment of France, she had taken, with regard to Scotland, a bolder course than her Council advised. First, she had secretly assisted the rebellious lords with money. Then Winter, her admiral, sailed out with the fleet to intercept

\* London, Record Office, Eliz. For. vol. ii. No. 162.

† London, Record Office, Eliz. For. vol. ii. No. 163.

‡ Simancas, Est. Leg. 818, fol. 57.

§ Ibid. Leg. 590, fol. 40.

¶ London, Record Office, Eliz. For. vol. ii. No. 74, 138, 128, etc.

\* Simancas, Est. Leg. 886, fol. 25.

† London, Record Office, Eliz. Foreign, vol. ii.

‡ Simancas, Est. Leg. 886, fol. 31.

the succour which the Marquis d'Elbœuf was to lead over to the French in Scotland; and he would have attempted to do so had not a violent gale accomplished the work for him. But Winter, not content with the victory the elements had given him, riding up the Firth of Forth, attacked and destroyed some French ships, and thereby forced the French commander-in-chief to fall back into Leith. And this not proving sufficient to rouse the Scottish lords into anything like sustained energy, part of the English army, under the command of Lord Grey de Wilton, crossed the border on the 28th of March, joined the Scots, and laid siege to Leith. The enterprise, however, was more difficult than was expected. The town was well fortified, and defended by a garrison of from three to four thousand men under D'Oyselles, Martigues, and La Brosse,—all excellent soldiers. The English sappers, veterans of Philip, worked on at their trenches, notwithstanding the fire of the besieged; but when these latter made a sally, the English foot that were to defend the works were thrown into utter confusion and routed. A blockade, for which the troops were sufficient, would indeed have delivered the town, without great loss, into Elizabeth's hands; but it might have lasted many months; and therefore, as soon as a sufficient breach was battered, a storm was resolved upon. On the 7th of May the English attacked the place. As might be expected of raw levies led by inexperienced captains, they fell into confusion. The galling fire of the French added to the disorder; the bugles had to sound a retreat; and the troops fell back, leaving near a thousand of their comrades in the ditches of the fortress. Though the disaster was not very terrible in fact, it appeared so to an army and a people unused to real war. It was doubtful for a moment whether seven thousand English, assisted by a strong fleet, had not better retire before three thousand French. Norfolk had in all haste to send two thousand men to reinforce Grey; but though the blockade was thus kept up, the English captains had not the slightest wish to renew their experiment of a storm. Leith, it was reckoned, might hold out till August; if the French by that time could assemble a fleet sufficient to break through Winter's squadron, and throw victuals and a thousand or two additional men into Leith, Grey would after all be forced to retire.

At such a conjuncture no news could be more unwelcome to the Queen than that which she received from Italy. She very naturally believed that the mission of Parpaglia originated with Philip and his min-

isters, or at least had not been resolved upon without their knowledge. If such was the case, if neither the Spanish agents at Rome had offered sufficient resistance to a step so very dangerous to her, nor the Spanish ambassador in London had warned her of its approach, she might conclude that Philip was no longer true to her; that weary of her headstrong ways, he was leaving her to her fate. Left to struggle alone with France and with her own Catholic subjects at home, she must succumb. Every post brought bad tidings. The French were arming again; the Scots were wavering; and, worst of all, some intercepted letters of Carne and of his friends showed the Queen how little she could trust to those who seemed to be her friends. Many a man who had been thought true to her appeared now in the light of a traitor; many who had been thought neutral were found to be decided though secret enemies. An abyss seemed to be opening at Elizabeth's feet, ready to swallow her and the Church of her creation. Well might she renew the prophecies of Cassandra, and fear the worst.

Had Parpaglia really been sent with Philip's consent, had he been allowed to fulfil his mission and to ask at least for admittance at Elizabeth's court, the Queen, far from triumphing over her enemies, would have had to fear even for her personal safety. Three courses would have lain open before her, each fraught with considerable danger. First, she might simply have refused to admit Parpaglia and to hear his message. In that case the Pope, after the slight put upon him in the person of his ambassador, could not but have resented the Queen's behaviour. He would all the more have listened to the advice of her enemies; proceedings would have begun against her at Rome; and censures and deprivation might have followed. The Catholics would have deserted her, if not altogether turned against her. But at that moment to lose the support of her Catholic subjects would have been to lose her crown. The English Catholics were cheered by the disaster which had befallen the Queen's army in Scotland, and which had had a very disheartening effect on the reforming party; they were cheered, too, by the news of the intended mission of Parpaglia, of which they had been apprised by their friends at Rome; and thus they began already to show signs of a dangerous spirit. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were said to be plotting against the Queen. Lord Dacres was suspected of doing the same. Of the heads of the army a good many were disaffected, so much so that one of them, Sir James Crofts, had been

ordered back to London, there to undergo an examination. Lord Montague, who was shortly expected back from Spain, would probably join the disaffected; and his influence might induce the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the army in the north, to prefer his allegiance to the Pope to his allegiance to the Queen. The northern counties, which had remained almost entirely Catholic, would in that case have risen in open rebellion; the army under Norfolk would have done nothing; the French would have strained every nerve to increase the confusion in England, and have made every possible concession to regain the Scots; and Philip, in the face of a papal sentence, would not have ventured to assist the Queen. All this formed a terrible prospect before her eyes; and so formidable did the danger seem to her, that she abandoned the course which would have led to it.

The second course open to her was to admit Parpaglia, and to amuse him with fair promises till the war should be ended. She seems to have thought to have taken this course; but it certainly appears to have been the least advisable. By allowing a nuncio to come and reside at her court, she would have alienated from her the more advanced reformers. The Lords of the Congregation, moreover, already suspicious of her movements, would have lost all faith in her, and might have made their peace with Francis and Mary, and destroyed the English army which had entered Scotland. Thus, after losing the support of her most stubborn adherents, of her best allies, she would have found herself face to face with the cunning Italian, to play a game of duplicity in which she would have been no match for him.

Thus she would soon have been forced to adopt the third course, entire submission to the Holy See. Undoing all she had done, forsaking her allies, sacrificing her friends, she might have courted Philip's favour, have relied upon that support from Pius which Parpaglia was to promise, and have lived thenceforward as the beloved daughter of Rome. The great bulk of the nation were still wavering between their hatred of persecution and dislike of foreign interference even in spiritual matters, and their attachment to the creed of their forefathers. These Elizabeth might have drawn along with her to reunion with Rome, certain as they would have felt that no persecution would follow. As to the extreme parties, they were probably at that time very nearly matched; losing the support of those on the Protestant side, Elizabeth might hope to allay the resentment of those on the Catholic side, and so far to lose nothing. But time would have

brought up again the vexed questions. The daughter of Anne Boleyn could never have the love of the Papal party; the wavering renegade could never have the esteem of consistent men. The very first difficulty, the slightest difference with Rome, would have been the signal for a Catholic opposition, which the queen, unaided by the Protestants, would have been unable to quell. She would, moreover, have lost the support of the Protestant Scots; while against her, as against her sister Mary, the whole of France, Catholic and Huguenot, Guise and Coligny, would have been united. Her position would have been even worse than Mary's; for, though she would have become as dependent upon the assistance of Philip as her sister was, she would not have had the same title to his aid and protection. Though the least dangerous of the three, this course also, while it was the most humiliating, was far from being a safe one.

The queen, however, did not lose heart entirely. As the danger seemed to grow nearer and nearer, she looked round for means to extricate herself. Her chief embarrassments for the moment, as she well knew, arose out of her religious policy. It was on account of that that great numbers of her subjects were disaffected, that the Court of Rome was decidedly hostile, that Philip, her best, her only ally, whose influence had prevented the French from acting with energy, was forsaking her. After all she did not care for Protestantism. She had favoured it because she thought it the one religion that would serve her purpose and seat her firmly on the throne of England; but now that it seemed to threaten her position she was quite ready to abandon it, and to forsake and deny those who had helped her to establish it. If she could only bring the Pope to declare formally that she was legitimate, she might as well be a Catholic. This, however, could not be done without some preparatory steps. In order to urge on the Reformation, nearly every office of trust had been filled by a staunch Protestant; and if the queen attempted to retrace her steps, with such an administration to execute her orders, she might meet with decided resistance at their hands, and fail to carry out her will. It was, therefore, necessary to get rid at least of the one man who, by his capacity and energy, as well as by the position he filled, was most able to resist, while his Protestantism was so strong as to make him at times forget his loyalty, and set up plans for giving his mistress a Protestant successor in the person of Lady Catherine Grey. If Elizabeth desired to submit to Rome, Sir William Cecil must be out of the way;

otherwise she must expect to see him counteract all her measures. She accordingly found out that, since the war with Scotland had been begun by Cecil's advice, it ought to be terminated by his exertions; that as the French offered to treat of peace at Edinburgh, and she was to send commissioners to meet those of Francis and Mary, she could choose no better man than Cecil; and that indeed he was the only man who could hope to bring the affair to a satisfactory end. Cecil protested vainly. The Queen was firm in her decision; and, sick at heart, and with evil forebodings, he left on the 28th of May.

No sooner was the Queen freed from control than she commenced operations. On the 3d of June, De Quadra waited on her. The diplomatic bishop had received Vargas's letter, and, like Vargas, foresaw the great difficulties in which Parpaglia's mission would involve the Queen. Unlike Vargas, however, he was an ardent Catholic. Though duty towards his master forbade his working against Elizabeth, and even made it imperative on him to protect her as far as he could from all dangers, he seems to have been rather pleased at the idea that, without his interference, and in spite of all he might do in her favour, she would soon be in a position to be reminded of her haughty boast that she might be "*victa sed non supplex*." He found her apparently perplexed and afraid. After some talk about matters in Scotland, he spoke of the Catholics whom she was arresting right and left. Though she was less violent than on former occasions, she complained that they were conspiring against her, and trying to overthrow her Government. Whatever she did was done in self-defence. She could show (alluding probably to the intercepted letters of Carne and others) that those who seemed the quietest had been the very worst. After this the conversation turned to the mission of Parpaglia. The Queen could not hide her alarm; and De Quadra, always true to his policy of frightening her by pointing out all possible dangers, took pleasure in augmenting her apprehensions, while he pretended to allay them. He assured her that the Pope's object could be no other than to give her paternal admonition and advice. Perhaps the mission might have originated with the King, who had always hoped that she would reunite her people to the Church. He knew that the King had expressed this conviction to the Pope, in order to counteract the designs of the French; and the Pope perhaps wished to ascertain by his own minister whether this was her real feeling.

Here then Elizabeth found her worst apprehensions confirmed by the Spanish am-

bassador himself. The mission which she so much feared was King Philip's work. At his suggestion she was to be forced to declare herself Catholic or Protestant—either to submit to, or be at open war with, Rome. She did not dare to show her displeasure at what the ambassador told her. She declared with oaths that she was at heart as good a Catholic as even De Quadra himself; that her belief was the same as that of all Catholics. The bishop gravely rebuked her for having in that case dissembled so long, and acted against her conscience. She swore that she had been compelled to do as she had done; and, after some more talk, De Quadra pretended to be convinced. He began to feel the ground as to the reception which Parpaglia might expect; and here, too, he found the Queen strangely pliant. She went so far as to say that the nuncio should be welcome, and that it should not be her fault if the Church was not united again. De Quadra felt sure that if he had at that time pressed for a more distinct promise he would have obtained it.\*

Had Parpaglia gone straight on instead of being detained at Rome by the opposition of Vargas, he would by that day have been in Flanders, and most probably have already applied for a safe-conduct. De Quadra, still unacquainted with Philip's intentions, might unwarily have indorsed his demand; and it is not improbable that, in the state of mind in which Elizabeth was at that time, she would have granted what was asked from her. Had the nuncio been admitted into England, she would have found out too late that she was no match for him. She would have lied boldly and unscrupulously; but she would have learned to her cost that lying so as to deceive is an art very difficult to learn, in which she was not at all a proficient, while Parpaglia was one of its most accomplished adepts. He would have seen through every scheme of hers. She, on the contrary, lacking the aid of Cecil, would soon have grown bewildered. The hand of the subtle intriguer, animated by party spirit, by personal hate, and by an innate love of mischief, would have drawn the net closer and closer around her; and she would have been unable to break through it. Herself, indeed, she might still have extricated by timely and unconditional submission; but her Church must have remained in its meshes.

But it was not to be so. Elizabeth was entirely mistaken as to Philip's intention, and

\* Simancas, *Est. Leg.* 520, fol. 102, and *Leg.* 813, fol. 38. (See Mr. Froude's *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 243.)

as to his attitude with regard to Parpaglia's mission. At the very moment when she was half submitting to Rome in the person of De Quadra, the Catholic King was acting with energy in her interest, and shielding her against her enemies. Vargas's courier had been detained on his way to Toledo, and arrived only at the end of May. As soon, however, as the despatch had been deciphered and communicated to the King, the matter was taken up with unwonted vigour. On the 1st of June a courier left in hot haste for Rome, carrying the King's answer to Vargas.

It was elaborate, as all Philip's despatches were; but for once it was decisive and firm too. The King fully approved his ambassador's opposition to Parpaglia's mission, and ordered him to persevere in it with even greater energy. Vargas was first to remind the Pope that his predecessor Paul vi. also had intended to proceed against the Queen, but, when all the inconveniences and dangers of such a course had been explained to him, had for the time abandoned the idea of it, and promised that he would wait till Philip himself indicated the favourable moment, and only act with his knowledge and advice. The King hoped that Pius would act in the same way, and therefore most sincerely told him his opinion. He thought the time still most unpropitious. For if an insulting or otherwise inadmissible answer should be given to the Pope's message, and the Pope thereupon should pronounce some sentence against the Queen, he begged it to be understood that he had at this moment no means whatever to execute the Pope's mandate. And if the Queen remained obstinate, and the English Catholics perceived that no execution followed, they would lose all confidence, despair of all help from the Pope or from the King, and perhaps submit to the Queen. Moreover, this mission would be most inopportune with regard to the peace between England and France. The French would take courage again, and become so overbearing as to make an understanding impossible. The result would be a general war; and Philip must remind the Pope of all the misery that would entail on Christendom. No one could tell when it would end. A General Council would become impossible. The French heretics, seeing their King engaged in a foreign war, would become more insolent than ever. And, in short, the result of the mission would be the very reverse of what the Pope intended. Vargas was furthermore to point out to his Holiness all the hidden motives of those who urged him to act in this manner. Some did so out of spite and private

malice; others, in order that, when the matter was well embroiled, the Pope might be brought to deprive Elizabeth of her crown, to the advantage of the King of France; others, simply in the hope that they might profit personally, or from some other equally base and unworthy motive. Having explained all this, the ambassador was to insist on the recall of the nuncio with such energy that the Pope should not be able to refuse it. Parpaglia was not to be allowed to meddle any more with these matters, least of all to be himself nuncio to England.\*

But fearful lest Vargas should not be able to obtain the recall, or lest the courier should arrive too late, Philip resolved to take even stronger and more certain measures in order to prevent Parpaglia's addressing Elizabeth or entering her realms. The next day the Duke of Alba waited by his order upon the nuncio staying at his court, and quietly told him that, the mission being a most untimely one, the King had addressed a remonstrance to the Pope, but that, as this might arrive too late, he was also sending an order to the Duchess of Parma to detain Parpaglia at Brussels. In this measure the nuncio was requested to concur; and Alba gave him to understand that if he did not it would be carried out without his consent. The nuncio protested in vain. Alba, who twice had made the whole Consistory quail before his iron obstinacy, soon brought him to reason; and he consented with a sigh to what he could not prevent. The next day a despatch left, ordering the Regent of the Netherlands to detain the Pope's nuncio, to watch him strictly, and, above all things, to prevent his sending any message to England.†

It was only just in time; for, on the other side, the abbot and his partisans had not been idle. Parpaglia had at once begun to smooth away all opposition to his errand and his person. He had visited Vargas, explained away his past offences, sworn that next to God he was only ambitious to serve the King of Spain, drawn a picture of his future moderation and the services he might render, and discoursed with such adroitness that even Vargas was half won over.‡ The ambassador's opposition grew less stubborn; he expressed a hope that the mission might not prove so dangerous as he had thought, and that Parpaglia would act with prudence. A Congregation was again held upon the subject. It was carefully made up of cardinals who belonged to the Spanish party, and who could not be accused of acting in

\* Simancas, Est. Leg. 891, fol. 60.

† Ibid. Leg. 887, fol. 123.

‡ Ibid. Leg. 886, fol. 81.



the interest of France. But here also Parpaglia's intrigues had already made way. After a short debate it was decided that the mission should not be given up, but that the abbot should forthwith proceed on his errand.\* Accordingly, on the 28th of May, he was able to set out on his journey.† Confronting the dangers to which a papal messenger was exposed in half-Protestant Germany, he reached Spire, whence he descended the Rhine to Cologne. Then he went again by post first to Louvain, and next to Brussels, where he arrived on the 18th of June.‡

He at once applied to the Duchess of Parma for leave to send to England for a safe-conduct. But, Philip's order having arrived, the Duchess courteously but firmly intimated that negotiations were pending, the issue of which must be awaited before the new nuncio could cross to England, so that he need not at present apply for the safe-conduct, and must wait a little while before he sent over to London.§

Though chafing at the delay, the abbot could only submit. His instructions do not seem to have allowed him to act against the advice of the Duchess and Granvella; nor had he any opportunity of doing so, for at Brussels he was surrounded and watched by Philip's police. But he wrote repeatedly to the Pope complaining of his detention; he wrote to Vargas assuring him of his devotion to the King, and his firm purpose not to do anything against the Spanish interest; he wrote to everybody he thought able to get him liberty to go on with his mission.¶ The ministers at Brussels he importuned so much that, in order to humour him, the Duchess of Parma at last applied to De Quadra for his opinion on the matter. The bishop, who by this time had received instructions from Philip, and had been warned what to reply, answered that the nuncio would most probably not be admitted at all, but that if a safe-conduct were extorted from the Queen it would be burdened with such conditions as to subject the Holy See to indignity, and render the whole mission worse than useless. At the same time, that he might not appear too ready to dishearten the abbot, and thereby make his own good faith suspected, he added that later on a nuncio bringing an invitation to the General Council might perhaps be admitted.¶¶

Upon the hope, faint as it was, held out by this last phrase the abbot seized with eagerness. He obtained leave to write to De Quadra, and proposed to him an almost incredible scheme. He was ready, he said, to set his instructions altogether aside. He empowered De Quadra to declare that the object of his mission was to assure the Queen of the sincere friendship of the Pope, to present Pius's apology for the seditious letters written by Carne and other English refugees, to ask the Queen not to proceed with rigour against the Catholics before a General Council had decided upon the controverted points, or, if this appeared too long a suspense, to agree to a colloquy. But De Quadra was more than a match for Parpaglia, and had besides all the cards in his hands. He replied coldly that the Queen was not to be duped by these devices; that such instructions as Parpaglia described, far from reassuring her, would only make her suspect some hidden motive for the mission; and that, after such overtures as the nuncio wished him to make, it was perfectly certain that the safe-conduct would be peremptorily refused. At the same time he told the Duchess and Vargas that, though he had written all this according to his instructions, he had not had to lie, for the whole of it was only too true.

The Queen indeed had changed her mind. She had by this time become aware that Philip had not forsaken her, that the exertions of his agents in Rome had at first delayed Parpaglia's mission, that the abbot was kept in Flanders by his orders, and that all his influence was used to protect her against the danger. Her elastic temper was recovering with extraordinary rapidity. While her counsellors were still gravely pondering what should be done in case the abbot asked for admission, and, afraid of the consequences of every course, did not dare to choose any, she was again in high spirits. She judged that by Philip's timely help she was triumphing over her difficulties.

And so it was. At the end of June Philip's letter had arrived at Rome. Vargas, accompanied by Count Tendilla, who had come as Ambassador Extraordinary to do homage for the Kingdom of Naples, went to the Pope. Both of them, after communicating the King's message, threw themselves at the feet of the Pope, and on their knees implored him not to persist in a course so clearly against the interests of the Church.† Pius was shaken in his resolu-

\* London, Record Office, Eliz. For. vol. ii. No. 128.

† Paris, Affaires Etrangères.

‡ London, Record Office, Eliz. For. vol. ii. No. 224.

§ Simancas, Est. Leg. 886, fol. 50.

¶ Ibid.

¶¶ Ibid. Leg. 813, fol. 57.

\* Simancas, Est. Leg. 813, fol. 56.

† Ibid. fol. 57.

‡ Ibid. Leg. 884, fol. 42.

tion. Philip's letter showed a firm intention not to allow the French to execute a sentence of deprivation against Elizabeth, and thereby gain a footing in England. And not only so, but, when taken in connection with the King's former declarations, with the energy of Vargas, and with Tendilla's demonstrations, it seemed to imply a threat that he would stand by the Queen, even against the Holy See.

Philip's name has become so closely associated with his later policy that it is difficult now to understand the way in which his character, his intentions, and his possible conduct were judged in 1560. At that time men were not confident that his orthodoxy would stand a very severe test. Only three years earlier he had been in arms against the Holy See; he had spurned its mandates, arrested its ministers, and conquered its territories. At that time he had proposed to hold, of his own authority, a national council in Spain—a step which was looked upon as an attempt to separate from the universal Church. His chief advisers in religious matters—Melchior Cano, Soto, Carranza—were men whose opinions had often roused the anger of the Holy Office. His chief preacher, Cazalla, was burnt at an *auto-da-fé*. His candidates for the papacy, Pole and Morone, had both been accused of heresy. His candidates for the cardinalate were in several instances rejected on the same ground. So little was he thought a firm Catholic that, when Queen Mary died, the French court speculated on the probability of his becoming a heretic in order to marry her successor.\*

Pius and his advisers remembered all this. They feared that, exasperated by a refusal, he might be drawn by his heretic friends into rebellion against the Holy See, and that the Church, instead of winning back England, might lose Philip and with him half of what she still retained in Europe. Reflecting on all this they gave way. A congregation of cardinals decided on the following morning that the abbot should not proceed till a more convenient season. A brief to that effect was drawn up and sent to Vargas, who forwarded it with all speed to the Duchess of Parma.† Poor Parnaglia was summoned into her presence, and learned the unwelcome news that, instead of the nuncio whose skill and energy were to reconquer England, he was to be the distributor of the Papal alms to the poor English refugees in Flanders. He loitered in that quality a few weeks more at Brussels, until in the month of September he was

altogether recalled. In England the little which had transpired of the affair had only turned to the advantage of the Queen. The Catholics, deceived in their hopes, beginning at last to distrust Philip, became perplexed and less dangerous. Many in despair submitted to the new discipline. The Queen had time and means to consolidate her power; and she used them so well that, eight months later, when the death of Francis II. had dissolved the alliance between France and Scotland, she could venture to resist the power which had just saved her. When Philip, in his turn, tried to have a nuncio, the Abbot Martinengo, admitted into England, she was able haughtily to refuse. The opportunity of subduing her or driving her from the throne had gone. She had triumphed, but not by her own strength. The most galling reflection to Philip must have been that she had been saved by his aid alone. The enemy who was afterwards so often in his way had been fostered and reared by himself.

---

#### ART. III.—BEN JONSON'S QUARREL WITH SHAKESPEARE.

THAT Ben Jonson was jealous of Shakespeare was a received commonplace of traditional biography, till Gifford, burning with zeal for the poet he patronized, pleaded Jonson's cause, cross-examined his accusers, summed up the evidence, and pronounced him not guilty. The friendship of Jonson and Shakespeare would have been as exemplary a one as that of Pylades and Orestes, or David and Jonathan, if no unkindness had ever passed between them. Gifford, with a zeal which outran discretion, spoiled his advocacy by proving too much. The constancy of the turtle must not be looked for in the Damons of the Elizabethan age. Even in the ideal and transcendental friendship of Shakespeare's sonnets we find a breach and a renewal of ruined love. In the actual friendship of the men of the day these revolutions were of frequent occurrence. The history of Sir Walter Raleigh's alliances is as variable as a record of the weather. The quarrels of authors were like gusts of wind, or like sparks struck from flint, hot one moment, cooled the next. Jonson in 1619 told Drummond that he had many quarrels with Marston, beat him, took his pistol from him, and wrote his *Poetaster* upon him. This was in 1601. Yet in the same year Marston joined him as one of the

\* Paris, Bibl. Imp., mss. Fr. 3318, fol. 51.

† Simancas, Est. Leg. 884, fol. 42.

"chorus vatum" who wrote verses in common in Chester's *Love's Martyr*; and in 1604 he dedicated his *Malcontent* to Benjamin Jonson, amico suo candido et cordato. Many of these literary quarrels had also a histrionic element; the playwrights of rival theatres abused one another like rival pleaders, not to gratify their own malignity, but to advance their client's cause. The tradition of the passages of arms between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson is so consistent with contemporary statements, and sheds such light on many of the dramas of the day, that it is folly to reject it as impossible or inconceivable. On the contrary, a careful investigation of it will be found to furnish an interesting and unknown chapter in the biography of Shakespeare.

Ben Jonson, at the time in great poverty, attached himself both as author and actor to the Lord Admiral's players in May 1597. The connection did not last long before it was rudely broken. It may be assumed as certain that the brag and arrogance of Jonson deeply offended his companions, and that they retorted on him by nicknaming him "bricklayer," after the craft to which he had been apprenticed. The result was a quarrel, followed by a duel in Hogsden fields, in September 1598, with Gabriel Spenser, the actor, whom Jonson killed. For this he was imprisoned, and near the gallows. But he was saved by the interposition of some actor of the Lord Chamberlain's company, to which, on his liberation, he offered a new version of the comedy of "Humours," which had previously been played by the Lord Admiral's men. The play was about to be rejected, when, as Rowe tells us, Shakespeare happened to look over it, and he found it so good that he caused it to be accepted. This was the beginning of an intimate friendship which lasted from the end of the year 1598 to the end of Shakespeare's life, not however without having to go through some severe trials before it was cemented in the year of Elizabeth's death. The object of the present paper will be to trace the relations of the two dramatists during the period between 1598 and 1603.

The revised edition of Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* was accepted by the Lord Chamberlain's men, and acted by them in the autumn or winter of 1598. Shakespeare himself sustained one of the parts in it. The success of the play encouraged Jonson to dig further in the same mine of "humours;" and he wrote *Every Man out of his Humour*, which was produced by the same company in the autumn or winter of 1599. But he did not confine himself to

one theatre. Henslowe, in August and September of that year, employed him, in conjunction with Chettle and Dekker, in the production of two plays, *Peg* [or rather *Page*] of *Plymouth*, and the tragedy of *Robert II., King of Scots*. After these labours for the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's men, Jonson attached himself to a new company, the Children of the Chapel, who were set up, probably by a hostile act of authority, on the Blackfriars' stage, in opposition to the Lord Chamberlain's men who were the owners of that theatre. The first play written for the Children by Jonson had the characteristic title of *The Case is Altered*. The play contains a severe and not undeserved attack upon Anthony Munday, one of Henslowe's poets. At this time both companies, the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's, were acting in the interest of the Earl of Essex. At Henslowe's theatre such plays as *Patient Grissel* and Heywood's *Royal King and Loyal Subject* explained to an anxious audience that Essex was only being proved in order to be raised to higher honours; while the Lord Chamberlain's men, by a whole cycle of plays more or less applicable, culminating in *Richard II.*, with a new deposition scene, were so far involved with the Earl and his friends as in some measure to partake of their disgrace. This part of the subject is too important and substantial to be treated as an episode of the story of Shakespeare and Jonson; and whatever references are made to it must be permitted as temporary assumptions to be conceded to a writer who cannot produce all his proofs at once. It was in order to correct this popular leaning of the theatre to the cause of Essex that the Children of the Chapel were, after some ten years' suppression, allowed to resume their representations. Ben Jonson's first contribution to their repertory was colourless enough politically. His second, *Cynthia's Revels*, was a political treatise, with a vast deal of episodical matter, containing severe criticism upon the dramatists of the other theatres. But this production was far exceeded by his *Poetaster*, another political treatise, written in the interests of the Queen, but so managed as to wound every other conceivable interest. The court and the council, the law-courts, the soldiers, the poets, the actors—every class was treated with the most supercilious disdain; and the flattery which the author reserved for the Queen and some favoured Mæcenæ did not shelter him from the storm he had raised. Henslowe had seen how the wind was setting, and had deserted Essex's sinking ship. The Lord Admiral's company sup-

planted the Lord Chamberlain's at the court holidays of Christmas and Shrovetide, and acted before the Queen such very apposite pieces as *The Fall of Phaethon*—a play which Henslowe employed Dekker to alter for the court in December 1600, evidently in preparation for Christmas. Such subjects as *The Fall of Wolsey*, *The Fall of Cæsar*, and, more ominous still, *Judas*, and *The Overthrow of Rebels*, exhibited at least Henslowe's keen appreciation of his own interests. But Ben Jonson lacked Henslowe's prudence. He had outdone his part, and was not defended from the foes whom he had provoked. He appears to have been thrown into prison for his *Poetaster*,\* and only saved by his friend Richard Martin, to whom he afterwards dedicated the play, "for whose innocence," he says, "as for the author's, you were once a noble and timely undertaker to the greatest justice of this kingdom." It is to this imprisonment that he probably referred when he told Drummond—"In the time of his close imprisonment, under Queen Elizabeth, his judges could get nothing of him to all their demands but ay or no. They placed two damn'd villains to catch advantage of him, with him; but he was advertised by his keeper. Of the spies he hath an epigram." As this epigram begins, "Spies, you are lights in state," it must be concluded that the imprisonment referred to was a State affair, resulting perhaps from an information† concerning the allusions in his play, and that it was not the mere criminal process which he had to undergo in 1598 for the homicide of Spenser,—a sort of case in which it was not usual in those days to make use of spies.

But Richard Martin, though he could save Jonson from the lawyers, could not defend him against the poets and actors. His old butt, Dekker, with some small help from Marston, avenged himself upon him in the *Satiromastix*—a terrible retort; and even the gentle Shakespeare was pushed to take the

same side. We know this by the often-quoted speech of Kempe in *The Return from Parnassus*:—"Few of the University pens play well: they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Prosperpina [*sic*] and Jupiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down—ay, and Ben Jonson too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill; but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit." The author of *The Return from Parnassus* could not have supposed that Shakespeare was the author of the *Satiromastix*; nor is his statement explained by the fact that that play was "acted publicly by the Lord Chamberlain's servants," even though we make the most improbable supposition that Shakespeare acted the part of William Rufus in it. Jonson, while declaring that he does not care for the attacks of the players upon him, ends with a kind of Et tu, Brute:—

"Only amongst them I am sorry for  
Some better natures, by the rest so drawn  
To run in that vile line."

The allusion is generally acknowledged to refer to Shakespeare.

It becomes then an interesting question to determine what was this "purge" administered by Shakespeare to his friend, and what were the special provocations which justified him in an act so apparently unfriendly. The investigation is interesting both as a chapter in Shakespeare's biography, and as enabling us to explain the allusions of two plays, *Twelfth Night* and *Troilus and Cressida*, as well as a passage in *Hamlet*.

We will first endeavour to trace the antagonism between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. It was in two branches, literary and moral. The first note of the literary divergence was sounded in the prologue of Ben's first play, the one which the Lord Chamberlain's men, perhaps because of this very prologue, would have rejected, but which Shakespeare, with his universal tolerance, not only caused them to accept, but even sustained a part in. Jonson in the prologue begins by protesting that, though want may make men poets who have no poetical vocation, yet it shall never compel him to violate the rules of art,

"To make a child new swaddled, to proceed  
Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and  
weed,  
Past threescore years; or with three rusty  
swords

\* Dekker, in the *Satiromastix*, alludes to this when he says: "I could make thine ears burn now by dropping into them all those hot oaths to which thyself gave voluntary fire (when thou wast the man in the moon), that thou wouldst never squib out any new saltpetre jests against honest Tuca [the soldiers], nor . . . his Poetasters; . . . yet thou knowest thou hast broke those oaths in print." That is, when in retirement about *The Poetaster*, he had vowed to keep the peace, and on his release he printed it, with additions. "Man in the Moon" is a mysterious man, one of whom nothing is known, such as a wizard or fortune-teller—a trade which Jonson once set up.

† That some such information was made against him is clear, by the episode of the Emblem and Æsop, in the last Act of *The Poetaster*.

And help of some few foot and half-foot words  
 Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars,  
 And in the tying house bring wounds to scars."

He promises a play

"Where neither chorus wafts you o'er the seas,  
 Nor creaking throne comes down the boys to please,  
 Nor nimble squib is seen to make afraid  
 The gentlewomen; nor roll'd bullet heard  
 To say, it thunders; nor tempestuous drum  
 Rumbles to tell you when the storm doth come."

Its language and manners, he promises, shall be natural, and it shall only set forth errors, not crimes; if it moves mirth, the author will hope that the audience which has "so graced monsters, may like men." Considering the stage upon which this prologue was spoken, it cannot be doubted that the applicability of its criticism to such plays as *Pericles*, *Henry V.*, and *The Tempest*, was at once seen by the audience.\* The poet might have protested that he had done little more than versify the criticisms of Sir Philip Sidney upon the drama of his day; but he could not deny that he was impugning the principles of art on which Shakespeare had always worked. Shakespeare makes almost indiscriminate use of the aids and adjuncts to imagination which are here proscribed. Jonson was a puritan in art, and wished to confine stage effects to simple developments of oratory. In his next play, *Every Man out of his Humour*, where he first exhibited that moral antagonism which really offended Shakespeare, he still continues in a modified form his literary antagonism. The influence of Shakespeare had caused a temporary relaxation of his dramatic purism; and in the induction he defended himself for not having observed all the Terentian laws of comedy—the equal division into acts and scenes, the true number of actors, the *grex* or chorus, and the unity of time—by the argument that these rules were merely formal, not belonging either to the beginning or middle period of the drama, which was in a state of continual change. "I see not, then, but we should enjoy the same license, or free power to illustrate and heighten our invention, as they did; and not be tied to those strict and regular forms which the niceness of a few who are nothing but form, would thrust upon us." He however is careful to explain that he keeps unity of place, and sneers at poets who make "in some one play . . . so many seas, countries, and kingdoms, passed over

with such admirable dexterity." In the induction to his next play, *Cynthia's Revels*, the criticism passes from the form to the matter of the plays. He "berattles the common stages," and public theatres, and denounces "the immodest and obscene writing of many in their plays." He describes the poets as "promoters of other men's jests," who "waylay all the stale apothegms or old books they can hear of, in print or otherwise, to farce their scenes withal." They "penuriously glean wit from every laundress or hackney man," and "derive their best grace with servile imitation from common stages, or observation of the company they converse with, as if their invention lived wholly upon another man's trencher." They feed "their friends with nothing of their own, but what they have twice or thrice cooked," and therefore "should not wantonly give out how soon they had drest it." It is almost superfluous to note how exactly this tallies with the vulgar criticism of the age upon Shakespeare. The players boasted of him that he never blotted a line; Jonson replied, "would he had blotted a thousand." Cartwright, in his lines on Fletcher,\* says:

"Shakespeare to thee was dull, whose best jest lies  
 I' th' ladies' questions, and the fools' replies,  
 Old fashion'd wit, which walk'd from town to town  
 In turn'd hose, which our fathers call'd the clown;  
 Whose wit our nice times would obsceneness call,  
 And which made bawdry pass for comical.  
 Nature was all his art; thy vein was free  
 As his, but without his scurrility."

And W. Towers, in his commendatory verses to Cartwright's comedies (1657), writes:

"Thy skill in wit was not so poorly meek  
 As theirs, whose little latin and no greek  
 Confined their whole discourse to a street-phrase,  
 Such dialect as their next neighbour's was;  
 Their birthplace brought o' th' stage, the clown  
 and quean  
 Were full as dear to them as Persian scene"

The criticism of the induction to *Cynthia's Revels* was always traditionally applied to Shakespeare by men of Jonson's school; and Jonson, though he spoke in anger in 1601, yet meant what he said, and never really retracted it. He considered that his was an age of poetical pretenders. Poetry, he said, especially the drama, was mere cozenage. Play-writers placed their

\* The *Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* would have to be added if it were not that they are both later than Jonson's prologue.

\* *Poems*, 1651, p. 273

whole art in pleasing, or rather tickling, the audience. And the professors of the art had "grown so obstinate contemners of it, and presumers on their own naturals, as they were deriders of all diligence that way, and by simple mocking at the terms, when they understood not the things, thought to get off wittily with their own ignorance." He did not deny that these writers, "who always sought to do more than enough, might sometimes happen on something that was good or great; but very seldom;" and when it came, the good was not enough to compensate for the evil. "I speak not this," he added, "out of a hope to do good to any man against his will. For I know, if it were put to the question of theirs and mine, the worse would find more suffrages, because the most favour common errors. But I give this warning, that there is a great difference between those that to gain opinion of copy [copia] utter all they can, however unfitly; and those that use election and a mean." \* Popular favour, he complains, was dispensed to poets in defiance of true criticism. The art had its canons; but the favourite poets mocked at them, and thereby showed they did not understand the reason of them. They aimed at the display of wealth, prodigality, gorgeousness, and power; they said more than need be said. They were occasionally happy; and their beauties were heightened by the surrounding meanness. But such a contrast only exaggerated the fault. Precisely the same motives of judgment are contained in the criticism upon Shakespeare in Jonson's *Discoveries* (1641). There indeed the moral tone is different, and the relative amounts of blame and praise reversed; but the principles are the same. The author wishes that Shakespeare had blotted a thousand of his lines. "He was indeed honest and of an open and free nature, had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped; *sufflamendus erat*. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things which could not escape laughter. . . . But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned." Jonson thought Shakespeare only the greatest of those poets whose riches were unbounded but who had no rule in dispensing them, except their notion of what would please the audience, into whose power they therefore transferred the rule of their wit. This is what he meant

when he told Drummond in 1619 "that Shakespeare wanted art." If in 1623, in his beautiful lines on Shakespeare, he said the contrary, we must attribute the change to the temporary effusion of his old friendship. We have seen how, probably under Shakespeare's influence, he threw over the dramatic canons in *Every Man out of His Humour*, only to reassert them afterwards. His last judgment, at the end of his *Discoveries*, is for them. In the same way, it is probable that the first reading of the splendid dramas first published in 1623 overcame for the moment his settled opinion, and wrung out of him a criticism dictated by a feeling which was truer than judgment. He afterwards said: "If I dissent from those whose wit I admire, let it not be called ingratitude and rashness."

Jonson's moral divergence from Shakespeare had also a literary side, which exhibited itself in the restoration of the *Vetus Comædia*. The Aristophanic revival had once before, in 1589, driven Shakespeare from the stage, when Nash and Lily brought upon it Martin Marprelate physicking Divinity with a vomit, and all the rest of it (as described in Nash's *Return of the Renowned Cavaliero Pasquill to England*), which not only caused the Government to interdict the performances, but, according to Spenser, so disgusted Shakespeare that he abstained for a time from producing any plays. Perhaps it was in this interval that he wrote his two poems. Now, after ten years, Nash, in his *Isle of Dogs*, and Jonson, tried to restore the same style of play. Jonson says of *Every Man out of His Humour* that "'tis strange, and of a particular kind by itself, somewhat like *Vetus Comædia*." And Chapman, in the prologue to *All Fools*, asks why the revived vein of Eupolis and Cratinus, with its personal applications, should be so distasteful to some, while others would not listen to ordinary impersonal jests. Chapman of course refers to Horace,\* who says of the poets of the "old comedy" that they nicked with great freedom any man who deserved to be so noted. Personality was the essence of the "old comedy;" and, if Shakespeare is said to have been personal, at least it is clear that he was so in a far different sense from Nash or Jonson or Dekker. Yet Scrope confounds his manner of showing up his contemporaries with that of Jonson and Fletcher:—

"When Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher, ruled  
the stage,  
They took so bold a freedom with the age,

\* Preface to the *Alchemist*, 1610.

\* Serm i. 4. 1.

That there was scarce a knave or fool in town  
Of any note, but had his picture shown."

The special peculiarity of Jonson's revival of the "old comedy" was not so much his satire on other people, as the remarkable place he assigned to himself. He was confessedly Asper (and therefore also Macilente) in *Every Man out of His Humour*, Crites in *Cynthia's Revels*, and Horace in *The Poetaster*.\* And it is a matter of wonder that any man should have dared to speak in public of himself as he did. The character he gives of Asper is that "he is of an ingenious and free spirit, eager and constant in reproof, without fear controlling the world's abuses. One whom no servile hope of gain, or frosty apprehension of danger, can make to be a parasite, either to time, place, or opinion." Macilente, the character which Asper acts, and which is only a kindly exaggeration of Asper's own asperities, is "a man well parted, a sufficient scholar, and travelled; who, wanting that place in the world's account which he thinks his merit capable of, falls into such an envious apoplexy, with which his judgment is so dazzled and distorted, that he grows violently impatient of any opposite happiness in another." Carlo Buffone is a character in the play whom Jonson intended for Marston.† Dekker avenged his friend by introducing Jonson as Emulo, the lath and lime and hair man, in *Patient Grissell*; and Marston, with more dignity, made a study of him as Malevole in the *Malcontent*. This play he afterwards dedicated to Jonson. In *Cynthia's Revels*, Jonson introduced himself as Crites, and Marston and Dekker as Hedon and Anaides. Mercury is one of the characters in the play; and he is made to describe Crites as "a creature of a most perfect and divine temper; one in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met, without emulation of precedence; he is neither too fantastically melancholy, too slowly phlegmatic, too lightly sanguine, or too rashly choleric; but in all so tempered and ordered, as it is clear Nature went about some full work, she did more than make a man when she made him. His discourse is like his behaviour, uncommon but not displeasing; he is prodigal of neither. He strives rather to be that

which men call judicious than to be thought so; and he is so truly learned that he affects not to show it. He will think and speak his thought both freely; but as distant from depraving another man's merit as proclaiming his own. For his valour, 'tis such that he dares as little to offer any injury as to receive one. In sum, he hath a most ingenuous and sweet spirit, a sharp and seasoned wit, a straight judgment, and a strong mind. Fortune could never break him or make him less. He counts it his pleasure to despise pleasures, and is more delighted with good deeds than goods. It is a competency to him that he can be virtuous. He doth neither covet nor fear; he hath too much reason to do either; and that commends all things to him . . . 'tis beyond my duty to give him his due praises. I could leave my place in heaven to live among mortals, so I were sure to be no other than he." In the third Act, Crites, commenting on the evil things said of him, declares

"So they be ill men  
If they spake worse, 'twere better; for of such  
To be dispraised, is the most perfect praise."

'If Chrestus or Phronimus had so spoken, I  
should have examined myself,'

"but when I remember  
'Tis Hedon and Anaides, alas, then  
I think but what they are, and am not stirred.  
The one a light voluptuous reveller,  
The other a strange arrogating puff,  
Both impudent, and ignorant enough;  
They talk as they are wont, not as I merit;  
Traduce by custom, as most dogs do bark,  
Do nothing out of judgment, but disease,  
Speak ill, because they never could speak well."

Marston and Dekker intended to retort this attack, and were engaged in writing the responsive drama when Jonson brought out his *Poetaster*, his culminating effort of personal satire. In this play he was Horace, and Marston and Dekker were Crispinus and Demetrius. Jonson does not speak of himself here so boastfully as in the *Revels*. There he bragged of his own parts, here he brags of his renown, and of the company he keeps. "Thou art exceeding happy in thy friends and acquaintance; they are all most choice spirits, and of the first rank of Romans: I do not know that poet has used his fortune more prosperously than thou hast." He was the friend of Mæcenas, the companion of "old Trebatius the great lawyer," and so forth. Knowing that he was to be attacked, Jonson wisely enough in this play every now and then pretends to attack himself, but only to give the opportunity for defence. Thus in Act iv. sc. 5 Horace is falsely said to have turned fawn, or informer,

\* So Dekker, in the *Satiro-mastix*, says, he "must have three or four suits of names when like a lousy pediculous vermin he has lost one suit to his back, he must be called Asper, and Criticus, and Horace." Edward Knowell in *Every Man in his Humour* may be added to the list.

† He is called, in allusion to Marston's satires, the "errant scourge and second untruss of the time." Act. ii. sc. 1.

only to give him the opportunity in the next scene of uttering some very noble lines against informers and spies. So again in the fifth Act Augustus asks his opinion about Virgil:

"Horace, what say'st thou, that art the poorest  
And likeliest to envy, or to detract?"

This again gives opportunity for a high-minded abjuration of covetousness, envy, detraction, and all similar vices. The only abuses that he delights to heap on himself without reply are allusions to his physical ill-savour, which indeed was too notorious at the time to be denied. It is a great mistake to suppose that *The Poetaster* was the play which offered the first cause of offence to Jonson's opponents. It is clear from the play itself that the poet is taking in it a stronger position, giving up his weakest points, defending himself against the most damaging accusations, accepting with bravado those about which there could be no question, and modifying and explaining away some of the offensive matter of the *Revels*.<sup>\*</sup> In the play itself the *Satiro-mastix* (which is supposed to be the reply to it) is alluded to as already half completed. "I will have the slave whipped one of these days for his Satires and his Humours," says Tucca. "We'll undertake him," say Crispinus and Demetrius, "ay, and tickle him for his arrogance and his imprudence, in commending his own things."<sup>†</sup> Previously Histrio had said that Demetrius was a dresser of plays about the town, and that "we" (the players) had hired him to abuse Horace, and bring him in, in a play, with all his gallants.<sup>‡</sup> And subsequently,<sup>§</sup> when Crispinus is invited to go and see how far the journeyman (Dekker) was advanced in untrussing Jonson (the *Satiro-mastix* had for second title *The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*), he replies, "I'll write nothing in it but innocence, because I may swear I am innocent." And indeed Marston's share in the play seems to be very small.

It is clear then that the Lord Chamber-

lain's men had already engaged Dekker to write the *Satiro-mastix* before the appearance of the *Poetaster*, and that the general shares of Marston and Dekker in it were already known. It is also clear, from the multitudinous references of the former play to the latter, that the *Satiro-mastix* came out after the *Poetaster*, and that the *Satiro-mastix* was altered from its first sketch, so as to be an answer, not only to the *Revels*, but to the *Poetaster* as well. The offence to Shakespeare and his company was given before the publication of the *Poetaster*, and only enhanced and confirmed by that play. Let us see in what this offence consisted.

From the moment when Essex returned from Ireland, and rushed, booted and spurred, into the Queen's bedroom on Michaelmas Eve 1599, and was consequently committed for eleven months to the close custody of the Lord Keeper Egerton, his friends took care to secure the theatre, which then possessed a lead in public opinion similar to that which the press holds now. His intimate companions, the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, held aloof from court, and passed their time in London merely in going to plays every day. The players of course followed their patrons. The danger seemed to the Government to demand a remedy; and in June 1600 an edict inhibiting plays and playhouses was published. The authorities of the city, who heretofore had been the most strenuous enforcers of such edicts, now, being of the Essex faction, abstained from restraining the players. And although only two theatres were licensed (Henslowe's Curtain and Shakespeare's Globe), they yet allowed private performances to be given in a multitude of places. The Queen asserted that the tragedy of *Richard II.* had been played forty times in streets and public places in the interest of Essex. It was the play which the Lord Chamberlain's men acted at the desire of Essex's friends, the night before their unhappy sally into the streets, on the 8th of February 1601.

To counteract this entire devotion of the stage to the interests of Essex, the court set up a rival company, the Children of the Chapel, at the Blackfriars' Theatre, and engaged Jonson to write a play for them. *Cynthia's Revels* was accordingly produced in the winter of 1600 or spring of 1601. Its official character is proclaimed in the play itself. "The queen of these groves, . . . in regard of some black and curious slanders hourly breathed against her for her divine justice on Actæon [Essex], . . . hath here . . . proclaimed a solemn revels which . . . she will descend to grace, . . . as well to intimate how far she treads such mali-

<sup>\*</sup> The *Parasitaster* or *Fawn* was written by Marston for the children of the Revels at Blackfriars. It probably came between Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* and his *Poetaster*, the name of which it might have suggested. There is an allusion to the friends of Essex in Act iv. sc. 4. The ship of fools is said to be freighted, amongst others, by "some long-fortunate great politicians, that were so sottishly paradised as to think, when popular hate seconded princes' displeasure to them, any unmerited violence could seem to the world injustice." Jonson seems to have understood the play as aimed at him, and as calling him both parasite and fawn.

<sup>†</sup> Act iv. sc. 2.

<sup>‡</sup> Act iii.

<sup>§</sup> Act iv. sc. 5.



cious imputations beneath her, as also to show how clear her beauties are from the least wrinkle of austerity she may be charged with." Actæon, when the play was written, was only in disgrace for his unwashed intrusion into the Queen's bedchamber.

"Seems it no crime to enter sacred bowers  
And hallowed places with impure aspect."

But before it was printed, perhaps while it was still being acted, Essex was beheaded; and the poet had to defend the fatal doom. So he makes Cynthia [Elizabeth] say to the virtuous part of her court:—

"You are they that not as some have done,  
Do censure us as too severe and sour,  
But as, more rightly, gracious to the good,  
Although we not deny, unto the proud  
Or the profane, perhaps indeed austere.  
For so Actæon, by presuming far,  
Did, to our grief, incur a fatal doom;  
And so, sworn Niobe [the Queen of Scots]  
comparing more  
Than he presumed, was trophæd into stone.  
..... Let mortals learn  
To make religion of offending heaven,  
And not at all to censure powers divine.  
To men this argument must stand as firm—  
A goddess did it, therefore it was good."\*

The purpose of the play throws light on its otherwise inexplicable plot. The players were then really what they are now only in name, "Her Majesty's servants," or at least servants of some great nobleman about the court. Ben Jonson's purpose in *Cynthia's Revels* was to show how sundry companies of players had mortally offended the Queen, while another company had all the court favour on its side. The induction and the body of the play together fully explained this. In the induction we have the contrast of the "public theatres" and "common stages" with the private performances of the corps of Children of the Chapel. In the play we have the companies of court actors deciphered by Crites. He shows that under the mask of Storgé, or loyal affection, was Philautia, or self-love, that under that of Eucosmos, order, was Amorphus, the deformed, and so on. And at last Cynthia commits the reformation of these ill-conditioned maskers to the prudence of Crites and Arete—Jonson and Virtue—who are of course inseparable companions. The beginning of the corruption of the court maskers was the drinking of the waters of the fountain of self-love, where Narcissus pined, where Actæon died under Cynthia's wrath, and where was also the stone of "weeping Niobe." Philautia, self-love, was an old

friend of Essex; in several of the masks which he had at different times presented to the court she was either his own or the Queen's genius. On his trial he was reproached with his "pride of heart and aspiring mind." Philautia had become quite a cant name for his quality. The actors who drank at the fountain of self-love were those who had embraced his faction. And Amorphus, the leader of them, was very probably intended for Shakespeare. Shakespeare was a partisan of Essex and Southampton. Shakespeare was a poet whose style Jonson criticised as without form—"Amorphus, a traveller, one so made out of the mixture of shreds of forms, that himself is truly deformed." Amorphus had previously been called a "travelling motion," or puppet-show. Now just at this time Shakespeare and his company were travelling—thrust out perhaps from their own private theatre by the Children of the Chapel. It is precisely to this time that reference is made in the well-known passage in *Hamlet*, where the Prince asks why the tragedians of the city travel, when residence would be in every way better for them. He is told that the "inhibition" (they were then "inhibited") came through the late "innovation" (i.e., rebellion—the murder of the old Hamlet in the play, the insurrection of Essex in historical fact). The players had not fallen off; but an aery of little children (the Children of the Chapel) cried out on the top of the question, and were most tyrannically clapped for it. They abused the common stages, and so spoiled their own prospects, for most of them were destined to become public players. But the nation tarred them on to controversy, and would spend no money unless poet and player went to cuffs for it. So the boys carried it away, and succeeded in shutting up the Globe (Hercules and his load), as well as in appropriating the Blackfriars.\* Thus Shakespeare was at the time a "travelling motion." Moreover, there are indications that Shakespeare had been already nicknamed "Deformed" by the purist school of critics, who, ever since Nash in 1589, and Greene in 1592, had been attacking him for ignorance of art, for decking himself in other men's feathers, and gleaning his wit at second hand. This supposition gives a very piquant meaning to the joke in *Much Ado about Nothing* about "one Deformed,"

\* It is not likely that the Lord Admiral's men suffered equally with the Lord Chamberlain's. At this time Kempe, the famous clown, deserted the latter for the former. It is not easy to tell whether Shakespeare's famous rebuke of the ordinary clowns in *Hamlet* preceded or followed this desertion.

\* Act v. sc. 3.

whom Dogberry and his wise watchman had known as "a vile thief this seven year," wearing "a key in his ear and a lock hanging by it," borrowing money in God's name, "the which he hath used so long and never paid that now men grow hard-hearted, and will lend nothing for God's sake."\*

But if Deformed, drinking the waters of self-love or favouring Essex's faction, is meant for Shakespeare, a very natural and beautiful application is given to his sixty-second Sonnet, in which he pleads guilty indeed to self-love, but then declares that self to him is not himself, but the Earl of Southampton, the common friend of Essex and Shakespeare:—

"Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye  
And all my soul, and all my every part;  
And for this sin there is no remedy,  
It is so grounded inward in my heart.  
Methinks no face so gracious is as mine,  
No shape so true, no truth of such account;  
And for myself mine own worth do define,  
As I all other in all worths surmount.  
But when my glass shows me myself indeed  
Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity,  
Mine own self-love quite contrary I read,  
Self so self-loving were iniquity—  
'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise,  
Painting my age with beauty of thy days."

This sonnet may be supposed to allude to the brag which Jonson puts into the mouth of Amorphus. It must be owned that Amorphus has some characteristics not altogether applicable to Shakespeare; he has some qualities gleaned from Coryat, some from Lily. His dealings with Asotus are simply an imitation of the scene between Staines and Bubble in Greene's *Tu Quoque*, and are again imitated in a scene between Pseudochus and Gelasimus in William Percy's *Timon*. It is a universal quality of Jonson's satire that, however manifestly it is intended for a particular person, it always contains some studied inconsistencies, which might enable the author to forswear the application. "I know," says Dekker, "thou hast a number of these quiddits to bind me to the peace; 'tis thy fashion to flirt ink in every man's face, and then to crawl into his bosom, and damn thy self to wipe it off again."

The edict against playhouses in 1600 was ineffectual, because the city authorities would

\* Shakespeare modelled this sentence upon one in Nash's *Supplication to the Devil*, where Pierce Penniless says "those who stand most on their honour have shut up their purses, and shift us off with court holy-bread: and on the other side, a number of hypocritical hotspurs that have God always in their mouths, will give nothing for God's sake." Did Shakespeare suppose that he was meant to be among these Hotspurs?

not enforce it. But in November 1601 a new mayor, not of the faction of Essex, had succeeded, who took note of the neglect, and procured another letter of the Council (December 31, 1601) which evidently had more effect. At this time Jonson had produced his *Poetaster* at the Blackfriars. It went over the same ground as *Cynthia's Revels*, but in a new and a much more masterly manner. The plots of the two plays are fundamentally alike. In both, the action circles round the court, whether of Cynthia or of Augustus. Both goddess and emperor are surrounded by faithful and poor counsellors of the tribe of Ben; and each court is infested with loose sets of maskers and revellers, who give offence by their performances. Both plays conclude with the punishment awarded to these offenders. In *Cynthia's Revels*, the evil players are all under one leader—Amorphus. In *The Poetaster* they are divided into companies, one led by Ovid, the other by Histrio, who secures the services of Crispinus for his players. *The Poetaster* combines distinct insults to the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's men. When Tucca says he would go and see a play if there were anything to be seen but Jonson's *Humours*, and *Revels*, and *Satires*, Histrio assures him that their theatres were on the other side of the Tiber (Thames), and that they had plenty of ribaldry in their plays. Tucca then tells him that, if they put him upon the stage, "your mansions shall sweat for it, your tabernacles, varlets, your Globes and your Triumphs."

The plot of *The Poetaster* is somewhat complex. Its chief subject is the disgrace of Marston and Dekker, the poetaster and the journeyman poet. But its subsidiary plot is the disgrace of Ovid and his revellers, who are betrayed to the emperor by Histrio. There can be very little doubt that this part of the plot refers to the famous performance of *Richard II.* by the Lord Chamberlain's players on the 7th of February 1601, the eve of Essex's mad incursion into the city. The play was commanded by some of the partisans of the Earl; and Augustine Phillips, one of the actors, received forty shillings as a guarantee against loss by it. It is quite evident, by the place which the whole episode of *Richard II.* occupied in the history of the Earl's conduct and trial, that this fact must be connected with the inhibition under which, as we see from *Hamlet* (1602), the actors then were labouring, and with the court disgrace which Shakespeare about that time experienced, and by reason of which he and Burbage were not "guerdon'd to their deserts."

"Hadst thou not play'd some kingly part in sport  
Thou hadst been a companion for a king,"

are lines addressed to Shakespeare by a contemporary. Jonson treats the revels of Ovid at the court in a double manner. On the one hand he represents the court as a scene of debauchery, in which several poets and others play the parts of the gods of Olympus, Ovid being Jupiter, and Julia the emperor's daughter, whose "declined affections" were bestowed on Ovid, being Juno. On the other hand he represents the *Revels* as innocent in themselves, without any treasonable intent, and only clothed in the garb of treason by the officious information of Histrio, the player who lent the properties for the mask, and the busy inquisition of the parasitic magistrate Asinius Lupus, to whom Jonson (who himself had been suspected of giving the information) addresses the lines:—

"Was this the treason, this the dangerous plot,  
Thy clamorous tongue so bellowed through the court,  
Hadst thou no other project to increase  
Thy grace with Cæsar, but this wolfish train  
To prey upon the life of innocent mirth  
And harmless pleasures, bred of noble wit?"

That Shakespeare was meant by Ovid there can be little doubt. Meres, to whom Jonson refers as an authority about Munday's place in literature,\* had declared in 1598 that the sweet witty soul of Ovid lived in him. In Chester's *Love's Martyr* (1601), to which both Shakespeare and Jonson contributed poems, Shakespeare is supposed to be addressed as "fond, rhyming Ovid." In the *Return from Parnassus*, where the vengeance of Shakespeare on Jonson is referred to, it is hinted that the cause of his putting down the University poets was that they smelt too much of Ovid. This comparison with Ovid was brought out in several particulars. Ovid was brought up to the law, but left it for poetry. He began his poetical career by publishing love poems, and then turned to the drama. It is true for the real Ovid, but not true for Shakespeare, that he was then engaged in his first tragedy, and that he was not known to the "open stage," and did not traffic in "their theatres." But the inconsistency was made consistent by the fact that for the moment Shakespeare was driven from the London stage. At this time a considerable outcry was raised against him for his supposed immorality. His plays were taxed as both gross and wicked. It was supposed that he was given up to "love's foolish, lazy languishment." To this period belongs the

story told by Manningham on the authority of Pooley, Burbage's apprentice, that Shakespeare, having overheard an assignation made by Richard Burbage with a citizen's wife, kept the appointment himself, and jeered the belated player with the too evident truth that "William the Conqueror came before Richard the Third," which last was then Burbage's most celebrated part. The same sort of idea is given in the *Satiro-mastix*, Dekker's reply to *The Poetaster*, where Shakespeare is brought in as William Rufus directing the punishment of Jonson, but giving no brilliant example of chastity in his own person. Though this play was acted by Shakespeare's own company he was evidently angered by it; for he compared its writer to "rank Thersites" opening his "mastic jaws." And he seems to refer to and protest against the general ill-fame under which he laboured at this time in his 121st Sonnet:—

"'Tis better to be vile than vile esteemed,  
When not to be receives reproach of being,  
And the just pleasure lost which is so deemed  
Not by our feeling but by others' seeing:  
For why should others' false adulterate eyes  
Give salutation to my sportive blood?  
Or on my frailties why are frailer spies,  
Which in their wills count bad what I think good?  
No, I am that I am, and they that level  
At my abuses reckon up their own:  
I may be straight, though they themselves be bevel;  
By their rank thoughts my deeds must not be shown;  
Unless this general evil they maintain,  
All men are bad, and in their badness reign."

It was the order of the day to represent all the friends of Essex as Puritans, Papists, or Atheists; and libels against a man's morals might then have a political meaning.

A minor grief of Shakespeare against Jonson may be found in *The Poetaster*. It occurs in the dialogue between Crispinus and Chloe in the second Act. Chloe asks him, "Are you a gentleman born?" on which he offers to show his arms. "No," says Chloe, "your legs do sufficiently show you are a gentleman born; for a man borne upon little legs is always a gentleman born." "Yet," says Crispinus, "I pray you vouchsafe the sight of my arms, mistress; for I bear them about me to have them seen. My name is Crispinus, or Cry-spinas indeed, which is well expressed in my arms: a face crying in

\* There is some obscure tradition of a defect in Shakespeare's legs, to which he is supposed to allude in the sonnet.

\* *The Case is Altered*, i. 1.

chief; and beneath it a bloody toe, between three thorns pungent." To which Chloe—"Then you are welcome, sir: now you are a gentleman born, I can find in my heart to welcome you, for I am a gentlewoman born too, and I will bear my head high enough, though 'twere my fortune to marry a tradesman." The old tradition up to Gifford's day was that Crispinus was intended for Dekker. Gifford proved by quotations that it was Marston's poetry that was ridiculed in Crispinus's compositions. Hence it has since been said that in these words Jonson confessed Marston to be a gentleman, an armigero, as he certainly was. But Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-Book*, quotes the passage so far as it relates to little legs, and assumes that it was meant for himself. The fact is that persons who veil their utterances and speak in riddles always take care to leave a loophole to enable them to forswear the obvious application of their words. This is what Dekker declared Jonson always to be doing. This dastard wit, he said, struck at men in corners, and wrapped up the vices of his best friends in riddles. His persons are not meant for individuals; but he joins in one person the traits that he means to lash in many men. The convenience of this process is undeniable. It enables the satirist to take his oath that the picture is not meant for any person, that where the cap fits it will light without his fault. Jonson often protested as much; and about this particular play he protested that he never wrote anything more innocent or empty of offence: he named none; he spared persons, and spoke of vices. This habit of forswearing the meaning of plain allusions was not confined to Jonson. About this time, as we read in Chamberlain's letters to Carleton, Babington, Bishop of Worcester, preaching at Court, made many proffers or glances on Essex's behalf, as he was understood by the whole auditory, and by the Queen herself, who presently calling him to a reckoning for it, he flatly forswore that he had any such meaning. This is just what Jonson did; it was a common trick of a period when physical bravery was more common than moral courage. Crispinus, in Jonson's play, is not merely a representative of Marston, but a common receptacle for faults of friends whom the author wished to lash. It seems almost evident that the person from whom he borrowed the incident of the arms was Shakespeare, not Marston. Shakespeare's father was of a peasant family; but he married the daughter and co-heiress of an Arden, a name of great note in Warwickshire. When he rose to be chief magistrate of Stratford he naturally wished to bear arms himself,

so as to be able to impale his wife's. He therefore applied to Cooke, Clarencieux, and obtained a "patierne." The poet renewed his father's application in 1596. But he was not content with this. He again applied to Camden in 1599, this time evidently to assert his right to quarter his mother's arms. He succeeded; and it is remarkable that the grant gives her, not the arms of the Warwickshire Ardens, but those of the Ardens of Alvanley in Cheshire, who boasted a descent from the Dukes of Normandy, whose arms they quartered, as well as those of the Earls of Arundel, Chester, and Mercia. The particular Arden from whom his mother may have claimed descent seems to have been Ralph, who married Catherine, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton. One of their sons, Thomas, in the time of Henry VI. migrated into Leicestershire, and founded a family there. Thomas Arden of Aston Cantlowe, grandfather of Mrs. Shakespeare, was possibly a son or grandson of this Thomas.

Jonson probably introduced Shakespeare to Camden to obtain his grant of arms in 1599, and thus was privy to all the anxiety of the poet to prove himself a gentleman born. If his ancient coat was at the earliest a couple of years more recent than his own birth, yet it was worth while to get a coat for the Shakespeares, to enable them to quarter the arms of their mother's family. The very character of the arms attributed to Crispinus is exactly that of Shakespeare's coat; it belongs to the canting department of heraldry, and is merely an emblematic pun upon the name. The *shake* of Shakespeare is represented by the crest—a falcon flapping its wings: the *spear* by a spear in a bend upon the shield. Such was Crispinus's canting coat:—the *cry* shown by a face crying; the *spinas* by three thorns. There is no suggestion that Marston's arms warranted any such satire. He was admitted Bachelor of Arts at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1593, as the "eldest son of an esquire;" and his armorial bearings came to him as a matter of course. It was not against the misfortune of hereditary gentility that Jonson directed his satire; it was against the folly, as he considered it, of a peasant seeking to improve his social status by obtaining a grant of arms. He had already satirized this weakness in the person of Sogliardo in *Every Man out of his Humour*. But, whether he distinctly meant the passage to apply to Shakespeare or not, there is some evidence that Shakespeare thought it was so intended. In this way the conversation between the old shepherd and his son in the last scene of the *Winter's Tale* receives a personal meaning, which indeed has often been

attributed to it; and the satire against "old coats," which he introduced about this time into his revised *Merry Wives of Windsor*, coupled with the fact that he evidently did not avail himself of his right to quarter his mother's arms, seems to show that, as time went on, he acquiesced in the relevancy of Jonson's satire, and was contented to drop his pretence to antiquity of descent.

But just at the period of *The Poetaster* (1601) it was not so. It was then a current joke to identify Shakespeare with the Conqueror\* or Rufus, as if his pretensions to descent from the Norman dukes were known. He may have permitted his friends to call him William the Conqueror, or William Rufus, without going so far as to put up with Jonson's sneer. Just at the time when Lord Southampton was in prison, and the political cause which he had embraced was in ruins, Shakespeare retired upon himself, and made much of what belonged to him. Both he and Jonson consorted with men far above them in station. But Jonson mixed with high society on the assumption that, though a plebeian by stock, his genius ennobled him. Hence the curious compound of intellectual arrogance and moral servility which he sometimes exhibited in his conduct, allowing his liberty in the presence of great men to aggrandize himself in his own esteem, and to excuse at other times conduct which in other men he would have rightly stigmatized as base. Shakespeare, on the contrary, put forward no personal claim to superiority of intellect. In his sonnets he makes free confession of all kinds of personal insufficiencies. He owns that he is lame, poor, despised; that he has degraded himself by wearing motley; that his public means have bred in him public manners. But he never confesses that his birth is plebeian or his blood ungentle. In his relations with his noble friends he was neither arrogant nor unduly humble, but equally removed from sauciness and servility, and from that mixture of both which sometimes distinguishes the favourites of great men. The letter of dedication of his *Lucrece* to Southampton exhibits in clear colour the attitude of his mind. In it there shines the same gentleness and humility which are expressed in the sonnets. It is a humility so far from

servility that it would ennoble even a prince, and may therefore be exhibited by a dependant without the least self-abasement. Shakespeare levelled himself up to his noble friends by his claim of gentle birth; Jonson levelled them down to himself by sneering at birth. Shakespeare, by resting his claims on this false issue, enabled both his friends and himself to put out of sight his sovereignty of nature, and to treat the rank which his genius gave him as one held precisely by the same titles as those on which the rank of all other gentlemen rested. Jonson, by the very forwardness of his confession that he had none of the ordinary claims to rank, grounded his right to the position which he sought to occupy upon his own extraordinary merits. Perhaps the moral and social utility, not of the pride of birth, but of a certain respect for antiquity of descent, was never more clearly exhibited than in the contrasted courses of these two men. In his intercourse with his noble friends, Shakespeare made no absurd claims. His pedigree was not so much an external fact as an internal idea, a kind of atmosphere of his mind, an obscure consciousness which helped him to maintain his own dignity, and to respect that of other men. When he came to put forth his claims to friendship with his great acquaintance, he grounded them not on his birth, nor on his merits or genius, but on his love. "Some glory in their birth," he says in the ninety-first Sonnet, but "thy love is better than high birth to me." Perhaps Jonson's sneer in *The Poetaster* was one of the reasons why Shakespeare, after having taken the trouble to vindicate his right to the Arden arms in the Herald's court, never thought proper to bear them in public. His monument bears his own shield only. Probably his genealogical ardour to connect himself with the Ardens of Cheshire was only a passing condition of his mind. If it was permanent, it certainly is noteworthy as a trait of that habitual modesty which made him so sparing in any allusions to himself or his belongings that in his play of *King John* there is no mention of the great Earl of Chester, who played so prominent a part in the history of the times, and who is also an important figure in the Arden pedigree. This modesty of Shakespeare about himself finds a counterpart in the silence of his contemporaries about him. If they jeered at him on the stage, their allusions have failed to stick to him, because he presented no salient angles of professed personal pretences to which they could adhere, and their relevancy is forgotten and can no longer be proved. It was exactly the contrary with

\* An inverted form of the same joke is found in the revised *Taming of the Shrew*, where Sly is made to say "that the Slies came in with Richard Conqueror." The clownish mistake covers an allusion to Burbage, under whom probably the Slies were introduced to the stage, and whom Shakespeare makes the Conqueror instead of himself.

Ben Jonson. At the time now under review, 1599–1603, he was by no means the popular character he afterwards became. Allusions to him are rife in the dramatic literature of the period; and most of them have reference to his trade of bricklayer. The fun of them must have consisted principally in the annoyance which they notoriously gave him. He felt himself obliged to draw the line somewhere; he did not claim high birth, but he did not like to be reminded that he had been a craftsman.

Another feature in *The Poetaster*, which we know gave mortal offence to the players in general and to Shakespeare specially, was Jonson's treatment of them in the persons of the sneaking informers Histrio and Æsop, and in the remarks put into Lupus's mouth about the whole profession:—"These players are an idle generation, and do much harm in a state, corrupt young gentry very much . . . besides they will rob us magistrates of our respect, bring us upon their stages, and make us ridiculous to the plebeians." And Tucca agrees:—"They are grown licentious, the rogues; libertines, flat libertines. They forget they are in the statute, the rascals; they are blazoned there: there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees; they need no other heralds, I wiss." (It need scarcely be hinted that this remark adds gall to the point just discussed.) And Ovid's father adds that "the very reading of the public edicts should fright thee from commerce with them, and give thee distaste enough of their actions." Once more, *The Poetaster* contains a scene which is a manifest allusion to, if not a parody of, the garden scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, where Ovid (Shakespeare) pours out his love beneath the window of the imprisoned Julia, whom the emperor has immured, while her lover is banished from the court. There is nothing to offend in this scene by itself; but taken in connection with the rest of the play it must have enhanced the anger of the person attacked.

It would be too long a task to review the speedy castigation which Dekker inflicted for this piece upon Jonson. The *Satiro-mastix*, publicly played by the Lord Chamberlain's men, and privately by the children of Paul's, is a mine of satire and lampooning, in which everything belonging to Jonson—his face, his nose, his voice, his offensive odour, his clothes, his history, even his valour, his vices, his whole character—are subjected to the most Aristophanic gibes. The characters are for the most part the same as in *The Poetaster*. Horace is Jonson; Crispinus and Demetrius, Marston and Dekker; Captain Tucca is still the vehicle of most of the abuse. But for Augustus is

substituted William Rufus—Shakespeare—who presides over the untrussing of the humorous poet; and some old characters of Dekker's are introduced from a previous play, *Patient Grissell*. Tucca in one place asks Bubo, Jonson's toady, "What is my name!" Bubo only knows Captain and Tucca. "No, fie on't," says the other, "my name's Hamlet-Revenge!" He even seems to allude to a speech of Rosencrantz in *Hamlet*, when he says that no gentleman can stir without being shown up in *Every Gentleman in and out of his Humour*:—"We that are heads of legions and bands, and fear none but these shoulder-clappers, shall fear you, you serpentine rascal," or, as Shakespeare puts it more tersely, "many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills." The mention of Hamlet-Revenge seems to refer to the fact that Shakespeare had retorted upon Jonson; and the passage at the end of the play is in fact a hint of the manner in which it was done. The play ends, like *Cynthia's Revels*, with a kind of enforced palinode. Jonson is made to forswear a great many of his practices. The second article is that he will not "bumbast out a new play with the old linings of jests stolen from the Temple Revels." Now it so happens that the play acted at, and probably written for, the Temple's Revels on the 2d of February 1602 was Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. The purport of the oath administered to Jonson was that he should not write a new play upon that, as Dekker had written his play on the plan of *The Poetaster*. Malvolio then was Shakespeare's first purge administered to Ben Jonson. The lawyers, as Jonson tells us, had been highly offended with him, and apparently joined with the players in thus showing their anger. Malvolio is simply the character which Jonson drew of himself as Asper, Macilente, and Crites, passed through the critical alembic of Shakespeare's creative genius. We who are accustomed to think of Jonson as he was in after years, when his "mountain belly" was his prominent feature, may find it difficult to see him in the lean Malvolio. But that was his physical condition in 1602. "Horace was a goodly corpulent gentleman," says Dekker in *The Poetaster*, "and not so lean and hollow-cheeked a Scrag as thou art." Again "Horace," says Dekker, "loved poets well, and gave cockscombs to none but fools. But thou lovest none but thyself." So, when Malvolio calls the witty clown a "barren rascal," his mistress tells him that he is "sick of self-love" and his taste distempered, and recommends him to be generous, guiltless, and free. He is a "kind of Puritan," but not really a Puritan or anything con-

stantly, but a time-pleaser,\* an affected ass, that conned state without book (referring to the gravity and shallowness of the political speeches of Crites); so well persuaded of his innumerable excellencies that he thinks all who look upon him love him (another distinct reference to Crites); one who brought his fellow-servants out of favour with their lady for a bear-baiting (and Jonson had in *Cynthia's Revels* distinctly tried to throw doubts on the loyalty of all the companies of actors). Jonson like Malvolio, emboldened by the favour shown to *Cynthia's Revels*, went too far in his *Poetaster*, disgusted the lawyers, soldiers, and players, was thrown into prison, considered himself beset with spies, and when he came out, was so lonely that Overbury told Manningham, in February 1603, that he was "living upon one Townsend and scorning the world." As Crites banishes the riotous courtiers, so does Malvolio discard the Countess's household as "idle shallow things, not of his element." He is persuaded that the right way to win his mistress's favour is to be opposite with her kinsmen, surly with her servants, to let his tongue tang arguments of state, to make himself singular in dress—as it is clear, from the perpetual allusions to his dress, both in *The Poetaster* and in the *Satiromastix*, that Jonson did. But his mistress only considers him a madman, and hands him over to his enemies, who shut him up in prison, and make him "the most notorious geck and gull that e'er invention played on." Even the part of the plot which does not refer to Jonson has been supposed to be built on a hint in his *Every Man out of his Humour*, where Mitis criticises the comedy, and wishes the argument had been of some other nature, as of "a duke to be in love with a countess, and that countess to be in love with the duke's son, and the son to love the lady's waiting-maid; some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man—better than to be thus near and familiarly allied to the time." When Jonson wrote this he was on excellent terms with Shakespeare; his highest ambition was that "lean Macilente" might become "as fat," by popular favour, "as Sir John Falstaff." It is not improbable that "the gentle Shakespeare," Mitis, had suggested to him this very plot. In *The Return from Parnassus* Shakespeare is said to have given Jonson a

purge that made him bewray his credit. This is exactly what is said in the play. "I know my physic will work with him," says Maria, who invented the plot against him. "What a dish of poison hath she dressed him!" says Sir Toby. Once more, Shakespeare seems to protest against the name Deformed in the lines—

"In nature there's no blemish but the mind;  
None can be called 'deformed' but the unkind."

And when we interpret the clown's song at the end of the *Twelfth Night* of Jonson, it receives a new light. What could be more applicable to the man who first called "plays" "works," and who was notorious for making mountains of molehills, than the couplet—

"When that I was a little tiny boy,  
A foolish thing was but a toy;"

Or to the man of such vicissitudes of fortune as Dekker describes, than the second couplet—

"But when I came to man's estate,  
'Gainst knaves and thieves men shut their gate;"

or to the husband of the "shrew but honest" than

"But when I came, alas! to wive,  
By swaggering could I never thrive;"

or to the bacchanalian nature of the man than

"But when I came unto my bed,  
With toss-pots still had drunken head?"

or what could be a better reply to Jonson's attempts to reform everything, and to renew the face of the earth, than

"A great while ago the world begun;  
But that's all one, our play is done?"

Some critics have found deep philosophy in this doggrel. It is much of the same character as the lines attributed to Shakespeare on Lucy or Combe—a rough popular satire.

*Cynthia's Revels* is very much devoted to showing up a ridiculous custom of courtship, which seems to have been fashionable, and consisted in four different charges or "complimentary assaults" on the lady, called the "bare accost," the "better regard," the "solemn address," and the "perfect close." *Twelfth Night* and *Troilus and Cressida* are the only plays in which Shakespeare takes any notice of this custom. In the former play Sir Toby tells Sir Andrew to "accost" Maria; and Sir Andrew

\* Jonson, in *Every Man in his Humour*, couples together Precisians and "rigid Roman Catholics" as similar in religion; and Watson (*Quodlibets*, p. 27) says that the Jesuit faction was commonly called that of the "Puritan Papiets." Jonson, it is superfluous to remark, was at this time a Catholic.

takes it for her name, and calls her "Mistress Mary Accost;" and Sir Toby explains that accost only means "front her, board her, woo her, assail her." In this, with Sir Andrew's subsequent accosting, we have a direct reference to the accosting scene in *Cynthia's Revels*. The same thing occurs when Fabian explains that Olivia only showed favour to Cesario to awake Sir Andrew's "dormouse" valour, and tells him, "You should then have accosted her, and with some excellent jests fire-new from the mint, you should have banged the youth into dumbness. This was looked for at your hand, and this was balked." Here we have the very description of the "accost" as given in Jonson's play, where the technical word for being "banged into dumbness," i.e., being put out of countenance, is getting "the dor"—being made a "dormouse." In *Troilus and Cressida* similarly we have the scene (iii. 1) where Pandarus makes his "complimental assault" upon Paris and Helen, and addresses her in words almost parodied from Jonson's play:—"Fair be to you, my lord, and to all this fair company! fair desires, in all fair measures, fairly guide them! especially to you, fair queen! fair thoughts be your fair pillow." And then we have Ulysses' judgment upon Cressida:—

"O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue  
That give accosting welcome ere it comes,  
And wide unclasp the table of their thoughts  
To every ticklish reader! Set them down  
For sluttish spoils of opportunity."

As a specimen of the "perfect close," the last scene in the act of courtship, nothing can be more beautifully contrived than the second scene of Act iii., where Troilus and Cressida exchange their final vows. Osric, in *Hamlet*, is one of these courtly encounterers. "He has only got the tune of the time and outward habit of encounter; a kind of yesty collection which carries them through and through the most fond and winnowed opinions; and do but blow them to their trial, the bubbles are out." But *Hamlet* contains no accosting scene.

One more point should be noted. Jonson makes Amorphus a master of grimace. In *Cynthia's Revels*, Act ii. s. 1, he puts on in succession the mercantile face, the academic face, the military, the legal, the political, and the courtly face, all which he first describes and then exemplifies. Shakespeare gives the retort courteous for all this when he describes Malvolio: "He does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies: you have not seen such a thing as 'tis. I can hardly forbear hurling things at him."

In the same way, in *The Return from Parnassus*, iv. 3, Kempe gives himself an opportunity of making faces when he says, at Cambridge, "I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts on this fashion." It may be suspected that Shakespeare, like Garrick, had a great power of facial expression, and contrary-wise that Jonson had not. Dekker says of him, in the *Satiro-mastix*, "Thou putt'st up a supplication to be a poor journeyman player, and hadst been still so, but that thou could'st not set a good face upon it." Richard III. could only be acted by one who could "frame his face to all occasions."

Jonson's *Poetaster* probably came out at Christmas 1601. Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* was just forty days after it. But Malvolio is much more a reply to *Cynthia's Revels* than to the *Poetaster*. The reply to *The Poetaster* was *Troilus and Cressida*. Jonson, in attacking Marston in *The Poetaster*, glanced chiefly at his *Satires* and his *Antonio and Mellida*. In the first part of this drama Marston had introduced an armed epilogue (usually prologue and epilogue were spoken by an actor in a velvet cloak), but "not as a peremptory challenge of desert." In *The Poetaster* an "armed Prologue" salutes the audience, to show that the play is "forty-fold proof against detractors and illiterate apes," that the writer has a "well-erected confidence," that he once more, as in the epilogue to *Cynthia's Revels*, "swore that his play was good," that he pursues with constant firmness the right mean between full-blown vanity and base dejection. The prologue of *Troilus and Cressida* was a direct reply to this challenge:—

"Hither am I come,  
A prologue armed, but not in confidence  
Of author's pen or actor's voice, but suited  
In like conditions as our argument."

Like *Twelfth Night*, *Troilus and Cressida* came out on some private stage. Dekker and Chettle had written a drama on this subject for Henslowe in 1599; but the title had been changed into *The Tragedy of Agamemnon* on representation. It was not this, therefore, but Shakespeare's play, which was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 7th of February 1603, as acted by the Lord Chamberlain's men. The preface to the play, as published in 1609, declares that it never had been staled with the stage, or clapperclawed with the palms of the vulgar. It might have been privately performed, perhaps at one of the Inns of Court; and then it had been kept in ms. in the hands of some great personage. Shakespeare from 1600 to 1603 was in disgrace. He was banished the



court. His plays, which hitherto had been jealously guarded by the actors, were published wholesale. Between August 1600 and January 1601 no less than eight were entered for publication at Stationers' Hall; and most of them were printed. His company, which used always to act before the Queen at Christmas, Twelfth-tide, and Shrove-tide, was replaced in 1600 and 1601 by the Lord Admiral's men. His plays seem for a time to have been banished by the licenser from the public stage.

An examination of *Troilus and Cressida* will show how manifold are its references to the current partly political, partly professional, quarrel. Besides the direct retort of the prologue the epilogue should also be noticed. Jonson tells us that he had written an epilogue to his *Poetaster*, which was suppressed by authority. At the end of Shakespeare's play, Pandarus comes forward and says, instead of an epilogue,

"Some two months hence my will shall here be made;  
It should be now, but that my fear is this,  
Some galled goose of Winchester should hiss."

Jonson professed to be obliged to suppress his epilogue for fear of the great persons he had offended; and Pandarus suppresses his for fear of the unhappy women of Bankside. Next it is quite clear that the whole play relates to some actors' quarrel. A common epithet for actor in Jonson's days was "copper-laced;" for his golden ornaments were only copper gilt. So when Troilus says

"Whilst some with cunning gild their copper crowns,  
With truth and plainness I do wear mine bare,"

it is Shakespeare who replies to Jonson's attack on him as a player. "I do not deny that I am actor and dramatist; nor do I gild my copper crown with pretences to be what I am not." Achilles is Jonson, urging on his boy actors to parody upon the stage all the public men of the day:—

"The great Achilles, whom opinion crowns  
The sinew and the fore-hand of our host,  
Having his ear full of his airy fame,  
Grows dainty of his worth, and in his tent,  
Lies mocking our designs: with him, Patroclus,  
Upon a lazy bed, the live-long day  
Breaks scurril jests;  
And with ridiculous and awkward action,  
Which, slanderer, he imitation calls,  
He pageants us. Sometime, great Agamemnon,  
Thy topless deputation he puts on;  
And like a strutting player, whose conceit  
Lies in his hamstring, and doth think it rich

To hear the wooden dialogue and sound  
'Twixt his stretched footing and the scaffoldage,—

Such to-be-pitied and o'erwrested seeming  
He acts thy greatness in: and when he speaks,

'Tis like a chime a-mending: with terms unsquared,

Which from the tongue of roaring Typhon dropped

Would seem hyperboles. At this fusty stuff,  
The large Achilles, on his press'd bed lolling,  
From his deep chest laughs out a loud applause;

Cries, 'Excellent! 'tis Agamemnon just—  
Now play me Nestor: hem, and stroke thy beard,

As he, being 'drest to some oration.'

And in this fashion,  
All our abilities, gifts, natures, shapes,  
Severals and generals of grace exact,  
Achievements, plots, orders, preventions,  
Excitements to the field, or speech for truce,  
Success, or loss, what is, or is not, serves  
As stuff for these two to make paradoxes."<sup>78</sup>

Then Nestor accuses in like strain those for whom Dekker writes; for, as has been shown above, Thersites is Dekker:—

"And in the imitation of these twain—  
Whom, as Ulysses says, opinion crowns .  
With an imperial voice—many are infect.  
Ajax is grown self-willed, and bears his head  
In such a rein, in full as proud a place  
As broad Achilles; keeps his tent like him;  
Makes factious feasts: rails on our state of war  
Bold as an oracle; and sets Thersites,  
A slave whose gall coins slanders like a mint,  
To match us in comparisons with dirt;  
To weaken and discredit our exposure,  
How rank soever rounded in with danger."<sup>79</sup>

The identification of Achilles with Jonson throws light on a passage of Webster. In June 1602, Jonson was employed by Henslowe to write additions to the play of *Jeronymo*, which belonged, not to the Lord Admiral's men, but to the Lord Chamber-

\* Ajax, Thersites's patron, may be Sir John Harrington, author of the *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, who about this time became Jonson's mortal enemy (as he told Drummond).

† Jonson, as Macilente, complains that in court a man, "though ne'er so richly parted," if poor and ill clad, will be kicked down stairs. Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida* seems expressly to argue against this when he assures Achilles that no man, "how dearly ever parted," can be known to be so unless he shows it. A man is not honoured for what he is, but for what he does. It is absurd for a man who sits apart in sullen pride to talk of his poverty being the cause that he is unnoticed. Dekker, in the *Satiromastix*, had made Jonson announce his intention of turning Timonist—scorning the world, as Overbury said of him. Again, when Hector talks of the "young men, whom Aristotle thought unfit to hear moral philosophy," Ulrici sees an allusion to Ben Jonson and the Aristotelians.

lain's. In retaliation, the Lord Chamberlain's men employed Webster to do the same for Marston's *Malcontent*, which probably belonged to the Lord Admiral's men. In Webster's induction, Sly wishes the Trojans had smelt out the Greeks in the horse, for, he says, "I love Hector horribly." In reply Condell quotes John Harvey's hexameters:—

"Great Alexander when he came to the tomb  
of Achilles,  
Spake with a big loud voice, O thou thrice  
blessed and happy."

And Sly interrupts him—"Alexander was an ass to speak so well of a filthy callion." Achilles was the *bête noir* of the Lord Chamberlain's men.

But Shakespeare's meaning in *Troilus and Cressida* was not merely to satirize Jonson on one side and Dekker on the other. He had besides to give them good advice, and also to defend himself, who had in the meantime been attacked from another quarter. Chapman, to whom Jonson had paid the compliment in *The Poetaster* of enthroning him, under the name of Virgil, as prince of English poets, took upon himself to defend his friend in the comedy of *All Fools*. In it he comforts Jonson, who, as Malvolio, had been made such a notorious gull, with the pleasing reflection that everybody is more or less so:—

"Nay, never shun it to be called a gull,  
For I see all the world is but a gull—  
One man gull to another in all kinds," etc.

And the plot of the play consists in this universal gullery. The guller is gulled; and Shakespeare seems to be told that, however great a fool he had made Jonson, yet he, in taking the part of Essex, had been a still greater fool.

"Heaven, I see these politicians  
(Out of blind fortune's hands) are our most  
fools.

'Tis she that gives the lustre to their wits,  
Still plodding at traditional devices,  
But take 'em out of them to present actions.  
A man may grope and tickle 'em like a trout,  
And take 'em from their close dear holes as fat  
As a physician."\*

\* A direct reference of Chapman in *All Fools* to Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* should be noticed. Olivia tells Malvolio, who is offended with the clown, that "there is no slander in an allowed fool though he do nothing but rail; nor no railing in a known discreet man, though he do nothing but reprove."

So Chapman—

"That same vein of railing is become  
Now most applausive; your best poet is  
He that rails grossest." "True, and your  
best fool  
Is your broad railing fool."

Shakespeare had to show that he was not so great a fool in taking the part of Essex. It was the losing side: so was that of the Trojans, which all Englishmen then embraced. The catastrophe was brought on by the Earl's obstinacy on a point of honour; but so was the fall of Troy caused by the obstinate retention of Helen against the judgment of Hector and the warnings of Cassandra. Jonson in *The Poetaster*, following the fashion of his time, had summed up the political cause of Essex in the person of Julia, the Emperor's "base and revolted daughter." Shakespeare shows that true patriotism may be engaged even in so weak a cause as Helen's, and that the noblest and most self-sacrificing love may be bestowed on such a creature as Cressida. He only allows the rank Thersites to value the efforts bestowed on a cause at the precise worth of its immediate material objects. Thersites can see in the Trojan war nothing but the vilest quarrel. Shakespeare shows in it the contest of principles, inflamed perhaps by accident, but maintained by the deep insight and moral determination of such men as Hector and Troilus on one side, and Ulysses and Agamemnon on the other. The way in which the universal and the individual are harmonized in this play makes it one of the most astonishing efforts of Shakespeare's genius. *Troilus and Cressida* has another relationship to *The Poetaster* which should be indicated. In the latter play Jonson makes Marston vomit up the new and indigestible words which he had introduced into the language. Of the twenty-nine inculcated words several either had been already, or were immediately afterwards used by Shakespeare,—such as retrograde, reciprocal, defunct, puff, damp, clutched. Several, too, have been accepted in spite of Jonson's condemnation,—such as incubus, spurious, clumsy, inflate, ventosity, furibund, fatuate, strenuous, conscious. In *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare evidently takes up Jonson's challenge, and introduces into his vocabulary a quantity of new terms, which he had never used before, and never employed afterwards.\* It is not likely that all these

\* The list is a long one:—abashed, abrupt, affectionately, affronted, anticipating, antiquary, appertainment, aspiration, assigne, assubjugate, attachment, attest (substantive), attributive, baste, benumbed, besotted, bi-fold, botchy, calumniate, catarrhs (catlings), characterless, co-act, cognition, commixtion, commedious, community, complimentary, concupy, conduce, conflux, consanguinity, constringed, convive, corival, courteously, debonair, deject (verb), dependence, deprivation, directive, disma, disorbed, disposer, dividable, embrasure, emulous, (used thrice, probably in reference to Dekker's *Emulo* in *Grisell*),

were new words; but it is also quite clear that Shakespeare, as if in express defiance of Jonson's criticism, laid himself out in this play expressly to adopt strange-sounding words into his language. There can be little question that the play suffers considerably from this cause. It is fuller than any other, not of words once current and since obsolete, but of an experimental coinage that was only partially successful. There was an aim in the poet's intention beside the pure aim of poetical expression of his thought. There was a defiance of the critic, and a desire to assert and practise his right of mint-

encounterer, enfreed, enrapt, errant, erudition, expectance, expecter, expostulation, fathomless, feud, fixure, forager, forceless, frush, gorget, imbecility, immaterial, imminence, importless, indistinguishable, infectionally, inseparate, insistence, inveigle, lavolt, maculation, mappery, mastic, maturity, maxim, mission, modicum, monstrosity, multipotent, negation, negotiation, obstinately, omission, oppugnancy, orgulous, orifice, palating, persistive, perspicuous, plantaze, predominance, primitive, primogenitive, profoundly, propend, propension, propugnation, protractive, ptisick, publication, pun (to pound), putresfied, refractory, reinforcement, ribald, roisting, scaffoldage, scantling, scurril, sequestering, soilure, sphered, subduement, subsequent, superficially, superior, taciturnity, tassell, tercel, tortive, transcend, uncomprehensive, unplausive, vindicative, violenteth. Besides these latinizing words, several of which were perhaps new coinages, and none of which occur elsewhere in Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida* contains a long list of commoner words, simple or compound, not elsewhere found in the poet's plays. Thus we have baste, beef-witted, bed-mate, bed-worked, benumbed, blas-drawing, billing, bitch-wolf, black-a-moor, blockish, bob, bone-ache, botchy, boy-queller, bragless, brainless, bug-bear, catlings, changeful, cliff (for cleft in music), cloven-chin, cob-loaf, cousin-german, deedless, deep-drawing, dirt-rotten, dog-fox, double-kenned, dumb-discursive, ear-wax, fat-already, fee-farm, finch-egg, flap, frayed, fry, goer-between, good-fellowship, great-sized, guts-gripping, hamstring, handsomeness, high-soaring, hold-door, idiot-worshipper, kingdomed, knead, land-fish, languageless, largeness, lifter, mail, mealy, mid-age, naughtily, o'er-dusted, o'er-eaten, o'ergalled, o'er-wrested, out-fly, out-swell, over-bulk, over-hold, palsy-fumbling, plaguy, pleasantly, prizer, prover, purely, reader, right-valiant, rump, screeth-owl (elsewhere scritch-owl), seed-ed, sold, self-admission, self-affected, self-assumption, self-breath, shipmen, shoeing-horn, short-armed, sleeveless, sodden-witted, sperr-up, stander, stickler, stithy'd, strawy, stretched-out, strong-ribbed, stubborn-chaste, swing, swooning, thrice-reputed, thunder-darter, tick, toad-stool, topless, unbody, under-honest, under-write, unfamed, ungained, unread, unsalted, unsecret, unsequared, untasted, untent, untimbered, untraded, untune, unvell, vent-brace, vassalage, well-famed, well-ordered, wenching, wheezing, whore-masterly, whoreish, woof. There are also many proper names, and adjectives formed from them, which occur only in this play. Achilles, Arachne, Boreas, Caduceus, Cancer, Carron, Olympian, Sol, Stygian. This list shows an unwonted search after verbal novelty in this play.

age. And the ingenious Billingsgate of Thersites is as rich in its combinations of old English as the more serious dialogue is in its importations from the Romance.

It is clear that an inquiry like this throws light on the anecdotic history of Shakespeare, his nicknames of Deformed and William the Conqueror, his curiosity about his pedigree, and the longing which he shared with such men as Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Burghley to trace his descent from crowned heads, and that it may enable us to refer to him many allusions in *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster*. There is, for instance, a description, apparently meant for him, of the anxious author, who is represented as so careful to set up his plays without any imperfection, that he was "always in the tying house, to prompt aloud, stamp at the book-holder, swear for the properties, curse the poor tireman, rail the music out of time, and sweat for every venial offence." But withal, this author is shown to be much more popular with the actors than Jonson, with all his affected indifference to the cast of his plays. But the chief result is the picture we get of Shakespeare, as a kind of veiled prophet, silent, and hard to be provoked, but when provoked dealing a blow that could never be forgotten. The vigour of his satire—for Malvolio, Thersites, and Achilles are as accentuated as statues by Michael Angelo—is not marred by any appearance of personal feeling. In Jonson's and Dekker's satire we see the satirist daubing on his colours with fury and malice. In Shakespeare's we can find no passion; he seems to bid his characters express what they have in them, and they do express it. If they come out as villains, it is not his fault, but their own. His office is purely ministerial; he lets them speak, and sees that they speak truth. He is as far from mixing himself up in their dirty quarrels as the gods of Epicurus are from the affairs of the world. A man who could thus walk through mud without soiling his boots, who, when assailed by a crowd of detractors, had only, like Prospero, to wave his wand over them to make them turn themselves into asses and satyrs, was not a man likely to be attacked more than once, especially as he was of a gracious and unresentful temper, careful not to make his revenge more public than was requisite, and to smother it as soon as it had done its work. It is apparent that Jonson always remembered the whipping he had received. But he was wise enough never to speak of it.

It is impossible to gather up and isolate all the innumerable cross-references of the cycle of dramas which have passed before us. If any student will take the trouble to

read them in the connection which has been here indicated, and in connection also with the political history of the times, he will see how they all hang together, and what multifarious light they shed on each other. Shakespeare's dramas are masterpieces which stand by themselves, and command attention for their general application, even when their individual and occasional allusions are forgotten; but it gives a higher notion of the depth and reach of his genius, when we find that what is in our eyes a comedy for all time is full of the most pungent allusions to the events of the moment, from the revolutionary agitations of the national heart to the quarrels of the green-room and the tavern.

---

ART. IV.—DR. NEWMAN'S GRAMMAR OF  
ASSENT.\*

To attempt in a brief article either to analyse or to criticize a book which sums up the thoughts and method of the lifetime of a great thinker would manifestly be vain. There is scarcely an argument or a principle in Dr. Newman's sermons which is not either alluded to or reproduced in his *Grammar of Assent*. It is a syllabus of the philosophy which guided his mind while he was writing his discourses, both those which he delivered at Oxford and those which he has preached since he became a Catholic. Owing to the compression of the matter, and the author's way of exposing his thoughts in concrete images rather than in abstract notions, the book is apt, on cursory reading, to seem like a wilderness of examples. It is fuller of cases than of principles, of facts than of laws; and much consideration is required in order to discover the clue which will guide the reader aright among its labyrinthine paths.

In the first place, it is necessary to bear in mind what the book professes to be. It is avowedly a history of the author's own mental processes, not, as in the *Apologia pro Vita sua*, in their relation with external circumstances, but in their logical relation among themselves. It is a rational autobiography, in which the changes are recorded not in the order of time, but in the order of their intelligible sequence. The system in which it results is not one constructed by pure reflection, by abstract thought building up a theoretical universe out of assumed

first principles, or analysing into its first principles an assumed first ultimate result; but it is an arrangement in logical order of the author's meditations upon religion, to show his readers how he has in fact satisfied himself of the objective validity of his ideas concerning it, and has convinced himself that his belief in God and the soul is founded on irrefragable proofs. It is a record of the stages by which his mind actually ascends and descends between the heaven of his conclusion and the earth of his premisses. It is a chapter of mental autobiography, not a carefully rounded treatise of systematic metaphysics.

Still it is not a book written either in self-defence or to gratify the curiosity of the psychologist. It certainly would never have been written merely to be a record of the author's mental progress. The reason of its existence is a practical one—to incite and guide by an example the progress of other minds along similar paths. In this respect it has a controversial aspect; and both in method and style it is, as is natural, only a continuation of the author's declared system. Students of his writings are familiar with the beautiful image, which more than once occurs in them, of the souls of men, each by itself, called into the presence of God and His creatures, and made to perform a solemn measure, unlike all dances of earth, with hands and feet serenely moving on towards its end. It is not the logic but the drama of life which he considers really instructive—not precept but example. A man's true teaching is by what he is, not by what he says; and deeds, not words, are the measure of what he is. According to this idea, a man's true testament to his fellow-mortals, if his life is to be of value to more than to his own narrow self, is not an artificial theory, but a manifestation of what is in him—a true and simple autobiography. A man may have all good thoughts and emotions, says Dr. Newman in an early sermon, "yet, if he has not yet hazarded them to the experiment of practice, he cannot persuade himself that he has any sound and permanent principle at all. If he has not yet acted upon them, we have no voucher . . . to believe that they are anything but words. Though a man spoke like an angel, I would not believe him on the mere ground of his speaking." A man's acts are the rule of what he can do, and the testimony of what he is. By this inductive logic of human action, Dr. Newman is naturally led to adopt the rule which he lays down, namely, that in the provinces of metaphysics, ethics, and the evidences of religion, "egotism is true modesty. In religious inquiry each of us can speak only for

---

\* *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.*  
By John Henry Newman, D.D. (London: Burns,  
Oates, and Co.)

himself, and for himself he has a right to speak. His own experiences are enough for himself, but he cannot speak for others; he cannot lay down the law; he can only bring his own experiences to the common stock of psychological facts. He knows what has satisfied and satisfies himself; if it satisfies him, it is likely to satisfy others; if, as he believes and is sure, it is true, it will approve itself to others also, for there is but one truth. And doubtless he does find in fact, that, allowing for the difference of minds and of modes of speech, what convinces him does convince others also" (pp. 379, 380). That the book is not intended to "lay down the law" is a fact which should stand out plainly in the eye of the critic and of the reader. If it had been an objective, impersonal, self-sustained system of philosophy, the detection of some flaw in the deduction, or some confusion in the terms, would serve to discredit it. But in the case of an intellectual autobiography, even though the progress of the argument were shown to bristle with fallacies, yet the fact would remain that a real and concrete intellect has reasoned in this way, and has satisfied itself with its reasonings. And when this intellect is one so profound and typical as Dr. Newman's, even the fallacies, if such there be, have their own special interest, and cannot be dismissed as mere hallucinations. It is necessary to suppose that they are founded on some truth, and that they have some real relation to the truth on which they are founded. The work, then, is one of profound interest on account of the speculative and intuitive powers of the writer, and of an importance corresponding with the wideness of his sympathies, or the proportion of the human race which is of such a character as to start from the same first principles, and to argue in the same way. The interest or the importance is very little affected by criticism of details. For the interest lies mainly in the clearness and veracity of the statement of the subjective construction made by the recording mind, while the importance lies chiefly in the representative character of the man.

Dr. Newman's style of writing fits in admirably with his unostentatious method of teaching by his own example. He is one of those writers whose individuality is even more striking and forcible than the objective ideas which they put forth, the facts which they relate, or the arguments which they formulate. The method he in fact uses, and defends as the "real and necessary method" in religious inquiry, is that of "informal inference." "It is the cumulation of probabilities, independent of each other, arising out of the nature and circumstances of the

particular case which is under review; probabilities too fine to avail separately, too subtle and circuitous to be convertible into syllogisms, too numerous and various for such conversion, even were they convertible" (p. 281). Language accordingly is to be used, as far as it will go, mainly "to stimulate in those to whom we address ourselves, a mode of thinking and trains of thought similar to our own, leading them on by their own independent action, not by any syllogistic compulsion" (p. 302). Thus Dr. Newman's school of thought becomes esoteric, because his words are symbols, not expressions, of his thought. He is rather a Platonist who creates, than an Aristotelian who abstracts and harmonises ideas. He deals rather with images than with notions. And his system—for he is systematic enough—is not arranged according to the rigid connection of ideas in themselves, but according to his own observation of the circumstances of their growth in his own mind, and his comparison of their growth there with their growth in other minds, as witnessed in such men's usual forms of speech and similar outward symbols of inward movements.

As intellect is a common possession of mankind, complete singularity is impossible in thought. Every man's thinking is reducible to common laws, and may be referred to some known system. If it were not so, then on one side criticism of the autobiography of an intellect would be impossible, except so far as the critic might combat the author's veracity or his powers of self-inspection and of expressing what he means, and, on the other side, the autobiography itself would have no calculable force as an example, since it could only guide a few minds which were by chance similarly constituted. But now, as all minds have the greater part of their machinery in common, that which is true or right in method for one must be in the main right and true for all; and the critic cannot attend to the disclaimer of universal validity, or of laying down the law for all. And in fact Dr. Newman's book is a kind of inductive religious logic for all men. Its purpose is to justify the logical method of faith by comparing it with the logical methods of prudence and philosophy. It is intended to show that the charges of credulity and the like made by sceptics against believers can be fairly retorted, and that believers make use of no illicit processes of thought unless all human thought is equally illicit.

The starting-point of the book is that difficulty which is the common crux of all philosophies—how to reconcile the pleroma of certitude and faith with the deficiency or even the vacuum of evidence. Such was at

bottom the question which goaded on Hegel to exhibit the natural progress of not-being into being and the universe, and which has impelled Dr. Newman to trace the growth of certitude out of premisses inadequate to support it. The difference between the two is that, whereas Hegel, in common with all professed philosophers, grapples with the difficulty in its absolute form, Dr. Newman only treats it relatively. If the thesis to be treated were the Indian dogma of the universe supported on the elephant standing on the tortoise, absolute philosophy would ask what the tortoise stood upon: it is sufficient to the relative thinker to prove that the tortoise is just as firm as the elephant. There is something here of the method of Butler. He argues that you cannot object to revealed religion except on principles which would do away with natural religion as well. Dr. Newman shows that the principles and intuitions on which first natural, and then revealed, religion are grounded are as trustworthy, and import the same kind of objective validity, as the intuitions and evidence of the senses and the reason. He shows, not how non-being comes into being, or how the subjective impression really and necessarily conveys the inference of the objective fact, but how the testimony of the intuition and conscience grows into testimony similar to that furnished by the senses and reason, and how, consequently, the certitude of divine truths rises to exactly the same level of evidence as the certitude of natural truths.

His argument therefore is entirely psychological. He assumes as ontological verity the objective validity of the information given by the senses and reason. That information is secure enough for all the practical purposes of secular life; he does not aim at proving more than that the religious sense gives information equally secure, and equally valid for all purposes of the spiritual and religious life. In order to show this he divides his argument into two main parts. In the first he investigates the nature and genesis of assent; in the second, the nature and genesis of certitude. The object of the first part is to show how notional may become real assents—how for instance out of the assent to the notion of Deity, gained by the usual inferences, the soul may draw forth the assent to the fact of the personal presence of God. The object of the second part is to show how certitude, or absolute and infallible security, may attach to the assent to propositions which are incapable of the formal proof that would logically justify such certitude—how for instance the infallible certitude of the truth of natural and revealed religion can be drawn out from

evidences which, formally stated, do not warrant that absolute quality in the conclusion. It is an attempt to fill up the gaps of logic, parallel to the metaphysician's attempts to fill the gulf between the objective and subjective in his science. Dr. Newman's terminology, though familiar enough, and in the main confining itself to the ordinary sense of words, is yet, in a matter of such close reasoning, obliged to limit and define that sense, so as to exclude the ordinary connotations of the terms. It is necessary therefore to say what he means by "assent," "notional assent," "real assent," and "certitude."

As there are, he says, three ways of enunciating a proposition—either as a question, a conclusion, or an assertion—so there are three corresponding ways of internally holding it: it may be held either as a doubt, an inference, or an assent. In inference, as in the conclusion, the proposition is held subject to the conditions of the premisses. But as in assertion a proposition is unconditionally enunciated, so in assent a proposition is unconditionally received. We may assent to the qualification of a proposition—to its doubtfulness, to its general truth, to its falsity; and these qualifications of the proposition may be the results of inference. But the assent as such is an unconditional act, unqualified by the qualities of the proposition assented to. Assent, he says, with fullness of detail (p. 181), is "the mental assertion of an intelligible proposition, as an act of the intellect, direct, absolute, complete in itself, unconditional, arbitrary, yet without refusing the appeal to argument, and at least in many cases exercised unconsciously." A "notional assent," again, differs from a "real assent" as an inference differs from a simple apprehension. One is assent to notions; the other, assent to things. Hence the problem, how to turn a notional assent into a real assent, is a kind of appendix to the question, how far notions are to be taken as things. "Certitude," again, is "a deliberate assent given after reasoning." It has three qualities:—(1.) It follows on investigation and proof; (2.) it is accompanied by a specific sense of intellectual satisfaction and repose; and (3.) it is irreversible or indefectible. "If the assent is made without rational grounds, it is a rash judgment, a fancy, or a prejudice; if without the sense of finality, it is scarcely more than an inference; if without permanence, it is a mere conviction" (p. 251).

Looking at these definitions in connection with the problem which the author writes the book to solve, namely, the evolution of real from notional assent, and the growth of certitude out of assent, it is impossible

not to foresee at once the Butlerian and tu-quoque character of the argument. The unbeliever laughs at the believer for treating notions as things. You do the same, says the believer. You, also, turn your conditional inferences into unconditional assents. You employ the same process to fill up the interval between the cogency of your proofs and the security of your conclusions. You use your imagination as we do, to turn your notional assents into real assents. By inference you learn, in apparent contradiction to your senses, that the earth rotates on its own axis and gyrates round the sun; the notional assent to this you turn into a real one, by placing yourself in imagination outside the earth, and by seeing it rotate and gyrate in space, and by observing that its motions, so imagined, produce all the phenomena which superficial sense conceives to be signs of the sun circling round the earth. Similarly, conscience gives a foundation for the notional assent to the existence of God as true as any man of science can have for the Heliocentric theory; and the stings of conscience naturally set the imagination to work, and the imagination turns the notional into a real assent, with precisely the same validity as the imagination of the astronomer performs the corresponding conversion in his assent. So again of certitude; Dr. Newman retorts upon the unbeliever, who scoffs at the great interval between the assurance of faith and the grounds upon which the faith can be reasonably maintained, that all men, believers and unbelievers, use the same processes, make the like skips, and arrive at analogous certitudes, with the three characteristics which he enumerates as qualifications of certitude—rational foundation, finality, and indefectibility. What all men do, and cannot help doing, they have a right to do, and are right in doing. There is no need of ontological proof where the question is only practical. All men act, and act with decision and certitude, on proofs which are necessarily less than demonstrative. In this respect there is no difference between religious assent and assent to political or surgical propositions. All men embrace certitude, and finally make up their minds, with a distinct intention of never reconsidering their position, on proofs which strictly weighed do not warrant this finality. Such is the interval between what theory justifies and what really is. Religious assent is no more to be suspended till this interval is filled up than secular assent is to be so suspended. Certitude will continue to be a fact in human nature, in spite of the demonstration that we ought to be sure of nothing, and of the invitation

to suspend our judgments on all things. Perhaps, taken in this rough way, Dr. Newman's method is irrefragable, and proves the general and fundamental doctrines of religion with sufficient security—proves that it is as reasonable to be certain of the "primary truths of religion" (p. 235) as it is to be certain of the general laws of human existence on earth; or at least that certitude in each of the cases needs the same kind of assumptions, and therefore that one is at least no less, if no more, defensible than the other. But when we come to a more delicate application of the theory, to examine assents and certitudes not in their rough average but in their living individuality, there are many doubts which arise in opposition to his method.

In the first place, then, though assent as an act of the mind is unconditional, and looks straight to the proposition assented to, without any reference to the steps by which it has been inferred, yet assents considered as syntheses of the mind with the intelligence of the proposition assented to are not unconditional. Nor is inference a conditional act. As acts, both inference and assent are unconditional: as syntheses, both are conditional. Assent as an act regards the proposition before it, without relationship to any other proposition: inference as an act regards the argument before it, without reference to other arguments. In each case the unconditional act becomes conditioned in proceeding to form a synthesis with its object. Assent is an act conditional on the coalescence of intelligible terms; and inference is an act conditional on the sequence of one judgment from another. One act affirms the sequence of propositions, as the other the coalescence of terms. Both are equally peremptory and unconditional in one aspect, equally conditional in one aspect, equally conditioned in another. The concrete assent is as much conditioned by the intelligence of the terms as the concrete inference by the sequence of the propositions. As pure acts, each is absolute: as concrete product, each is conditioned. But in Dr. Newman's argument it appears as if inference were taken in its concrete sense, in which it is rightly called conditional, and assent in its abstract sense, in which it is rightly called absolute; and then these two things are wrongly contrasted, as if inference, as such, were always conditional, and assent, as such, always unconditional. The question to be solved is this—how the assent of faith, which is unconditional, can follow on a proof which must be conditional; or, in other words, how a truth can be assented to as more completely true

than it is proved to be. Dr. Newman finds the solution in the unconditional nature of assent as such. But assent is only unconditional as an act. And as a pure act it has as yet no relations with its subject-matter. As soon as it makes a synthesis with the proposition to be assented to, the concrete assent becomes affected with the same conditions as the proposition itself. Dr. Newman concedes this in effect when he says that we assent to the plausibility, probability, doubtfulness, or untrustworthiness of a proposition, but that this does not constitute variations of assent to an inference, but assents to a variation in inferences. That is to say, assent, as such, viewed abstractedly, is always total; a half assent is no assent; a conditional assent is no assent: but assent in the concrete, viewed as a synthesis of the mind and the proposition, is affected by all the conditions of the proposition itself. And it is exactly the concrete, not the abstract assent which is under discussion. The question is not why the act of the mind assenting to the proposition "I shall die" is unconditional, when the proofs of the proposition are, it is said, only conditional; but why the proposition as assented to is, as it is asserted to be, more certain than the same proposition as proved. The real terms of the comparison are the concrete inference and the concrete assent, not the concrete inference and the abstract assent. And taking both the concrete inference and the concrete assent, the mind, in assenting to the proposition, assents to it with all the conditionality imported into it by the inference which gathers it. The contrary supposition is quite untenable. For instance, I may infer "Crites is a European, because he is a Greek." The whole knowledge of Crites which I set forth is not simply that Crites is a European, but that he is also a Greek. The word "European" in its logical equation with the word "Crites" is conditioned not only by the logical quality it receives from the inference, "some European," but by the predicable quality imported into it from the minor premiss. But if the unconditioned act of assent were to remove the conditionality of the proposition, I should be justified in assenting to the proposition that Crites was a European absolutely. And I might then say that he was a European probably of a Latin or Teutonic race, as those races constitute the majority of Europeans. This would be clearly wrong. In this and in all other cases the assent must be given to the proposition exactly as it comes out in the inference. The assent has no further inferring power. It puts nothing into the matter of the proposition which was not

there before. The formal change from conditional to absolute implies no more security of knowledge in the concrete assent than in the concrete inference. To change the matter of the proposition, to make it universal instead of particular, or the like, in carrying it over from the workshop of inference to the workshop of assent, must always be an illicit process. In inference, the proposition is presented: in assent it is represented. The representative act cannot rightly give to the proposition another power than it had in the presentative act; otherwise it becomes another proposition, a fresh inference or hypothesis, and not the original conclusion of the argument.

Dr. Newman scores a great many runs off Locke's admission that there are propositions which border so near upon certainty that we make no doubt at all about them, but assent to them as firmly, and act according to that assent as resolutely, as if they were infallibly demonstrated, and our knowledge of them were perfect and certain (p. 154). This admission is perhaps the strongest testimony he has to rely upon in his proof that it is scientifically justifiable to allow a "conditional acceptance of a proposition—such as an act of inference—to lead, as it does, to an unconditional acceptance of it—such as assent." And he gives as an example, "A proposition which is not, and cannot be, demonstrated, which at the highest can only be proved to be truth-like, not true, such as 'I shall die,' and which 'nevertheless claims and receives our unqualified adhesion' (p. 151). Now, not to insist on a distinction which Dr. Newman seems not to make, that a proposition may be worthy of absolute practical trust without being worthy of absolute assent, because we can only act in one manner whether the motive of the act is certain or only probable, it appears possible, even logically, to justify the absolute assent to the proposition "I shall die." Dr. Newman's principle is that "the future cannot be proved *a posteriori*," and that "therefore we are compelled by the nature of the case to put up with *a priori* arguments, that is, with antecedent probability, which is by itself no logical proof" (p. 292). But he seems to forget or undervalue the true strength of induction, of which successful prediction is the proper test. He seems to consider that the belief in death cannot be more strongly supported than by the argument that death has occurred in 999 cases out of 1000, and therefore will occur in the 1000th, and to be quite unaware of the real scope and meaning of induction. Induction is not a process of collecting instances, on



the formula, "once, twice, fifty times, therefore always." There is absolutely no sense in such an inference. Really, as deduction is the logic of contents, so induction is the logic of forces. It is not a matter of words, but a matter of fact. It proves the existence of a force by a series of experiments designed for the purpose of evoking that force at will. It answers to what politicians now call "the logic of facts." A deductive argument can always be reduced to dimensions or numbers. A is C, because A is part of the space or number B, and B is part of the space or number C. But induction establishes by sensible demonstration the existence of a force which always acts on given materials in a given way, and this force, imagined as an *a priori* hypothesis, proves itself universal just as much as deductive conclusions do. The most solid deductive conclusion is only true universally on the supposition that the mind and reason will remain the same to-morrow as to-day. That is the only ground on which I can affirm that it will be true to-morrow that two straight lines cannot enclose a space. The parallel assumption that the universe will remain the same to-morrow as to-day warrants me, in precisely a similar way, in the certainty that the law of gravitation or of chemical combination will be precisely the same to-morrow as to-day. Kant recognizes this demonstrative force in induction, when he says 'reason only perceives that which it produces according to its design; it must go first with its principles proposed as constant laws, and compel nature to answer its questions, and not allow itself to be dragged on in leading-strings. For contingent observations, made according to no previously projected plan, do not in the least reveal the necessary law which reason seeks. Reason, with its principles on one hand, and experiment on the other (projected according to these principles), refers to nature for instruction, not as a scholar who is taught whatever the teacher chooses, but as a constituted judge, who compels the witnesses to answer the questions which he proposes to them.' The existence of the law being once proved by properly planned experiment, the mind confronts the law as a force existing in nature, which under given conditions produces given effects. And as humanly devised experiments prove to demonstration that a force exists which inevitably kills the human frame upon the sufficient lesion of certain tissues, so the natural experiments always going on in the doleful laboratory of death prove to demonstration that the same event follows upon the natural wear and tear of those tissues in the course of a more or less

prolonged life. The cause exists, and is universal. But as it is a force, on the one hand, independent of our will and interference, and not given necessarily *a priori* in our reason, and, on the other hand, dependent on the supreme will, we cannot be absolutely sure in any case that the divine will may not make exception, and rescue a favoured person from the common doom. It is not demonstrably absurd to profess to feel such uncertainty. To take practical account of it would justly subject a man to the suspicion of lunacy. And in theory the chances of such a change must be allowed to be infinitesimal. The supernatural may conceivably at any moment interfere with nature. Yet our reasonings about nature must practically and theoretically take no account whatever of the supernatural. There is therefore no real margin between the conclusion of a well-drawn induction (even though that conclusion lies in what logicians call future contingent matter), and the universal certainty of the assent given to that conclusion. Those who recognize such a margin do so from a defective view of the cogency of induction, considered as the logic, or rather the demonstration of forces. Dr. Newman seems to consider no logic really logical which is not deductive. This is an old Oxford view; but it is wrong. Locke took the same defective view of induction, and therefore acknowledged exceptions to his rule (of the virtual identity of assent and inference), which in reality were no exceptions.

Dr. Newman's one void in philosophical aptitude seems to be where physical science should be, and is not. This is intimately connected with his defective view of induction. On one occasion, where he wishes to prove that "no one example of an unvarying law can be pointed out as a fact in the whole universe," he tries to show that the variable orbit of the earth shows the variability of the law of gravitation. Surely this is sophistical. And it was unnecessary. He might have pointed to the spiral nebulae, which have made some astronomers doubt whether that law held good in those outlying districts of the universe; he might also have appealed to Mr. Mill, who doubts whether in such abnormal regions even two and two make four. But to point to the variability of the orbits of planets as a proof of the uncertainty of the law, when that very variability, used by two independent astronomers as a basis for their calculations, led them both to declare prophetically that the cause of the disturbance must be an undiscovered planet of such a size, and such an orbit, which would be discoverable in such a place at such a time, and which was

in fact then and there discovered—this is surely an unfortunate choice, which more exact or appreciative knowledge of physical science would have prevented.

It is then more than doubtful whether Dr. Newman proves the existence of any real margin between reasonable assent and thoroughly well-worked inference—deductive or inductive. And if this be the case, there remains no controversial reason for insisting on the distinction of conditionality and unconditionality between inference and assent. Indeed, assent is the genus of which inference is a species. It is enough, in all matters of science at least, to consider inference one of the modes of assent—assent namely to the coalescence of the premisses into the conclusion. If the assent of faith asserts the believed proposition with more force than the formal proof of it warrants, the reason of this must be found in the exceptional nature of faith itself. It is only by forcing facts, and making too much of accidental admissions of philosophers, that any proof can be given that in ordinary science and in all matters of prudence the same margin between inference and assent exists as is asserted to exist in religious faith.

The second part of Dr. Newman's argument, in which he shows the genesis of certitude from assent, appears to be open to similar objection. The first part, as we have seen, shows how inference jumps over a void space and becomes assent, losing in its flight its conditionality and consequent appendages. The next stage is where assent betakes itself to argument and inference, and by its help comes out as certitude. "Certitude is a deliberate assent given expressly after reasoning. If, then, my certitude is unfounded, it is the reasoning that is at fault, not my assent to it. It is the law of my mind to seal up the conclusions to which ratiocination has brought me, by that formal assent which I have called a certitude." We have already seen what are the chief qualities attributed by Dr. Newman to certitude. It will be necessary to recur to some of them by and by. What now occurs is to ask whether the new reasoning by which the assent is converted into certitude is the same on which the original inference was founded which grew into the assent, or whether it is different? If it is the same, how does it acquire new force by simple repetition at a new stage in the argument? If it is different, how can the first argument be cleared of carelessness, when those very elements of it were omitted which afterwards turned out to be the most important ones? No doubt, in science, in

practice, in religion, we may find plenty of instances where a man has based an hypothesis on insufficient data, believed it, tried it, and by experiment found it true. This is the way of the gods, the path of discoverers, the rainbow bridge which conveys winged genii to the highest heaven of invention, but where all heavy treaders flounder and fall. It leads astray more often than it leads right. How can it ever be said that the one normal method for attaining truth is to find a probable inference, to jump from it to an unconditional assent, and then, by putting a fresh bottom of argument to it, to convert it into a certitude? The difficulty becomes all the greater when we consider the sublime qualities with which Dr. Newman invests certitude. It is final, irrevocable, indefectible. It implies a personal infallibility in the particular matter under consideration. And so, when a certitude changes or is proved wrong, the proof or change shows that it never was really a certitude. There does not seem to be any normal psychological process recognizable under this description. In matters of faith it has its place. It is indeed usual to assent to the articles of faith on the word of a preacher, and afterwards to convert the assent into certitude by the personal experience of its power over the soul. In faith and in some other branches of thought the personal element comes in. Each believer has his own belief. Belief, though common to each member of the body of the faithful, yet has a personal element in it which individualizes it, and appropriates it to its owner, as a whole audience hears the same symphony, while each listener draws his own incommunicable pleasure or pain from the sounds he hears. To assent first to the logical evidence, and then to change the assent to certitude by vital experience, is indeed the common account of what happens in the progress of Christian belief. But this element of personality, though necessary to the "illative sense," to which Dr. Newman assigns the task of converting assent into certitude, is not the whole of that sense. For his "illative sense" has not only to do with personal experience, but with all the multitudinous details of "informal inference." The logical faculty in his scheme furnishes formal inference; formal inference passes over into assent; and assent calls to its aid the illative sense, which, by means of informal inference, changes assent into certitude. And this is put forward, not as the book of the generation of faith only, but of assents and certitudes generally, religious or other. But one part of this scheme seems to refute the others. The first stage of it

rested on the assumption that inference, unless it was demonstrative, left a gap between it and certainty, which was jumped over by assent. The second stage shows that informal inference leaves no such gap. Therefore it seems that whereas formal inference, or arguments "taken in the letter and not in their full implicit sense," only give probable grounds for the unconditioned assent, the informal inference, or the same arguments taken "in their implicit sense," leaves no such gap, but affords good and full grounds for certain assent or certitude. The formal conclusion falls short of what the premisses would warrant. There is no real leap over a vacuum. To employ another metaphor: the first process for extracting the metal from the ore was imperfect; if the slag and scoriæ are fused once more, the deficiency will be supplied; there will be enough for the casting. But in this case the argument of the book seems to err by superfluity. It is intelligible to say that there are always more reasons for a proposition than can be expressed in syllogistic form, and that therefore the assent to such a proposition may be wider and more complete than the syllogism seems to warrant. But to say, or to imply, that assent to a proposition may be stronger than all the reasons for it taken together will warrant, seems untenable, except in those cases where personal and incommunicable experience forms part of these reasons. And in this case, though the whole grounds of the conclusion cannot be drawn forth in speech or show, yet the personal experience may always be alleged as an incontrovertible reason for personal belief, against those who object to it as unreasonable. Unproducible evidence cannot be expected to convert outsiders, but may (or may not) be valid reason for a man's own convictions. Premises are not necessarily formal propositions; they are not so in natural induction: they are not so in the spiritual experience of the individual. Anything may be a premiss on which a conclusion may be legitimately based.

Another question arises about the indefectibility of certitude. Certitude ought to stand all trials, Dr. Newman says, or it is not certitude: he that once had faith and has lost it never had it: or rather he was never really certain of it, for Dr. Newman speaks variably of a temporary belief. Once, he says, "my vague consciousness of the possibility of a reversal of my belief by the course of my researches, as little interferes with the honesty and firmness of that belief, while those researches proceed, as a recognition of the possibility of my train's overset-

ting is an evidence of an intention on my part of undergoing so great a calamity . . . To incur a risk is not to expect a reverse; and if my opinions are true, I have a right to think that they will bear examining. . . . What belief as such does imply is, not an intention never to change, but the utter absence of all thought, or expectation, or fear of changing" (p. 186). Here belief is "honest" and "firm," though it may change. But a few pages further on he treats such a belief as no real assent: "there may be those who would change their assents did they seek to place them on an argumentative footing. . . . But this is only saying that there are genuine assents, and assents that are not genuine; and, again, that there is an assent which is not a virtual certitude, and is lost in the attempt to make it certitude" (p. 206). And we cannot determine beforehand when "an assent is really such, and when not, or not a deeply rooted assent." But if, after examination, after experience, after viewing the evidence again and again, the assent becomes ever clearer and clearer, then it takes its place amongst those ruling ideas which constitute the intellectual character, which make a man what he is, which together form the pivot of his life, on which his thought circulates in a manner always consistent with itself. This is to have certitudes. A certitude is a force that withstands the brunt of fresh evidence. It puts new argument aside as irrelevant. There can be no doubt that this is a true account of what occurs in the certitude of faith, and in many practical and even æsthetic matters. There are subjects where a man is warrantably satisfied with his old and tried opinions, and refuses to change them. Dr. Newman legitimately sympathizes with the critic who refused to change his received reading of Falstaff's death-bed doings, "and 'a babbled of green fields," on the authority of Mr. Collier's folio, which corrects, "on a table of green frieze." But what could be said of a historian who, in professing his reasonable certitude that Shakespeare was the real author of Shakespeare's plays, thought it necessary to add, "and by certitude I mean such an unalterable conviction that if, per impossibile, Miss Delia Bacon or Mr. W. H. Smith were to produce overwhelming evidence that Shakespeare was an impostor, and that his plays were written by Lord Bacon, I would not look at the argument, nor change my belief"? Would such a certitude as that be defensible? What in like manner could be said of the man who was (with Milton) so sure that beasts only became carnivorous upon Adam's fall that, as he paced through

a geological museum, giving perhaps full credence to the evidence which proves that millions of ages have been occupied in the gradual organization of the world, he should yet let all the weighty matter of coprolites of crunched bones, and giant jaws with teeth for catching and holding and tearing their prey, roll over him as lightly as the idle wind which he regarded not, and produce no effect upon his mind in mitigation of his certitude that the first case of bestial violence or cannibalism occurred precisely *B.C.* 4004, in the newly desecrated garden of Eden? Once more: Dr. Newman has some beautiful sections to show that changes of religion, instead of being changes of certitude, are generally only developments of a man's certitude—of his central principle, which grows, and as it grows throws off the husks and bark of the accidental opinions with which it was clothed, but which in process of time prove to be foreign or even antagonistic to its free expansion. Still, this explanation, though often opposite, will scarcely meet all cases; or if it did meet all cases, it would greatly tend to do away with the idea of any supernatural change in conversion. Dr. Newman specially excepts the case of St. Paul, on the ground of its miraculous character. Was the external vision in that case more really an intervention of supernatural power than the internal change which is occasionally worked suddenly in a man's heart, so as to make him at once a new creature? The conversion of St. Paul might be taken to be typical of a genus of conversions quite as plausibly as it can be reckoned an exception to them.

After thus constructing a system whereby the supererogatory character of religious assents and certitudes may be defended, Dr. Newman proceeds to give examples of the application of that system. To the first part of the book, on simple assents, and the passage of notional into real assents, he appends a chapter on "religious assents," including three sections—"Belief in one God," "Belief in the Holy Trinity," and "Belief in Dogmatic Theology." And to the second part, on certitude, he appends a chapter on religious inferences, containing two sections—one on the evidences of "Natural Religion," and one on that of "Revealed Religion." These chapters are singularly forcible and singularly beautiful. They contain very little to which any one who accepts the Nicene faith would object; and they do not really depend for their force upon these assumptions in the logical part of the system which has been criticized above. Dr. Newman professes that his sys-

tem, so far as it is a logical one capable of objective statement, proves only primary truths. "This," he says, "is the true parallel between divine and human knowledge; each of them opens into a large field of mere opinion, but in both the one and the other, primary principles, the general, fundamental, cardinal truths, are immutable." In both worlds we have "indefectible certitude in primary truths, manifold variations of opinion in their application and disposition." The logical system by which he arrives at this result is in its main features as old as conscious logic. This will appear by a comparison of his theory—of argument emerging into conditioned inference, and this transforming itself into unconditioned assent, and again of the unconditioned assent submitting anew to examination and transforming itself into indefectible certitude—with that which is a common property of philosophy. When Plato in the *Timæus* makes the cosmical soul consist of three elements—the identical, the different, and the unity of the identical and the different—he is supposed to give both the analysis and the history of thought. An idea is an organic whole, consisting of members, each of which is necessary to the completeness of the unity. Hence, by not difficult arguments, it may be shown that the comprehension of the idea must be made in three stages. It first strikes the apprehension as a simple totality; it comes into view as a mass, in the mass. After the complete work of the simple apprehension, analysis sets to work to see what the mass is made of—to resolve the identity into its differences, the whole into its parts. But part, in its very idea, is contradictory of whole. The examination of parts, the distributive view of an idea, must, from the very force of the analytical act, introduce us to a multitude of contradictions. Further, as every whole is capable of subdivision *ad infinitum*, and every part may be considered in the abstract as a whole, every part may in turn be subjected to indefinite subdivision, and may become the theme of endless discussion. And as that which is endless occupies the whole field of the mind's vision, any part of any totality may be spuriously inflated to infinity, and may thus be made to stand for, and usurp the place of, the whole of which it is only part. The second process is therefore the negating act, the act which establishes the differences and contradictions in an idea. After this solution of the original totality into its elements, a third step remains. The contradictions between the parts, each inflated to infinitude, show clearly that every infinite is not necessarily universal

in nature, that the infinitude is in our minds, not in the nature of things, and that an infinite number of infinities, contradictory to each other when absolutely taken, may co-exist, and even coalesce into an organic whole.

Historically, also, in the general mind of man, the progress of the idea is similar. It has to pass through three periods—the age of simple faith, the age of heresies, the age of scholastic or reasonable and reasoned faith. And this succession of ages recurs continuously, like the crests and troughs of the waves. The idea is first an indistinct whole, then it is rent asunder, then reunited into a whole more distinct, because more developed in its parts, only to be again pulled to pieces and reunited, growing at each stage into fresh distinctness and definiteness. And this growth of distinctness comes by means of the negating or destructive tendency. Each heresy gets hold of a partial truth, and develops it into a false universal. Now the true universal must contain also this partial truth, fully developed but not exclusively so, that is, not developed into a universal excluding the universality of which it is a part. The whole idea, therefore, contains in itself the elements of all partial heresies concerning it, and is able to assimilate all such heresies, on the single condition of their putting off the formal character which really makes them heresies and not truth, namely their absoluteness, or false pretence to exclusiveness and universality. Thus the progress is from prejudice, through scepticism, to philosophical assent.

On this system it would only be the first assent which was unconditioned, like the first assent to the reality of the outward world which we see and feel and hear. Then comes analysis with its dissecting instruments, and investigates every portion of the idea. Then comes the second synthesis, which re-establishes the idea philosophically in its unity and plurality. But in this process the progress is ever more and more towards the conditionality of an idea. It is ever more and more qualified by fresh analysis and new investigations of its parts. Dr. Newman does not, properly speaking, investigate the progress of the idea, but the progress of assent to it. But as assent implies apprehension of the idea assented to, and certitude implies its truth, the progress of the idea is intimately and inseparably connected with the progress of assent. And Dr. Newman's unconditioned assent, second investigation, and certitude, correspond sufficiently with the three stages of the Platonic identity, difference, and the union of the

two. On the one side the certainty and precision of the mind's view of the idea becomes stronger at each stage; and it is possible to call this increasing precision a gradual putting off of the conditionality of the belief, and an approach to unconditional assent. But on the other hand, the idea itself is brought into more and more relations with its own parts, and with other ideas, that is, its conditions accumulate in proportion as assent to it becomes (if we must use the word so improperly) more unconditional. On neither hand can certitude ever be final. The idea is always subject to fresh analysis; and fresh analysis must always import fresh conditions into the idea. Dr. Newman knows perfectly well that this process does away with much of the practical power of the first imaginative and unreasoned faith. He therefore explains why he looks for the real heroism of faith in the primitive martyrs, and not in the intellectual schoolmen and theologians. Perhaps it is because of the complexity of conditions and limitations with which the mind finds itself more and more surrounded, that it becomes more and more difficult to it to take up the decided tone which is implied in martyrdom on one side and persecution on the other. Toleration must grow with analysis; for at least analysis reveals difficulties, and difficulties suggest excuses for failures to apprehend the truth which they veil.

Much of the book inculcates as strictly necessary the whole of the Catholic system. But this is outside of the logical scope of the argument, and belongs to the personal and autobiographical side of the author's testimony. He does not confess that demonstration of Christianity is impossible, but he does not profess to demonstrate it, even in its fundamental truths. The argument for it, he says, is not irresistible, because it is resisted. And his ground must be that much of the necessary premisses of Christianity lies in the inner and unproduced experience of the believer. He shows triumphantly that faith, as a venture, as a reason for acting, as a calculation of chances, is a reasonable ground for acting. But this is not theological faith. Theological faith refuses to be based on probabilities. It professes to give more certainty than the demonstrations of mathematics, or the facts established by induction. It is not practical certainty, but absolute certainty. It does not profess that its producible grounds evince this transcendent certainty. But it claims to be founded on divine grace, an interior witness, which ordinarily gives little or no exterior evidence of its presence. Dr. Newman reviews the sciences as a theolo-

gian rather than as a philosopher; and as he has found, or rather imagined, that science, like faith, carries over its assent beyond its inferences, and has only subjective certitude to produce as the full testimony of objective truth, so he further carries out what may be called his personal and autobiographical theory, and lays down that everywhere authority is the criterion of truth. "We judge for ourselves," he says, "by our own lights, and on our own principles; and our criterion of truth is not so much the manipulation of propositions as the intellectual and moral character of the person maintaining them, and the ultimate silent effect of his arguments upon our minds." Here we have the complement of Dr. Newman's logic. The impotence of the word without the preacher is an old idea of his. The fourth of his Oxford University Sermons is on "Personal Influence, the means of Propagating the Truth." In his system, religion and philosophy coincide in this, that special men have special gifts for discerning and propagating special truths. They are placed as beacons in the world, to show men the way where tracks cross each other and ways are uncertain. The impersonal nature of philosophic truth does not seem to have made any deep impression on his mind. He reads science through a theological medium. At the same time he accounts for the manifest differences and divergences of opinion in the world by the original differences of first principles. These first principles seem to be in men as certitudes, opinions engrained by habit, and therefore, on his own showing, to be unchangeable. He does not in the least account for the fact that men differ in these first principles. The doctrine which he appears to teach is one parallel to the theological dogma of election; he appears to hold that a man's first principles come to him as part of his natural endowments. He gives up as hopeless the task of arguing with those who differ from him in first principles. And for this reason perhaps he speaks so gently and so tolerantly of those who do so differ. Careless readers have fancied that the book is meant to support all the persecuting theories ever put forth by Popes. If it does so, it is only by inference, and clearly beside the author's intention. For he has his reasons for denying the complicity of his Church with persecution. In the appendix to his *Discourses on University Education*, p. 444, he gives an analysis of a former sermon of his own, and says of one paragraph of it, "Next I allude to the superstitions of the middle ages, as ordeals, the savage feudalism, the fanaticism of chivalry,

the wild excesses of the era of the Crusades, the Flagellants, and the cruel and bloody persecution of Jews and heretics, all of which a Catholic condemns, though I ignorantly implicate the Church in them." No one can be accused of inculcating an opinion, simply because he supports an authority which others affirm, and he denies, to teach that opinion.

On the other hand, so far from the *Grammar of Assent* being an evidence of intolerance and the spirit of persecution in the author, it is, on the contrary, filled with evidence of a directly opposite tendency. It is seldom that a Catholic writer allows such value to attach to what he considers as merely rudimentary and inchoate beliefs. Dr. Newman says, for instance, that "a Protestant may, not only in words, but in mind and heart, hold, as if he were a Catholic, with simple certitude, the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, of the fall of man, of the need of regeneration, of the efficacy of Divine grace, and of the possibility and danger of falling away." Again, the following position on the duty of inquiry is characteristically liberal:—"I consider that, in the case of educated minds, investigations into the argumentative proof of the things to which they have given their assent, is an obligation, or rather a necessity. Such a trial of their intellects is a law of their nature." And then follows an argument (portions of which have been quoted above) that this duty remains, in spite of the possibility of the reversal of the assent which the investigation was originally intended to confirm. In fact, Dr. Newman holds so fast to the personal and private individuality of faith, that he sometimes seems to attribute it to an instinctive apprehension deeper than the reason, and beside it. Again, his beautiful chapter on the evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion at the end of the book is confessedly based on the foundation-stone of the private conscience. "In thus speaking of Natural Religion," he says, "as in one sense a matter of private judgment, and that with a view of proceeding from it to the proof of Christianity, I seem to give up the intention of demonstrating either. Certainly I do; not that I deny that demonstration is possible." He is suspicious of scientific demonstrations in a question of concrete fact, and finds it more congenial to his own judgment to attempt to prove Christianity in the same informal way in which he proves to himself that he was born and shall die. In short, the fact of private judgment seems in this sense to be one chief thread of the book. It is the complement of the theory of the individuality, or per-

sonality, so to speak, of belief and faith, which makes it possible for the believer to turn assent into certitude by the fresh support he is able to extract from the old evidence. For faith can read between the lines meanings which the inquirer, who as yet has no faith, cannot be expected to see there. In faith, every mind is a discoverer. In that region we are all akin to philosophers. Even to a Newton the phenomena of motion would seem but a heap of unconnected accidents, till the mythical fall of the apple suggested a general law; and then gradually all the phenomena would range themselves in an orderly way under it. The inventive mind sees in things chiefly what it puts there itself. To destroy private judgment is to destroy the personal activity of the mind, and to refuse to employ the only power which can produce or entertain belief. As it is the I that has to believe, it is ultimately the I that must decide whether or not it can believe. There is, however, a difference between the philosopher and the believer. The philosopher can produce his proofs, and can demonstrate the new truths which his act of faith has been the means of bringing home to his reason; but the believer cannot do so. His *ipse dixit*, his affirmation, is all that he can produce; and he is credible, not because he proves what he says, but because his general character for truth and wisdom gives weight to his words. At the same time the faith which Dr. Newman investigates is not the mechanical belief which is administered with a spoon by authority, but the organic and chemical faith which has a real birth and growth, and molecular force in the intellect. His writings are not for men who never doubted in their lives, but for them to whom that wide realm of spiritual experience is opened, where men believe, and at the same time ask aid for unbelief. Even to those who are not satisfied with his parallel drawn between faith and philosophy, his investigation of faith by itself is full of interest. The description given of it by him need not imply that it is unreasonable, even though he fails to show that it goes by the same rules as other rational processes. Though he ultimately appeals to authority, the authority to which he appeals is not one that requires to be believed simply on its own *ipse dixit*, or its own testimony to itself. It says, So I believe; I am conscious that there are thousands of men of mental make similar to mine; they will come to believe as I do. It says, Before you receive my *ipse dixit*, you must approve my authority to your judgment. But it does not say, You must submit even that previous process of your reason to my authoritative

guidance. It is not the command, but the influence of authority which Dr. Newman seems to defend.

We have said that in this book Dr. Newman contemplates the world from the theological stand-point, and strives to reduce scientific methods to the terms of theological methods. It would be possible to go further, and say that he contemplates the world through his own special theological and intellectual habits. He is conscious of assenting to religious truths, beyond the force of the arguments he can produce for them; nay, this very book is confessedly intended to recommend a system owned to be separated by a broad margin of absence of proof from his proved conclusions. The natural and revealed religion which he proves is confessedly far short of the ecclesiastical system which he implicitly recommends. Again, the implied criterion of truth—this is true, because I am certain of it—is one that could hardly be put forward by a thinker who was not conscious that he might challenge his readers to produce from his multifarious writings, extending over half a century, any great central principle of thought or conduct which had at one time been a certainty to him, and was now a mere opinion. But all men's certitudes are not like his. An ordinary man may easily give firm assent to a proposition, act upon it, and find its virtue grow with the experience of it, and yet in three years' time find reason to kick it over as an idol. It is an interesting psychological fact, and one element in Dr. Newman's greatness, that in principle his new self never contradicts his old self, that he develops consistently and steadily along one line. And the steadiness of his view, and consistency of his course, is to him the great argument of his being right. This is no new view in philosophy. It is only a modification of Descartes's *règle générale*—"que les choses que nous concevons fort clairement et fort distinctement sont toutes vraies."

Indeed at first sight it might appear that Dr. Newman's whole method had a close connection with that great school of modern metaphysics to which Descartes has more or less remotely given its impetus. The change in the objective certainty of a proposition, supposed to be caused by the subjective logical act of passing it over from the form of an inference to that of an assertion or assent, might appear to be an instance of the law announced by Kant, that we can only know that *a priori* and universally of things which we put into them ourselves. This doctrine asserts that just that element which is universally and eternally true in our knowledge is also subjective, not objective. That a

proposition is demonstrable comes from ourselves; that it is only contingent comes from its being outside ourselves. So far as this is concerned, Dr. Newman and Kant seem to have much in common. But when the doctrines are examined more narrowly they will be found thoroughly distinct. Kant's axiom only applies to the forms of space and time, that is, to the abstract measurement of shapes, numbers, and velocities. His *à priori* faculties are only universal because they only refer to matters where we have creative power, and may exhaust all possible experiments without going out of our own minds. With my eyes shut I can draw lines in every conceivable direction from any point in blank imaginary space: I can make all possible combinations of numbers. Thus I can exhaust the induction of lines and numbers; and therefore I can affirm its conclusion as universally true. Kant's canon really only divides the elements of knowledge into the element of internal experience and the element of external experience. To the former, in certain subjects, it gives universal validity, because in internal experience only can a thoroughly complete induction be made; and the mind which knows it has exhausted every possible case at once pronounces that the contrary of its conclusion is impossible and absurd. But the element of external experience can never be so proved; it can be raised to the utmost moral certainty, but never to such universal and eternal validity that the contrary supposition should of necessity be self-contradictory and absurd. Thus, in knowing a honeycomb, my knowledge is partly from the outward senses, and so far merely contingent: I see no necessity why the object should be made as it is, or of the materials of which it is composed, or why, being so made, it should have the qualities which it has. And partly my knowledge is mathematical, and so far from within, and demonstrative: I can show universally that, thus formed, the honeycomb makes the most economical use possible of space and quantity. Such knowledge is the synthesis of an *à priori* with an *à posteriori* experience; and in this synthesis the *à priori* element is both subjective and universal, and the *à posteriori* element objective and contingent.

But in Dr. Newman's passage from argument to assertion, or from inference to assent, there is no addition whatever to the proposition; no new experience is added. A change indeed takes place; but it is merely formal, not material. And, indeed, he makes no attempt to show what takes place in the passage, to make the proposition as assented to more certain and more uncon-

ditional than the proposition as inferred. He seems to assert the fact, without either proof or explanation. And he would hardly explain it so as to bring his theory into any real relationship with Kant's. Analysis could not so divide the proposition into its elements as to show that its contingent element comes from its premisses, and its absolute element from the act of assent.

The objections which have been stated above to the *Grammar of Assent*, only touch points where the author seems to reduce assents universally, and scientific assents in particular, to the same denomination and laws as religious assents. In doing so, he appears to give scientific assents a character which they really have not. On the other hand, there is no objection to be made to his investigation of the genesis of religious and moral assents. In that sphere he is a master who has thought out his views more deeply, and observed the processes of his own mind more narrowly, than any other writer of the present day; and, if he is inclined to extend the principles which are true within the sphere which he knows so well to other spheres, where his knowledge has not the same completeness or method, he is only fulfilling a law of the mind which he has studied, and which he has thoroughly well described—the law that complete and scientific knowledge in one sphere has a tendency to push its principles and methods into other spheres which are not so well understood. In this book he certainly shows that there may be a science of religion, and that the processes of religious belief are capable both of analysis and of verification. But he does not show, as he seems to intend to do, that the processes of religious belief are exactly the same in the logic of assent as those of science. In faith there is the gap between the strength of evidence and the strength of assent which he points out; in other departments of science he has not proved that gap to exist. No doubt it does exist in acts of practical assent; absolute practical trust is given, as it is due, to many a proposition not absolutely proved. But it does not exist, and ought not to exist, in acts of scientific assent to objective propositions. Dr. Newman's theory seems to be founded on a desire to refute that which he elsewhere calls the first principle of the infidelity of the day, and which he states thus:—"You may have opinions in religion, you may have theories, you may have arguments, you may have probabilities; you may have anything but demonstration, and therefore you cannot have science." You may, he replies, have scientific certitude, though you cannot have demonstration. D. N.



## ART. V.—LOTHAIR.

THE great man not only follows great examples, but betters their instruction. Mr. Disraeli is not content merely to devote his leisure to literature, like some other prominent statesmen: he must create leisure for the purpose. He creates it, not out of the shreds and fringes of unoccupied moments, but out of the very heart of a period in which political principles of the most critical import to the party he leads are receiving their first legislative solidity. From these precious hours he has carved out the time demanded by *Lothair*; and if his services to his party have been abridged thereby, his utility to his country has not been diminished. Were the romance a political one, or were a political lesson veiled under the metaphors of its story, the writer's antecedents would explain and perhaps justify it. His policy has always been romantic; and his instinct, truer than his judgment, has always led him to announce it in romance. He revealed himself in *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini Fleming*. He shaped his party upon *Coningsby*, and *Sybil*, and *Tancred*. It would be congruous if he were to resettle the shivered structure upon a new basis in *Lothair*. But *Lothair* is not political in this sense. There may be political satire in it; but there is no political lesson on its surface. And the politics it refers to, and seems most akin to, are those of last year, the controversies of the establishment and dis-establishment of churches, and the force of the "religious principle" in the government of men. These were the questions on which Mr. Disraeli meditated and spoke in the session of 1869. They are settled; and in the settlement his theories have been entirely disregarded. Politically therefore, if there is any political question in the matter, the book is behind its time.

Again, on the historical side, *Lothair* contributes to the treasures of the coming age nothing of the knowledge of this. Mr. Disraeli's other romances have their historical value. His personal novels are the autobiographies of a man who prophesied that he should be, and who became, Prime Minister, and who sketched out beforehand the arts by which he meant to rise. His three political novels give the ideal framework of a party which, since its formation, has more than once directed the government of the country. The historian of the reign of Victoria will never be able to leave these remarkable productions out of his account.

But in *Lothair*, the real historical details which are given are all put together as in a dream, and arranged so as to be purposely misleading. The author describes, with a clearness which leaves no room for mistakes, such well-known places as Lord St. Jerome's mansion in St. James's Square, Muriel Castle, Hexham Square and House, Crecy House, Brentham, and many more; and, when he proceeds to describe and exhibit in action the owners of these places, for a certain distance the consistency is often kept up; but soon all is changed as in a kaleidoscope. One man's head is fitted on another man's shoulders, and a court-lady ends in a mermaid's tail. The men's histories, as well as their persons, are all patch-work. The lives and characters, as nature gave them and circumstances evolved them, are reserved in Mr. Disraeli's laboratory as so many bottles of essences; and he composes the persons of his drama with two drops of one, and five drops of another, according to his own idea, not of what is, but perhaps of what should be. The future historian, if any were to rise, who should fancy that in *Lothair* he had discovered the key to the characters of the actors of these days, will have fallen under the spell of some mischievous goblin, who has feigned a false resurrection scene for his bewilderment, and has drawn together the wrong bones to form the skeletons, has covered them with the wrong man's flesh and the wrong man's hair, and has informed them, not with a single soul, but with isolated faculties and detached traits of many minds and many characters. All these might be properly sorted and labelled now, if any one thought fit to devote his time to so unprofitable an undertaking; but in half a century the confusion will be irremediable.

Nor is the romance a new philosophy. In such lessons it does not differ from the ideas of *Sybil* and *Tancred*. The milk of the unformed male soul is curdled and set by the coagulating powers of the feminine intuition and sympathy. The spirit of man rushes blindly to the right and left, up and down, with the instinctive wish to make himself a name and to become great. The sympathy and intuition of the woman give him eyes, and teach him to pursue the end methodically as well as resolutely. The woman originates and sympathizes, and by her sympathy directs the man. All this is told us in *Coningsby*, and is exhibited in action in *Sybil* and *Tancred*. In *Lothair* it is even exaggerated. The whole book is made up of it.

\* *Lothair*. By the Right Hon. B. Disraeli. (London: Longmans.)

"From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:  
They sparkle still the right Promethean fire;

They are the books, the arts, the academes,  
That show, contain, and nourish all the world:  
Else, none at all in aught proves excellent."

Lothair's soul is a formless fluid, of good quality, ready to run into any mould that is prepared for it. Three sibyls contend for the dominion of this passive soul. Each in turn seems to have secured it for ever. They cannot all have him in his totality. How to distribute him so as to satisfy their claims is the problem of the book. Sometimes it seems that they will have to make a tripartite indenture and divide him; sometimes that they must cast lots whose he should be; but finally the author somewhat rudely settles the question by shooting one prophetess, shutting up another in a convent, and leaving to the third the inglorious victory of being chosen when there remains nobody else to choose.

The special ground which these sibyls select for the tournament which is to award this splendid possession—for Lothair is the richest nobleman in England—is the ground of religion. Each lady has her trusty knight, whose tongue translates into the language of polemics the dumb persuasion which beams from her eyes. Theodora, alias Mary-Anne, the goddess of liberty, or the Aryan sibyl, is backed by the Aryan theories of Mr. Phœbus; the Semitic ecstasy of Clare Arundel is supported by the finesse and controversial ability of Cardinal Grandison and Monsignore Catesby; and the somewhat dissipated and perhaps Turanian Anglicanism of Corisande receives the intellectual support of the Bishop of Grandchester, the social support of all the young Dukes and Princes who fill the rooms, and the moral correction of the Syrian sage, Paraclete. The field is prepared. The three religions send forth their knights to combat under their ladies' eyes. The prize is Lothair. The knight who conquers him will deliver him to his lady. It is not determined how the ladies will use their conquest. Corisande alone would willingly marry him. Clare would marry him, if that was a necessary condition of her knight's victory; but she wants his soul, not his body. Theodora, married to another, could only use him as her knight-errant, who should fight for an oppressed cause, and sacrifice himself for an idea.

The battle-ground of the story then is religious. But religion is treated in the book merely in an external manner. Mr. Disraeli probably did not want to write a controversial novel. Perhaps he felt, however, that on the score of religion he had something to retract from his earlier romances. He once made Contarini Fleming turn Catholic. The

change was made only on æsthetic grounds, it is true; and in Fleming's subsequent career his new religion never seemed to enter as an element into either his thoughts or his conduct. Sybil too was a Catholic. And the Catholic element was no inconsiderable ingredient in the Young England philosophy of the *Coningsby* series of novels. But it was only a one-sided Catholicism. Catholic and mediæval æsthetics as opposed to modern vulgarity of taste on the one hand, and Catholic and monastic charity as opposed to modern political economy on the other, constituted together the Catholicism of those romances. Of orthodoxy in creed, asceticism in morals, or Jesuitical casuistry, it knew absolutely nothing. It was a mere external pageant of architecture, and vestments, and incense, and doles of bread distributed by venerable or beautiful hands to an industrious and respectful peasantry too paradisiacal to be demoralized even by the excess of indiscriminate almsgiving. But Mr. Disraeli has discovered that Catholicism has more in it than his imagination gave it. And it comes into collision with him just in that particular where he thought himself strongest, and it weakest, if not altogether wanting. So now he has to reverse his judgment of it, to take from it that which he unjustly gave it, and to restore to the Anglicanism which he formerly despised the jewels he snatched from it to adorn his graven image of Romanism. At the same time he has to display those sinister qualities which have changed his judgment of Rome, and have caused him to declare that "the only Hebræo-Christian Church extant," the only local source of inspiration which he thought once to range with Horeb and Calvary, does not fulfil her mission, and is a sham. Once he thought that the Church of England was a failure, and that mainly "from its deficiency of Oriental knowledge, and from a consequent misconception of the priestly character." Now, in his old age, he recognizes it as the highest form of a national and aristocratic religion, as an institution which contains just that dose of the supernatural which on the one side enables it to content the aspirations of men and women of fortune, and on the other gives them no encouragement to push those aspirations to any fanatical excess.

And this retraction really involves a far greater one, and gives a political importance to Lothair which at first sight is not easily to be seen. One of the points in which most of Mr. Disraeli's critics have been able to speak favourably of him is that he has maintained, in a materialistic age, the supremacy of ideas; that he always subordinates mere

economy to literature and art; that he has never condescended to gauge all things simply and solely by their money value; that he values money chiefly for the power it brings, not for the vulgar enjoyment it purchases; and that he has been, for thirty years, the scourge of vulgar assumption in the House of Commons. It has not been as generally noticed that the ideas on which he tried to base his party were in a way religious ideas, or at least ideas which were good substitutes for religious ones. His new Toryism was Judaism for the Aryan race; it was the counterpart of the Church, which was only another aspect of Judaism, accommodated to European society. The Church on one side, Toryism on the other, were to assure to the world the blessings of Asian principles. And both were to satisfy, each in its own sphere, the religious aspirations of men. Toryism was to secure the religious government of the nation: the Church, the religious government of the family and its members. The fulcrum of the lever with which Mr. Disraeli would move the world was found in the religious principle. This he had to evoke, in the belief that, once aroused, it would naturally rally round the banner which he had raised, and conquer the world. He believed only in one development of religion—the Semitic. The Asian mystery could attract, satisfy, and assimilate every religious sentiment, emotion, or aspiration. The Roman might boast of his law, the Greek of his art, but one race alone understood religion; and religion could not be anything else than a gradual assimilation of mankind to that race, even in its blood. "All is race; there is no other truth, because it includes all others." "The thoughts of all lands come from a higher source than man, but the intellect of Arabia comes from the Most High." Toryism and the Church both coalesce in one wider generalization—"theocratic equality." In previous novels Mr. Disraeli has only exhibited this religious principle in combat with principles professedly or implicitly irreligious—with a blindfold conservatism, with atheistic economy, with selfishness and wrong. But the further experience of a quarter of a century has taught him that the religious principle is not as homogeneous a force as he at first assumed. The rivalries in religion he now sees to be not mere hypocrisies, nor mere misunderstandings and quarrels about words, but antagonisms of rival principles. He now perceives that besides the Semitic religion there is an Aryan one, and perhaps a Turanian one also. He therefore confesses, by the mouth of Lothair, that he has been too sanguine in professing to found society on this imagined unity of the religious prin-

ciple. The disenchanted Lothair "felt that he had started in life with an extravagant appreciation of the influence of the religious principle on the conduct of human affairs. With him, when heaven was so nigh, earth could not be remembered; and yet experience showed that so long as one was on the earth, the incidents of this planet considerably controlled one's existence, both in behaviour and in thought. All the world could not retire to Mount Athos."

In his first political novels Mr. Disraeli awaked a wild force, which he supposed it was easy to tame by the magic touch of an Asian hand. He supposed that the problem was to evoke the force; the control of it would follow, as a matter of course. The problem has now changed its position. It is no longer the question how to evoke, but how to control. And certainly the present romance is very skilfully planned to give an example of the rise and fall of the spiritual thermometer through different phases of the religious sentiment, from healthy coolness to fever and back again. Lothair is introduced as a young nobleman of enormous fortune, just about to be emancipated from tutors and governors by coming of age. A kind of test of his enthusiasm is provided in a sum of £200,000 in ready money, which he will become master of on his birthday. Without any particular ideas of his own, but with a vigorous though uninformed supply of religious aspirations, he is to be successively delivered over to the influence of the three sibyls. He is first introduced to Corisande, whose soprano voice, beautiful eyes, and somewhat frivolous occupations, mould the religious principle within him into a conviction that it will be his duty to spend his money on the erection of 2000 cottages for the poor. But Clare, Arundel supervenes. Without the external accomplishments of Corisande, she has an inward fervour, a sympathetic interest in other souls, and a scheming intelligence, which soon make Corisande's influence forgotten; Lothair is almost resolved to become a Catholic, and quite resolved to spend his £200,000 in building a cathedral. But yet another prophetess follows. She adds the external graces of Corisande to the internal enthusiasm of Clare. She has a more impassioned voice than Corisande, can recite and act better than Corisande could dance, intellectually is a real power in Europe, and carries enthusiasm, and the power of sacrificing self (and others) for her idea, to a far more heroic pitch than Clare. Like Clare, Theodora is unable to conceive society without religion. She is "profoundly religious." She and the priests think the same thoughts; but she expresses them in diffe-

rent language:—"What I call time, they call eternity; when they describe heaven, they give a picture of earth; and beings whom they style divine they invest with all the attributes of humanity." She conquers; and Lothair's £200,000, endowed with miraculous power of self-multiplication, supplies arms, pay, and provision, for all the divisions of the Garibaldian army to be assembled at Mentana. Thus Lothair ascends the scale from the moderate sentimentality of Corisande, through the ecstatic fervour of Clare, to the heroic devotion of Theodora; from Anglicanism, through Catholicism, to the seventh heaven of humanitarian spiritualism.

Having thus raised his patient to fever heat, Mr. Disraeli has to conduct him safely through his delirium, to lower him gradually through the reaction of his convalescence, till his pulse is bated to its first pace, and moderation can assert its supremacy over the excesses both of Semitic and of Aryan excitement. He has not only to make Lothair thus come down the ladder again, but to justify the reaction to the reader. It is with this view, probably, that Theodora's inspired enthusiasm is made to culminate in ordering Colonna (alias Orsini) to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon, and that her theories are brought into such close connection with the gross and materialistic æstheticism of Mr. Phœbus, which Mr. Disraeli is pleased to set forth as the Aryan religion. Lothair's own eyes are never opened to the real iniquity of Theodora's inspirations; he is weaned from them by material means, like a calf—by the failure of the enterprise in which she engages him, and by her death. But even after death she stands by him as his guardian spirit, to deliver him from the cunning snare of Clare and her ministers.

It is in the development of the conspiracy and manœuvres by which Lothair, in the debility of his recovery from a dangerous wound, is almost made a Catholic, that Mr. Disraeli puts forth his most vigorous efforts. The graduated steps by which Monsignore Catesby and Cardinal Grandison, seconded by Lady St. Jerome and Clare, well-nigh swagger him out of his senses and memory, almost make him believe that he was rescued by miracle when mortally wounded at Mentana, and attempt to persuade him that he fought there not against but for the Papacy, could only be imagined and described by the man who has for a quarter of a century mesmerized the party which he led, persuaded them that they were voting blue when they were voting yellow, and told in their ears a history of their progress, which not one of them could remember,

which seemed to many of them the reverse of the truth, but which none of them ventured to contradict. What Mr. Disraeli really did to his party Cardinal Grandison tries to do to Lothair, and fails. The bird which he has set so many springes to entrap, and has woven such fine-meshed nets to catch, suddenly sees through his plans, and flies away. It is on this part of his story that the author has spent his chief interest, and poured out all the resources of his experience and skill. Amidst a mass of faintly characterized actors, amongst whom the hero is perhaps the most characterless, Cardinal Grandison stands forth as a notable figure, painted indeed with resentment, as if he were a personal enemy of the author's, but endowed with an elegance, finesse, and far reaching though ever-failing resource, which the self-consciousness of no other author could so abundantly supply.

The enthusiasm of Theodora is tempered by murder and materialism; and Lothair is delivered from her by her death. That of Clare is tempered by fraud and falsehood; and Lothair is delivered from her by her becoming a nun. That of Corisande is tempered by the frivolities of the ball-room and croquet ground, by the working of slip pers and singing of songs, and by an artless and thoughtless devotion to the common routine of fashionable life. Here enthusiasm reaches its point of true moderation; and Lothair, sensible that he has at last attained his haven, seals the contract with a kiss—the first kiss in the whole story—in the last scene of the last volume. The King of France with his 20,000 men has marched up the hill, and then marched down again, and has set up a monument to commemorate the exploit, with the inscription, "*nōsse omnia hæc, salus est adolescentulis.*" Lothair has made the grand tour, and returns home to that commonplace existence which it was once Mr. Disraeli's mission to denounce with prophetic voice. He is plunged into the bustle of a society too rich and comfortable to desire change, and doing something only to prevent the professors of progress from declaring that it does nothing. From this land of the lotos Mr. Disraeli used to summon us to ascend the rugged sides of Horeb, and learn the mysteries of Arabian inspiration. Then he showed us Tancréd, the hope of the Aryan aristocracy of England, on the point of uniting himself with Eva, the Jewess, in order that the bride whom he carried home from Syria might fix indelibly in his children the evanescent convictions of Teutonic reason and imagination, by bestowing on them the concrete intuition and sacramental faith of Hebrew

blood. In *Lothair*, Bertram, the counterpart of Tancred, really brings home his bride from Syria; but she is a Greek night-ingale, not an Arabian Sybil. She is the sister-in-law of Mr. Phœbus, educated by him in his Aryan religion, taught to sing hymns to Apollo and Diana, and to despise Semitic asceticism, and therefore an instrument not for Judaizing, but for further Aryanizing, the already Aryan aristocracy of the land.

Yet it is not to be supposed that Mr. Disraeli yields the victory to the Aryan over the Semite without a reservation in favour of his old creed. Paraclete, the mysterious Syrian who appears in the third volume, is, like all the model characters in Mr. Disraeli's novels, one side or phase of the author's personality; and by his mouth he still protests against the usurpations of the West over the East. The divine image in humanity is, he says, "the charter of the nobility of man, one of the divine dogmas revealed in this land [Syria]; not the invention of councils, not one of which was held on this sacred soil, confused assemblies first got together by the Greeks, and then by barbarous nations in barbarous times." The Syrian land and the Arab blood have still their supreme and sacramental force, for which no intellectual substitutes, no consultations, no deliberative assemblies can supply. Again, "We had a gospel once in our district . . . and being written by neighbours, and probably at the time, I daresay it was accurate, but the Western Churches declared our gospel was not authentic, though why I cannot tell, and they succeeded in extirpating it." The evangel of Sybil and Eva was not false, though the supercilious West has rejected it. And its Apostle, in offering to halve it, is only fulfilling his duty of making himself all things to all men, but is not recanting his previous utterances. Paraclete concedes that Aryan and Semite are of one blood and origin, and that after their separation they each developed one side of man's double nature. At length their two choicest families, the Hellenes and the Hebrews, met again, brought together the treasures of their accumulated wisdom, and secured the civilisation of man. It is clear that this teaching is but a faint echo of that of Sidonia and Sybil and Eva. There is no disappointment or resentment in the manner in which this recasting of the Asian mystery is offered; but a comparison between Paraclete and the earlier representatives of this phase of the author's mind will show how far the horns are shrunk in, and how the old Asian dogmatism is mitigated and slurred over. In the book itself there

is no confession of error, no overt allusion to former assertions. If it is a retraction, it is one made without owning a former mistake, but, on the contrary, with the airy and sarcastic indifference of a superior being who withdraws a misused or neglected gift from a world not worthy of it.

The sarcasm of the book is indeed one of its distinguishing features. Even in the flowers of its flattery lurks the stinging bee. Mr. Disraeli has been unable to read his lecture to the world without embodying his examples in living and well-known characters. It is a gross breach of good taste, and of social propriety. But Vivian Grey long ago warned us that the ideal Prime Minister, Beckendorff, completely exempted himself from the duties of etiquette. It is true that these characters are always composite. But this does not mend matters. The satirist who is at the same time an artist never makes a photograph of a real entity, but composes his picture from features of different men. Rude critics have attributed this proceeding, which really results from an organic necessity of the art, to the desire of satirists to be able to abjure the intention of aiming at any given person. But the law of art is a sufficient explanation. There is, no doubt, a real unity in every natural character; but it is a unity which often escapes the minutest observation. Art requires a unity which stands forth at first sight, which lies on the surface, or at a small depth below, and is easily developed. The obscure unities of natural individuals are not sufficient for art; the artist must make new unities, must accumulate the traits of many to make one, who shall display in the glass hive of his breast the organized labours of the swarm collected in it. When this is overdone, or done in an exclusive one-sided way, the result is a caricature; but the rule, nevertheless, is one which no artist can neglect. Mr. Disraeli does not neglect it. And though he gives to his characters the semblance and gait of known and public men, he yet accumulates upon them traits taken from others, and at the same time subtracts from them other traits to be bestowed elsewhere, and so makes of them new characters, fit to support the parts which he intends them to play. But for all this the outline remains, and the most superficial reader who knows anything at all about his times knows for whom the eidola stand. He knows who *Lothair* is, who the Duke who lives at Brentham, who the Oxford Professor, who Cardinal Grandison and Monsignore Catesby, whose mundane name, by a slip of the printers, was given overtly in the first edition. A little further ac-

quaintance with men and things will enable him to identify Colonna, the Princess of Tivoli, Mirandola, and others. But the knowledge which floats Mr. Disraeli with head and shoulders above water while he treats of English society fails him when he goes into foreign parts. He knows absolutely nothing of what a residence in Rome might have taught him; and his revelations about the secret societies, Mary-Anne and Madre Natura, are worthy of the unsuspicious credulity of an Abbé Barruel, not of the experienced scepticism of an ex-Prime Minister. But to return; individuals in the book, however disguised, are always sufficiently marked to be apt subjects for personal satire. And it must be owned that Mr. Disraeli uses the satirist's whip with nothing short of insolent audacity. It is indeed plentifully decked with ribands, but the lash is knotted nevertheless. It has been observed that with the Brentham Duke he has a creator's privilege, who may make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour. Not that he flouts the honour which he has conferred. He merely half unveils a suspicion of the contempt which familiarity is said to breed. He certainly brings his Duke into dangerous proximity with Miss Austen's Sir Walter Elliot. There is in each of these characters the same worship of his own beauty, and the same tendency to judge of all situations by their influence on the looks. "Every day when he looked into the glass, and gave the last touch to his toilette," the Duke "offered his grateful thanks to Providence that his family was not unworthy of him." And just as Elliot condemns the navy as a profession because it makes men look old prematurely, so does the Duke condemn overactivity: "'I was at college with' Lord Agramont, 'a very good fellow; but I have never met him since, except once at Boodle's; and I never saw a man so red and grey, and I remember him such a good-looking fellow! He must have lived immensely in the country, and never thought of his person,' said the Duke in a tone of pity, and playing with his moustache." The whole Brentham family is made to appear as if it whirled in a vortex of frivolity; and the girls, somewhat impertinently described as charming, are grossly made as insipid as their father. Vivian Grey once said, not without a tinge of self-accusation, that "a humourist like Beckendorff cannot, even in the most critical moment, altogether restrain the bent of his capricious inclinations." The confession was one of an impenitent sinner, who gloried in his fault, and evidently meant to repeat it. But to pass from the

region of covert satire to its antipodes, it is astonishing that Mr. Disraeli should have permitted himself to attack as he does the nameless Oxford Professor of the first volume. Vivian Grey once told us of himself that it was impossible for a fellow like him to cherish an irritated feeling for a second. His attacks on Sir Robert Peel, atrocious as they were, were not the results of irritation, or any other feeling, but simply of political calculation. But it is difficult to see what calculation of ordinary prudence could have induced Mr. Disraeli to wake this sleeping cat, and to send a message of defiance across the Atlantic, with the chance of provoking a contest in which he would be very likely to come halting off. When the word "religion" is used throughout the book in so wide a sense as to include even the atheistic humanitarianism of Theodora, there is no logical defence for hinting that the Professor in question ever wished to get rid of religion from the universities. Nothing but a spite quite unworthy of the serene insolence of Vivian Grey could have dictated such sentences as these:—"He was gifted with a great command of words, which took the form of endless exposition, varied by sarcasm, and passages of ornate jargon." His "invectives against the principles of English society were hailed by foreigners as representative of the sentiments of venerable Oxford. The Professor, who was not satisfied with his home career, and, like many men of his order of mind, had dreams of wild vanity which the New World, they think, can alone realize, was very glad to make the acquaintance of an influential American." There are sentences and words still more offensive than these.

But there is one man in the book who is treated with still more inhumanity than the Oxford Professor. This is Cardinal Grandison; and the fault is not to be excused by the very amusing sketch Mr. Disraeli has made of him. In this case the quarrel is one of principles, and not, so far as appears on the face of it, a prolongation of the echoes of a private pique. Curious correspondents of *Notes and Queries* might perhaps attempt to trace the relations of the families of Disraeli and Grandison, since the time when their respective ancestors, three-quarters of a century ago, lived next door to each other in Billeter Square, when possibly there was laid the foundation of contempt and resentment on which Mr. Disraeli has erected the structure of the Cardinal's character in *Lothair*. Much too may be attributed to the disappointment of the politician who perhaps feels that he was betrayed

by the churchman, and that he owes his fall partly to the desertion of those under Grandison's influence. But Grandison is a figure structurally necessary for the story. Mr. Disraeli was obliged by his plan to back the sympathetic influence of Clare with the scheming and plotting of the ideal Jesuit. Grandison does not owe his introduction merely to the whim of giving him a whipping; he is not dragged in like the Oxford Professor simply to be pelted and dismissed; but he is one of the chief wheels on which the drama unrolls itself, having his necessary connection with the beginning, the middle, and almost the end of the plot. Fro these reasons the personalities with which he is assailed are less discreditable to their author, because less gratuitous, if not less spiteful, than those lavished on the Professor; and even a friend of Grandison's might be amused with his portrait. He is represented as a compound of Sir Charles Grandison, a Fakir, and a Jesuit, in whom elegance, asceticism, and conspiracy occupy equal lobes of the system. He is equally amusing in the drawing-room, in the dining-room, where he "never eats and never drinks," or at least discountenances the diners with his biscuits and water, and in council, where his superfluities of manoeuvres, his studied indifference to their success, his sincere gratitude to Providence for every failure, his acceptance of the most sinister event as the exact response to his prayers, and his immediate renewal of the plot to reverse the last providential development, are heaped together with the prodigality of an imagination not unpractised in such inventions. The plan of the book, which leads Lothair up from Corisande through Clare to Theodora, and down again from Theodora through Clare to Corisande, gives a double aristea to Clare and her Jesuitical champions. Diomed had to content himself with a single canto of Homer; but Grandison and Catesby have two separate campaigns in *Lothair*. In fact, the business of the book is built up of their never-ending, ever-renewed conspiracies and manoeuvres.

As the lying miracles of Grandison and Catesby are the confutation of Clare's ecstatic devotion, so the materialism of Phœbus is a warning against the humanitarian mysticism of Theodora. Phœbus is a figure who does not tempt his contriver to stuff him with satirical allusions. A satire must exhibit what is concealed, must strip hypocrisy, must

"Bare the mean heart that lurks behind a star."

Phœbus is all on the surface. All vices might come under his patronage but hypo-

crisy. He cannot be shamed by being shown up. To such a man the publicity even of public hatred would have its own charm. In his character there is nothing to unfold; there are no recesses, no lurking places; it is all in plain-song without counterpoint. If there is such a man in the world, nothing would delight him more than to be displayed in a novel written by a man of fame. He is satire-proof. The man who is to wince must be conscious of some secret which he would not have known, or some hypocrisy which he must for his life conceal. While the mere production of Grandison is of itself personally satirical, that of Phœbus is altogether impersonal. But for this reason the character of Phœbus is less interesting; he is a mere brilliant patch of light and colour without internal organization; he becomes only a peg to hang up and ventilate exaggerated and monstrous theories. "Semitism," he says, "has destroyed art; it taught man to despise his own body; and the essence of art is to honour the human frame." "When Leo the Tenth was Pope, Popery was pagan; Popery is now Christian, and art is extinct." "Books are fatal; they are the curse of the human race. Nine-tenths of existing books are nonsense, and the clever books are the refutation of that nonsense. The greatest misfortune that ever befell man was the invention of the art of printing. Printing has destroyed education. . . . The essence of education is the education of the body. Beauty and health are the chief sources of happiness. . . . What I admire in the order to which you [Lothair] belong is that they live in the air; that they excel in athletic sports; that they can only speak one language, and that they never read. This is not a complete education, but it is the highest education since the Greek." Phœbus is certainly a splendid dreamer, as gorgeous in his ideas as Sir Epicure Mammon himself, but more polished and more reticent of matters which the age will not hear. His notion of life, such as he had instilled into his wife and her sister, was to be beautiful, to dance and sing while time permitted, and then to pass contentedly into the audience which criticises or enjoys. In the romance he has a double innings. For after Lothair has escaped from the Cardinal and his fellow-conspirators he falls in once more with Phœbus, and spends his days with him in one of the isles of Greece, where the artist is restoring the worship of the nymphs.

Phœbus certainly carries out an idea which is found in Mr. Disraeli's earlier romances. In *Sybil* he gave as a reason for the deteriorated tone of society, that the

animal man was degraded, and therefore the aristocracy. And his abstract way of looking on things leads him in *Lothair* to make Phœbus the exclusive patron of the animal man, and thereby the restorer of a more healthy tone among the aristocracy. The conception itself is however a gross caricature. The proof of the artist is not in his talk but in his work. And any eye can see how far the most muscular nature-worshipper of the present day falls short, in mere muscularity, of Michael Angelo, or Rubens, or Raphael. Phœbus, who sees in nature nothing but nature, does not see even so much of bare nature as those who see in her only the vestment of the invisible world. The great artist uses muscle in its true sense, as the raiment of the soul. Nature is more beautiful as suggesting something beyond than in her naked shows. Even the discovery of beauty in nature is the discovery of something not really in her; the mind alone by its own beauty is able to read the beauty which is symbolized in the lines of nature. It is remarkable that the most luscious and the most naturalistic of the greater English artists of late days, Etty, was as much a mystic as Pugin himself. And the roisterings of Turner had no more to do with his art, or with his eye for beauty, than the drinking-bouts of Teniers's peasants. Phœbus stands on a razor's edge, where he cannot long stay. His pure naturalism has its natural end not in the merely theatrical existence, but in the orgies of Cybele or Bacchus. Morally, he is predestined to be a hog. But, with all his contempt of books, he is a philosopher; and his philosophy is what might be expected of an ally of Theodora—the absolutism of Mazzini and the social politics of the Republic of Plato. He would have everything regulated by law to provide for the perfection of the animal man. The law should choose the right husband for the right wife, should determine what children, and how many, should be brought up, should educate them, and prescribe the ideas they are to entertain. The whole Semitic idea of religion should be discarded and made penal. The pagan president of the revels should supersede the Christian priest; and a beneficent absolutism should be the supreme dispenser of enjoyment. Besides Phœbus, Theodora has a number of other supporters; but they are men of action, soldiers and members of secret societies. Some of them express phases of her philosophy which Phœbus knows nothing about; but, on the whole, Phœbus translates into the life of the drawing-room and the hunting-field the same thought which drives Theodora to the assassin's club

and the battle-field. It is the hatred of sacerdotal interference with the natural or social life of man.

Corisande, too, has her court. But, as she rather represents the absence of theory than its power over the will, it is impossible to surround her with ministers who shall explain her philosophy. So she is surrounded by people of fashion. Good society forms the framework of her Church; her doctrines are composed of excerpts from the patriotism of Theodora and from the mysticism of Clare; just so much of each is admitted as is compatible with the drawing-room. Like Clare she is profoundly religious; like Theodora she is proudly patriotic; but like herself only, she is moderated and moulded by the supremacy of fashion. The weapons of her warfare are croquet, music, dancing, embroidery, and conversation. She represents Mr. Disraeli's ideal of the right religion for high English society. The most notable figure of those who form her circle is her brother-in-law, Lord St. Aldegonde, a man who professes to be bored by everything, and in consequence permits himself to throw aside all conventionalities, to be as rough in manners as he is in appearance, and to withdraw from or join at will any combination, not for considerations of utility, but simply at the beck and call of his own sense of boredom. Of course, to be able to do this, he must have a position of thorough independence. In fact, he is heir to the richest Dukedom in England. Under his shaggy outside there is both easy heart and ready intelligence; and the character is one which the creator of Lord Dundreary might probably be able to transfer to the stage with no little force. The Bishop of Grandchester, though just as much copied from a contemporary prelate as the Bishop in *Tancred*, is not by half as good a picture. A comparison between the two will show how much of its cunning Mr. Disraeli's right hand has forgotten. Another division of this court consists of the young men who can do one thing and no more. There is Mr. Blenkinsop, "who was understood to give his mind entirely up to croquet," Mr. Brancepeth, who could give perfect dinners, Mr. Pinto, a Portuguese, the best of English conversers, with "the art of viewing common things in a fanciful light, and the rare gift of railery which flattered the self-love of those whom it seemed sportively not to spare." The whole organization of this division of the army is planned with the object of passing time with as little trouble and as little sense of boredom as possible. It consists of people who neither sow nor spin, but are, when they like it, arrayed like Solomon in all his glory.



And Lothair himself is not without his own private supporters. Not to mention his guardians, Cardinal Grandison and Lord Culloden, who join the forces which contend for him, and mutually strive to keep him from each other's clutches, he has an invaluable lawyer, Mr. Giles, who does all the thinking which Lothair's position demands, and settles for him all the details of his expenditure and of his display. Mrs. Giles, or as she calls herself, taking advantage of a territorial Christian name of her husband's, Mrs. Putney Giles, is almost equally useful in introducing Lothair, brought up among the Scottish mountains, to society. She is an ardent Protestant and an ardent Garibaldian. But she has one ardour more fervent still, the desire to be a woman of fashion. So at her rooms Lothair can meet the representatives of the three parties who play the game for his soul.

In describing the moves and the reasons of this game, Mr. Disraeli is behind his age; indeed his book carries its own refutation on the face of it. If he has his own logic on his side—the logic of a man who makes his enemies' arguments and refutes them—the logic of facts is against him. Lothair, as a matter of fact, whatever the future may have in store for him, did not escape as he is said to have escaped. Mr. Disraeli has his jest; but Cardinal Grandison has the estate. Once more, it is a mistake to suppose that the particular society for which Mr. Disraeli has written this book is secured against Catesbys and Chidiochs by an admixture, however plentiful, of Aryan religion. It is exactly from Phœbus that the reaction would naturally set in. From the race-course or the ball-room the unsatisfied mind of the bored lordling often adjourns to the Jesuit church. More races and more balls do not stay him. The receipt is old; but the remedy is as unavailing as opium for cholera. George Fox was advised by the parsons to drink more beer and to dance with the girls; but he founded the Church of the Quakers. Another reason why Mr. Disraeli's novel has no practical conclusion is that, so to say, it acts Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted. It assumes to be a picture of the right education of the religious principle. But, if the "religious principle" means anything, it means the faculty within us which feels after and finds the Deity. Its education might be exhibited as the successive presentment of imperfect ideas of God, the more complete gradually superseding the less complete, till at last the idea reached a certain fulness. But this is not at all Mr. Disraeli's view of the "principle." It is with him a mere instinct, like hunger; and he educates it, not

by feeding it with its object, but by making it feel its own pulse, and moderate and modify its own desires. He feeds it, as Grumio feeds Katherine when Petruchio is starving her into mildness—with the name of meat, not the thing. Hunger might conceivably be educated by leading it round the various quarters of the world where men eat earth, or birds' nests, or slugs, or shoes; but to educate it without food is a manifest impossibility. And it is no easier to educate the religious principle without religion. Yet this is the problem which *Lothair* is written to solve. It may be that Mr. Disraeli could not help himself; he must have felt how absurd it would be for him to preach. But why did he give his novel a religious foundation, when he knew he could put no religion into the building? It looks as if he had planned a philosophic exposition of deep principles, a delicate piece of Platonic pottery, and that *currente rotâ urceus exit*. So it must be a satire, as it could be nothing else.

And if Mr. Disraeli's views do not hold good for the bevy of dukes and princes of whom he tells, neither do they hold good for the subjacent strata of society. *Lothair*, read by common sense, seems like the Italian opera of dramatized life. It is as untrue to reality, as wide of real psychology, as, according to Lamb, the drama of the Restoration was. It moves in a fanciful world, where society is swayed by its own laws, and manners shape themselves by an internal necessity, independent of external facts. This position is all very well for fairy tales and midsummer night's dreams; but it does not suit novels written to enforce a practical and political end. A policy shaped for men whose ideas and movements are misconceived is a misconceived policy. Policy should be for the people, not for the supernumeraries of a theatre, dressed in the costume of a populace. And the individual is as much misconceived as the society. It is a curious question how it comes to pass that a man of such prescient determination and so fixed a will as Mr. Disraeli, when stamping his own ideal on his work, should manufacture so soft and inconstant a creature as Lothair. Why should a man who is quite a model of perseverance, patience, and concentration, make his ideal Englishman so weak and vacillating a scatter-brains? It seems almost as if his own firmness were simply an instinct in him, a power allied to the instinct of self-preservation, or of hunger, a force which belongs rather to his nerves than his mind, and is incapable of translating itself into a general principle of conduct. It looks as if the "clear brain and obdurate spirit" which constitute his ideal of the powerful states-

man in revolutionary times were not to make firm in his principles, but simply firm in his purpose to use all events to his own advantage. His idea has always been that principles count for little as motives; that men's conduct is much more influenced by circumstances than principles: "Circumstance," he says in *Tancred*, "has decided every crisis which I have experienced, and not the primitive facts." In his philosophy, principles themselves are only circumstances; for the use of a principle is in each case to justify whatever is expedient. Hence his ideal man is one without a central principle to guide him, one with good or even great velleities but with no will fixed on the pivot of principle, one ready to be impressed by circumstance, not ready to fight and overcome it. With all his obduracy of will, there is no appearance that the author is better furnished with principles than his hero. On his first appearance on the stage of politics, he declared that in his view the statesman should be the child of circumstances, without opinions of his own to impose, but capable of carrying out whatever was needful or beneficial. The statesman a slave to circumstance, and Lothair the puppet of nods and becks and wreathed smiles, are fundamentally identical conceptions. And these conceptions are nearly allied to the classical notion of slavishness, as we have it in the old dramatists. The *Davus* of Seneca is always a philosopher; he can give the most excellent advice; he can point out to his master the way of prudence and virtue. But if his master rejects his advice and chooses the bad way, *Davus* is equally ready and obliging. The austere moralist becomes in an instant the supple pander to the vices he has just denounced. This is no sign of the weakness of *Davus's* will. His resolutions are transient, because they are only views of his intelligence, and not principles of his will. His real will is in every case to adapt himself completely to the circumstances which surround him.

In its style *Lothair* gives no new insight into Mr. Disraeli's powers. Every one is familiar with the most striking features of his writings,—his violent exaggeration of ideas full of audacious trivialities, his pompous and tawdry eloquence ill concealing the absence of conviction under a tumult of words, his incisive epigrams, his sparkling spirit, his ready flow, his genial though premeditated humour. He has always been famous for his epigrammatic formulas; indeed his genius sparkles more in points than in the lengthened line. He cannot keep up a sustained march without breaking out into a strut. But his sallies are not overlaid with

the tinsel with which he finds it necessary to gild his dramatic scenes. In a similar way, what may be called his epigrammatic characters have always been the most striking ones in his novels. They are persons introduced, not to influence the action, but to express the author's opinions and views, or to give utterance to a joke or a brief collection of observations. A distinct moiety of the justification for introducing Pinto into *Lothair* is to be found in the fact that he twice utters the joke that a man only falls into "anecdote" when he is falling into his dotage. Mr. Disraeli's books, like his speeches, abound with brilliant sentences which may be transferred into one's notebook, but they seldom offer any satisfactory whole. His forte in speech is point, as his forte in action is adventure. He proceeds by a series of explosions, like a cracker, not by an equable force, like a rocket. It would be easy to glean from *Lothair* (or any other of his novels) many a pin or needle or even brooch of terse expression and observation—not so to gather a bunch of apophthegms which a sane person could put to practical use. He can note; but he is not a safe adviser. He can tell us that "it is difficult to decide which is the most valuable companion to a country hermit at his nightly studies, the volume that keeps him awake, or the one that sets him a slumbering;" but he cannot, like Mrs. Browning, give the receipt to get the right good from a book. Or his fancy may suggest that to breakfast at a set of small tables, and not at one large one, has the advantages of the Italian republics over a centralized monarchy; but he cannot divest himself of his contradictory notion that statesmen are degraded by democracy into politicians, and orators into debaters. In fact, he does not so much care that his points should be true as that they should be brilliant. It is quite characteristic of him to make a Monsignore say: "We sent two of our best men into Scotland some time ago, and they have invented a new church, called the United Presbyterians. John Knox himself was never more violent or more mischievous. The United Presbyterians will do the business; they will render Scotland simply impossible to live in; and then, when the crisis arrives, the distracted and despairing millions will find refuge in the bosom of their only mother." There may be in this a kind of likeness to the talk of the converts who lounge in a Cardinal's antechamber; but the true parent of the amusing impertinence is Mr. Disraeli's own imagination, which has often blown bubbles not unlike it.

In close connection with this epigrammatic power may be noted some brief bursts

of another force for which Mr. Disraeli rarely gains credit—for, in fact, examples of it are of rare occurrence in his writings. His ordinary exaggeration of words conceals the contradictory virtue which sometimes may be found in juxtaposition, like the nettle hiding the violet which grows beneath it. Amidst his glaring canvases, a picture sometimes may be found painted in an undertone. When he chooses he has the power of Swift to propound, with crystal-line simplicity and calmness, the most irritating exaggerations of metaphysical insolence. Thus in *Lothair*, Mr. Ruby tells how pearls are aired and bleached; and Theodora ends her colloquy with Colonna with the most concise, unconcealed, and unimpassioned order for assassination. There is more art in such passages as these than in all the tinsel and noise of Mr. Disraeli's ordinary rhetoric. To compare the two styles would be like comparing Pizarro's delivery of the words "ein Stoss, und er verstummt" in *Fidelio*, with the noisy blessing of daggers in an ordinary opera. His prose poetry, the favourite invention of Contarini Fleming, is always detestable. There are specimens in *Lothair* which are almost worthy of Mr. Tupper. This is the way in which he prepares for the appearance of Theodora's ghost to Lothair in the Colosseum:—"Was it a breeze in a breezeless night that was sighing amid these ruins? A pine tree moved its head on a broken arch, and there was a stir among the plants that hung on the ancient walls. It was a breeze in a breezeless night that was sighing amid the ruins,"—and so on, much in the style of *The Revolutionary Epic* with the metre washed out.

With Mr. Disraeli's literary insolence is closely connected that defiance of critics which makes him so impertinent to the Oxford Professor, which puts into Phœbus's mouth the already famous description of them—"fellows who have failed in literature and art," and which makes him respect but one kind of criticism, that of the smoking-room or boudoir. This kind is described by Lord St. Aldegonde, when he says, "the fun of talk is to find out what a man really thinks, and then contrast it with the enormous lies he has been telling all dinner, and, perhaps, all his life." As the tell-tale comparison of former utterances with the present, or of what has been said to one with what has been said to another, tests the character of the man of the world, so does comparative criticism, without pretence to creativeness in literature or art, test the man of letters and the artist.

Compared then with the author's other novels, *Lothair* ranges rather with *Ixion*, as

an insolent piece of fun, than with serious attempts to found a school of policy, like *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and *Tancred*. Its machinery is somewhat oriental. It reminds one of the legend of the soul which descends at birth through the planetary spheres, and in its passage borrows from each some villainous attribute to furnish it forth for its earthly warfare; and at death reascends through the same spheres, returning to the grim officer who sits at each planetary gate the endowment which was borrowed there. At the first gate it has to give up its love of eating and drinking, at the second its manœuvres and guiles, at the third its appetites, at the fourth its ambition, at the fifth its audacity, at the sixth its avarice, at the seventh its habit of lying. So stripped and purified, it arrives at the company of the blessed in the eighth heaven. Instead of the ugly names which Celsus gives to the hideous officers that sit in each gate to exact this purgatorial tribute—the bear-headed Thauthabaoth, the dog-faced Erataoth, and the ass-headed Onoel—Mr. Disraeli gives them ordinary English names; and as he passes them by he renders up to them the weapons which have become so familiar to the spectators of his political warfare. He divides his character among them. To Grandison he bequeaths his manœuvres and guile, to Theodora the imagination of "shaking thrones and founding empires," and the feeling that he was "a being born to breathe in an atmosphere of revolution," and to St. Aldegonde his independence of convention. Stripped of these excrescences he makes himself fit for the heaven of Corisande, to sit by her and gaze into her eyes, to disentangle the silken skein which she winds, to hold her hand in the dance, and to turn over her leaves while she sings. From these cool shades both the mystic devotion of Clare and the frantic patriotism of Theodora must be excluded; for they both interfere with the nirwana of its rest. But each of them leaves a sweet taste on the palate of the imagination—a sauce of enthusiasm to point the cold meats of insipid routine; and so far each is a welcome reminiscence. The time of adventure is passed. The questionings of the conscience in the dim light of the cathedral, and the close of bayonets on the battle-field are over; henceforth the tilt-yard is to be the drawing-room carpet, and the weapons nothing stronger than pointed words. The full guest leaves the remains of the banquet to his hungry successors, and retires among the audience of observers and critics.

# ART. VI.—AGRICULTURE AND AGRARIAN LAWS IN PRUSSIA.

SOME of the agrarian laws of Prussia date as far back as the time of Frederick II.; but the greater part of them accompanied the political renovation begun in 1807. It was a grand idea which the Prussian Government, inspired by Stein, at that time adopted, to supply the place of the material force which it had just lost at the battle of Jena by a moral force which it earnestly and persistently set to work to create. This moral force it sought in more liberal political institutions, in a more autonomous municipal organization, in the suppression of serfdom, and in a better system of landed property. And it was well understood that most of the political and social reforms then undertaken would also have a direct effect on the economic wellbeing of the populations. For, as in man mind and matter are intimately connected, the one influencing the other, often without its being possible to explain how, so also the moral and material prosperity of a country hold together and mutually contribute to one another's progress.

Serfdom was not generalized, developed, as it were legalized, on the Continent, until the period when it began to disappear from the English soil; and from that time forward, for some centuries, continental legislation took no notice of the institution except to strengthen it and give it root. The doctrine of French feudalism, "*pas de terre sans seigneur*," was readily adopted in Germany, where, by the agency of internal wars, and especially by the operation of the "*Faustrecht*," the free peasantry became fewer and fewer, and whatever might be the territorial constitution—i. e., the mode of settlement or colonization—of the country, the soil was cultivated almost exclusively by serfs.

Not only for the present time, but also for the last ten or fifteen centuries, Germany may be divided into two regions. In one, the inhabitants were for the most part grouped together in villages: in the other, they were dispersed by families in isolated farms. The first method may be briefly, though not very exactly, called Frank colonization; and the other Saxon colonization. This last was the least diffused. It occupied, and still occupies, though in a manner less clearly defined, the north of Germany, between the Elbe and the Rhine, going beyond the opposite borders of these two rivers, and assuming its most marked form in Westphalia. The Frank colonization occupied the centre and the south of Germany, without being limited by any very strict

boundaries. It was altogether by spontaneous choice, and not by geographical or political necessity, that the settlements were individual here and collective there; but the mode of settlement has none the less had a notable influence upon the progress of cultivation.

The collective organization, by villages, is called "*Markgenossenschaft*," which may be translated "*territorial community*." In these villages the territory belonged to the whole body of inhabitants. Every year, or, in some places, every third year, or at still longer intervals, the arable lands were divided afresh—often by lot—among all the members of the community; the meadow, or at least the pastures and the forests, remained at the disposal of all. In many localities where the arable lands were re-divided every three or six years, the hay fields were drawn by lot every year. This community of lands, which still exists in Russia, was long preserved on the rest of the Continent. In many villages between the Rhine and the Moselle, the fields did not become the definitive properties of the cultivators till between 1811 and 1834 at the time of the great survey. In Saarhölzbach, the houses only were private properties; and it was only in 1863 that the lands ceased to be held in common. In the countries where the families lived in isolated farms, the farm-houses, with the lands pertaining to them, became individual properties early; but this did not exclude the common possession of uncultivated lands on the one hand, nor serfdom on the other.

A substitution of one régime for another is generally a gradual operation. The communes began by lengthening the intervals between the re-partition. For instance, instead of six years, the period of possession became twelve years; and then the date of the distribution was altogether forgotten, though the rights of the commune were maintained. Thus, in the village of Losheim, there was no distribution or re-partition between 1655 and 1724; but in this last year it was decided that a new re-partition should take place. In this case actual possession was to be taken into account, which means that the re-partition was to give much to him who possessed much, and little to him who possessed little. Such a provision seems to contradict the very principle of periodical re-partition; but the influential men of the locality could easily have impeded the arrangement, if their prescriptive rights had not been recognised. The question was expressly declared to be only one of re-uniting parcels of land which frequent division had made too small to be profitably cultivated.

Here then is an example of the reunion of

parcels of land; and there have been many such in modern times, where this agrarian operation holds an important place. The reason of the lands being so parcelled out from mediæval times is this:—The territory of the commune was divided into parts, Gewanne or Fluren, which bore different names; and tradition assigned to each inhabitant a piece of land in each Gewanne. The origin of this custom may perhaps be traced to the fact that the villages cleared their territory in successive portions, and that they gave each time to each inhabitant his part of the new clearance. When the different Gewanne of a communal territory were obviously different from one another in the nature of the soil, etc., each person was anxious to keep his part in each: when, on the contrary, they were obviously alike, there was no longer the same interest. It is in these last communes that the re-partition of the territory ceased the soonest, and in the others that the custom maintained itself the longest. The reason of this is plain. When division took place in consequence of a death, one heir, if the different portions of the territory were like one another, could take his field in Gewanne A, and another his in Gewanne B; but if the portions were notably different, everybody would maintain his right to have a parcel in every Gewanne. The final result was a parcelling out which was prejudicial to the interest of all. For it must not be forgotten that besides the heritage of the father, there was also that of the mother, then the dowry of the wife, and again what might be inherited collaterally, so that the same person might possess in the same Gewanne five or six morsels of land which it would be his interest to re-unite on a new partition. The confusion caused by the number of parcels was sometimes so great that it became almost impossible to tell which was which.

But if the evil was great another evil made it bearable, and that for centuries. This other evil was the equal ignorance of all the cultivators, which established a great uniformity in the mode of cultivation. The only succession they knew was that of winter cereals, summer cereals, and fallows; and the territory was divided accordingly. And as there were no country roads, and it was necessary for men to pass through the fields of others in order to reach their own, custom at first prescribed, and law and regulation afterwards enforced, the obligation for every one to plough, sow, and gather at the same time and in the same manner as his neighbours. This was called *Flurzwang*. When new villages were founded, as thousands were between the year 1000 and the year

1800 (after the Thirty Years' War, some had to be founded even upon the cleared lands whose inhabitants the war had cut off), the territory was always and at once divided into three Fluren, each of which was often composed of several Gewanne.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to explain how such an agricultural organization has favoured the almost universal subjection of the peasantry. Some of the many circumstances, however, which have contributed to produce this effect may be pointed out. In Prussia, especially in the provinces east and north of the Elbe, the lord was a proprietor of land who had invited settlers, or—and that very often—the representative of princely or royal authority exercising his powers by delegation. There were naturally many cases of usurpation, or violence; there was also, on the part of some villages, a voluntary submission in exchange for protection which had become necessary; and lastly, but much later, there was an adoption of the doctrine, "*pas de terre sans seigneur*." It was not so much the feudal as the governmental spirit which established this doctrine in Prussia. It glided in under cover of the law which intrusted to the nobles, and later on to the owners of knights' fees (*Rittergutsbesitzer*), who after 1807 were not necessarily noble, the charge of representing the royal authority amongst the peasants. Many thus acquired seigniorial rights without being the proprietors of the land concerned.

Now it is obvious that in the case of colonization, that is to say when the proprietor of a domain invited settlers and installed them on the land, he could establish rents, charges, and service of all kinds. The fields were then granted under certain conditions. But charges were also established even where the noble of a neighbourhood had not become the lord except as representing the government; and abuses multiplied easily when it was the strong who profited by them, and the weak who submitted to them. Whether the lords were at the same time proprietors of the lands, or were only representatives of authority, the abuses took less the form of exaggerated rents in kind or in money than that of service of all kinds to be rendered, often at the mere pleasure of the lord, and always to the injury of agriculture.

This state of things continued until the peace of Tilsit; it is to that humiliating peace that Prussia is indebted for the great advance she has since made, the course of which began by the suppression of serfdom, in the edict of the 9th of October 1809. The idea of the abolition of serfdom, indeed, was already an old one in Prussia. Her first king, Frederick I., had prepared the way for

it in 1702, by various measures which were renewed and extended in 1719 and 1723; and Frederick II. thus expressed himself in 1766: "Certainly a state of things in which the peasantry belong to the land, and are in bondage to the nobles, is the most unfortunate of all—that against which the sentiment of humanity revolts with the greatest force." He added, however, that "such an organization cannot be suppressed at a blow," and confined himself in point of fact to some partial or preparatory measures.

Stein viewed the matter differently, or rather the moment was more propitious. He became minister on the 4th of October; and on the 9th of the same month the edict appeared. "Equity demands," says the preamble of the edict, "and the principles of all good government require, that each individual should be able to attain, without hindrance, to the highest degree of prosperity to which his character, his talents, or his fortune can conduct him. The trammels which the ancient laws imposed upon the transfer or the sale of properties have done great injury to agriculture, and neutralize in a great degree the intellectual and physical activity of the cultivator. The safety of the State requires that recourse should be had to a great resolve." And the series of reforms which followed were really equivalent to a political and social revolution accomplished peaceably and to almost universal satisfaction. This is not the place to speak of the political and administrative measures which accompanied the abolition of serfdom; we confine ourselves to the agrarian laws which were the complement of the edict of the 9th of October 1807. For this edict, while it solemnly proclaimed that "from and after Martinmas 1810 . . . there shall only be free men," declared at the same time that these free men were not released from actual engagements involved in former contracts having relation to the lands in possession of which they found themselves.

The first step was taken; the men were free; the next object was to free the land. Violence was not to be resorted to, as in France after 1789; but it was impossible to proceed in the forms of strict justice, for authentic documents concerning the properties were not always to be obtained. Considerations of equity were taken as the guide. First of all, proprietors and tenants were invited to come to an amicable understanding for the settlement of their mutual relations. And in case of their not agreeing, the following rule was established in the edict of the 14th of September 1811:—First, the peasants who held their farms by hereditary title were to give to the lord as proprietor

(Gutsherrn) a third of the fields, meadows, etc., in order to free themselves from all rent and other charges, and were to renounce at the same time all the payments, helps, and benefits to which they had a right from the proprietor. Secondly, in the case of the non-hereditary tenants, the proprietor was to have power to take back, and re-unite to his own personal domain, half of the fields, meadows, pastures, etc., possessed by the tenant. The corvees were to be redeemed at a valuation.

According to these rules the commissions of settlement were to proceed in case of dispute. But, in order to form a right judgment of the whole measure, it is necessary to bear in mind that the first care of the Government was to make no sensible diminution in the number of farms. In this they were only following the old tracks, and even adopting the precedent of the existing laws. The lords were seldom able to re-unite to their domain lands the farms held hereditarily by the cultivator; in default of an heir he had to find another tenant. Again, it was not understood that the tenant should be obliged to render the half or the third of the estate in kind; it was preferred that he should charge himself with a debt to the proprietor, equal to the value of half or a third of the property, and that he should pay the interest until he could discharge the capital. And, as each settlement or regularization had to be made according to a method of procedure the object of which was to protect all rights, the changes in the ownership did not take place suddenly, but by degrees, and even very slowly. The year 1848 still found much to be done; and a law, dated the 2d of March 1850, was required to accelerate the course of the settlement. This law did not wait for the parties to agree between themselves. It declares every farm held by hereditary title to be the property of the occupant, and orders that the former proprietorial dues, so far as they are of money value, Real lasten, should be valued and changed into a rent-charge, and that measures should be taken for the redemption of this rent-charge. Another law of the same date establishes "Rentenbanken," intended to facilitate the redemption. And finally two laws promulgated in 1857 (March 16 and April 15) were designed to free property from every charge of feudal origin.

The nature of these changes and their importance will appear from the following figures, taken from official documents. The number of proprietors regularized at the end of 1865 amounted to 83,258, and the area of their lands to 5,511,132 morgen (3,444,-

450 acres), all situated in the eastern provinces of the kingdom.\* In Westphalia the system of isolated farms made the agrarian laws of 1807 and 1811 needless; and in the Rhenish province the French occupation had rapidly abolished the last remains of feudalism. Besides these 83 thousand proprietors whose properties were regularized, 1,303,992 persons were freed—by means of the redemption—from 6,344,569 days of team work, and from 23,540,331 days of manual labour, at the price of 38,242,249 thalers in capital, 5,490,128 thalers rent-charge in paper of the "Rentenbank," 315,591 scheffels of rye (which is the grain of the country), and 1,646,121 morgen (1,028,823 acres) of land. A thaler is worth three shillings. Now, taking these rent-charges in kind and money at a very moderate valuation, and capitalizing them, adding the redemptions operated on the domains of the State (which are not included in these figures), and adding further the 23,540,331 thalers in capital, we get a sum-total of 213,861,035 thalers (£32,079,155) expended in the redemption of "Real lasten."

Here, then, saving some trifling corrections, is the balance sheet of one of the Prussian agrarian laws, the most important politically, but not the largest as to the area concerned. This law, in freeing the property, has allowed the cultivator to enter on the path of progress; and, in suppressing forced labour, it has not only raised the population morally but has also saved the Prussian nation millions of days of labour, for this forced labour caused the loss of much time and produced the habit of careless work.

In tracing down to the present time the series of operations necessary to disengage the land from the pressure of feudalism, it has been necessary to leave aside other parallel series of agrarian laws. Let us now recur to one of these series which is of great practical importance, but can be considered briefly. It concerns the partition, or rather the resettlement of the commons-lands, "*Gemeinheits-Theilungen*." In England and in France the evils concerned have also been felt. England has dealt with them by the Enclosure Acts, whilst France has confined herself, in the law of the 6th of October 1791, to freeing any one who encloses his fields from the liabilities of "*vaine pâture*"†

and "*parcours*." The Prussian law of the 7th of June 1821 expressly declares that the question it concerns is not that of dividing property possessed in common by several proprietors, but only of putting an end to the common use of certain lands; on the other hand, instead of the settlement being limited, "*aus einandersetzung*" to the third (the nearest to the village) of the lands, as in the case of the law of 1811, it is extended to the whole of the territory. But it must be observed that it does not decree the settlement, it waits until its operation is invoked by the parties interested. The law of 1821 was satisfied with the demand of one such party, following therein the 815th Article of the Code Napoléon: "*Nul ne peut être contraint à demeurer dans l'indivision, et le partage peut toujours être provoqué, nonobstant prohibitions et conventions contraires.*"\* But this provision appearing too hard, the royal decree of the 28th of July 1838 restrained the right to cases in which the proprietors of a quarter of a territory invoked the application of the measure, and to some exceptional cases which it is not necessary to enumerate here.

This arrangement seemed to satisfy opposing interests, each of which had a good deal to allege in its favour. The State, in conferring upon a single inhabitant the right to call for a resettlement, or, as it may be called, liquidation, was actuated by this idea—that the "*flurzwang*" which obliges every one to cultivate the land in the same primitive manner, the medley of parcels of land, the pasture in common over all the fields and meadows after the harvest, and all the rights exercised by one man over the lands of others, in short, that the enjoyment in common of the common lands, not only arrested all agricultural progress but also of necessity kept agriculture in a very backward condition. The theory was that the measure was one for the public welfare, and, consequently, that as soon as an inhabitant of the commune proved that the "*Gemeinheits-Theilung*" would be useful—and the burden of the proof was thrown on him—it was right that the operation should

exercised over the fields of a neighbouring village, which then enjoys a reciprocal right.

\* In the French code it was a question of properties, whilst the Prussian law expressly excluded interference with properties, and only dealt with the common rights. If in Prussia it ultimately became a matter of dividing the land, the reason was that that was considered the most practical means of establishing individual right. In France the law does not allow the division of common lands, but it favours the distribution into lots, which are let on a lease, for the profit of the communal chest.

\* At the end of 1865 there were not more than 36 regularizations of property to effect, and 2095 matters of redemption were still pending.

† The "*vaine pâture*" is the right which belongs to all the inhabitants of a village to graze their cattle on all the fields of the village after the harvest; the "*parcours*" is the *vaine pâture*

take place. To these considerations it was replied that the resettlement of the common rights had the effect of causing a redistribution of part of the lands, either to make one block of the scattered parcels of one proprietor, or to compensate the loss of common rights, or for other reasons, and that it would be giving a single individual exorbitant rights were he allowed to upset the customs of a whole commune, and bring about a complete revolution in the distribution of properties.

The fundamental principle of the resettlements, which in many cases might be called conventions for the mutual redemption of services, was to give lands in compensation of rights, and not to substitute for land either capital or rent-charge, unless there was a good reason for it.\* Suppose that there existed in the village a common meadow, upon which fifty inhabitants—or, more exactly, the possessors of fifty farms—had the right of grazing, some three cows, others five cows, and others again ten cows each, and that there were altogether 400 cows: then an estimate was made of the value of the grazing of one of these cows on this pasture; and it was determined how much land it would require to compensate the right of grazing one cow. And land was given in proportion—to one man three times, to another five times, to another ten times, and so on, according to their respective rights. It might happen that one portion of meadow was worth less than another; and in that case quality was, if possible, compensated by extent. It was easy enough when the rights concerned were of tolerable magnitude; but when it was a question, for instance, of only a couple of cows it was desirable to find some other way of indemnifying the possessors of the right.

But—and it is a point which cannot be too much insisted on—the first object was not to divide the land but to individualize the use of it; the division was only the accessory—the means. In France the partition of commons is scarcely admitted in any case: where it is judged proper to individualize the land, and where the land is adapted for cultivation, it is divided into

lots, which are farmed or leased out for the profit of the communal chest. These opposing systems are based on opposite ideas of the essential nature of commons. In France the point of view of the Roman law has been adopted: in Germany, especially in the north and east, that of the Germanic law. The Roman law considers the common land as the property of a corporation, of a civil or collective person, and gives the individual no personal right: the Germanic law, in accordance with historical fact, considers it as a reserve not yet divided, belonging to the whole of the inhabitants, which is to be distributed in its turn. In Switzerland, at least in some cantons (Berne for example), the individual rights of the members of the commune are pushed to an extreme, since they preserve them as absentees, and that without limit of time. In most of the communes these rights are reserved to the descendants of the original inhabitants; the new-comers have none of them, even when these “new-comers” have belonged to the commune for a century or two. Nor is Switzerland the only country where a distinction is made between the sorts of inhabitants in the commune—those who enjoy municipal rights (*Bürger*), and those who do not, for whom there is a score of different designations. But this is a matter beyond our present purpose. In Prussia the liquidation has been on so large a scale that, at the end of 1867, it had affected 1,652,742 proprietors and an area of 61,354,567 morgen (25,864,604 acres). The land has not been divided in all these cases, for the figures comprise the holdings on which there existed services redeemable in money.

This agrarian law had a vast scope; for Prussia, out of a total area (before 1866) of 106 to 107 millions of morgen (deducting the water area), had 93 millions of arable land, meadow, and forest. The operation extended over two-thirds of the kingdom. But the other third did not remain intact; for we have now to consider other laws, which have had a very perceptible influence. Let us begin with the law, or rather the laws on the dismemberment of farms, “*Dismembrations-Gesetz*.”

For a long time the legislature placed every possible obstacle in the way of the dismemberment or the division of domains, and especially of farms, because it was not thought desirable to diminish the number of the holdings large enough to support a family—*Nahrungen*. The edict of the 9th of October, 1807, in declaring every one free to administer his property according to his own requirements, necessarily allowed

\* The contradiction between this arrangement and one previously noticed is merely apparent. While it was a question of resettling the relations between the peasants and their lords, the aim was to keep as much of the land as possible in the hands of the peasants; and money compensations were favoured. Here, on the contrary, there is no longer any question of the lords. It is a resettlement among the peasants; and compensation in lands is favoured, that the division may be more equal.



that it could be divided or dismembered. In every case the greatest liberty of division has been admitted and maintained as far as concerns the two agrarian laws which have been spoken of above. Apart from this special legislation, which however, as we have seen, extended over so large a part of the kingdom, the idea of dismemberment was in reality much less favoured than might have been expected in 1807. First, there was a certain reaction in a conservative sense. Then, the question of the respective advantage of large and small properties excited much discussion; and the text of the law was interpreted narrowly or widely according to the doctrine which prevailed at the moment. A certain influence was exercised by particular circumstances, such as, from 1840 to 1845, the numerous movements in favour of dismemberment, like those which in France, under the Restoration, were called "*la Bande noire*," whereby domains were bought in a lump, and sold again in detail with great profits. Measures were often taken to restrain these enterprises; but ultimately it was found necessary to let dismemberment run its

course. (See the laws of the 3d of January, 1849, the 3d of March, 1850, the 24th of May, 1853, the 27th of June, 1860.) And this was right from more than one point of view:—first, for the sufficient reason that liberty is entitled to respect; and then, because here abuses find a counterpoise in individual interest. And, in fact, the following statistics, very carefully made up to 1859, show that, notwithstanding the novelty of the measure, and the "*Bande noire*," and all other influences, the tendency towards the reconstitution of properties has been of considerable strength. In 1816 there were in Prussia 351,607 *Nahrungen* with teams (*spannfähige Nahrungen*), comprising an area of 34,425,731 morgen, and in 1859, 344,737 *Nahrungen* with teams, comprising an area of 33,498,433 morgen, which is a diminution of only 1.95 per cent. It will not be uninteresting to enter into some details.

The following table gives, according to provinces (exclusive of the Rhenish province) the number of *spannfähige Nahrungen*:—

PROVINCES.	Up to 1816.		Up to 1859.	
	Number of <i>Nahrungen</i> .	Area in Morgen.	Number of <i>Nahrungen</i> .	Area in Morgen.
Prussia, . . . . .	84,517	10,176,410	82,887	10,104,887
Pomerania ( <i>Stralsund</i> } not included), . . . . .	21,371	2,996,764	19,798	2,601,760
Posen, . . . . .	48,151	3,459,678	48,008	3,374,536
Brandenburg, . . . . .	51,078	5,631,171	49,652	5,427,869
Silesia, . . . . .	69,592	4,692,880	69,308	4,091,847
Saxony, . . . . .	40,976	3,889,255	39,229	3,907,084
Westphalia, . . . . .	35,927	3,629,573	35,915	3,990,450
Total, . . . . .	351,607	34,425,731	344,737	33,498,433

It follows from these figures that the number of holdings has diminished throughout, but in a very unequal manner. The diminution per cent. is 1.98 in the province of Prussia, 7.38 in Pomerania, 0.29 in Posen, 2.78 in Brandenburg, 0.41 in Silesia, 4.26 in Saxony, 0.03 in Westphalia. In this last province the isolated farms have effectively withstood the parcelling. Moreover, if the number of farms has decreased by 12, the remainder have increased by more than 360,000 morgen taken in from

the waste lands or from the small properties. In the other provinces also there is evidence of a movement towards concentration, so that it will be worth while to compare the average size of a *Nahrung* in 1816 and in 1859. Unfortunately it is not possible to compare also the holdings which are too small to maintain a team—*nicht spannfähige Kleinstellen*—which existed at the two periods; the figures are only known for 1859. The following table gives the fullest information on both points:—

Provinces.	Average area of a Nahrung with teams.		Holdings without teams in 1853.	
	1816. Acres.	1859. Acres.	Number.	Morgen.
Prussia.	75	75½	74,628	508,819
Pomerania.	87	83	80,258	486,275
Posen.	44	43	84,084	299,794
Brandenburg.	68	67	61,556	431,807
Silesia.	41	31½	207,275	1,219,450
Saxony.	56	61½	101,181	706,187
Westphalia.	63	69½	95,569	1,186,994
The whole Kingdom.	60½	60½	604,501	4,838,826

In short, on a movement extending over the greater part of the territory, the changes compensate one another, and the average remains the same. From the statistics of this movement it appears that the regularizations, redemptions, and resettlements of the commons have added to the spannfähige Nahrungen an area altogether amounting to 1,097,802 morgen, and taken away from other farms an area amounting to 250,260 morgen, which gives, as a final result, a net augmentation of 847,542 morgen, or 2·46 per cent. But the movement is not a result of the agrarian laws alone: a concurrent cause is the "freie Verkehr," the free trade which has been exercised during the period in question on an area of 8,231,922 morgen (23·91 per cent.), consisting of spannfähige Nahrungen. Of these 8¼ millions of morgen, 12·72 per cent. remain in the category of spannfähige Nahrungen; 8·15 per cent. have been given up to smaller proprietors, or have passed out of agricultural use (e.g., for the construction of a manufactory or a railway); and, finally, 3·08 per cent. have been added to spannfähige Nahrungen.

What remains to be said of the agrarian laws is of secondary importance. There has been legislation on the reunion of parcels of land—an extremely useful operation

in those communes where the properties are subdivided and entangled in each other. Here, it is no longer a matter of redeeming feudal charges, consolidating possession, or apportioning or resettling the common lands, but simply of consolidating into a single piece, by means of exchange, all the parcels of land belonging to the same proprietor. The utility of these consolidations is generally recognized. Mention is often made of them; and they would be heard of more if they were not frequently confounded with the "regularization" instituted in 1807, and always considered as subsidiary to it.

So again of the laws relating to associations whose object is some common enterprise for the improvement of the soil; for example, those for irrigation, drainage, the construction of dykes, and suchlike. There are in Prussia 359 Verbände or associations for such improvements. Their operation extends over 2,926,922 morgen; and they have invested a capital of 15,945,931 thalers (£2,391,889). The law much favours both the reunion of parcels of land and the formation of associations for the improvement of the soil; but it is impossible to pursue the matter here. The essential point is this:—The law does not allow an individual or a small number of objectors, to impede what is recognized as advantageous to the majority; and, in certain cases, the majority itself is obliged to submit to the decision of the minority, provided competent authority declares that the proposal of the minority is conformable to the general interest. There is here a kind of expropriation for the public advantage; and this is in fact the characteristic sign of what we have called "agrarian laws"—that the proprietor's free disposal of his property has been limited, whether temporarily or permanently, in 'a general interest specially determined, but which he sometimes does not approve, or is not disposed to make sacrifices for.

The first question to be now asked from the point of view of the economist is whether the exceptional measures which have been spoken of have produced the good that was expected from them. This question resolves itself into the further one, whether liberty produces good: for all these measures had but one end—to give to each one the disposal of his land; and in order that he might have the disposal of it, it was necessary that he should be set free from the chains by which he was bound. It also involves the inquiry whether free labour is more productive than servile labour. We have seen further back that servile labour extended over millions of days. It has been

calculated that a day of forced labour is scarcely equal to three-fourths of a day of free labour; and a quarter of the number of days above mentioned might be valued at a very considerable sum. The question of the economist, therefore, must be answered affirmatively. But there is further a remarkable coincidence which has considerably increased the advantages derived from the agrarian laws. This is in the fact that the soil was set free just at the moment when the application of science inaugurated a course of progress, of discovery, and of economic modification, of which the importance can already be estimated, but of which all the results have not yet appeared.

This movement coincided in Prussia with the promulgation of the agrarian laws; and one of those who contributed most to their being drawn up was Thaer, the Director of the Agricultural Institute of Möglin, the introducer of the English methods of cultivation into Germany, and the originator of much of her agricultural progress. Scarcely any of the agricultural doctrines of Thaer survive; but his merit deserves to be recognized none the less. He destroyed the "Flurzwang"—the obligation on a man to cultivate like his neighbours. He swept it away first as a legislator, and then as a philosopher. He showed that the method of cultivation called triennial (winter cereal, summer cereal, and fallow), or the Dreifelder system, is the least productive of all, and at the same time impoverishes the soil. He was one of the masters and preachers of the alternate system, so called because it alternated a cereal with a root crop or with clover—a system which suppressed the fallow, and multiplied forage-crops in its place.

Liebig has proved that the doctrine of Thaer cannot, on the whole, stand against criticism. But the merit of the illustrious agriculturist is scarcely diminished thereby; for it is chiefly determined by a consideration of the fetters he broke, and the taste for "scientific" cultivation which he introduced. In this way he prepared the ground for his successors. At all events, the alternate system is superior to the triennial system, for certainly the multiplication of fodder and of manure are two incontestable advances which the more recent doctrines have not overthrown. And it may be doubted whether the theory of mineral manures, which, after conquering the theory of azote, seems to reign without contradiction, is itself definitive. The theory of mineral manures argues thus:—The plant is composed of elements borrowed from the air, and elements borrowed from the soil. It is

not necessary to take note of those which are contained in the air—the plant possesses means of imbibing them and of assimilating them; but it is the composition of the soil which matters. If the plant has need of a phosphate or lime, and the soil does not contain it, how can it live? In order to ascertain what are the elements which the plant requires, it is burned and its ashes are analysed. But a comparison of these analyses shows them to be very different from one another: consequently the plant can exist with various proportions of this or that mineral. Besides, what proof is there that a given element is found in the tissues of the plant because it belongs to it of necessity, and not because it happens to be found in the soil? And, lastly, the fire which reduces the plant to ashes, does it destroy nothing? Is the plant to be judged from the ashes which constitute scarcely  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent. of its body? It may be also added, that the chemists are apt to hold physiology too cheap. The plant lives; and it is the vital principle which transforms into corn or fruits the oxygen and hydrogen, the azote, the carbon, and the minerals. And can a physiological doctrine (and agriculture is applied physiology) be established without taking into account the vital force?

But here again, in the history of the agricultural progress of Prussia, and of Germany in general, the intrinsic value of systems is for the moment of a secondary importance. What is of the first consequence is to observe that these systems suppose and require the free disposal of property; and the free disposal of property came at the exact moment to enable Prussian agriculture to utilize scientific progress, so as to take part in the cultivation of sugar-beetroot, and many other plants required in manufactures.

This would be the place to prove by figures that the agrarian laws, aided by the progress of agricultural science, have in reality had those good effects which were, *a priori*, to be expected from them. Unfortunately, however, these figures do not exist, or at least only exist in an incomplete and insufficient manner. We speak of such figures as would give a direct proof, showing, for instance, that in 1816 the acre produced  $x$  bushels of corn, and that in 1870 it produced two or three times  $x$  bushels. But if Prussia has been behindhand in the collection of agricultural statistics, yet the fact is known that in 1870 the land supported twice as many inhabitants as in 1816, though a greater space was at the same time devoted to the feeding of cattle and the production of plants for manufactures;

and this is sufficient to prove the advance that has been made, when it is added that the excess of production over consumption has not decreased, that is to say, that Prussia, in ordinary times, exports corn. And nevertheless the country is not reckoned among the most fertile, and the seasons in the north are by no means very mild. :

The following figures relative to the actual production are taken from the latest official documents:—The extent of arable land is reckoned at a little more than half the territory (50·7 per cent.) This land is cultivated as follows:—of 100 morgen, 10 are in wheat, 24 in rye, 8 in barley, 16 in oats, 3 in peas and beans, 2 in buckwheat, 3 in rape and poppy, 12 in potatoes, 22 in turnips, in trefoil and in fallow. Now, the average yield of 10 morgen of wheat is reckoned at 87·6 Scheffels (the Scheffel = 55 litres, and the bushel = 37 litres), which makes almost 8 bushels an acre. This shows that the soil, and still more the climate, is not well suited for wheat. But does it suit other cereals better? The mass of the people eat rye bread; and it appears that 24 morgen of rye produce an average of nearly 189 Scheffels. That would be from 6½ to 7 bushels an acre—a figure which is probably below the truth. It is incident to statistics of production to give figures which are below the mark; the producer understates for fear of the tax. It is only with regard to the cattle that we have information which can be considered exact. The following are the numbers for the years 1816, 1858, and 1867:—

	1816.	1858.	1867.
Horses,	1,243,261	1,622,400	1,878,167
Prussia as enlarged,	.....	.....	2,313,817
Horned cattle,	4,013,919	5,537,402	5,997,964
Prussia as enlarged,	.....	.....	7,996,818
Sheep,	8,900,896	15,374,717	18,890,780
Prussia as enlarged,	.....	.....	22,262,087
Swine,	1,494,369	2,589,371	3,603,143
Prussia as enlarged,	.....	.....	4,875,114

The breeding and scientific feeding of cattle have much occupied the German agriculturists and (as they are now called) zootechnicians. Some remarkable experiments have been made, but of a kind and method quite different from that of Bakewell and his rivals. The English have endeavoured to improve breeds, to produce good types, and have succeeded in almost transforming the bodies of animals, and making them more useful to man. They have striven for a tangible result and have obtained it. The Germans have concerned themselves on the other hand with the why and the how; they have endeavoured to follow each particle of nourishment through the intestines, the

blood, and the muscles of the animals; they have investigated thoroughly, but always without taking into account the vital principle, the relative value of the different fodders. And if they have thus obtained less palpable results than the English, they have contributed none the less to the progress of science. In fact, however, scarcely anything is yet definitely acquired in this direction. Only a corner of the veil of physiology has yet been raised; and to-morrow will perhaps in more than one case reveal the error of to-day. But these researches have at least the effect of popularizing the methods of rigorous observation, and introducing system into experiments.

The scientific spirit of Germany has found yet another sphere and another application in the "industrial accessories" of agriculture. It might seem stretching this term too far, to include under it tile-fields, brick-fields, and some other industries belonging by their nature to the country, and generally in the hands of the cultivators. We also exclude corn-mills, oil-mills, breweries, starch factories, etc. The breweries were for a long time properly reckoned amongst these accessories, but are not so any longer, unless in rare exceptional cases; the exigencies of modern production have necessitated their general establishment on a large scale, and so emancipated them from agriculture. The two industrial accessories about which a word must be said, are distillation and the manufacture of beetroot sugar. For a considerable time cereals and, still more, potatoes have been used for distillation in Prussia, the refuse of this process being employed for fattening cattle. Distilling is a delicate operation; and the materials employed in Prussia, especially the potato, present peculiar difficulties. And as the apparatus is, for the most part, found on large properties, the possessors of which are generally educated and have money at their disposal, it is not wonderful that science has been often consulted, that its indications have been followed, and that notable progress has been made. But this scientific progress itself, by requiring an apparatus more and more costly, and at the same time larger and larger (for costly machinery is not profitable except when production is on a large scale), has contributed considerably to diminish the number of distilleries, while it has increased the amount of production.

The following figures show the progressive decrease in the number of the distilleries, and the progressive increase in their size. First, as to the number:—

Years.	Total number of Distilleries.			Number of Distilleries at work.		
	In the Towns.	In the Country.	Total.	In the Towns.	In the Country.	Total.
	7,183	15,786	22,969	4,407	9,399	13,806
1831	5,001	13,329	18,330	3,605	9,955	13,561
1836	3,276	11,462	14,738	2,495	8,677	11,136
1841	2,405	10,088	12,443	1,667	6,172	7,839
1846	2,032	9,311	11,343	1,550	6,398	7,948
1851	1,694	8,037	9,731	1,261	4,701	5,962
1855	1,467	6,815	8,282	1,164	5,164	6,328
1860	1,348	6,363	7,711	1,108	5,106	6,209
1865						

Secondly, as to the size:—

Years.	Distillers paying Annually in Excise Duties.				Quantity Distilled.	
	More than 5000 Thalers.	From 500 to 5000 Thalers.	From 50 to 500 Thalers.	Less than 50 Thalers.	Cereals.	Potatoes.
	..	2,791	7,509	3,508	Scheffels. 4,341,144	Scheffels. 13,215,164
1831	..	2,747	7,349	3,465	4,347,436	15,066,034
1836	..	2,925	5,336	2,675	3,444,302	21,768,487
1841	134	1,999	3,492	2,214	2,660,043	19,074,654
1846	111	2,398	3,387	2,152	3,378,763	19,089,050
1851	226	2,390	2,051	1,295	3,514,192	17,879,100
1855	396	2,477	1,781	1,674	3,463,681	22,331,784
1860	537	2,571	1,640	1,461	4,690,300	27,177,893
1865						

The years 1866–1868 do not differ materially from the year 1865; and allowance of course must be made for the annual fluctuations.

The manufacture of beetroot-sugar has taken an extension which it would have been difficult to foresee. In 1836 only about half a million quintals of beetroot were used, and at the present date, 1870, the amount is about 50 millions. Thus, in thirty-four years the production has increased a hundredfold; or rather, as less than 5 per cent. of sugar was extracted from the beetroot in 1836, and nearly 7 per cent. is extracted now, the production has risen from 1,089,900 kilogrammes to at least 210 millions of kilogrammes. It is not necessary to say what part science has taken in this progress; but in fairness it should be mentioned that the French and Belgian chemists have contributed to it in a very large degree.

It would be useful now to test the advance of prosperity amongst the agricultural population. But here again the want of statistics makes itself felt, and we have only indications to judge from. It has already been said that the population has doubled in fifty years, being supported, nevertheless, by the same territory. It may now be added that at the commencement of the period in question seven-eighths of the population belonged to the agricultural class, whilst now more than half the population is connected with other industries. The Prussian census of 1867 showed that the country—including the new provinces—contained 23,970,941 inhabitants, of whom 11,527,440 were occupied in agriculture. Of these 11,527,440, the actual workers were 4,105,362: the remaining 7,422,078 were the members of their families. The census of 1861, applicable to Prussia as it then stood, gives, on a total population of 18,491,220 inhabitants, 753,579 proprietor-cultivators employed exclusively in agriculture, 30,194 farmers under the same condition, 357,039 proprietor-cultivators concerned with agriculture as an industrial accessory, 30,445 farmers under the same condition. Adding the members of the families, this reaches a total of 4,922,050 persons. The number of agricultural auxiliaries amounted to 3,412,672 persons, viz.:—32,647 managers and overlookers, 13,734 female inspectors or head managers, 556,773 farm servants, herdsmen, and shepherds, 498,869 female servants, 574,332 day labourers, 565,064 female day labourers. Adding 1,089,112 members of their families, this makes 4,501,784 persons. And, with the 4,922,050 masters and their families, the total thus becomes 9,423,834 persons. One half of the

population therefore produced the food for the whole.

It must be supposed of the large number of proprietors who cultivate for themselves, not, indeed, that they are all rich, but at least that they possess a certain competence; and that the more, since their land produces sufficient to support not only themselves, but also other persons as numerous as themselves. The sale of their surplus produce must procure for them either an enhancement of their comfort, or an addition to their capital. These, indeed, are only conjectures; but they are based in their turn on facts, such as the growing increase of wages, the more and more frequent employment of machinery and improved instruments, the rise in the prices of agricultural produce, and the increasing consumption of luxuries, such as coffee and sugar. And the evidence they rest on is sufficiently strong to enable us to accept them as true. It would indeed be melancholy if freedom, the recent discoveries of physical science, and juster economic views, had not produced their ordinary effect, and resulted in that progress of which they are the most powerful agents.

#### THE CISLEITHAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS.

SINCE the defeat at Sadowa the internal consolidation of Austria has been gradually advancing; and the honest acceptance of constitutional principles has made her the most liberal Government of Europe, and, for the present, the only safe refuge of liberty between the Alps and the Baltic. But this new development cannot yet be considered as practically complete on all sides, and in full working order. Such a miracle could not be performed within four years, even in a centralized state; and it would be chimerical to expect it in a polyglott empire, divided into two distinct political halves, each of which consists of several provinces, either nationally different or with mixed populations, whose culture, tastes, history, and religion have the same variety as their languages. Even the old absolutism had over and over again failed in the attempt to reduce this ethnological congeries into a centralized system of homogeneous legislation and administration. Schmerling's constitutionalism aimed at such a result, and was followed by the suspension policy of Belcredi, which began to break up the Empire into its constituent atoms, and so prepared the way for the catastrophe of 1866. Dualism was the only system which could re-establish the monarchy on its natural and historical base. But while this or-

ganic combination was effected between the Transleithan and Cisleithan halves of the monarchy, the political relations between the single provinces, both in Austria proper and in Hungary—the local constitutions and their relation to each other and to the Empire—were left as yet unsettled. If there had been no other question, there still remained the difficult task of determining the exact limits between the autonomy of the provinces and the prerogatives of the ruling power. But every one knows how in the heat of conflict the most prominent place is apt to be assumed by such secondary questions as confessional differences, race exclusiveness or supremacy, real or imagined national privileges, centrifugal sympathies, and even the negation of the constitutional principle itself.

In Hungary this problem has not been solved: it is only less prominent. The constitution of 1848 grants the Magyars a predominance; and the annexed provinces are weak in proportion to the energy and recklessness with which the dominant nation enforces its privileges. But in the Cisleithan part of the Empire there is no such predominance of a single nationality; and not only the constitution of December, 1867, but also the previous one of February, is based on the principle of equality and the largest possible autonomy of the single provinces. In these words "largest possible" lies the origin and perpetuation of the whole contention. To a certain degree, at least, they give the force of an hereditary curse to the policy of the old absolutism, which arrayed the different nationalities of the Empire against one another, without granting to any one of them the full enjoyment and consciousness of the conditions under which it had become a member of the Austrian commonwealth. It is, besides, a well-known fact, that neither before nor after 1848 did Hungary ever lose sight of her own constitution; and the union with Austria, even when the Empire had become constitutional, only took place after a formal recognition of the Hungarian constitution as maintained by the delegations. The Schmerling Government, under which Hungary stood aloof from the Reichsrath, which then represented the whole monarchy, had, in its early days, endeavoured to smooth the arrangement with the single provinces by giving fair play to communal autonomy. But when the compromise with the local Parliaments was repeatedly deferred, the Reichsrath itself ceased to be a real Parliament; and the imperial laws, which had been formally resolved upon, were not enforced, so that even their validity became a matter of doubt.

Schmerling's retirement was an admission of the impracticability of his system, the principle of which, however, still prevailed in the Reichsrath, consisting of exclusively German elements.

Belcredi, altogether an antagonist of Schmerling, succeeded him, and endeavoured, under the semblance of decentralization, to establish the constitutional centralization of the whole Empire. His unwieldy system was no doubt drawn from a right appreciation of the necessity of devising some kind of arrangement, on the one hand, with the Austrian provincial governments, and, on the other hand, with Hungary. But the manifesto of September 1865, which announced the discussions in reference to these measures, at the same time suspended the actual representation of the Empire, and so silenced the only existing constitutional organ, while it promised to lay the results of the pending negotiations with Hungary, previous to their being submitted for the Emperor's sanction, before "the legal representatives of the other kingdoms and provinces, to receive and appreciate their equivalent opinions." The manifesto thus transferred to the provincial Parliaments the responsibility of deciding on the constitution of the Empire; and it, moreover, reckoned not merely as worth considering, but even as equivalent, the opinions of all the assemblies. These assemblies were divided into two classes; first, those which had not sent representatives to the Reichsrath, or had recalled them and protested against the validity of the constitution of February; and secondly, those which really still represented the constitution. The former class consisted of non-Germans, headed by Czechs and Poles; but the latter were all Germans. The non-Germans had been expressly invited to raise their claims and national interests above, or even against, those of the whole monarchy, while the Germans were tormented by the doubt whether the Government was about to sacrifice their interest and that of their higher culture to the preponderant majority of non-German nationality, or whether it meant to maintain the constitution as a connecting tie between the provinces of the monarchy. It must not be forgotten that the countries which now, since the establishment of the dualism, are called Cisleithan, belonged at that epoch, for the most part, to the German Confederation, and were thus more immediately than now under the political as well as the national influence of Germany. Thus the indignation which Belcredi's coup d'état aroused in the Austro-Germanic mind was in every way justifiable. On the other hand, it was only natural that

he should be applauded, not merely by all the non-Germanic nationalities, but also by all the other elements which, under pretence of nationality, resisted the constitutional principle. The most fatal effect of Belcredi's administration was, that the men who were opposed to basing a uniform administration of the monarchy on a general constitution formed themselves into great consolidated parties, which conspired outside Parliament, and, whenever their interests demanded it, formed coalitions ad hoc with any part of the political body. Such manœuvres were, indeed, suggested by the diploma of October 1860, which sought in the feudalistic provincial Parliaments a counterpoise against the liberal elements of the Reichsrath. While kept in awe by Schmerling, these Parliaments had only offered a passive resistance to his ministry, which had enlarged the competency of the Reichsrath; but when the Reichsrath collapsed they once more brought forward their old pretensions, this time, however, rather through the press than in parliamentary or popular demonstrations. The Poles, the South Slavonians, and the Ruthenians showed themselves more disposed to accept the existing order of things than the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia. These latter accordingly became the leaders of the Slavonian opposition. But as the feudal and ultramontane elements of Bohemia, though they mostly belonged to the German nationality, still fraternized with the Czech agitation, it was natural that this agitation should sympathize and in a certain way connect itself with the exclusively feudal and clerical opposition in Tyrol. Autonomy became the universal cry. The Bohemians and the Poles claimed it either in the name of their nationality, which they considered to be made too little of by the constitution of the Empire, or as a protection against the supposed mania of the Germans for oppressing them, or on the ground of an obsolete privilege or "*Staatsrecht*" of their countries. On the other hand, the Tyrolese (or rather a narrow faction, which had managed to get the lead in the provincial Parliament) asked for it as a defence against the dangers which the imperial constitution was alleged to threaten against the Catholic unity of their country. But the autonomists soon went beyond their professed defensive position. The Government did not interfere; but the claims of the Slavonic majorities in the mixed countries rose higher and higher. One of the first measures enacted by the provincial Parliaments of Bohemia and Galicia was to banish the German language from the schools and the

courts of law. This was necessarily followed by the expulsion of German teachers and officials. The Poles of Galicia, on the other hand, imposed on the Ruthenians a political and social inferiority which was not justified by any local right, and stood in sheer contradiction to the general equality of Austrian subjects secured by the constitution. The political and local privileges demanded by the Czechs were still more monstrous. A novel claim for the integrity of the crown of St. Wenceslaus was set up by the majority of their local parliaments, while their leaders insisted upon a Bohemian right which dates from the seventeenth century, and is found in an arbitrary and obsolete edict of Ferdinand III. By working these two claims into high-flown phraseology, they contrived to make them into a ground for claiming separation from Austria, and the erection of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia into a distinct group, with the same relations to the Empire as those which the Pragmatic sanction granted to the territories of the Hungarian crown. The fanaticism of the Czech populace broke out in excesses against the Germans and the Jews, who by their education and industry have become the wealthiest part of the population; and Belcredi's ministry at last found it necessary to suspend the local public law in extensive districts of Bohemia. To appease the ultramontane opposition in Tyrol, it sacrificed the "Protestanten-Patent" of 1861, which professed to guarantee civil and social equality to all acknowledged confessions. It showed the greatest forbearance towards the Slovenic agitation, which was on one side a weak imitation of the Bohemian, and on the other pretended to a kind of futile community with Croatia. This forbearance can only be explained by the hopes which the Government reposed in Croatia to help it in its negotiations for the re-establishment of the Pragmatic relations with Hungary. The same thoughtless incapacity was displayed in dealing with the agitation of the Italianissimi of Venice, Trieste, and Southern Tyrol, which was openly directed against the integrity of the Empire.

It was only natural that in the German and mixed provinces the tide of opposition should every day be rising higher against the centrifugal agitations of the nationalities, and against a Government which had so recklessly abandoned the connecting tie of the monarchy—the constitution. The German provinces were conscious that they had gained for Austria her constitution, and that they had already often protected it against the experimental encroachments of absolutism. They now saw it in imminent dan-

ger of being sacrificed to the misty velleities of the less civilized nationalities; and they were coming to believe that this theoretical federalism might eventually cause the dissolution of Austria. At this point the local Parliaments of the German provinces, and strong minorities in the mixed ones, declared either in Parliament or in independent resolutions that the constitution of February continued to be the law. In opposition, on the one hand, to the centrifugal federalism of the Slavonians, which scarcely disguised its complete separatist tendency, and, on the other, to the coalition between Feudalism and ultramontanism, much favoured in high quarters, the German populations began to develop a powerful centralist and even democratic feeling, which rose higher as the Government sank deeper in public estimation, and as the feeling of despair for the future of Austria under so helpless a direction became more universal. Meanwhile war was becoming imminent; and the prospect of it, while threatening to aggravate the material difficulties of an empire labouring under heavy financial burdens, at the same time put a stop to the negotiations with Hungary. The resultless issue of these negotiations made the Hungarians appear to the excited patriotism of the Germans no less enemies of the Empire than the Slavonians were. In this state of thorough disorganization national antipathies were everywhere gaining strength. The universal confusion and tension had reached such a height that all hope and even in many quarters all sympathy for Austria was dying out; and it seemed merely a question of time when the explosion should take place—a bellum omnium contra omnes, as in 1848.

Then came the war of 1866. It may have been an enigma to those who only knew Austria outwardly; but to those who had studied her internal life after the middle period of Schmerling's administration it could only appear a natural result of the system of Belcredi. The successive phases of the internal concerns of Austria from the war to the re-establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Dualism have been described in an article on "The Constitutional Development of Austria," in *The North British Review* for October 1869 (vol. li.), and need not be further dealt with here. It may be possible for a constitutional formalist to reproach Count Beust for having brought about the dualism without the direct co-operation of the Reichsrath; but then the question would remain, whether a measure of this kind—the necessity of which had been admitted for years, while its prompt attainment was of vital impor-



tance to the Empire—would ever have been achieved in a different way. It is quite true that Beust, so to say, thrust the Reichsrath into a dilemma with regard to the transactions with Hungary, the dualism of the Empire, the mutual relations of the two halves, and the parliamentary transaction of their common affairs through the delegations of the Hungarian and Cisleithan Parliaments. But when the Reichsrath acknowledged the dilemma, and assented to its political results, it thereby accorded an indemnity to the minister. It knew what an obstinate and determined struggle Beust had to preserve to the Cisleithan countries both the legal continuity of the constitution of February and the integrity of the Reichsrath. And it was satisfied that there was no longer any danger of the civilisation and liberty of the Germans being sacrificed, through a violation of the constitution, to the caprice of the other nationalities.

It is well known that even in January 1867, when Belcredi had convoked an extraordinary Reichsrath, the Germans, by their protests in favour of the legal continuity of the constitution of February, and by the majorities which they returned for the provincial Parliaments, offered to the Government the chance of returning to constitutional measures. It was the anticipation of this assistance which made it possible for the new Premier, Count Beust, to hazard the dissolution of the local Parliaments of Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola, when the majorities of those Parliaments declared themselves in favour of the September patent of 1865, and against the re-establishment of the constitution of February. By this measure, notwithstanding the wildest agitation and the pressure of the nationalist organs, a large constitutional majority was elected for the approaching provincial session, and also for the Reichsrath; and the success thus achieved naturally roused the anger of the Czech opposition. Galicia moreover, though its provincial Parliament had elected members for the Reichsrath, nevertheless only sent decided Polish sympathizers, while the members of the opposition from Tyrol professed ultramontanism. Add to this, that among the members there were a number of national federalists from Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola; and it will become clear that we must not underrate the minority in the Reichsrath, which was hostile both to the constitution and to the influence of the Germans. The Upper House also contained many members equally hostile to the constitution and to every other liberal development; and it required very great efforts to break and paralyse their op-

position. Thus, without taking notice of the complex method of election, the Reichsrath from the first failed to represent purely and simply the majorities of the empire. Pressure indeed had been exercised in favour of the Germans in the mixed provinces. But as in those provinces where the Germans are in a minority, such as Bohemia, the Government is the only source to which they can look for protection against the attacks of the national fanaticism, it followed as a matter of course that these great groups in the Reichsrath not only remained faithful to the constitution from motives of conviction, but moreover sided with the government as representing the centralist constitutional element against the federalist tendency, and the competency of the Reichsrath against the autonomy of the provincial Parliaments. What in the Reichsrath is simply a question of public law, in the mixed provinces at once becomes a question of nationalism; and this nationalism assumes the doubtful or fictitious garb of a local right, in order to conceal its purpose, and as a weapon to be used against the provincial minority, i.e., against the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia, Carniola, Bukowina, and South Tyrol, and against the Ruthenians in Galicia. As this metamorphosis has the effect in Austria of rendering every political and social question both complex and confused, so it is also the cause why the opposition in all non-Germanic nationalities so easily divests itself of any Austrian political consciousness. The nationalities are in their nature centrifugal, not because they aim directly at the disorganization of the Empire, but merely because the central power of the Government of necessity remains essentially German. The Government may pledge itself and demonstrate that its system actually leaves untouched every national prerogative; but the antagonism of race will make straws the causes of quarrel; and this wild feeling is made all the more violent by the mortification of being met at each step in advance by the superiority of German civilization, education, and industry. The Moskow pilgrimages from the Sclavonian provinces of Austria prove how nearly this national fanaticism may verge on treason. Still, it would be unjust to impute any treasonable intent to the masses which applauded or followed the movement. There is no trait of natural affinity with the Russian which would explain the mania satisfactorily; on the contrary, there exists marked sympathy for the eventual creation of a powerful Sclavonian kingdom, with an exclusively national Government. Neither need it be supposed that this tendency of the Sclavonian popu-

lations of Austria involves any considerable danger. It results not only from their lower culture, but also from the general Slavonian character, that they find themselves unable to create any distinct and definite party. A single leader giving out his watchwords to a blind and helpless multitude is what they understand by a party. There exists no organization, no grouping round a programme, no subdivision of aims into principal and secondary; any one who refuses to cry for the most extreme measures is held to be a renegade and an apostate from the national party. The Slavonians are altogether deficient in individuality; feudal and absolutist ideas sway them by turns, without the risk of encountering any reaction; all that is needed is to be ultra-national.

It is not necessary to go into any detailed account of the resolutions of the Cisleithan Reichsrath in its first sessions, from the 22d of May to the 25th of July 1867, and from the 3d of October 1867 to the 24th of June 1868. It is enough to say that, by the revision of the constitution of February, a constitutional liberty similar to that enjoyed by Hungary, with equal public laws, was secured to the provinces represented in the Reichsrath, while in the transactions of common affairs every regard was paid to the unity and independence of the Austrian commonwealth. But it is worthy of remark that the majority which carried these laws belonged conspicuously to the Lower House; while in the Upper House they owed their existence to the creation of a batch of peers, and in some religious questions were caused by the absence of the protesting parties nearest concerned—namely, the dignitaries of the Church. It is easy to see why, in these first sessions of the Reichsrath, the nationalist minorities were less conspicuous than in the earlier periods of constitutionalism, or in the later epoch of the present Reichsrath. It was because the Austrian feeling was recalled to a new life by the change of Government after the catastrophe of the war. The speech from the throne distinctly set forth:—"As it has been far from my wish to impair the rights of the individual kingdoms and provinces, so it is my purpose to accord to them, in unison with the Reichsrath, every extension of autonomy which accords with their desires, and is compatible with the safety of the whole Empire." And the addresses of both Houses echoed this sense. In 1867 the Gallician fraction of the Reichsrath had provisionally received some autonomic and national immunities in regard to administration, whereby the Government secured a material assistance in Parliament from the

Poles. Was it not natural, then, that the hopes of nationalities which, like the Czechs, professed to believe in some local rights of their own, should rise higher when they saw the compromise with Hungary completed? The revision of the February constitution seemed to them a promise to realize their autonomic wishes and national aspirations. But the result of the parliamentary proceedings did not answer to these sanguine hopes. At the beginning of 1868 the first parliamentary ministry was composed almost exclusively of the leaders of the German party in Bohemia and Moravia, with only one nationalist member, Count Potocki, the Minister of Agriculture. It was to be expected that, with such plausible pretexts, the nationalist agitation, which for a while had subsided in the Slavonic and Slavogerman provinces, should break out once more against the oppression of the Germans and the legality of the Vienna Reichsrath. When the sittings were resumed, several of the extreme feudalists of Bohemia left the Upper House, while, in the Lower House, some of the Czech deputies from Bohemia and Moravia did not occupy their seats. The secession of the Bishops at the discussion on religious affairs has been already mentioned. The refusal to sanction their protestation was interpreted by the feudal and clerical Slavonian opposition as a violence committed against "the Catholic" Emperor by "the Germans," who were accused of "planning the ruin of the Church," in order to oppress at leisure the non-Germanic nationalities; and the security against all this was supposed to be in the re-establishment of the old local institutions of Bohemia, which had nothing to do with the Reichsrath, Cisleithania, or the constitution, but only dealt with the Emperor as the King of Bohemia, whose duty it was to protect the lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslaus—Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The practical object of this agitation was to provoke a general refusal to pay taxes to the Cisleithan Government.

The Reichsrath meanwhile had been obliged to devote its whole attention to the arrangement of religious and financial questions, so that, notwithstanding the excitement, the solution of the political question had not advanced. But it was hoped that the ministry would not neglect the opportunity of the convocation of the seventeen Cisleithan provincial Parliaments on the 22d of August, to recommend them to formulate their claims, and exhibit their programme to the Reichsrath. This, however, was not done. The proposals of the Government were of a lower and unpolitical

kind. While the German provincial Parliaments were voting addresses of confidence in the ministry, the considerable Slavonian minorities of the local Parliaments of Bohemia (81 against 122) and Moravia, together with the clerical members, abstained from taking part in the assemblies, which could hardly make up their quorums. They also made formal declarations disapproving the dualistic organization of the Empire, and the actual political institutions of Cisleithania, and putting forward their own federalist, autonomical, and States-right claims. For the moment, these demonstrations had no practical result, except that both the provincial Parliaments resolved that those who had signed the declarations had forfeited their seats; but still they necessarily heightened the ferment among the masses, so that military precautions had to be taken against an outbreak. The Silesian provincial Parliament unanimously protested against the Czech declaration, and more especially against the union of Silesia with Moravia and Bohemia under the crown of St. Wenceslaus. The Slovenes of Styria, on the other hand, and even eight deputies of the Parliament of Trieste, refused to acknowledge the December Constitution, while thirteen deputies of South Tyrol absented themselves from their local Parliament. In Galicia the turn things took was different. The Poles wish, not for a federalist dissolution of Austria into national groups, but for the complete autonomy of Galicia, which they regard as a sort of kernel of a future kingdom of Poland; and hence comes the entire predominance of the Poles over the more numerous Ruthenian population, an ominous warning to Austria of their supposed transitory subjection to her. Only a small minority of the provincial Parliament imitated the Czechs in proposing to recall the Gallician deputies from the Reichsrath. But the Polish leaders moved a resolution in favour of giving to Galicia a position analogous to that occupied by Hungary in the Empire. The Emperor, seeing that Russia looked upon the grants already made to Galicia as a hostile demonstration, and fearing that any further favours might perhaps ultimately be interpreted as a direct provocation, ostentatiously put off his intended visit; and the ministry dismissed the Governor, Count Goluchowsky (ex-minister), and author of the October diploma of 1860).

Under such circumstances the non-German provincial Parliaments were closed at the beginning of October, without even having discussed the proposals of the Government, which, however, were certainly

irrelevant in themselves. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that in all the Parliaments except that of Galicia the German majorities alone took part in the debates, while the Slavonian minorities entirely held aloof. For many districts of Bohemia exceptional laws had to be enforced; and the military commandant assumed also the supreme civil government. The Reichsrath willingly accorded an indemnity to the ministry for these measures. But the seats of the Czech members were empty; and those of the Poles were partly unoccupied. The content with this state of things was confirmed when the Hungarian Landtag failed to solve the nationalistic questions with regard to the Croats and the Transylvanian Germans, and peremptorily decided in favour of the Magyars. As this could not happen in Hungary without provoking a reaction on the part of the non-Magyar nationalities, the Reichsrath appeared to think that the exclusion of nationalists from the local Cisleithan Parliaments would gradually quell the Czech, Slovene, and Polish oppositions. It seemed to forget the feudal and clerical complications of the nationalist agitation; and it put aside the lesson which is taught by all history, and particularly that of Austria, namely, that aristocratic, clerical, and nationalist oppositions are always the most obstinate, impossible to be checked by retaliatory measures, and only to be met in a conciliatory spirit. Things were allowed to take their course; and it was made a topic of reproach against several statesmen, especially the Chancellor of the Empire, that they had repeatedly endeavoured to discover some constitutional compromise with the Czechs. There was a school which sought to establish as a dogma the literal immutability of the constitution of December, and regarded this alone as genuine loyalty towards it. The ministerial party in the Reichsrath became every day more fixed in this view, and worked hard at their interpretation of the laws with regard to the restriction of ecclesiastical privileges, and the emancipation of schools from the direction of the Church. But they did not observe that the nationalist opposition was submitting itself more and more to the sway of the clericals, while the feudal elements, without directly joining this alliance, still founded on it their plans of opposition to the constitutionalism of December.

It is not necessary to dwell longer on the events of 1869, which only matured what had been commenced in 1868. The Cisleithan Reichsrath was closed on the 15th of May, without having taken into consideration the Gallician resolution, or the

schemes of electoral reform, which by making the elections for the Reichsrath direct and general were to free it from the influence of the local Parliaments. In the Parliaments of the mixed provinces the old device was again resorted to; the nationalist deputies refused to attend, and protested against the constitution of December, while the majorities again declared against the validity of their elections, and by addresses of confidence in Giskra's ministry and the majority of the Reichstag enhanced in both parties the illusory feeling of security with regard to the nationalist opposition. All the energy and determination of the Government were now directed against the clerical opposition to the school law, which had been carried in the Lower House through the abstention of Polish, Slavonian, and Tyrolese members, but had not yet passed the Upper House. Then suddenly, while the liberal press was insisting on the urgency of electoral reform, Giskra issued a ministerial circular (of the 12th of September) to the local governors, telling them that the Cabinet wished to know the opinions of the local Parliaments with regard to direct elections. But the answers were not less conflicting than the Parliaments themselves. The proposal was met by simple assent, simple negation, evasion, and conditional assent. No general result could be gathered from the answers; but the fact that the question of electoral reform had been thus formally brought before the provincial diets of course still further complicated the situation. A large majority of the Reichsrath, which had hitherto unflinchingly supported the ministry, declared that the Reichsrath itself had the exclusive right of initiating and carrying out such a reform. The discord spread to the ministry itself, and was embittered by personal differences, while the Emperor and the Chancellor of the Empire were absent in Egypt. The majority of the Cabinet, consisting of Giskra, Herbst, Plener, Hassner, and Brestel, wished to solve the electoral question by itself, without reference to that of the nationalities. They considered that direct elections should be at once introduced, and that when this measure had consolidated the Reichsrath, then, and not before, it would be time to attempt to come to an arrangement with the nationalist opposition. The minority of the Cabinet, however, consisting of Count Taaffe, Count Potocki, and Dr. Berger, took a different view. They feared that electoral reform by itself would only aggravate the menacing attitude of the nationalities; that it would seem to them a violation of their rights and privileges, and would consequently weaken rather than

strengthen the constitutional party. They considered that the true policy would be to meet the nationalist pretensions in a conciliatory spirit, by connecting the question of electoral reform with the prospect of a thorough revision of the constitution, not merely for the purpose of counterbalancing the national elements, but also for that of contributing to the consolidation of the Empire. The public had long been aware that dissensions existed in the Cabinet; but their purport was not known. They were supposed to be connected with the measures to be taken for subduing the Dalmatian insurrection which was then on foot, and had enlisted the sympathies of the South Slavonians. As the measures for putting down the insurrection failed, the exasperation against the Cabinet, justified by a series of previous failures, became still stronger; and Giskra incurred the censure, as well as his colleagues. Since that time many matters which seemed connected with the crisis have become either obsolete or complicated in its further development; and it is necessary, therefore, to observe specially that the protest against Giskra which followed the publication of the circular of September, and assailed his capacity, energy, and method of effecting the arrangement, came from the ranks of those men who afterwards stood forth as the absolute partisans of the majority in the Cabinet. But the majority in the Cabinet did not adhere to its programme with any statesmanlike conviction and consistency. This explains how, in the face of the imminent meeting of the Reichsrath which, on the return of the Emperor from the East, was to be opened with a speech from the throne, they still deferred the question about the dissensions in the Cabinet. But this delay was only apparent; for the press, which was under the direct influence of the majority, not only criticised the programme of the minority, but attacked the honour of its representatives. The difficulties of the situation reached their climax in personal animosities, which alone can explain the unparliamentary conduct of the ministers. The contagion spread. In the Reichsrath, and still more in those journals and parties which claimed to be special champions of the constitution, as the crisis progressed, questions of principle and facts were made wholly secondary to personal attacks.

On the 3d of December the Emperor returned to Triest, whither Count Taaffe, the President of the Cabinet, went to receive him. He arrived in Vienna, on the 6th of December, and avoided any personal contact with the majority of the Cabinet. It was

hoped that the good offices of the Chancellor of the Empire, who had also come back, might perhaps allay the dissensions. But it was too late. He was taxed outright with partiality for the minority; and indeed, ever since the resignation of Prince Charles Auersperg (when the Chancellor, at the command of the Emperor, was making overtures to the leaders of the Czech parties in Prague), it had been plain that he regarded an arrangement with the nationalities as the main pillar of the external power, as well as of the internal consolidation of the Empire. Hence his attempts to reconcile the dissensions in the Cabinet were declined as an unwarrantable interference, incompatible with his position, duties, and responsibilities, as Chancellor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The only course now left open was that the Emperor should order the Cisleithan council of ministers to prepare a scheme of reform, the effect of which should be to fill up the vacant seats in the Lower House. This took place on the 10th of December. On the 11th the Reichsrath assembled. In the Upper House the aristocratic and hierarchic "frondeurs" were absent; and in the Chamber of Deputies all the Czechs and part of the Poles and Tyrolese. The speech from the throne, on the 12th of December, embodied a compromise between the two sections of the ministry in general points, and recommended that some means should be found of giving to the legislative powers set up by the constitution that universal and undisputed authority which was still denied to them in many quarters. A few days later, when the committee on the address asked for some explanations about the position of the ministry, Giskra evasively assured them that the constitution would be strictly observed. As this had already been said in the speech from the throne, there could not have been much apprehension on this side. The next step was that the majority in the Cabinet published, as it were officially, its memorandum, recommending to the Emperor that the electoral reform by itself should be at once carried out, and prophesying serious danger from any attempt at an arrangement with the nationalities. This happened on the 18th of December. Such a proceeding could not fail to produce a great effect; and the minority were thus induced to take a similar course. On the 26th of December they also published their memorandum. It sets forth that the solution of the electoral question should be sought in concert with the opposition at present remaining outside the constitutional sphere; that if this opposition were sitting in the Reichsrath, it would give a parliamentary majority to the constitutional

programme of the ministerial minority; but that this minority had not been able to propose any formal scheme of arrangement with the opposition, because the majority had repeatedly declared itself against any arrangement. It was only by the Emperor's procedure that this double blunder could be obliterated. He refused to accept the resignation of the ministerial minority until a strong majority of the Lower House had in its address declared for the programme of Giskra and Herbst.

The ministerial majority was now victorious. But this dissolution of the first parliamentary ministry had clearly shown how utterly unprepared it was, and how unequal to the emergency. The rivalry between Giskra and Herbst kept the Presidency of the Council from being filled up. The Reichsrath, which had indorsed the programme of the majority, did not contain a single politician who ventured to accept it; for the time was now come for the transition from pure criticism to action. At last the office of Premier had to be conferred on Hassner; and it became necessary to seek amidst second or third rate politicians for holders of the vacant offices. It was thought a triumph to find in officials like Banhans and Stremayer substitutes for such men as Potocki and Berger, and in General Wagner, who had been censured for his ill success in Dalmatia, a successor to Count Taaffe. The new ministers found themselves confronted by an utter disorganization. The memorandum of the majority had given an immense impetus to the Czech and Gallician opposition; the Poles and Slovenes in the Reichsrath were watching for an opportunity of secession; and the Tyrolese had already found one. Meanwhile, in the course of January, the programme of action had been modified now on one point, and now on another. The majority in the Reichsrath, which, by its address, had pledged itself to Giskra and Herbst, was 114 against 47; but its hopes rested chiefly on the conviction that the Government, while strictly maintaining the constitution, would yet attempt a reconciliation with the rebellious nationalities within the limits traced by the address and its own programme. It was a strange evidence of incapacity when the ministers turned round and adopted a policy based on the programme of the minority which they had overthrown. By this means the Hassner Cabinet glided insensibly to ruin. The political ship was adrift without a steersman, as in Belcredi's days. As Dr. Giskra said, "Es dreht sich im Kreise." The attempt to get the Czech leaders to Vienna to discuss the points of difference, failed altoget-

ther: they declined to come. The more hopeful negotiations with the Poles came to a stand-still, as the constitutional committee neither brought the resolutions before the Reichsrath, nor rejected them. Then the question of electoral reform awoke a new dissension in the already weak Cabinet; and in consequence, its main support, Dr. Giskra, resigned on the 21st of March. The main question was deferred; and there only remained a partial electoral law, authorizing direct elections for the Reichsrath in cases where not a whole Landtag, but only single groups of it, impeded the elections for the Cisleithan Parliament. When this was adopted, the slender ties which still bound Slovenes and South Slavonians to the Reichstag were at once broken asunder; and, on the 31st of March, the Poles also, as had been long anticipated, left the Reichsrath.

Thus the inevitable conclusion was reached. The Chamber of Deputies was in daily fear of not being able to form a quorum; and the Reichsrath had sunk into a mere semblance of a Parliament. Nevertheless, the majority of the assembly failed to apprehend that in blindly rejecting any compromise with the autonomist tendencies, they were merely playing the game of a centrifugal federalism, instead of serving the interests of union. They employed their influence exclusively to plunge the ministry into the issueless path of centralism. They had forgotten the terrible lessons of the past—how the fall of the absolutist centralism under Bach was followed by Goluchowsky, and that of the constitutional centralism under Schmerling by Belcredi. Hassner, the President of the Cabinet, had to ask for the dissolution of the local Parliaments of Galicia and Carniola, for the purpose of new elections. It was refused; and the resignation of the whole ministry, which even in this urgent question had exhibited no unanimity, was accepted. In retiring, they offered no advice as to the choice of their successors. It seemed as if they wished to complicate the situation, in order to prove their own indispensable importance. With such incapacity and irresolution on the one hand, and in presence of the real dangers of the situation on the other, there was no alternative left to the Crown but to intervene at once with the utmost vigour. With the words, "*Stiften sie Frieden zwischen meinen Völkern*," the Emperor charged Count Potocki with the formation of a new Cisleithan cabinet. But the Reichsrath seemed unwilling to dissolve without leaving behind some signal proof of its incapacity. Both houses were angry that the resignation of the Cabinet had failed to produce its intended effect on the Crown;

and they gave expression to their feeling in language filled with personalities and recrimination, but sterile of any suggestions for a safe method of establishing the unity of the Empire. Their addresses and resolutions seemed to say that it had now become the imperative duty of the Cisleithan Parliament to avert a coup d'état or the infringement of the constitution. But the facts were against them. For a period of two years and three months the party of the December constitution had reigned supreme, sustained by a parliamentary ministry exclusively composed of its own partisans; and yet the constitution had not been consolidated. At every crisis there had been a deplorable lack of unanimity, or rather a decided bias towards intrigue. In dealing with the Dalmatian question, the incapacity of the Government had only been paralleled by its unparliamentary method. The enmity to the constitution was not only unreconciled, but so extended and intensified as to be a standing menace to the integrity of the Empire. The demands of the nationalists, backed by the weakness and irresolution of the central Government, had developed into a passionate antagonism of race. The constitution itself, notwithstanding its positive benefits, was rejected by more than one-half of the populations for whom it had been destined.

The resolutions and addresses did not express any fear that the Crown would encroach on the constitution. They merely complained of its not actively taking part with the German nationality, or with the politico-national fractions of the Austro-Germans. The proceedings of the subsequent weeks seemed calculated to paralyse the efficiency of a new ministry in the work of reconciliation. The party press, at each step, showered calumnies and insinuations upon Potocki, and his adherents and friends, especially on the Chancellor of the Empire. The new system was alleged to be only a repetition of that of Belcredi. It was declared to contain no programme of action. After the failure of the "constitutional party," no other was to be supposed able to untie the Gordian knot. By such methods the party succeeded in preventing Potocki (who, when he found the hostility of his predecessors, had addressed himself to the extreme left of the Reichsrath, and to the autonomists) from recruiting his Cabinet with any of the more conspicuous politicians. This triumph was alleged by the party as a proof of Potocki's anti-constitutional tendencies. But it has since come to light that many popular members and "constitutionalists" refused to take office on this occasion, just as they had done on that of

the compromise with Hungary, not out of principle, but with an expression of willingness to join the minister as soon as he had effected the work of compromise. It is much less widely known that the feudal leaders of the reaction offered to join Potocki for the formation of a coup d'état cabinet, but encountered a decided refusal, which explains their afterwards ostentatiously joining the Czech "Deklarantenpartei," without alleging any plausible grounds for so doing. Meanwhile the Parliamentarians had succeeded in their object, which was to prevent the formation of a parliamentary ministry. Potocki, unless he deserted his cause, had only one alternative left—to select a working ministry of officials in association with Count Taaffe, as Minister of the Interior. Whether the men thus chosen will be found equal to the conduct of public business, until the re-establishment of a parliamentary cabinet becomes possible, can scarcely yet be determined. Probably some of them will find their position untenable, even provisionally,—e.g., Dr. Petrino, the Slovenic Secessionist, Minister of Agriculture, and Baron Widmann, Minister of Public Defence,—the former for parliamentary reasons, and the latter on account of his unpopularity. But though these men, as well as Herr Tschabuschnigg, Minister of Justice, do not belong to the Parliamentarians, still the Cabinet does not contain the name of a single man whom the "constitutionalists" had previously reckoned among the ranks of their adversaries.

It is clear that Count Potocki undertook an exceedingly difficult task, rendered more difficult by previous misgivings. In his rear were the Germans clustered around the banner of the constitution; and at his disposal were only officials who had been appointed by his adversaries. In front stood the national parties, who knew that he could not possibly avoid a compromise, and that they were indispensable for the progress of the Empire. The Germans were bemoaning the collapse of their power and system; and the nationalists were exaggerating their claims in an ominous way for the prospects of an arrangement. The ministry, nevertheless, had clearly seen its path, acknowledged the limits of its power over the opposition, and, in short, completed its programme, at a time when men generally thought that it was groping its way in the dark without a clue. This is shown by Count Beust's circular to the embassies, dated the 28th of April, which was published when Potocki entered on his task. "That task," it says, "may be stated in a few words: to make parliamentary government

a reality; to obviate the ever threatening disorganization of the Reichsrath; to aim at the formation of a complete Parliament by an impartial bearing towards parties, and thereby to assure the co-operation of all or of a majority of the populations of the western portion of the Empire, for the future prevention of any such catastrophes as the Reichsrath has undoubtedly been hitherto exposed to, to the evident lessening of its moral dignity and influence. The present scheme of reform is not only constitutional in the widest sense, but also true to the constitution *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, since it endeavours to consolidate the existing legitimate constitution for the advantage of all provinces and nationalities." This object was to be obtained by the re-establishment of a Reichsrath independent of the local Parliaments, and chosen by direct elections; and the circular declared that only by constitutional methods, on the base of the existing public right, and with the metropolis as its focus, could an arrangement be effected with the dissident nationalities. The work was to be done simply through an appeal to the electors, without previous appeals to assemblies of any kind, but only after negotiations with national and party leaders, "in order that the Cabinet might thereby come to a clear knowledge of its fixed object, and of the inviolable limits of its policy of conciliation." After the dissolution and the subsequent new election of the provincial Parliaments, they would have to consider the programme for the enlargement of national autonomies, and at the same time a law for the direct election of members for the Lower House of the Reichsrath, and for strengthening the Upper House by elections in the local Parliament. The new Reichsrath was then to proceed to a revision of the constitution, in the sense of "such an enlargement of autonomic privileges and institutions as is inseparable from the introduction of direct Reichsrath elections." This recommendation of the Government, he continued, required the loyalty and conciliatory spirit of all parties, if there were to be any hopes of a successful issue. The good-will of all was to be presupposed. "But should it happen," thus the circular closes, "that upon these sincere attempts at reconciliation, a party or a nationality should still obstinately insist on remaining an individual and separate part of the constitutional body of Austria, then it would be clearly proved before all the world that both Emperor and Empire have pushed to the extreme limits their regard for its wishes, and that it would itself alone be responsible if history, legislation, and the supreme autho-

city should proceed without listening to it further."

It is not necessary here to relate the experiences which Count Potocki amassed during his "informatory" negotiations with the political and national leaders of parties. It must, however, be remarked that from these negotiations the representatives of the absolutist and ecclesiastical reaction—the "laudatores temporis peracti"—were excluded. It must also be said that Galicia, where parties and leading men, so far as their autonomic claims were concerned, never repudiated either the constitution or the Reichsrath, obtained an exceptional position amongst the territories and kingdoms. But this concession is based on a principle admitted by the most advanced Decembrists, and even tolerated by the majority of the late Reichsrath. On the other hand, it was only natural that the negotiations with the Czech leaders should run aground. At their very outset the feudal party, excluded by Potocki from his ministry, suddenly joined the Old and Young Slavonians, so as to make a firmer demonstration for the claims of the crown of St. Wenceslaus, and gain if possible a position in the Empire analogous to that of Hungary. On the 22d of May the ministry passed from preparation to action. An Imperial patent announced the dissolution of the Reichsrath and all the Cisleithan local Parliaments with the exception of the Bohemian. This exception was owing to the fact, acknowledged by the ministry, that, if the Bohemian Parliament were dissolved, they had no confidence that its successor would appoint its deputation to the Reichsrath, in which case doubt might be thrown on the constitutional regularity of the Reichsrath's own action. Thus, with regard to Bohemia the question only concerns the complementary elections, while it concerns the general elections for all the other Cisleithan Parliaments. The surprise caused by these resolutions was great. The Democratic Liberals declared themselves satisfied; and the professed pessimists could not deny or conceal from themselves that the measures submitted by the Cabinet to the Emperor unquestionably rested on a constitutional ground. The members, indeed, of the old majority in the Reichsrath, asked derisively where and when such a reform would take place, and argued that these promises would remain promises only. But it is a remarkable fact that the political movement, which hitherto had been almost wholly confined to groups of parties, appears at last to have touched the masses of the population. The election committees

and addresses have been generally democratic; but nevertheless, even in the purely German provinces, they have not been at all hostile to an arrangement with the non-Germanic nationalities. This newly awakened spirit of the inhabitants of the German provinces appears in many instances to be reacting favourably on the non-German elements of the mixed provinces. It is a fact that even in Bohemia the Czech leaders have endeavoured to bring about conciliatory meetings with the Germans. Even if the only result of all this were to convert the Germans to the theory of the Bohemian public right and of the crown of St. Wenceslaus, it nevertheless bears witness to the fact that the Czechs have need of the Germans. Even the Moravian Czechs have not shown themselves disposed to accept their electoral directions from the Bohemian national party; and the Silesians have been acting with the Germans of Moravia and Bohemia. It is certain, moreover, that in the German provinces the tendency of the elections is altogether opposed to the exclusivism of the late Reichsrath. On this account several leaders early ceased to canvass. The elections for the Provincial parliaments commenced at the close of June and the beginning of July. It is only in Lower Austria that the Decembrists have obtained a large majority; and for Silesia and Moravia the German element is strongly represented. On the other hand, the rural districts of Salzburg, Upper Austria, Styria, and Tyrol, have given an unexpected number of clerical votes; but the towns have mostly returned Liberals.

Such is the present situation. Its further development is hidden in the breast of time. Only the first step towards a reconciliation of nationalities has been achieved in Austria. The difficulties of the work are infinitely enhanced by the existence of contradictory wishes and demands, by blind party-hatred, and by national exclusiveness, which oppose and thwart the most earnest efforts. But, for the first time since 1867, we see the populations of Austria tending, under the direct guidance of the Government, towards the solution of their national and political differences.

#### CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Mémoires présentés par divers Savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut Impérial de France.* (Première Séance. Tome VII.) *Le Syllabaire Assyrien.* Par M. Joachim Menant. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
2. *Platonische Studien Von Moritz Vermehren.* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.)



3. *The Writings of Methodius, Alexander of Lycopolis, Peter of Alexandria, and several Fragments.* Vol. XIV. of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library. (Edinburgh: Clark.)
4. *Papers on the Ancient Topography of the Eastern Counties.* By Arthur Taylor. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
5. *L'Empire Grec au X<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Constantin Porphyrogénète.* Par Alfred Rambaud. (Paris: Franck.)
6. *A. Rambaud De Byzantino Hippodromo et Circensibus factionibus.* (Paris: Franck.)
7. *Supplement to the First and Second Editions of Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster. (London: Murray.)
8. *Mittheilungen aus Altfranzösischen Handschriften.* Von Adolf Tobler. I. Aus der Chanson de Geste von Auberi. Nach einer Vaticanischen Handschrift. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
9. *Die Denkwürdigkeiten (1207-1238) des Minoriten Jordanus von Giano.* Herausgegeben und erläutert von Georg Voigt. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
10. *Sancta Agnes. Provenzalisches geistliches Schauspiel.* Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. (Berlin: Weber.)
11. *Altenglische Sprachproben, nebst einem Wörterbuche.* Unter mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck, herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Bd. 1, Abth. 2; Prosa. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
12. *Annales Monasterii S. Albani a Johanne Amundesham Monacho.* Edited by H. T. Riley. (London: Longmans.)
13. *Die Florentinische Geschichte der Malepini und deren Benutzung durch Dante.* Von Dr. Arnold Bussan. (Innsbruck: Wagner.)
14. *Peter Luder, der erste humanistische Lehrer in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, Basel.* Eine Abhandlung mit urkundlichen Belegen von W. Wattenbach. (Karlsruhe: Braun.)
15. *Jean de Morvillier, évêque d'Orléans, Garde des Sceaux de France (1506-1577).* Par Gustave Baguenault de Puchèse. (Paris: Thorin.)
16. *Les Moralistes français du Seizième Siècle.* Par M. Albert Desjardins. (Paris: Didier.)
17. *The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth.* By Edwin P. Whipple. (Boston: Fields, Osgood, and Co.)
18. *The Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose.* Edited by J. Hannah, D.C.L. (London: Bell and Daldy.)
19. *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers; an Exposition of the Similarities of their Thought and Expression.* Preceded by a View of Emblem-Literature down to A. D. 1616. By Henry Green, M.A. (London: Trübner.)
20. *The Pontifical Decrees against the Motion of the Earth, considered in their bearing on the Theory of advanced Ultramontaniam.* Second Edition, revised. (London: Longmans.)
21. *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax.* By Clements R. Markham. (London: Macmillan.)
22. *Ecclesiastical History of England. The Church of the Restoration.* By John Stoughton, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)
23. *Die Theologie des Leibniz.* Von Dr. A. Pichler. Vol. I. (Munich: Cotta.)
24. *Aus Baltischer Vorzeit. Sechs Vorträge über die Geschichte der Ostseeprovinzen.* Von F. Bienemann. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
25. *The Reign of Queen Anne.* By Earl Stanhope. (London: Murray.)
26. *Les Économistes français du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Par Léonce de Lavergne. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
27. *Souvenirs d'Émigration de Madame la Marquise de Lâge de Volude, Dame S. A. S. Madame la Princesse de Lamballe, 1793-1794. Lettres à Madame la Comtesse de Montejo.* Publiées par M. le Baron de la Morinerie. (Évreux: Hérissay.)
28. *Historische Zeitschrift. Band XXIII. Polens Untergang und der Revolutionskrieg.* Von H. von Sybel. (Munich: Oldenbourg.)
29. *Korsakoff und die Betheiligung der Russen an der Schlacht bei Zürich 25 und 26 September 1799.* Von Dr. Alfred Ritter von Vivonot. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
30. *Administrations Collectives de la France avant et depuis 1789.* Par A. du Châtellier. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
31. *Aus der alten Registratur der Staatskanzlei. Briefe politischen Inhalts von und an F. von Gents.* Herausgegeben und mit geschichtlichen Anmerkungen versehen von K. von Klinkowström. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
32. *Le Soulèvement de la Hollande en 1813, et la Fondation du Royaume des Pays-Bas, précédés d'une introduction sur le Règne de Louis Bonaparte, 1806-1817.* Par Théodore Juste. (Brussels: Bruylant-Cristophe.)
33. *Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann.* Von Anton Springer. Erster Theil. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
34. *Œuvres de Charles Dunoyer; notice d'économie sociale.* (Paris: Guillaumin.)
35. *Life of Daniel Webster.* By George Ticknor Curtis. Vol. II. (New York: Appleton.)
36. *Alfred de Musset: Eine Etude von Karl Eugen von Uffalvy.* (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
37. *Le Testament du P. Lacordaire, publié par le Comte de Montalembert.* (Paris: Douiniol.)
38. *Letters of the Right Honourable Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Bart., to various Friends.* Edited by his Brother, the Rev. Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, Bart. (London: Longmans.)
39. *A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War.* By Montague Bernard, M.A. (London: Longmans.)
40. *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor.* By Rev. Henry J. Van Lennep, D.D. (London: Murray.)
41. *Letters from the Battle Fields of Paraguay.* By Captain Richard F. Burton. (London: Tinsley.)
42. *La Morale dans les Campagnes.* Par A. Audiganne. (Paris: Didier.)

43. *Free Russia*. By William Hepworth Dixon. (London: Hurst & Blackett.)
44. *National Self-Government in Europe and America*. By J. W. Probyn. (London: Trübner.)
45. *Historical Gleanings: a Series of Sketches*. By James E. Thorold Rogers. Second Series. (London: Macmillan.)
46. *Among my Books*. Six Essays. By James Russell Lowell, A.M. (London: Macmillan.)
47. *The Epigrammatists: a Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times*. With Notes, Observations, Illustrations, and an Introduction. By the Rev. H. P. Dodd. (London: Bell and Daldy.)
48. *London Lyrics*. By Frederick Locker. (London: Strahan.)
49. *The Book of Orm: A Prelude to the Epic*. By Robert Buchanan. (London: Strahan.)
50. *Poems*. By Dante Gabriel Rossetti. (London: Ellis.)
51. *Gluck und Wagner. Ueber die Entwicklung des Musikdramas*. Von Ludwig Nohl. (Munich: Finsterlin.)
52. *St. Paul and Protestantism, with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England*. By Matthew Arnold, M.A. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)
53. *Logic*. By Alexander Bain, LL.D. (London: Longmans.)
54. *Principes de la science politique*. Par M. E. de Parieu. (Paris: Santon.)
55. *Influence des Idées Économiques sur la Civilisation*. Par M. Felix Rivet. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
56. *Le Socialisme d'Hier et celui d'Aujourd'hui*. Par Th. L. Bénard. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
57. *La Suppression des Grèves par l'Association aux Bénéfices*. Par M. Ch. Robert. (Paris: Hachette.)
58. *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*. By James Bonwick. (London: Low, Son, and Marston.)
59. *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*. A Series of Essays. By Alfred Russel Wallace. (London: Macmillan.)
60. *Forms of Animal Life: being Outlines of Zoological Classification based upon Anatomical Investigation and illustrated by Descriptions of Specimens and of Figures*. By George Rolleston, D.M. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
61. *Zur Ornithologie Brasiliens: Resultate von Johann Natterer's Reisen in den Jahren 1817 bis 1835*. Dargestellt von August von Pelzeln. (Vienna: Pichler.)
62. *Refugium Botanicum, or Figures and Descriptions of little-known or new Plants of Botanical interest*. Edited by W. Wilson Saunders. The Descriptions by H. G. Reichenbach, J. G. Baker, and other Botanists. (London: Van Voorst.)
63. *Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia, made during the Progress of the British Expedition to that Country in 1867-68*. By W. T. Blanford. (London: Macmillan.)
64. *Die Porphyrgesteine Oesterreichs, aus der Mittleren Geologischen Epoche*. Von Dr.

Gustav Tschermak. (Vienna: Gerolds' Sohn.)

1. Two difficulties beset the student of cuneiform writing—one as to the phonetic value of the signs, and the other as to the meaning of the groups and words. Wherever the words are written with simple syllabic signs the first difficulty almost disappears; and it is mostly with these words that M. Ménant, in *Le Syllabaire Assyrien*, deals. The main groundwork of the memoir is the celebrated tri-lingual inscription of Darius at Behistun. This inscription was written in cuneiform characters in three different languages—the Persian, the so-called Sythic, a language of the Turanian group, and the Assyro-Babylonian, a Semitic tongue. The last is the most important of the three, as it was the language of the Euphrates valley and furnishes the key to an immense number of inscriptions which extend over at least two thousand years. M. Ménant gives ninety-one proper names of divinities, men, countries, rivers, and objects, in Persian, Sythic, and Assyrian, two names in Sythic and Assyrian, and fifty-three others in Persian and Sythic; and, the Persian characters being known, a comparison of these proper names shows the syllabary of the Sythic and Assyrian. After them he gives a number of proper names found in the earlier inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, the Hebrew and Greek equivalents of which are well known. The entire list comprises two hundred and sixty-eight proper names, and supplies ample and incontestable proof of the truth of the system of deciphering the cuneiform proper names.

The names are headed by the great Persian divinity Ormuzd, given in the Persian *A-u-ra-ma-z-d-a*, in the Sythic *U-ra-mas-da*, and in the Assyrian *U-ri-mi-is-da*, and various other ways. In both the Sythic and Assyrian the first character in this name is the determinative of Divinity, and consequently not phonetic. One of the most interesting of the proper names is that of Xerxes (No. 12, p. 90) in Greek Ξέρξης, in Hebrew מְרִיָּשׁ in Egyptian hieroglyphics

*Kh-si-a-r-s-a* (*Kh-ch-i-ar-ch-a*—Ménant), in Persian *Kh-sa-y-ā-r-s-d*, in Sythic *Ik-si-ir-[is]-s-a*, and in Assyrian *Hi-si-h-ar-sa-h*. Among the earlier names the most important is that of Hezekiah (No. 155, p. 148), the decipherment of which led to the determining of the age of the Assyrian inscriptions; it is הֶזְקִיָּהּ in He-

brew and *Ha-za-gi-a-u* in Assyrian. Some of the identifications in this part of M. Ménant's work are, however, doubtful: for instance, No. 224, which most English scholars have rendered Ekron, and No. 226, which is probably connected with Cyprus instead of Philistia. No. 219, p. 162, which M. Ménant connects with Hebron, is not correct; in the original it is *Hu-sin-na*.

After giving the proper names on which the syllabary is founded, M. Ménant adds some very elaborate tables, containing, first, the simple syllables under one hundred and seven

heads (several of the characters being repeated), then a list of compound syllables, and afterwards a list of forty-seven ideographs. Ten signs follow of which the sound is given and the meaning is said to be unknown. Here, however, the author is a little behindhand, about half of them being known.

These lists of characters are followed by accounts of the discovery of the phonetic values of the various simple syllables, and the application of the syllables in various Assyrian words.

In the comparison of proper names in Persian, Sythic, and Assyrian, given in the volume, besides the proofs of the phonetic values of the characters, there are one or two points of interest. One of these concerns the Persian character *thr*, the sound of which appears to have been difficult to render into Sythic and Assyrian. Thus the Persian name Artaxerxes, No. 13, p. 91, *Ar-ta-kh-sa-thr-d*, is rendered in Sythic *Ar-tak-sa-as-sa*, and in Assyrian *Ar-tak-sat-su*. In No. 27 this character is rendered in the Sythic in one case by *issain*, and in another by *issan*; the Assyrian here comes nearer the Persian, which it renders by *itran* and *tiran*. Again, the letter *L* in Assyrian names was turned by the Persian into *x*. Thus the Assyrian *Ni-din-tu-bel*, became in Persian *Na-di-ta-bira*; Babylon (No. 65), *Babil* in the Assyrian, became *Babirus* in Persian; and Arbela (No. 87), *Arbail* in Assyrian, became *Arbaira* in Persian. The name No. 70, which M. Ménant desires to connect with Phrygia, *Sapardu*, is more probably Sparta; and, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson's casts from the Behistun Inscriptions, the Persian word *Sa-k-a* is equated with the word *Gi-mi-ri* instead of *Nam-mi-ri* as given by M. Ménant, No. 72, p. 122. One error which runs through the present volume is found in most of the works on cuneiform characters published on the continent of Europe. This is the confounding together of *gir* and *ru*; a reference to the tablet printed in *Cuneif. Ins.* vol. ii. p. 1, where both characters occur on line 164, will clearly show the difference.

M. Ménant is a painstaking scholar, and has exercised great care in bringing out the present memoir. But his references to authorities need revision; and his work, which embodies a great deal of unnecessary detail with regard to the early history of cuneiform study, might be reduced to half its present size without omitting anything of importance.

2. ALL Professor Vermehren's *Platonische Studien* refer to the text of passages which have been or may be disputed. Here and there he defends the established reading of the mss.; but in the majority of cases he detects a corruption and proposes a remedy. His emendations seldom rest on considerations of palaeography; and, although much acuteness is shown in enforcing the significance of transpositions and omissions in the mss., it is clear that the critic's artistic sense of style is the generating principle of most of the emendations. Indeed, in the preface he appeals to the artistic character of Plato as a proof that even readers who

are ignorant of philology must recognize the legitimate scope of his labours. It may fairly be said that his difficulties are never imaginary; and his readings are never impossible, and are very often ingenious, and now and then convincing. Of course, one thoroughly bad blunder in the mss., where a visible mistake has been visibly and unskillfully corrected, authorizes a suspicion of many more, as it proves the whole tribe of copyists to have been capable of much in the way both of stupidity and of carelessness. Still it must be always more or less a matter of taste and temperament, rather than of judgment or knowledge, how far any given reader will adopt the result of such investigations. Even if it were to be assumed that Plato never committed a fault of style, opinions might easily be divided as to whether some inaccuracy or even obscurity of construction was a fault in conversational prose. And the assumption that Plato's style was faultless seems of doubtful application, considering that more than one-fourth of the instances where it is to be tested are taken from the *Lysis*, which, if Plato's, are clearly the work of his old age, to say nothing of the tradition mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (iii. 87), that the *Lysis*, as we have them, were made up or copied from Plato's tablets by Philippus of Opus.

For instance, *Hippias*, ii. p. 364 B, the mss. read *Καλὸν γε λέγεις, ὦ Ἰππία, καὶ τῇ Ἥλειον πόλει τῆς σοφίας ἀνάθημα τὴν δόξαν εἶναι τὴν σὴν καὶ τοῖς γονεῦσι τοῖς σοῖς*. It would be possible to translate—"By what you say, Hippias, your glory is a beautiful memorial of your wisdom for the city of Elis and your parents;" but of course the construction is much neater and clearer if we admit Dr. Vermehren's conjecture, and insert *οἶμαι* after *εἶναι*. It is more doubtful whether the cadence is improved, or whether the structure of the ms. reading is too lax for conversation. The next construction is almost certain. *Ib.* 367 D: *Σω. Βούλει οὖν σκεψάμεθα καὶ ἄλλοι;* 'Ἦν' *ἔτι ἄλλως γε σὺ βούλει*. Here it is very much simpler to read *ἄλλ' ὥς γε σὺ βούλει* than to defend *ἄλλως* by translating "If you wish on other grounds [than my wishes]." In the *Phædo*, p. 115 A, the text is freed from an unmistakable gloss, *νεκρὸν λούειν*, which, as the annotator observes, is superfluous to one who knew the custom. In the *Symposium*, p. 192 D, Dr. Vermehren defends *συμψυχοῦσαι*, the reading of the Bodleian ms., against the Vulgate *συμφῶσαι*. If *συμψυχοῦσαι* were possible, it would account more easily for the Vulgate. Another emendation, resting on examination of mss., raises greater difficulties—*De Republica*, p. 366 A: *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν Αἰδου δίκην ὁσοομεν ὧν ἂν ἐθέλοι ἀδικήσωμεν, ἢ ἀντοῖ ἢ παιδες παίδων ἄλλ' ὃ φίλε, φήσει λογιζόμενος, αὐ τελεται [αὐ μέγα δύνανται] καὶ οὐ λύσισι θεοῖ, ὥς αὐ μέγισται πόλεις λέγονται, κ. τ. λ.* The words in brackets are omitted in several mss.; and it is an objectionable irregularity that we should have *φήσει* here, when we have *φήσομεν* before and after. Dr. Vermehren reads *ὠφέλησον* with K. F. Hermann, and then reads *αὐ νομιζόμεναι*. It is certainly an heroic remedy. *Ib.* p. 378 C: a simple change of punctuation effects a great improvement, οἷα τὰ λεκτέα μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ παιδιά εὐθὺς καὶ γίρονται καὶ γράναι, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους γυγνόμενους καὶ τοὺς ποιητάς

ἐγγὺς τοῦτων ἀναγκαστίον λογοποιεῖν, placing the comma at γὰρ instead of at γιγνομένοις, though it is not clear what is gained by omitting λεκτέα. It would be thankless to collect instances of hypercriticism; excessive delicacy must be the besetting sin of critics who proceed upon Dr. Vermehren's principles. He is apparently at feud with Stahr; and he speaks with admiration of Dr. Badham, whose brevity it would have been well if he had imitated.

8. THE fourteenth volume of the *Ante-Nicene Library* contains a translation of the extant writings of St. Methodius and other ecclesiastical authors of about the same period. There cannot be two opinions as to the very great value of the series. The books are correctly and elegantly translated; and the only drawback in general is the absence of notes similar to those which are found in the *Oxford Library of the Fathers*. The present volume, however, is open to a serious objection. It contains writings which have no right whatever to be considered Ante-Nicene. The Two epistles of Clement concerning Virginity may indeed possibly have been written before the fourth century. The authority of Neander in their behalf is rather exaggerated in the Introductory Notice prefixed to the translation. He says very positively that they bear every mark of having been forged in some Eastern Church in the last times of the second, or in the third century. The question of their genuineness cannot certainly be considered as "continuing *sub judice* even at the present day," among scholars at least. But the present volume contains writings far less ancient than the supposed letters of Clement. The Oration concerning Simeon and Anna is no doubt a very beautiful composition, and not unworthy of a father of the church; but it certainly was not written before the fifth or sixth century. Leo Allatius and Combefis may be excused for not recognising the internal evidence of its spuriousness. In their day the history of the development of Christian doctrine was not known as it is at present. But Ceillier, Du Pin, and Tillemont instinctively felt the anachronism of attributing a work like this to an Ante-Nicene father. "Car quoique l'Eglise," says Tillemont, "ait toujours eu les mesmes sentimens, neanmoins elle ne les a pas toujours exprimez avec la mesme clarté, la mesme force, et les mesmes termes." The difficulty is not to be got over by the hypothesis of interpolation. It is not this or that expression, or this or that passage, which betrays a later date than the Nicene. The whole discourse belongs to a period in which the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity and the cultus of the Blessed Virgin had been most fully developed. And even Gretser, as Tillemont quotes him, saw that "l'air, le style, l'abondance de paroles, et les pensées de cette pièce semblent mieux convenir aux nouveaux Grecs qu'aux anciens." The opening sentence in which Leo Allatius understands the author to claim the Symposium of St. Methodius as an earlier work certainly refers to another production. He speaks of his having in a dialogue, "as briefly as possi-

ble," laid the foundations for a discourse on virginity. But the Symposium is a long work in eleven discourses. The Oration on the Palms is also of later date than that of St. Methodius. The Genuine Acts of Peter of Alexandria, first published in Mai's *Spicilegium*, are also a spurious and utterly worthless production. They may have been translated from the Greek by the Roman Librarian Anastasius; but their contents are not the less fabulous; and it is not credible that a Greek writer of Acta sincera would embellish his narrative by quoting Virgil.

4. THE argument of Mr. Taylor's *Papers on the Ancient Topography of the Eastern Counties* relies for its proof on many isolated points of conjectural criticism, and cannot be judged adequately by a single specimen of the reasoning. The first essay deduces from several traditions, mostly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that King Gurgunt, who is said to have built Norwich, is the eponymus of *Cæter Guent*—"a Guent," adds Mr. Taylor, "of which no trace has been ever yet suspected to exist in the nomenclature of the Roman period." The second paper is directed to proving that the *Cenomanni* of Cæsar were a different people from the *Iceni* of Tacitus, and that the former probably inhabited the marsh districts, while the latter occupied what was afterwards East Anglia. The third paper conjectures that the *Venta Cenomum* was Cambridge, and *Venta Icenorum* Caister near Norwich. These hypotheses, of course, involve some changes in the usual explanations of the names in the Itinerary known as Antonine's. Mr. Taylor gives a careful analysis of the names in *Iter v.* of the Itinerary and *Iter ix.* of Richard of Cirencester, and sums up by identifying Wendlebury near Cambridge with Wythill, a name which occurs in writings of the sixteenth century, and, as we understand him, in deducing Wendlebury from *Venta*.

He displays real research, industry, and ingenuity, and is partially right in some collateral points; but his papers are in the main uncritical and valueless. He has based almost all his work on a spurious author like Richard of Cirencester, whom he himself feels to be suspicious, or on legends derived from the copyists and imitators of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and additionally embellished during the Cambridge controversy with Oxford. Almost all his first premisses might be granted; and it would not go far towards establishing his conclusions.

There are difficulties no doubt about identifying Cambridge with any place known to us by a Roman name. Why the town which is called *Grantacaestir* in Bede, *Grantabrycge* in the Saxon Chronicle, and *Cantebruge* by Alfred of Beverley, should now have become Cambridge is in itself sufficiently remarkable, and has naturally suggested a doubt whether it was the old *Camboricum*. But it seems a needless multiplication of difficulties to assume that it was *Venta Cenomum* at first, and that *Camboricum* was *Godmanchester*. The real

solution appears to lie in the fact that a river constantly changes its name in portions of its course, and is no doubt all the more likely to do this if the population on its banks is migratory and uncertain. Thus the Stour in Dorsetshire was the Allen (Alaunus) in Roman times; and the Allen, one of its feeders, was the Saxon Wimburn. The Grant, the Kennet, and the Cam mix their waters at different parts of their course (for the Ouse, into which the Kennet flows, is only a continuation of the Cam); and, as each has in its turn been superseded by the other within historical times, there is no great difficulty in supposing that the name Cam, which has finally prevailed, was the popular title also in the fourth century. Camden, Akerman, and Professor Babington have all placed *Camboricum* at Cambridge, from a consideration of distances. Godmanchester, which Mr. Taylor prefers, has scarcely any Roman remains, and probably owes the few it has to a bridge. Again, what is the kind of evidence on the strength of which Mr. Taylor discriminates the *Cenomanni* from the *Iceni*? His great argument appears to be that *Cenomanni* were known to Cæsar, who could not have heard of tribes so remote as Norfolk. But Cæsar's mention of them is in fact one of the strongest reasons for identifying them with the *Iceni*, who have given their name to a road traversing England south of the Wash, from north-east to south-west, and who, on the strength of the river-name *Itchen*, are sometimes thought to have once inhabited Hampshire. Mr. Taylor indeed adds that "the *Cenomanni* must be classed with a race of people whose practice it was both in Gaul and Britain to infest the tidal rivers, and in this way to get a footing in the country." Very likely this was the case, though it only rests on the theory that the *Cenomanni* lived in the Anglian fens. But they certainly were not singular in their practice. At a time when so much of England was forest, the rivers were the great arteries and highways of the country; and wherever a river described an angle, so as to give a point that could be easily insulated and defended, a British town was almost sure to spring up. Of Mr. Taylor's treatment of early legends the distinguishing characteristic is that he always prefers the later form, adapted to local names in a particular part, to the bald passages of Geoffrey of Monmouth or Alfred of Beverley, on which the superstructure of fable has been built up. Geoffrey of Monmouth compiled at too late a period to be of any real service to history. But he at least preserved, even if he corrupted, genuine traditions. Of Nevill, Polydore Virgil, and Dr. Key even thus much cannot be said. Polydore Virgil was a foreigner; and Nevill and Key wrote in the interests of Norwich and Cambridge respectively. And Archbishop Parker, as the mutilator of Matthew Paris, has sins enough of his own on his head, without being made to answer for his friends' glosses.

5. M. RAMBAUD desires to restore the credit of the Byzantine Empire, which he thinks has been unjustly disparaged. He has

accordingly investigated its history in the tenth century, when its state may be regarded as progressive compared with that into which the West had fallen since the time of Charlemagne. The reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus is indeed in many respects a remarkable epoch. Internally the political institutions after many changes were beginning to acquire stability; the monarchy was tending to consolidation on the basis of definite principles; and the Emperor himself gave the impulse to a considerable literary and scientific movement in which he took part both as prince and author, encouraging other writers and writing himself. Geographically the Empire was now definitely constituted. The invasions had contributed their respective shares to the elements of the population, and were at an end till the coming of the Turks; and the various races were subjected to the new thematic system of provincial administration. In eastern Europe, outside the Empire no less than within it, the period of immigration was closing; and the barbarian populations were settling down. "Au x<sup>e</sup> siècle il y a une Hongrie, une Serbie, une Croatie, un Monténégro, une Bulgarie, une Russie, qui se forme; une Grèce qui se constitue." It is no longer a question of successive waves of invaders. "Nous avons affaire aux maîtres définitifs du sol qu'ils occupent, aux fondateurs de l'Orient moderne."

The author first reviews the historians of the Emperor and exhibits the chief points of his history, his troubled minority and his personal government, the results of which are drawn out in detail. In dealing with the Emperor's actual career, he begins with its literary side, and then passes to the provincial history. It is strange that before doing so he should not have investigated the general administration. That the general institutions of the Empire—the imperial organization—date from an earlier time is no sufficient reason for omitting to consider them. They were in existence; and being essential to the idea of the Empire, they ought not to be passed over in a work which aims at exhibiting its constitution. In discussing the provincial history, however, the author brings out much that is both new and interesting. With regard to the different races distributed through both the European and Asiatic provinces, and the methods by which they were governed, he displays great learning and sagacity; and the same praise may be given to two chapters, in one of which he considers the neighbouring peoples and the foreign policy of the Empire, and in the other its vassals and the obligations imposed on them. When an author has consulted so many sources and accumulated so many facts he is apt to exaggerate the importance of his subject; and M. Rambaud has certainly not escaped the danger. The Byzantine Empire appears to him, as it were, oecumenical—an empire of all races: "L'Empire Grec ne s'effrayait pas trop de ces infiltrations de races barbares. . . . Loin de les exiler de la cité politique, il leur ouvrait son armée, sa cour, son administration, son église. A ces Arabes, à ces Slaves, à ces

Tures, à ces Arméniens, il demandait des soldats, des généraux, des magistrats, des patriarches, des empereurs." Certainly it called for soldiers, and did not repel foreigners; but if the soldiers became generals or emperors, and the foreigners became magistrates or patriarchs, it was not the fruit of an assimilating and civilizing policy, but simply the inevitable result of aggressions endured or accepted. To say that "the Greek Empire of the East was like the Pontifical monarchy of Rome, not a state existing for this or that nation or race of men, but an institution which was the common patrimony of mankind," is to liken a falling Empire, already shrunk into a city, to an advancing power which, though also established in a city, extended the network of its obedient and influential hierarchy over the world. M. Rambaud himself disproves the comparison when he says:—"Comment s'appelle cet empire dans l'histoire? L'empire Romain? Il n'y avait plus de Romains. L'Empire Grec? Il y avait dans cet empire bien autre chose que des Grecs. Il s'appelle l'Empire Byzantin. Tout un empire semblait n'être que la banlieue de cette ville extraordinaire, comme pour les petites cités de l'antiquité un même mot servait à désigner la ville et son territoire: πόλις. Pour les Chinois du moyen âge, le monarque de Constantin n'est plus le *Thsin*, c'est à dire, l'empire; il est le *Foulin*: la ville' (p 540). Precisely so. The whole Empire had its existence in the city, and lasted and perished with it.

6. THE hippodrome was the centre of the political life of Constantinople. There all the passions of the people displayed themselves; there the chief acts of government were performed, the most important judgments given, and sentences carried out; and there the revolutions which changed the Empire often had their origin or their confirmation. A monograph on this subject promises abundant interest; and M. Rambaud's dissertation on it justifies the expectation. He begins by describing the hippodrome founded by Severus in ancient Byzantium, which preceded the work of Constantine, which so completely determined the lines of the other buildings as even to modify slightly the orientation of S. Sophia. After describing the succession of dramatic scenes of which it became the theatre, he proceeds to speak of the factions that excited popular passion within its enclosure—the Blues and the Greens. He takes them from their beginning, shows their organization under their own leaders and magistrates, and follows them down to the eve of the ruin of the Empire. He investigates the cause of their long rivalry, what it was based on, and whether its motives were political or religious. Both opinions have been maintained. M. Rambaud refutes them both, and shows that no other interest was involved than that which may be taken in the races of the present day, and not even that which is excited by a runner or a horse, but only that which attaches to a jockey's cap or colours. People were for the Green or the Blue simply because they were Green or Blue.

They were partizans of a colour without any thought beyond it. If the Greens or the Blues engaged in political sedition, it was because the Emperors in declaring for one side were held to have become enemies of the other. And this strange division of parties, without any political, philosophical, or religious idea, did not belong to the hippodrome of Constantinople only. There were hippodromes in many other cities, in all of which men were in like manner Greens or Blues; and each party kept up an interchange of sentiments between its members from city to city. Several causes ultimately combined to allay this public fanaticism. The author points out (1.) the invasion of the Arabs, who, by occupying Alexandria and Antioch, the principal cities in question, diminished so far the matter of agitation; (2.) the establishment of the Venetians and Genoese in those quarters of Constantinople where the Greens and Blues were previously supreme; (3.) the influence of some Emperors who refrained from taking part in the rivalry of the factions; and (4.), and above all, the intervention of the imperial administration in their organization. They had previously nominated their own leaders and officers: they were now subjected to imperial magistrates. The official bond thus imposed on them gradually destroyed their energy; and the establishment of the Latin empire at a time when they were already in a great degree abated caused a suspension of their rivalry, which was never seriously resumed. The conclusion is not favourable to the Byzantine Empire. A people that grows frenzied and tears itself to pieces, not for politics, not for religion, not even for runners or horses, but for mere colours—for a thing which is not even the shadow of an idea—is itself no more than the shadow of a people, "non populus, sed imago populi et palatina plebecula."

7. WHEN Dean Stanley first published his *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, the reception which the book met was of a very mixed kind. The world generally was carried away by the literary skill of the author, who had woven much curious information into a narrative of singular freshness and interest. But those who judged him by the standard of his earliest works felt that the new book was scarcely equal to his reputation, and that either he had fallen below his own level or historical research in England had risen above it. The publication of his *Supplement* will perhaps show that both verdicts are warranted. It is evident that the author has not followed the course of inquiry during the last ten years, and writes a little more carelessly than he did when he first broke ground in literature, as well as much less critically than is now required. Much of the best work of late times has consisted in ascertaining the relative value of authorities; and a man who quotes good and bad indifferently, or a transcript in place of the original, can no longer plead the excuse of general ignorance. Again, many points of detail have now been settled; and the mis-statement of a simple fact cannot be

justified by any reference to the errors of an early chronicler. The faults of this kind, however, are so numerous and important as wholly to destroy the value of Dr. Stanley's work. The writings of a very able man, fond of his subject, fond of discursive reading, and gifted with singular powers of description and illustration, must always have a certain worth, and will constantly suggest where they do not inform. But, so far as we have tested the accuracy of the present Supplement, our results have been very unfavourable.

Take, for instance, the following passage (p. 65):—"Egelric, Bishop of Durham in the time of the Confessor, was a characteristic victim of the vicissitudes of that troubled period. Elevated from the monastery of Peterborough in 1041 to the See of York, he was driven from his newly acquired dignity by the 'almost natural' jealousy of the seculars, and degraded, in 1042, if such an expression may be used, to the hardly less important See of Durham." Those who remember that Ælfric was Archbishop of York from 1023 to 1051 will naturally wonder how Egelric came to be interpolated, and when they bear in mind that he was afterwards driven, though not degraded, from Durham, will be struck with the chequered fortunes of one who had the interest to obtain two sees, and the mischance to lose both within four years. An examination of Dr. Stanley's references will perhaps change this wonder into scepticism. Out of six that he gives, there are two that we have not been able to verify. The only book that we can identify as the Worcester Chronicle is the *Annals of the Church of Worcester*, published by Wharton and again edited by Mr. Luard; and it does not even contain an entry under the year to which Dr. Stanley refers. Similarly, if the Peterborough Chronicle be the book usually quoted under that name, and first edited by Sparke, it is quite innocent of these remarkable passages in Egelric's life. Simeon of Durham, who wrote a history of the See of Durham, describes Egelric's fortunes with some minuteness, but knows him only as monk of Peterborough, as secretary to the Bishop of Durham, and as afterwards Bishop and ex-Bishop himself. Florence of Worcester is less full, but to the same point. Dr. Stanley's authorities are thus reduced to Hugo Candidus and the *Annals of Waverley*; and both these seem partially to bear him out, though the *Annals of Waverley* speak of Egelric as Cilric, and evidently get their information at second-hand. Hugo Candidus, as a Peterborough monk, and a writer of the twelfth century, deserves more attention; and his words in full are as follows:—"In diebus istius Abbatis [*i.e.*, Leurici], electus est Egelricus sanctissimus monachus ejus ad archiepiscopatum Eboracæ civitatis et consecratus, sed tamen facientibus quibusdam ex canonicis vel ex clericis, quia pene naturale est eis semper invidere monachis, quia monachus erat, noluerunt pati eum archiepiscopum esse; factus est tamen episcopus Dunhelmie." It is evident that Hugo and Simeon are flatly at issue, though both are speaking about the same man.

Simeon says that Egelric was begged from the monastery by Bishop Edmond of Durham, who wanted a secretary and an instructor in the monastic rule: Hugo says that he was called to York from the repute of his sanctity. Neither mentions the date 1041, which the Dean of Westminster gives as an ascertained fact, and to which he was perhaps guided by the date of Egelric's promotion to Durham, 1042. The question then is, whether the northern historian of the See of Durham knew most about its bishops, or the monk of Peterborough about one of his predecessors. But, first, it would require very strong evidence before a succession of Ælfric, Egelric, Ælfric could be substituted for the one Ælfric whom we now know of as Primate of the North; and the silence of the Saxon Chronicle on such changes taking place in the eleventh century is in itself almost conclusive against them. For the *Laud Manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle* was written at Peterborough; and that or some other text records the death of every authentic Archbishop of York between 971 and 1069, and makes no mention of Egelric. But next, a comparison of Simeon's account of Egelric will show that Hugo Candidus has transferred to York an expulsion by the jealousy of the canons which really took place at Durham. Moreover, as Kinsy, who actually succeeded Ælfric as Archbishop, was Abbot of Peterborough, the jealousy of monks at York cannot have been very lasting. Lastly, it will have been noticed that Hugo places the elevation of Egelric in the time of Abbot Leofric. Now Leofric succeeded Arnwi in 1052 (*Laud ms.*, A. 1052), when Egelric, being Bishop of Durham, could not well be called Leofric's "most holy monk." It can hardly be doubted that Dean Stanley has hastily given credit to an impossible story, and slightly patched it in the telling. But, even if his grounds for accepting it were better than they seem to be, he ought surely to have drawn attention to the discovery of an uncredited Archbishop.

In another instance, he defends a passage from an unpublished lecture by Professor Vaughan, which referred to the practice of general gaol-delivery after the death of a king in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was ignorantly attacked; but the vindication from Professor Vaughan's notes is none the less insufficient. Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman by birth but living in France, would not be a trustworthy witness to a doubtful fact; and Hoveden is a mere copyist for the reign of Henry II. As it happens, however, *Malmesbury* (ii. p. 619) confirms the statement of Ordericus; and Benedict of Peterborough (ii. pp. 550, 551), from whom Hoveden drew largely, is ample warrant for what took place at the accession of Richard I. It may seem a slight thing that an author should be right on insufficient grounds; but he is not always likely to be right if he habitually accepts inconclusive evidence. In fact, for a man of ability, who has read widely, and who is perhaps singularly fortunate in the assistance of critical friends, Dr. Stanley is curiously liable to small lapses or imperfect statements. It might indeed be



called more than a small lapse, when he speaks of the Conqueror making "a yearly solemn appearance with the crown on his head" (p. 5), in opposition to the distinct evidence of the *Saxon Chronicle*, "three times he bare his crown every year." The legend that Merlin transported Stonehenge from Ireland (p. 4) ought to have been ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, rather than to Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote a generation later.

Much that is good and much that is true is pleasantly and ably told in the *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*; but it is not a work of real learning or scholarlike accuracy. The author deserves all praise for the honesty of purpose which has led him to risk the discredit that to some extent accompanies a candid acknowledgment of former mistakes. But the corrections he has actually made will scarcely redeem the fresh mistakes which he has fallen into through carelessness or insufficient acquaintance with his subject-matter.

8. As a commencement of his *Mittheilungen aus Altfranzösischen Handschriften*, Professor Tobler of Berlin has just published extracts from the *Chanson de Geste* of Aubert. The first part of this long epic poem had already been edited by Keller in his *Romart*; and Professor Tobler has continued the work of his predecessor, beginning his copy of the Vatican manuscript (Christin. 1441) from the verse where Keller finished. It would have been almost impossible to give the whole of the poem; and the editor, therefore, has omitted the less important parts, giving a summary of them however in a few words. At the conclusion of the *chanson* the character of Aubert himself loses all interest for the poet, and, as often happens in popular epics, the adventures of other heroes become the principal topic. Professor Tobler has wisely selected for publication only those parts where Aubert is the real hero and centre of the story. The poem, like all the *Chansons de Geste*, and unlike the *Romances*, is written in verse of ten syllables, with the *cæsura* after the fourth syllable. In publishing the old text, Professor Tobler has strictly followed the manuscript of the Vatican library, introducing only the necessary punctuation, and some regularity in the orthography. In the latter respect, his principle agrees with that of other German scholars as against the French. The old manuscripts know nothing of accents; they make no difference between the consonants *y* and *v* and the vowels *i* and *u*; and they very often join words together. All this makes them much more difficult to understand. The French scholars, in order to facilitate the understanding, introduce a completely modern orthography: the Germans, on the other hand, adhere as closely as they can to the old tradition, and change the letters of the original only where it is absolutely necessary. Wackernagel, in his edition of the *Altfranzösische Lieder und Leiche*, goes even so far as to say that a good edition should reproduce the mistakes of the original. Professor Tobler has avoided both the extremes, and has given a legible and correct

text without defacing the characteristics of the old language. For some parts of the poem a manuscript of the Berlin library has been compared; and the more important variations have been added.

9. THE rapid growth of newly founded monastic orders is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the Middle Ages; and all other instances were far surpassed by that of the two mendicant fraternities. This fact has been generally admitted, and is proved by the numerous convents of friars which are met with everywhere from almost immediately after the foundation of their orders. Hitherto, however, we have possessed no detailed contemporary accounts of the movement. Some old works, indeed, such as Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, contained valuable information about the spread of the Minorites. But as the original sources had disappeared it had no sufficient guarantee; and accordingly little regard was paid to it. Professor Georg Voigt of Leipzig, a son of the late Archivist of Königsberg and historian of the Teutonic order, has recently discovered among his father's papers a transcript, the original of which is quite unknown. It may perhaps have come from Rome, where Wadding collected from the convents of his order all the historical manuscripts for his work. It consists of the memoirs of the Minorite Jordanus da Giano, or de Yane, as he calls himself, from a small place in the province of Spoleto. He knew the founder of the order personally. He took part in the mission of 1221, joining it reluctantly, and with much fear of the savage Germans; and he contributed in no slight degree to its good results. At last, having filled various offices in his order, he appears in 1262 in the Chapter at Halberstadt, where, at the instance of his brethren, he tells his recollections of the early times of the mission, and allows them to be recorded. Unfortunately they only reach as far as 1238. Many of the facts were already known from the works of Wadding and others; but they are here given more fully and with a greater wealth of personal detail. We also get new and authentic particulars with regard to the origin of the order, its founder himself, and the succession of its first generals. The earliest epoch exhibits a blind enthusiasm. Francis himself goes to convert the Sultan; and during his absence dangerous quarrels break out in the order. The first missionaries had set out so ignorant of foreign tongues that, when asked whether they were heretics, they answered "ja"—the only word they knew—and from sheer misunderstanding suffered persecution and martyrdom. But the second mission was undertaken with more judgment, and had a constantly increasing success. In England, the growth of the order had already been so great that a considerable number of English Minorites assisted in founding the Saxon province. The marvellous zeal and self-sacrifice of the missionaries excited general admiration; and new members were drawn into their ranks, and convents founded in rapid succession.



The present work is of great importance, not merely for local German history but also for the history of the Church. Professor Voigt, with great care and learning, has examined the bearing of this new document on the sources previously known, explained the chief results to be obtained from it, and finally reprinted the text with many improvements of the incorrect transcript. It is strange that so good a scholar should not have been acquainted with the expression, often met with in Italian manuscripts, "dominus legum" for a teacher of law, but should have supposed it to be an error. Nor has he perceived that at p. 529 there is a wrong interpretation of abbreviations, *pñe* having been taken for "prime" instead of "penitencie," and *mie* for "minime" instead of "misericordie." For the rest, his work deserves every praise. It will be a matter for congratulation if this discovery should lead to others of a similar kind among the archives of the order in Rome.

10. As the greater part of the epic poetry in the langue d'oc has been lost, so till quite lately nothing was known of any dramatic work in the language. Professor Bartsch has now found in the Chigi Library at Rome the mystery of *Sancta Agnes*, which he has just published. The manuscript appears to be of the fourteenth century, and contains, besides *Sancta Agnes*, several Latin documents, and a Provençal didactic poem, which the same editor had published some years ago. The drama of *Sancta Agnes* itself is of about the same age as the manuscript, and therefore after the time of the chief troubadours, a fact which Professor Bartsch shows by several metrical arguments, e.g., the pronunciation of *ia* as a monosyllable, even if the accent is on the *i*, as in *avia*, *sabia*, *tenia*. This is not very often to be found in works of the classical period; but it occurs as a rule in the present drama. The metrical accuracy of the author seems not to have been great; nor was his poetical capacity a high one, to judge from this single specimen. He has followed his original, the *Vita Sanctæ Agnetis*, by Ambrosius, very closely, though sometimes altering and adding different circumstances rather successfully. His invention, for instance, of the soldiers trying to conceal from the senator Sempronius the death of his son, shows decided dramatic skill. The numerous songs assigned to the different characters are very interesting; and the melodies for them are given in the ms. These melodies are almost all taken from old songs, sacred or profane, after the ordinary fashion of the Middle Ages, when there was always frequent exchange of melodies between the Church and the world. When the archangel Raphael goes down to hell to bring back the soul of the deceased Apodiches, he apostrophizes the devil to the solemn melody of the "Veni Creator Spiritus;" and the whole piece is closed rather melodramatically by four angels carrying Agnes to heaven, and singing the antiphon: "Veni sponsa Christi, accipe coronam quam tibi Deus preparavit in æternum." Other songs are written to melodies of Provençal canzos, as, for instance, to that of the renowned pilgrim's song, "Pos de chantar

m'es pres talens," by the oldest troubadour, Count Guillem ix. of Poitiers. Others of the songs are evidently of popular origin, and bear witness to the lost treasures of popular lyric poetry in the langue d'oc. In this respect the publication is of considerable value for the history of literature. The introductory essay also contains several philological observations with regard to the language and orthography.

11. It is now more than two years since Herr Mätzner issued the copious and well-selected series of extracts from early English poetry which forms the first part of his *Altenglische Sprachproben*. The second and concluding part, which has lately appeared, is fully equal to the first. It contains a selection from the prose-writers; and the text, like that of the poetry, is illustrated by a full commentary, displaying much scholarlike clearness and research. The volume thus completed forms a copious chrestomathy of what may not unfitly be termed the transition literature of the English language. It is by far the most complete which has yet been presented to the class of students who desire to compare the different forms the language has assumed, from the day when the Saxon chronicler laid down his pen to the period when, under the creative hand of Chaucer, it approximated decidedly to the form in which it was to be fixed by the great writers of the Elizabethan age. The prose, beginning with the three well-known old English creeds printed by Mr. Wright in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, and closing with the Tale of Melibeus, from Chaucer, represents the period from the first quarter of the thirteenth down to close upon the opening of the fifteenth century. The Northern dialect is illustrated by a treatise from Richard Rolle, the ascetic moralist of Hampole Priory. The editor's introduction to this piece marks certain orthographical differences between Rolle's prose and poetry, which the specimen from the *Pricke of Conscience*, printed in the first part, will enable his readers to verify. Dan Michael's *Agenbite of Inwyrt*, "ywrite," as he tells us himself, "mid engliss of Kent," and John Trevisa's version of Higden, have furnished specimens of the Southern dialect; while the Midland is represented by large extracts from Bishop Poor's delightful book *The Ancrens Riwele* (about 1320-80), and Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* (1356).

The introductory remarks to each specimen are very interesting. The text has been carefully printed; and, although Herr Mätzner uses liberally his editorial privilege of emendation, he faithfully presents in his notes the original reading. Most of the corrections appear to be sound; but this is not always the case. At p. 4 we have "on pine hondes hich breethe [or biteche] mine goot." For *biteche*, supplied by Mr. Wright, the editor proposes *biquethe* from A.-S. *beoethan*. The Latin equivalents of the latter word are *legare*, Chron. 1086, *dicere*, Andreas, l. 193, *exprobare*, Ps. 88. None of these represent the sense of the passage. *Betacan* means *adignare*, *commendare*, e.g., "þe betacan sawle ðre," Grein, Gl.; also in the specimen given by

Herr Mätzner from the *Ormulum*, "aund te bitæche icc off piss boc," l. 65, Mr. Wright's emendation must be accepted. On p. 94, l. 14, occurs "þe ualse yulemde þet vlyep, and naght þet, þet right is." This reading is pronounced incurably corrupt; and no correction is offered. Most likely the latter clause of the sentence ought to run, "and naght deþ þet right is," which at once restores the sense. But this is one among the many passages of the *Ayenbite of Inwyȝt* which might be amended with greater certainty by a comparison with the French original. A fruitful source of difficulty in old English mss. arises from the constant confusion between the vowel *u* and the consonant *n*. Where English editors in such cases have scrupled to amend the text, Herr Mätzner has shown a greater and a justifiable boldness. For instance, in the extracts from Richard Rolle, p. 129, l. 19, the ms. has "þat þay may wyne þat Godde hyghte to swylke barnes, þat es, laude of lyghte." Mr. Perry, who edited this treatise for the Early English Text Society, inserts "noghte" between "wyne" and "þat," thus making the passage mean, in modern English, "that they may not meet with that which God has threatened such children as are void of light." This far-fetched construction Herr Mätzner avoids, by merely reading "lande" for "laude;" and he translates, "that they may gain what God has promised to such children, that is, the land of light," a correction which recommends itself, not only by its simplicity, but also by its interpreting the promise of the commandment in that allegorical sense which mediæval theologians so constantly affected. The famous proclamation of Henry III. is almost correctly given (p. 52); but the version has one rather serious blemish in the uniform adoption of the letter *3*, even in words like *Bigod*, where it is quite inadmissible. In Mr. Ellis's copy, taken accurately from the Patent Rolls, this corruption of the older character does not appear.

Though the volume is chiefly important from a linguistic point of view, it is not without other claims on attention. For it presents all the various subjects treated in the literature of the time. It exhibits the history, politics, and proverbial philosophy of that age. It includes fabliaux and romances, miracle-plays and a sermon against them, different types of moral and religious teaching, and abundant specimens of Biblical translation. The glossary which is promised in completion, should contain a chronological synopsis of the changes through which the language passed during the period with which the work is concerned.

12. MR. RILEY's new volume of the St. Albans annals consists of two very different parts—a short chronicle of England, from 1422 to 1431, by an unknown writer, which is ascribed to John of Amundesham, and part of a very prolix history of the monastery from 1423 to 1440. Almost anything that relates to a period of which so little is known has a certain interest. It is difficult to explain the extreme meagreness and badness of our materials for

the English history of the fifteenth century; but the fact is patent that there is gradual decline from the thirteenth century downward, alike in the matter and in the style of the chronicles. And nowhere is it more evident than in St. Albans, where it might have been thought that a certain tradition of good writing would be preserved in a school which opened gloriously with Wendover, Matthew Paris, and Rishanger. Probably the growth of a native literature under Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, and the reaction against free thought that accompanied the suppression of Wycliffe's teaching, were among the main causes why a Latin literature decayed.

The most interesting passages of the short chronicle by an unknown author are perhaps those which refer to Lollardy. They are very numerous, as if the writer attached great importance to the subject, and at times very bitter, as if he could not write calmly on such a matter. With all allowance for his sincere hatred of heresy, and contempt for men whom he could sometimes describe as "ribalds," and who not unfrequently recanted for fear of death, it may yet be believed that he was also actuated by dislike of doctrines which struck at the very existence of St. Albans and all great Abbeys. Mr. Riley prints in an appendix one of the bills which Jack Sharp was beheaded in 1431 for circulating, and which contained a proposal for secularizing a portion of Church property. He seems in his preface to treat this as the isolated act of a single reformer. The most curious point about it is that it had been the Lollards' charter, so to speak, for more than thirty years, and had even been recommended by a House of Commons to the Crown. It is one of the articles against Purvey, who revised Wycliffe's Bible, that "he says concerning the possessions of the Church, that it has been clearly shown in a certain other special treatise, that the King, Lords, and Commons may have anew, without any cost, fifteen earldoms, fifteen thousand knights and squires, with sufficient lands and revenues, from the temporalities consumed in the hands of the secular clergy and of the religious, falsely so called . . . and besides this, the King may have every year £20,000 freely for his own treasury." With the remainder, fifteen universities, fifteen thousand clergy, and a hundred hospitals might be supported. Purvey did not renounce this error in his recantation in 1400; and it may perhaps be assumed that his superiors thought it better to give no further publicity to the dangerous doctrine. But in 1410 the "knights of Parliament," or, as Walsingham prefers to call them, "the satellites of Pilate," recommended a rather more moderate scheme to the King, cutting down the fifteen thousand knights and squires to fifteen hundred knights and six thousand two hundred squires, and omitting all mention of universities. Prince Henry headed the opposition; and the reformers were sharply questioned about the grounds of their calculation, and, it is said, failed in the proof. The wars of the next reign occupied the fighting classes of the country with other questions than

Church reform; and Lollardy lost ground through its moral and intellectual inefficiency. To the lower orders, however, on whom the burden of taxation fell most heavily, the idea that the State might defray its military charges by taking part of the wealth of the higher clergy was too seductive to be easily renounced. Jack Sharp's petition in 1481 exhibits some characteristic differences from that which the House of Commons had adopted. He thinks an Earl may be content with a thousand marks a year, instead of three thousand, as the Commons had proposed; and he avoids the mistake of his predecessors, by giving a 'schedule of the incomes from which the confiscations he recommends may be made. Altogether he proposed to take about £50,000 a year from incomes which he puts at over £148,000. We cannot verify his calculations minutely; but, as monastic property brought in nearly the sum he mentions at the Dissolution a century later, it is probable that he was not far wrong substantially. This was no doubt an additional motive for hanging him. The ostensible reason was that he promoted riots in London, Coventry, Oxford, and other towns, against the monasteries; and Fabyan says he confessed that he would have made priests' heads as cheap as sheep's. To this Mr. Riley adds the surmise that, as he professed a connection with Wigmore-land, he was trying to catch adherents of the house of Mortimer. Anyhow he is noticeable as the last exponent of political Lollardy. Whether the Church gained ultimately by staving off the reforms Sharp suggested, may perhaps have been questioned by some of Cranmer's contemporaries.

John of Amundesham's chronicle shows abundantly with what matters one ruler of a great spiritual corporation was especially occupied during the first years of the reign of Henry vi. John of Whethamstede, thirty-third abbot of St. Albans, was a man of some literary culture and much worldly wisdom, with a certain talent for popularity, who had the interests of the great foundation he governed sincerely at heart. His mind was seriously exercised soon after his election, by the "apostasy" of a musical brother, who migrated to Christ Church, Canterbury, for the enjoyment of a more perfect choir; and the abbot devised a more stringent form of oath, which might preclude future members of the brotherhood from "devouring their mother's entrails." Then, being summoned to the Council of Pavia, he drew up a code for the better governance of the house during his absence. It provided that the splendour of the dresses should not be diminished on certain important feast-days, that the treasures of the Abbey should not be shown to such strangers as might envy its prosperity, and that the brethren should not stand about or drink to excess in places where they might be observed. Having framed these and other similar regulations, he set out for Italy, and learned on his arrival that the Bishop of Lincoln had been holding forth against the abuses of monastic rule, and especially against exemptions from episcopal supervision. It can scarcely be ques-

tioned that no abuse was more fatal to the efficiency of the mediæval Church. But the Abbot of St. Albans could not rise above the party feeling of his order, and prepared at once to resist all encroachment. As it happened, the bishop was struck down by fever; and the abbot accordingly left the Council, that he might pay a visit to Rome and profit by the jubilee. It was his fortune to find Pope Martin v. at Rome; and the opportunity of obtaining fresh privileges for St. Albans was too good to be lost. In a first supplication, the abbot prayed that his brotherhood might be released from two weeks' fast between Septuagesima and Quinquagesima Sundays, on the ground that it was difficult and costly to procure fish at a place so distant from the sea. The second supplication was for license to use a portable altar, in places like London and Oxford, which the monks visited occasionally, and where it was thought desirable to withdraw them from the communion of the faithful generally, no doubt lest they should "apostatize" to other orders. The third prayed leave to farm the Abbey revenues, including apparently the tithes of benefices, to laymen—a practice with which the English ordinaries interfered. The Pope graciously assented to all the requests; but the abbot himself felt some scruple about the relaxation of fasts, and, when the brothers on his return eagerly adopted it, stipulated for some compensation in other periods of the year. His next achievement was to suppress an attempt by the townsmen of St. Albans to claim the commonage, which was granted to them at the time of Wat Tyler's insurrection, and almost instantly taken away by the statute of Richard ii. annulling all deeds that had been extorted by force. Lastly, this abbot is famous for having restored the old practice of associating noble personages by an honorary tie with the brotherhood. No man, reviewing his life dispassionately, will censure him as negligent of his trust, or as wanting any but the highest wisdom. But it is not by such men or by such reforms that the silent progress of revolutions is arrested.

Mr. Riley has been singularly fortunate in the importance and interest of the series of annals he is editing. But, if his work rises above the standard of the earlier volumes of the series, it certainly falls below that to which some of the later editors have attained. Many pages of legal matter are left without foot-notes (pp. 235, 254, 256-260, 297, etc.) The names that occur in the text are sometimes modernized in the foot-notes, and sometimes, especially where they are at all obscure, given as they are spelled in the Latin, *e. g.*, *Tatarygg* for *Totteridge*, and even *Chelymsforde* for *Chelmsford*. In the same way, while the Latin text is generally on the model set by Poggio, we sometimes come upon a form like "*Sirurgicus*" (p. 485). Again, is it impossible to trace the pedigree of Sir John Mortimer, whose tragical fate Mr. Riley justly notices in his preface as among the more important events to which the short chronicle calls especial attention?

13. In studying the Florentine history of Ricordano Malespini, and his nephew and continuator, Dr. Busson was led to the belief that it had been used by Dante; and while endeavouring to demonstrate this conviction, he has carefully investigated the sources of the chronicle. His work would have been valuable and interesting if the ground had not been cut away under his feet by a review which has recently appeared in the *Götttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, by Dr. Paul Schaffer-Boichorst, one of the ablest of the younger German historians. This acute and conclusive criticism shows that the whole work of the Malespini is a forgery. Neither Dante nor Villani drew from this chronicle; but rather it is a rifacciamento of Villani, composed in the fifteenth century to flatter the vanity of some Florentine families, especially the Bonaguisti. To obtain credit for certain facts which were not found either in Villani or any other Florentine chronicle, it was necessary to invent an earlier chronicle; and this has undoubtedly been done. Now that the proof is drawn out it seems wonderful that the world should have been deceived so long. Exactly the same thing, however, happened with regard to the chronicle of Matteo de' Giovenazzi, the genuineness of which was lately disproved by Dr. Wilhelm Bernhardt. Thus the two alleged oldest chronicles in the Italian language have both been shown to be spurious: and Villani maintains his place as the father of Italian history. The Italian soil is fertile in such fabrications; and quite recently the *Pergamene d'Arborea*, issuing from Sardinia, were proclaimed to be the oldest monuments of the Italian language. Happily modern criticism is cautious; and, although some scholars of name were misled by the work of Signor Pillitu, its real character is now sufficiently understood. Students of Italian history and literature should be careful not to lose sight of investigations of this kind.

14. THE skill which Professor Wattenbach has so often displayed in the investigation of German mediæval history he has in the last few years applied also to the study of the renaissance. At the meeting of the German Philological Association in 1865, he drew attention to the melancholy fate and the elegiac verses of Benedetto da Piglio, who crossed the Alps on occasion of the Council of Constance; and he has now published a life-like sketch of Peter Luder, an almost forgotten German classicist, who laboured as the first teacher of the new science at four German universities. The abundant collections of manuscripts in the libraries of Vienna, Munich, and Basil, have supplied him with much interesting matter with regard to the beginnings of the classical movement in Germany, and the condition of the German universities about the middle of the fifteenth century. His work introduces us for the first time to the Italian classicist Arriginus, who, in the years 1456 and 1457, gathered together a circle of pupils at Plassenburg in Franconia. Amongst these was Matthias von Kemnat, the chaplain and historian

of the Count Palatine Frederick the Victorious. But the private activity of Arriginus was less important than the appointment, which took place, at about the same time, of the first classical teacher at a German university. Frederick the Victorious, who at the beginning of his reign had introduced realism at Heidelberg, resolved in 1456 to restore the credit of the decayed Latin language by the nomination of Luder, who was a native of the Palatinate, and had pursued his classical studies at Padua. Luder's knowledge of the poets and historians of antiquity had been acquired at an advanced age, and after a wandering life; but, imperfect as it may have been when judged by a modern standard, it nevertheless far exceeded that of the masters of the old schools. Conscious of their inferiority, the Heidelberg faculty of arts put every possible obstacle in the way of the new-comer. But Luder enjoyed the favour of the Count Palatine and other powerful patrons, and the close friendship of the influential Matthias. Thus supported, the attraction of novelty enabled him to stand his ground, and to gain an important position, though he was often in money difficulties, caused to some extent by his own irregularities. In 1460 the great Wittelsbach and Brandenburg conflict broke out. The University of Heidelberg was soon almost deserted; and Luder then went to Erfurt, where he was well received, and in honour of his classical learning matriculated "gratis." Hence, after a year, he turned towards Leipzig, where he found a circle of youths who were zealously studying the ancient authors and the Italian classicists, but up to that time had worked without the necessary direction. Meanwhile, in spite of the Count Palatine's earnest desire, the continuance of the war prevented his returning to Heidelberg; and he at last determined to adopt the safer calling of medicine. He completed at Padua the medical studies which he had begun twenty years before; and in 1464 he emerges again at Basil as "poeta, medicinæ doctor." Soon after that he seems to have exchanged the office of a teacher for that of a diplomatist. In 1469, Duke Sigismund of Austria intrusted him with a complimentary address to Louis XI. of France; and in the following year he appears as an envoy of the same Duke at the Court of Burgundy. The last trace of him is a copy of edifying verses on the occasion of a young lady's entering the convent of Gnadenthal, in Basil. In earlier years he had been a scoffer on religious subjects. His personal character is not one to inspire any deep interest, still less any great respect; but he deserves attention as a forerunner of the great classical scholars of Germany.

15. THE sixteenth century is so wide a subject that no one can really understand it unless he supplements the teaching of general history by particular investigations of the principal events and the most remarkable personages of the time. M. Baguenault de Puchèse has devoted an investigation of this kind to a man whose importance was not of the highest order, but who was in the counsels of the King, and

who exercised one of the most important offices in critical times. Jean de Morvillier was born at Blois in 1506. At the age of thirty he was Lieutenant-General at Bourges. He became Dean of the church in the same town, was nominated member of the King's Council, and in this capacity was appointed one of the judges of the Chancellor Guillaume Poyet in 1545. In the following year, being Master of Requests, he was sent as ambassador to Venice by Francis I., and so took his share in the diplomatic action of France when the King, after the peace of Crespy in 1544, endeavoured to embarrass Charles V. by his manoeuvres at Constantinople and his secret encouragement of the Protestants. The labour was lost. The death of Francis left the Emperor perfectly free; and some years had to elapse before Henry II. took up the thread of these intrigues. In 1550 Morvillier returned to France. He resumed his duties as Master of Requests in 1551, and in April 1552 was made Bishop of Orleans. It was at that time a privilege of the Bishop of Orleans to release the prisoners in the town on the day of his first entering in. Forty days beforehand, the intended entry was proclaimed with sound of trumpet; and, from all the country round, the bandits and criminals who had eluded the pursuit of justice used to come and surrender themselves as prisoners. Morvillier, however, was not in a hurry to avail himself of his privilege. He waited four years before making his entry into Orleans, and then abstained from announcing it; the result was that only twenty-nine prisoners were released. For a year he worked with zeal in his diocese. But the Council required his services. He was sent on several diplomatic missions, and had a share in negotiating the treaty of St. Quentin in 1559. At this time it only rested with himself to occupy the highest office in the kingdom. On the death of the Chancellor Olivier, he refused the Seals, which were pressed on him by the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine; and it was only on his refusal that they were given to L'Hôpital.

He had gone to his episcopal city, where the States were to assemble, when Francis II. suddenly died, leaving the throne to his brother Charles IX. He took part in the Council which conferred the regency on Catherine de' Medici, but not apparently in the States which were opened on the 18th of December 1560. Had he then stayed at Orleans, he would soon have been driven away; for, shortly after, the Protestants made themselves masters of the place, and it became the bulwark of their party in the civil war. Morvillier, who was in favour with the Princes of Lorraine, and had accompanied the Cardinal of Lorraine to Rome in 1555, was again associated with him to represent France at the Council of Trent in 1562. But he was soon recalled to France, and was the first person who was able to give the Queen a verbal account of what was passing in the Council. More of a diplomatist than a bishop, he was not slow in attending to his own interests. He resigned his bishopric, and devoted himself entirely to

the Court, where he had an opportunity of rendering important services. It was he who gave information of the plot formed by the Protestants, at the beginning of the second civil war, to seize the King; and shortly after, when the seals were taken back from L'Hôpital, they were given to him (24 May 1568). He certainly was not a second L'Hôpital. "Homme d'affaires avant tout, très-capable de mener à bonne fin une négociation diplomatique, très au courant de la politique extérieure, Jean de Morvillier, ainsi que le remarque Castelnau, hésitait en France sur la conduite à tenir vis-à-vis les partis civils et religieux. Chose singulière, pendant les deux années que l'évêque d'Orléans fut pourvu du poste le plus important de l'ancienne monarchie, son influence se manifesta beaucoup moins que pendant qu'il était simple membre du Conseil. Il s'effaça devant l'intervention de plus en plus dominante de la reine mère, et se contenta de gémir sur les maux du royaume sans avoir la force et la résolution d'y remédier." Nevertheless he was not a man who would go all lengths with the Queen, and make every sacrifice to keep his place. Though he did not know how to resist, he had at all events the courage to stop short before it was too late. He resigned his office in 1571, between the peace of St. Germain and the massacre of St. Bartholmew. In the massacre itself he was not concerned. He did not advise it; but he is responsible for having, after the act, endeavoured to provide a false excuse for it, by suggesting to the King to have Coligny "and his accomplices" tried for conspiracy—a sort of posthumous assassination which added hypocrisy to the horror of the massacre.

Having been minister under Charles IX., Morvillier continued in the counsels of Henry III. At the commencement of the reign, he was asked to give his opinion on the conduct to be observed with regard to heretics; and he drew up a treatise which makes some forty pages in the manuscript of his *Mémoires d'Etat*, under the title, "Discours pour savoir s'il est expédient d'arrêter par les armes le cours de la nouvelle religion en ce royaume." He concludes in favour of toleration, but not so much on grounds of conviction as from a feeling of helplessness, experience having taught him that every conflict was followed by a settlement less advantageous than the one it had disturbed. The events that followed were of a kind to confirm his opinion. He witnessed the meeting of the States at Blois in 1576, and is said to have composed the King's speech. He also saw the formation of the League, but not its early proceedings. In 1577, when on a journey in the wake of the Court, he was attacked at Tours by the first symptoms of the disease from which he died on the 28d of October 1577. He left a collection of papers which exist in manuscript in the Imperial Library at Paris, under the title, *Mémoires d'Etat de Messire Jean de Morvillier, évêque d'Orléans*. It is from this unpublished work, and another, also in manuscript, entitled *La vie de Messire Jean de Morvillier, évêque d'Orléans, garde des Sceaux de France*, by Nicholas Lefebvre de Lereau, Councillor of State, that M. Bague-

nault de Purchèse has drawn the chief materials of his book; and several fragments of correspondence which he has added have given it increased value. Morvillier had a literary reputation among his contemporaries; and as he was known to be well informed, he was urged to write a history of his time. "Je suis trop serviteur de nos rois," he answered, "pour écrire leur histoire." The remark is at once a confession and a condemnation—a condemnation of the kings, and also of their councillor. A man who does not venture to speak the truth of kings when they are dead incurs a strong suspicion of not having spoken it to them when they were alive.

16. M. DESJARDINS seems half conscious of the mistake he has made in expanding what might have been an instructive essay into a rather wordy volume. At least the most original remarks suggested by his subject—*Les Moralistes français du Seizième Siècle*—are those directed to show how and why there were no moralists to speak of in that century. To the names of Erasmus, Rabelais, and Montaigne, he has only to add those of La Boétie, L'Hopital, Pibrac, Bodin, Du Vair, and Charron, none of whom exactly deserves a separate place amongst the masters of moral science, though their writings, taken collectively, do even more than M. Desjardins seems to imagine to prove that the public mind in the time of Luther was, as far as abstract questions were concerned, empty, swept, and garnished with a very few dull apophthegms. One step, it is true, had been taken towards erecting ethics into a separate study: most of the writers above mentioned agreed in making morality independent of religion. But this, as M. Desjardins points out in the case of Charron, only narrows the ground of their substantial inconsistency: "La morale se condamnait à manquer d'autorité en manquant de principes." The moralists surrendered the principles which had had the authority of common consent, and were not yet alive to the necessity of supplying their place, since in one and the same vein of empirical scepticism, they abjured "all religious belief and all philosophic certitude." They had a taste for moralizing, not a talent for moral philosophy; and their popularity was principally owing to the temper of the times, intelligent and not too scrupulous, when it was found pleasanter to scrutinize the justice of severe laws than to observe even easy ones.

According to M. Desjardins, Luther, Montaigne, Calvin, and Erasmus were all under the influence of the same tendency. The corrupt manners of which they complain should be met, they agreed, by the relaxation, up to a certain point, of the laws, religious or otherwise, which could in no other way be kept from constant violation. Of course they differed as to the concessions to be made, and still more as to the means of enforcing what regulations were preserved. Erasmus wished the practices of religion to be made somewhat easier by authority, rather than let consciences

be burdened with ceremonial sins. Luther, in endeavouring to raise the standard of spiritual disinterestedness, gave occasion to the charge of undervaluing the merely moral virtues. Calvin endeavoured to make up for the license which a strained application of his doctrine would allow, by strict and inquisitorial rules for the external practice of his followers. Montaigne boldly regulated the limits of the desirable by the attainable; but the degree of perfection which men will voluntarily attain is represented by their individual tastes, as was of course the case with Montaigne himself. M. Desjardins's efforts to extract a moral system from the *Essais* leave it as much a matter of choice as before whether their author shall be set down as an inconsistent Epicurean or an inconsistent Stoic; half his practice and half his precepts would favour one view, and half the other. His standard of moral excellence is derived from the ideal usages of common life; but, as even this ideal is too high for the majority, he qualifies the definition, always trembling on his pen, of virtue as the art of happiness, by distinguishing ephemeral and true felicity. But where his precepts are sternest—and in the matter of veracity they are uncompromisingly stern—they are enforced by no sanctions and justified by no arguments. The prejudices of a code of honour give rise to notions of duty as binding as those enforced by religious or rational arguments; but, when Montaigne attempts to systematize his real motives for adhering to the practice "des honnêtes gens," he does not get beyond a general impression that what is desirable for society at large must be desirable for its individual members. If this had been self-evident or demonstrable by experience or plain common sense, Montaigne might have done something towards a science of morals; as it is, though perhaps the fairest, and certainly the most favourable specimen of the morality of his age, he only contributes indirectly to define the problems which were reopened by Hobbes and Spinoza in the seventeenth century, and which, in the eighteenth, were popularized, not to say vulgarized, by different schools, not at all more profound than the *Essais*.

M. Desjardins is not very favourably disposed to what he considers revolutionary tendencies; and he dismisses Rabelais, whose moral philosophy is more original than Montaigne's, with the remark that *Pantagruel* was not read for its good advice. As much of the volume as is not taken up with general remarks or criticisms on Montaigne and his imitators, Pibrac and Charron, is divided between the poets, the historians, and the lawyers of the period. Two or three of the last alone have much right to a place among moralists. Cujas, Dumoulin, and Bodin were eminent names; and their influence did not end with their numerous followers. Whether they begin, like the first, by deriving "jus" from "justitia" "because right is more primitive than law," or, like the second, attack the root of the current prejudices against usury, or, like the third, try to find universal and philo-

sophic principles in defence of arbitrary power, they sanction and exemplify the rising taste for moral investigations. They admit that public law and political authority should rest on some assignable basis; and, pending its determination, they solve the practical question of the moment as nearly as possible in accordance with the system which they would each establish if they could. More than this no French moralist of the sixteenth century can be said to do.

17. MR. WHIPPLE is one of those writers who strive to place criticism among the fine arts, to write pictorially and suggestively, and to raise, by an allied literary process, the same emotions in his readers which the reading of the books he criticises excites in himself. He is also a favourable specimen of the class; for his necessarily exaggerated outlines are filled in with the results of acute observation and a wide miscellaneous knowledge. His book on *The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* treats certain topics of the subject with some novelty and much truth. In the lectures on Shakespeare, which are the most careful of the series, he not undeservedly derides the moral platitudes which critics like Gervinus make the central ideas of the plays, and lays down, dogmatically enough, but with much plausibility, the sketchy outlines of the poet's personality. He notes the entire lack of any distinctively religious character, any character whose main motives are religious, in the plays, and thence argues this single want in Shakespeare's own nature—the lack of any distinctive religious interest; and here he is unjust through not also examining whether there was not something in the circumstances of Shakespeare's day which would account for his not parading his own religious likings or antipathies upon the stage. Of the other dramatic poets of the period Mr. Whipple only reviews some of the better known, and adds nothing concerning them to the well-worn criticisms of Hazlitt, Coleridge, and Lamb. Even in the case of Jonson he is only careful to get some idea of the man as a whole, without any consideration of the development of his character. He presents him in his triumphant prime, and to this figure credits the splenetic and envious snarls of his youth. Neither among the dramatists nor the prose writers does he mention Tom Nash, who nevertheless both as a dramatist and as a prose essayist exercised a great influence upon his age. Twice he set an example which for a time turned the current of dramatic composition into a new mould. The first occasion was when Whitgift and Bancroft employed him to ridicule the Puritans, and he introduced the *Vetus Comædia*, the Aristophanic drama, in order the better to indulge in his wild vein of personal satire. From 1589 to 1592 he must have been in the closest relations with Whitgift, who sheltered him at Croydon during the Plague in 1592, and for whom he wrote his single drama which has come down to us, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*. After the Aristophanic drama

had been put down for some five or six years, he revived it in his *Ile of Dogs*, the form of which Ben Jonson seems to have imitated in his *Every Man out of his Humour*. Nash was less fortunate in this second experiment; for he was thrown into prison. As a prose-writer he began, under the same patronage, with his squibs against Martin Mar-prelate; and in them, and in his attacks on Gabriel Harvey, he certainly proved himself the liveliest, and perhaps the wittiest, English prose-writer of his day. His loose periods are at least as notable in the history of our language as the balanced sentences of Sidney. Mr. Whipple sometimes speaks of writers with whom he evidently has only a second-hand acquaintance. What he says of Lyly proves not only that he knew nothing of the *Euphues* when he wrote, which is excusable, but also that he had neglected to make himself acquainted with Lyly's "classic plays," in which few besides himself discover merely "toperies of diction and sentiment," and "dainty verbal confectionery." He also fails to distinguish between the styles of Lyly and Sidney, who in their day were considered to stand at opposite poles of taste. But all these deficiencies are accounted for by the fact that Mr. Whipple's criticisms are exclusively personal; he judges all language from the subjective centre of his own feelings and sense of the congruous. That which grates on his modern habits he considers not so much a good thing rusted with time as an alloy originally worthless. And he expresses his sentiments in a style which three centuries hence would probably be judged to be as stilted and embroiled as he considers that of Sidney, who, he says, converts language "from the temple of thought into its stately mausoleum."

18. IN the ordinary narratives of Raleigh's life, the artistic fire and genius of the man are not sufficiently exhibited; yet without recognising these qualities it is impossible to explain, on the one hand, his magnificence and extravagance, and, on the other, that imperial imagination in which he reminds one of Napoleon. Dr. Hannah, in his *Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose*, gives a complete edition of all Raleigh's extant poetry. He thus enables the student to fill up the blank in Raleigh's biography. The poems show the histrionic element in the man—his power to assume passion, and to give heart-rending expression to imaginary feelings. The chief novelty in Dr. Hannah's book, besides his authentication of Raleigh's poems, is the publication of a fragment of his great poem *Cynthia*, on the strength of the opening cantos of which Spenser complimented him as "the summer's nightingale." The fragment consists not of any part of the original poem, but of a twenty-first and opening of a twenty-second book, subsequently added by Raleigh. Dr. Hannah places the date of this fragment after 1603. It is abundantly clear that Raleigh composed it in prison in 1592, when Queen Elizabeth was pleased to treat his marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton as treason to herself, and



that the author placed the poem in the hands of Robert Cecil to show to the Queen. The trust was a happy one; for though it probably did not secure the Queen's sight of the ms., it secured its preservation among the treasures at Hatfield. It is known that Raleigh previous to his marriage was a favourite with the Queen, who, on finding his attachment to another, as Spenser says, thought to have slain them both, but on reflection awarded them a less punishment:—

“‘Is this the faith,’ she said—and said no more,  
But turned her face, and fled away for ever—  
more.”

It was to soothe this angry mistress that Raleigh employed the smooth intervention of Robert Cecil. To him he first of all denied the truth of his marriage. “If any such thing were, I would have imparted it to yourself before any man living: and therefore I pray you believe it not: and I beseech you to suppress, what you can, any such malicious report. For I profess before God there is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto.” But he was fastened; and it soon became incumbent upon him to acknowledge it. But now another poetical lie might serve. In July 1592 he wrote to Cecil, from the Tower, a letter clearly meant to be shown to the Queen. His heart was never broken till now. “Once amiss hath bereaved me of all . . . all wounds have scars but that of fantasy [love]; all affections their relents, but that of womankind. . . . All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? . . . She is gone in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was.” These expressions are the key of the recovered poem. In it he speaks of the Queen as still alive, but dead to him. He enlarges upon the revenge of womankind. He speaks of his marriage as a frail misfortune with which love had nothing to do.

“But thou my weary soul . . .

Dost know my error never was forethought  
Or ever could proceed from sense of loving.”

And so in magnificent imagery, worthy of the age of Shakespeare, he mourns over his dead love to the Queen, and the estrangement which kills him. All poetry is but feigning, says Shakespeare; but Raleigh carried his feigning beyond the bounds of decency and honour, and has set up in it a monument as discreditable to his morals as it is honourable to his genius.

Dr. Hannah has admitted into Raleigh's works only six poems of which the authentication is not satisfactory to him. But, once admitting those six, he probably might have extended his list. For instance, in the poetical miscellany *The Phoenix Nest*, published in 1598, there is a series of eight poems, beginning with the sonnet commencing

“Those eyes which set my fancy on a fire,”  
all addressed to Queen Elizabeth, in the same style as the fragment of *Cynthia*. Of these,

four are admitted to be certainly Raleigh's; and one is admitted as doubtful. If internal evidence is of any validity, the three others are his likewise. A still more interesting question connected with *The Phoenix Nest* is, whether it contains anything of Shakespeare's? He printed his first acknowledged work in 1598; but in 1592, as was shown in *The North British Review*, No. 108, p. 38, he was already known to a select circle of friends for his “facetious grace in writing.” Short poems of his were probably handed about in manuscript, a welcome booty to the editor of a poetical miscellany. In *The Phoenix Nest* there is a poem on the world, signed “W. S. Gent.,” but it shows none of his characteristics except brevity and compression. On the other hand, some of the anonymous pieces seem to bear the imprint of his style and genius. Dr. Hannah prints one of them, “The Shepherd to the Flowers,” at p. 174, in which ideas and expressions are alike Shakespearean, everything in fact but the arrangement of the rhymes, which has no counterpart in any of Shakespeare's known works. Among the pieces in which the great poet's hand may be suspected are the following:—“My First-born Love,” p. 94 in Mr. Park's reprint, in vol. ii. of *Heliconia*; “What else is Hell,” p. 102; and especially “The Counter Love,” so like, not only in its beauties, but in its indecencies, to some of Shakespeare's known pieces in the Sonnets, and in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. To these may be added the two sonnets, pp. 118, 119, and the pieces, “Divide my Times,” p. 125, and “O Night, O jealous Night,” p. 134, the piece which immediately precedes “The Shepherd to the Flowers.”

Next to Raleigh, Dr. Hannah has taken most trouble with Sir Henry Wootton, whose poems he collected many years ago. In the case of those authors from whom he only gives a specimen or two, and whose works have not been collected before, he gives useful lists of their poems, with references to show where each may be found. The whole collection is carefully selected and well edited; and the book does credit to Dr. Hannah's scholarship and industry.

19. EMBLEM-LITERATURE is a branch of art which still wants its historian, to treat it generally and in all its bearings, not in its somewhat forced and altogether restrictive relationship to a single poet. Emblems, like coats of arms, are a sort of determinative hieroglyphics, pictorial epigrams, representing a topic to the imagination through the eye by the picture, as well as through the ear by the accompanying verses. They belong essentially to a metaphysical age, when the knowledge of nature consists more in a series of mystical and fanciful relationships, in a confusion between symbol and reality, and in magical receipts for effecting physical changes, than in any orderly arrangement of facts, or inductive proof of general principles. They lose their power over the mind in proportion as magical forms lose their imagined power over nature. In the sixteenth century Alciatus ranked with Doctors



of Divinity as a moral force. Thus Gabriel Harvey, in one of his sonnets (1592), says:—

"Would Alciat's emblem, or some scarlet hood,  
Could teach the pregnant sons of shining light  
To interbrace each other with delight."

Emblematisers, like epigram writers, are rather parasitical creatures than original forces in literature. Both live on the poets. They choose the most vivid similitudes, or the most terse and pointed thoughts of the poet, isolate them, and mould them into a picture or a couplet. Originality is the very last thing they aim at. Epigrammatist after epigrammatist, emblematiser after emblematiser, embodies the same illustrative similitude in a similar, but slightly varied, phrase or picture. They are not fountains of poetical thoughts, but only little pitchers in which some drops of the water of Hippocrene may be found more or less perfectly crystallized. Lily, with his wonderful correspondences between a fanciful natural history and the little world of man, is a writer who has a real affinity with them; but to regard them as in any sense sources of Shakespeare's imagery is entirely to mistake Shakespeare's genius. There can be no greater proof of this than the exceedingly meagre list of correspondences which Mr. Green has been able to collect in his book on *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*. And this list, nevertheless, is enlarged by such fanciful suppositions as that Shakespeare probably had some book of emblems in his mind's eye when he spoke of the two-headed Janus, or the winged Pegasus, or the candle singeing the moth. Occasionally, the correspondences are only arrived at by a singular misinterpretation of Shakespeare's text. Thus when Coriolanus, embracing Aufidius, says, "Here I clip the anvil of my sword," i.e. Here I embrace the body on which I have proved the temper of my sword, Mr. Green illustrates it thus: "To clip, or cut, i.e. strike the anvil with the sword, is exhibited by more than one of the emblem writers;" and he reproduces a picture of a man breaking his sword upon an anvil, as an emblem of a man losing a friend by putting him to too hard proof—the motto being "Importunitas evitanda." Nothing can be further removed than the cousinship in this instance. The best part of Mr. Green's book is the account he gives of the emblem writers, with expensive reproductions of some of their more remarkable plates; and the most apposite is a collection of parallel passages between the poetry of Shakespeare and that of Whitney, the English emblematiser of 1586. These parallelisms had been already indicated by Mr. Douce and Mr. Knight. They are, however, more thoroughly given by Mr. Green than by any previous writer.

20. An anonymous pamphlet on *The Pontifical Decrees against the Motion of the Earth* has deservedly reached a second edition within a few days of its first appearance. It deals in a masterly way with one aspect of a histori-

cal controversy. It shows that in the famous condemnations of Galileo and the Copernican doctrine by the Congregations of the Index and of the Inquisition, the act was not merely one of those Congregations, but that each step of the affair was taken by express command of the Pope, that his intervention was official and the decrees Papal, and that the arguments and suggestions to the contrary made by a school interested in denying these facts are unhistorical, untrue, and in many cases absurd. The author selects some of those writers who have been considered most successful in explaining away or putting a new construction on the matter, and shows how their explanations and constructions are in contradiction with the facts, and how the new facts which they produce are taken from proceedings of later date, which have really nothing to do with the question in hand. It has been the custom with some writers to dissolve the official character of the decrees in a mist of sentiment, by supposing them to have been (so far as the last is concerned) a freak of ill-temper in Pope Urban VIII., who thought himself caricatured by Galileo in his *Dialogo* under the person of Simplicio. The author of the pamphlet patiently controverts this view. He shows that Galileo, in spite of the most palpable falsehood and shuffling, was really very leniently treated, as leniency was then understood, and that the desire of the authorities of the time was to crush the opinion, but not to crush the man. One new fact which he states in a postscript is of considerable importance. He produces an *Index expurgatorius* of 1664, in which all preceding decrees about books were collected by order of Pope Alexander VII., who prefixed a bull to the volume, in which he "confirms and approves each and every one of these decrees by his apostolic authority." Among these decrees is that against Copernicus, Didacus a Stunica, and Foscarini, who, it is said, "endeavours to prove that the doctrine of the immobility of the sun in the centre of the world, and the mobility of the earth, is consonant to truth, and not adverse to Holy Scripture. Lest therefore such opinion should insinuate itself further to the peril of Catholic truth," all books teaching such doctrines are respectively prohibited, condemned, and suspended.

21. MR. MARKHAM has made a contribution of real value to the history of the great Civil War in his *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*. It was work that needed to be done, and the careful execution of which has evidently been a labour of love with the writer. The campaigns are very clearly explained, and illustrated with some excellent maps; the family connections and personal antecedents of the less conspicuous characters of the Parliamentary War have been diligently investigated, and are given in the notes. In one main object of his book Mr. Markham has been thoroughly successful. He shows that to Fairfax, rather than to Cromwell, belongs the credit of having first disciplined the Puritans and led them to

victory; and in particular, that the battle of Marston Moor was won almost singly by the northern general. Where he breaks down is in the attempt to extenuate his hero's failure as a statesman by exclusive reference to the nobler parts of his character. But there is not much special pleading of this kind; and what there is seems to arise from the author's inability to understand the union of the highest personal and soldierly qualities with a want of political forecast and a weak will. Sometimes, too, his strong feeling for the Parliamentary side makes him unjust to its opponents. It is scarcely fair to blame Prince Rupert for joining a cause of which his eldest brother disapproved (p. 151), when that brother was amongst the most contemptible of men; and the constant attacks on Charles for his correspondence with foreign powers ought to have been accompanied by the admission that France and Sweden had a distinct share in inciting to the rebellion. That Lucas and Lisle deserved the death to which Fairfax condemned them may be readily granted. They had broken parole and shed blood needlessly. But the sole reason Fairfax himself gives for distinguishing between their case as "mere soldiers of fortune" and that of Lords Capel and Norwich, "who were considerable for estates and families," ought not to have been passed over in complete silence. Mr. Markham's literary style is often heavy, and sometimes inflated. But, generally speaking, the merits of the book far outweigh its defects; and the most obvious faults are such as a single revision would remove.

The military history of the Civil War is in several respects anomalous and curious. When the war broke out there were many English and Scottish officers in the country who had served under the greatest generals of the day in the most hard-fought battles of that or perhaps of any time. Men naturally turned to these as their leaders; and the result was that the Leslies, Masseys, and Urrys, trained in the school of Gustavus Adolphus, could not hold their own against the self-taught Cromwells, Fairfaxes, and Hoptons. It was at once a cause and a consequence of this that the discipline and tactics of the English army were very little influenced by the Swedish model. Gustavus's improvements, the mixture of horsemen and musketeers, and the light artillery, made of wood and leather on occasion, found no counterpart in England, where a regiment of Urry's troopers refused at Marston Moor to be broken up, while the artillery at Naseby was so cumbersome and bad that both sides practically disregarded it. Again, the strength of the Swedes lay in their infantry; the English battles for a long time were mere *mêlées* of cavalry, and the footmen had done their duty if they stood firm. These considerations explain the difference we have noted. Trained officers lost half their value when a campaign was made up of engagements of small bodies, who rode to meet one another across country, and whose fate turned on the leader's knowledge of the ground and power of infusing confidence into his men. A cap-

tain like Fairfax, who had hunted over half Yorkshire, and whom the yeomen respected as the representative of a great county family, was worth any number of half-foreign Dugald Dalgettys. No doubt, after a time, these conditions were reversed. After the adoption of the new model, the Parliamentary army was composed of well-disciplined men under trained veterans. But by this time the war had been its own school; and the native leaders, younger, abler, and equally familiar with battle-fields, could hold their own against their early instructors. Mr. Markham makes just havoc of one exaggerated reputation, showing up Rupert's incompetency on every occasion where real generalship was tested. On the other side, it must be remembered that he was intrusted at twenty-five with the command of large bodies of men, and matched with the best officers of the enemy. The Parliament had no nephews to promote; and Fairfax, who was the youngest of its captains, had given signal proof of his merit before the command-in-chief was bestowed upon him. Mr. Markham incidentally vindicates Cromwell from the charge of dishonestly intriguing to contrive and then evade the self-denying ordinance. But, if he is right in saying that Fairfax singled him out for service as the one man who could not be dispensed with, it goes far to disprove his other opinion that Cromwell's conduct at Marston Moor was disgraced by cowardice or incapacity. After all, the most unfavourable account would only prove that he was wounded, and left the field at a critical moment, and recovered afterwards. But even a slight wound may disorder or disable a brave man for the time; and anyhow, Cromwell's withdrawal does not seem to have damaged him in his chief's opinion.

Fairfax's successes as a general, and his position as a politician, belong eminently to the early part of the war. There is no reason, indeed, to believe that the soldier who won Naseby and reduced Bristol would not have played his part equally well in Scotland and Ireland. Rather we may perhaps think that it would not have needed a miracle to deliver Fairfax as Cromwell was saved at Dunbar. But Fairfax never varied from his first principles. He drew his sword in the belief that monarchy ought to be limited, and the Church of England reformed; and he sheathed it, disheartened and dismayed, when he found that church and throne had been swept away. Were this all, it might seem that no reproach rested upon his character. But those who remember that in 1648 Fairfax stood pre-eminent above every military rival by prestige and rank in the army, and that the campaigns which really made Cromwell's reputation had not yet been fought, naturally ask why Fairfax stood by with folded hands to see the King's execution, the invasion of Scotland, and the Protector's usurpation of power. Is any man of first-rate capacity absolved for inaction when the Commonwealth is in danger; and would it have been more difficult for the general to rally troops round him when his fame was still fresh, than in 1660 when he decided Lambert's

fate? The answer may probably be found in character more than in circumstances. It is true Fairfax was now in broken health, and to some extent physically disqualified for new campaigns. It is true, also, that the larger part of the army would not have followed him against the Parliament. But it is at least highly probable that his immediate and energetic opposition to any of the measures just instanced would have forced its promoters to hesitate and perhaps abstain. Unfortunately, Fairfax wanted initiative. Where a decision was forced upon him, as at the outbreak of the Civil War, he would choose a side, and adhere to it with stainless loyalty. But when it was possible to withdraw, he shrank from the perpetual necessity of deciding complicated problems, and winding his way through a maze of political intrigues, and perhaps also from the risk of occasioning fresh bloodshed. Too noble to suspect others till the time for suspicion was past, too happy in his domestic circumstances to care for any prize that the game of public life could bestow, he was also incapable of understanding that the war of principles had not ended at Bristol, and that something more than well-meaning and nerveless conduct was required of him. It may seem idle to regret the past, and useless to speculate on what might have been. But the more justice is done to Fairfax's military capacity and private virtue, the more impossible it is not to deplore that he only served England for a small portion of his life. Mr. Markham's picture of him—and it is very vivid—shows us a gentleman to whom no story of broken faith or private greed attaches, and a soldier from whom Cromwell would have taken orders, "the one absolutely unselfish public man in England," breaking his sword, and abandoning the Commonwealth, because he differed from the policy of its rulers. Surely so scrupulous a conscience might have considered whether it was quite honourable to let those whom he had led lose all for which they had fought. Within two years of the General's retirement the laws and liberties of the country were at the mercy of an adventurer: within ten, a government only more tolerable and even more degraded than that which Fairfax overthrew, had been restored. When he died in 1671, he may fairly have questioned, judging by the result, whether any lasting gain had been won for England; and perhaps the best lesson of his life is that neither moral goodness nor intellectual capacity can redeem the want of decision and a strong will.

22. DR. STOUGHTON'S two volumes on *The Church of the Restoration* embrace the period of English ecclesiastical history from Cromwell's death to the acquittal of the seven Bishops. Like the earlier portions on the Church of the Civil War and the Church of the Commonwealth, the present work is honourably distinguished by undeviating truthfulness of design; and the author perhaps rather errs by inclining to think too well of those to whose opinions he is most alien, than by misconceiving or misrepresenting their principles of action.

He has also read widely, and frequently draws from new or unpublished materials. Dealing with a portion of history which has never yet been adequately treated, he is often able to correct the errors of predecessors; and the mere fact that he gives a judicial statement of the case for the Nonconformists of whom Neal is only the extravagant partisan, makes his volumes of special interest. Nevertheless they just fall short of the comparatively high standard it is reasonable to think they might have reached. The fault of the earlier parts was a certain want of definiteness. It is intensified in *The Church of the Restoration*; and the mind is bewildered by unfinished sketches and loosely conceived statements of dogmatic differences. About half the second volume is occupied with biographical sketches of divines, or criticisms on their works. When the canvas is so crowded with figures, distinctness becomes the artist's first requisite; and the very good-nature which leads Dr. Stoughton to extenuate all differences is fatal to the precision of his summings up. Neither, it must be added, is he always quite clear as to what his antagonists hold.

The most interesting part of the volumes is that which relates to the persecution of Nonconformists. It is written with characteristic moderation, and gives the impression of summing up fairly the real facts of the case. Its chief result is that, after the time when the Act of Uniformity came into force, there was scarcely any parish where Nonconformists were not persecuted in one way or another, but that at no time was the persecution thorough. Here, it might be, the whole spirit of a town was so completely in the Dissenting interest, that even Puritan gatherings could be held openly; there, a powerful landowner interposed to shelter religionists with whom he sympathized. Not unfrequently the King was prevailed on to empty the jails by an act of grace; sometimes magistrates grew weary of the unpopular duties thrust upon them, and would intimidate the spies who laid informations. If, in spite of all this, it is certain that many men of eminence were debarred the exercise of their only profession, the clergyman's or the schoolmaster's, and that many died in jail for no worse crime than attendance on a conventicle, it must still be borne in mind that the party suffered in some degree by its own deliberate choice. It courted the scourge, in order that Catholics might be brought to the block, and would rather endure persecution for a time than sanction the fatal precedent that an Established Church ought not to persecute. The reaction that followed the Popish Plot did much to sober the public sense. Men perceived that Oates and Dangerfield were as real a danger to society as Coleman and the Jesuits; and, as the absurdity of the fictitious plans for reducing England was exposed, thoughtful politicians awoke to a conviction that the only quarter to which France and Rome could look for support was the Court of St. James's. Moreover, without here controverting Dr. Stoughton's opinion that Baxter and Howe were the two most original divines of the cen-

tury, it may fairly be assumed that the wonderful impulse given to physical science by Locke, Newton, Wallis, and Boyle, towards the end of the century, did much to withdraw attention from theological controversy. The Nonconformist teachers were superseded by a new philosophy, while they still thought only of exchanging blows with their old antagonists; and the time was near at hand when the active speculation of England was to be mostly sceptical. It is a curious feature of Dr. Stoughton's book, that he seems as unconscious of this tendency in the times he is describing as were the divines who lived in it. Once indeed he alludes to that jealousy of science which is not yet extinguished; but he evidently regards it as a matter of no significance.

23. Dr. PICHLER's *Theologie des Leibniz* is the first work that has ever been written on the subject with materials sufficient to justify conclusions. There have been men whose religious insight was deeper than that of Leibniz, and some, though very few, whose theological knowledge was greater; but not one among the moderns has equalled him in the amount of general scientific learning with which he approached questions of divinity, or in comprehensiveness of genius, or in that keenness and elevation of judgment which made him see so clearly the defects of the churches while recognising all the value of ecclesiastical institutions. So much impartiality in religious controversy has rarely been united with so much earnestness, or so free from the reproach of indifference. Not even Grotius or Fénelon is so instructive for the attitude of his mind towards the claims of the Church. The philosophical system of Leibniz has lately been discussed by Fischer with extraordinary ability, but his theological ideas are still imperfectly known. At least twelve volumes have been published within the last few years, containing writings by him which were not known before; and much is still unprinted. It was not his way to compose systematically. He never at any time was thoroughly master of all his thoughts. The fertility of his mind was such that the harvest could never be completely gathered. New ideas came crowding upon him whenever he sat down to write. The progress was as incessant as the production. The sluggish pen refused to register the working of that exhaustless brain. The wealth of matter made his style confused. He was never satisfied with what he had written, and came back to the same point, seeking the exact expression to clothe and define his thought, and seeking it in vain. He was happier in writing letters than in writing books. His letters are not eloquent or brilliant; but they are too short to suffer from the want of method and revision; and no other correspondence is so instructive. The greater part of the theology of Leibniz is to be found in them; and they have been turned by Dr. Pichler to great advantage. He has had access to unpublished matter, and was in many respects favourably situated to be the historian of this great dispassionate divine. A Catholic priest, however learned, is seldom free

from the entanglement of responsibility for the acts of the hierarchy. He feels himself committed not only to the cause of a doctrine, divine and true, but to that of an institution represented by sinful men; and he becomes anxious to justify the works of men as well as the works of God. Attachment to religious truth interferes with his attachment to historical truth. The doctrine warps the fact. History saves no souls, and must yield to the interest of faith that does. All these fallacies have never deluded Dr. Pichler; and he has been honourably distinguished for literary integrity as well as for untiring industry. He has mastered his subject with a completeness which no other writer on it has approached. He is even needlessly profuse of sentences from Leibniz, which are often admirable, and which do not lose by being taken out of their setting. On many points there is nothing to be added, nothing but compression to be wished for.

The great question of all is the exact position of Leibniz in the conflict of the Churches. This is the principal object of Dr. Pichler's attention; and there is nothing in which he has been more completely unsuccessful. Nothing in the life of Leibniz is more memorable than his long endeavours for the union of Christendom. Above all things he laboured for reconciliation and peace, and the restoration of unity. He readily and warmly acknowledged the merits of Catholicism, while insisting on the need of reforms; and there is no quality more seemly in a controversialist than the gift of understanding and appreciating the system of opponents. Dr. Pichler is so much more ardent a reformer than Leibniz that he apologizes for Leibniz's admiration for Catholicism, and explains it by political causes. He calls him a politic divine, "ein staatskluger Theologe." He apparently dislikes the systems of the Catholic as well as the Protestant Churches, and wishes them not to be developed, united, and perfected, but abolished, to make room for a sort of purely German, national Christianity (p. 164). It is hardly possible to misunderstand more grossly the spirit of Leibniz's *Irenics*, or to be more out of sympathy with it. Unfortunately Dr. Pichler's book is written with a polemical purpose. He has perverted the theology of the great conciliator into an occasion for attacking the Church whose priesthood his attainments fit him to adorn; and in Leibniz's incomparable labours to unite and to build up, he has sought means to separate and to destroy. He has not learned the charity and the serenity of his illustrious original, nor practised his precept, "ambigua in melius interpretari."

24. THE Germans have from time immemorial been a colonizing people. The course of their emigration was interrupted for a time when the Carolingian Empire, broken up by internal dissensions, became a prey to the Northmen and Magyars; but as soon as the Imperial authority was re-established at home, the population began to increase, and the colonizing tendency revived. Till the discovery of America it was not possible for the stream

to take a westerly direction. For centuries, therefore, it flowed towards the east; and large tracts of country, originally inhabited by Slavs, thus became German. On the shores of the Baltic the settlements acquired a peculiar character. The Order of the Sword was already established in Livonia, when the Knights of the Teutonic Order, with which it was afterwards united, were called in by the Duke of Poland to conquer the country of the heathen and warlike Prussians. The conquest was achieved; Christianity was forcibly established; and the possession was secured by settlers from Germany. German knights penetrated into Livonia and Esthonia; and German traders laid the foundation of flourishing towns there. But it was too far off for the peasantry to follow them; and thus it came to pass that the German clergy, nobility, and citizens, found themselves face to face with a subjugated native population of another race. Herr Bienemann in his lectures, *Aus Baltischer Vorzeit*, has given an animated sketch of the history of these provinces—the quarrels of Bishops, Orders, and citizens, and the calamities and distress inflicted on the colonies by rebellious subjects, by hostile neighbours, and by the Danes. The condition of things became worse as the German Empire grew weaker and more divided, and the failure of religious enthusiasm stopped the influx of Crusaders and emigrants. The Reformation destroyed the old ecclesiastical State; and the Order became an anachronism. At last Livonia fell into the hands of Poles and Swedes, and was equally deceived and oppressed by both. The author describes the resolute stand made by the nobles, in the name of their country, for the old laws, which, though solemnly confirmed, were again and again set at naught by the Government; and he shows the strong position they took up, and the eminent qualities of some of their leaders. The Russian conquest was brought about by the violation of the laws of the country on the part of the Swedes; and at this point the book ends with the guarantee of ancient rights, which was solemnly given by Peter the Great. The author has not worked without a political purpose; for his sketch of the past is calculated to inspire a resistance similar to that which he describes to the analogous policy of Russia. But he proceeds on the basis of original researches, which have been made within the last few years by a distinguished series of scholars and patriots. The sources in home and foreign archives have been diligently investigated; and these lectures are a matured result of such labours. They were delivered at Reval to the lecturer's countrymen, and unfortunately are too full of merely local allusions to be always easily followed.

25. LORD STANHOPE's volume connecting Macaulay's History of England with his own, is in many respects an important contribution to literature. It deals with a period of singular interest, which has never yet been worthily described; and it deals with it in some respects adequately. Lord Stanhope intimates in his preface that he has given particular care to the

portrait of Marlborough; and his estimate is perhaps on the whole that which will be accepted finally. Indeed few can be better qualified to pass sentence on an intricate, though rather passionless, character than a writer like Lord Stanhope, who unites great care in the examination of evidence to eminent freedom from party bias in summing up. A historian who is creditably free from small inaccuracies, and honourably distinguished by a judicial candour, and whose style is singularly limpid and clear, will always take high rank among his fellows. Nevertheless there are several palpable deficiencies in the present volume. The chapters on English domestic history are comparatively meagre and weak. The existence of Ireland is scarcely recognized. The accounts of battles, so far as we have examined them, owe their seeming clearness to the fact that the chief manoeuvres and operations have been slurred over or omitted. The corrections which continental histories supply to English sources have not been properly investigated. The last chapter, on the Age of Anne, is so poor that it is difficult to understand how Lord Stanhope can have written it. Whole pages occur throughout the book without a line to indicate from what materials the narrative has been derived. Several of these imperfections might easily be removed. But some appear to be inseparable from the writer; and, if they are rather more apparent in this than in his earlier historical works, the reason perhaps is that he is painting on a larger canvas, and in his own despite challenges comparison with his great predecessor. Macaulay could not have written as dispassionately as Lord Stanhope has done about Marlborough; but he would have left us in no doubt why one ministry succeeded another, how a reaction was possible of which Sacheverell was the hero, or what forces were working in the English society of Queen Anne's days.

An instance of the faults in Lord Stanhope's narrative will appear from a comparison of his story of the battle of Blenheim with the French account in Madgett's *Histoire de Marlborough*, published by Napoleon's orders. Lord Stanhope begins by giving a good and careful account of the ground, and of the position and numbers of the two armies. He explains that the Bavarian-French army was practically surprised by the English-Austrian, but had ample time to form on the heights from Blenheim to Lutzingen. Thus while Eugene was leading the Austrian troops on the right against the Bavarians, the English left remained under the French fire. As soon as Eugene had crossed, the English advanced on the extreme left, and Lord Outts was heavily repulsed from Blenheim. Marlborough, proposing to come to his aid, brought his cavalry across the Nebel, a little stream which divided the armies, and routed Tallard in a decisive charge. So far as we understand it, this account represents the battle to have been a movement along the whole English line, decided partly through Tallard's fault in not charging the English while they were struggling through bad ground, and partly through the panic which seized the

French cavalry. In other words, Marlborough's combinations are reduced to a charge, which he ought never to have had the opportunity of making. The French narrative is at once more intelligible and more honourable to the English leader's generalship. It makes Tallard's first mistake consist in arranging the French-Bavarians in two armies, with two centres, and four wings of cavalry; his next, in shutting up twenty-seven battalions of his best infantry in Blenheim, on his extreme right, where their very numbers made many of them useless, while the cavalry on their left were too weak to maintain the long line intrusted to them. Nevertheless, so strong was the position, that Marlborough, whose troops suffered severely from the French fire in crossing the Nebel, would probably have failed to force it, if he had not occupied the defenders of Blenheim with a feigned attack, while he massed his cavalry against Tallard's left. From the direction in which the French fled, it is evident that their flank was turned; and their panic was due to the fact that, though superior in numbers along the whole line, they were overpowered at the point where they were charged. A few battalions of infantry would have arrested the English horse, and have given time for the French cavalry to rally. But Lord Cutts had occupied the French foot in Blenheim till it was too late for them to be drawn out; and this was his real work, to assist Marlborough rather than to be assisted by him. Tallard, as Lord Stanhope points out, lets the moment for a decisive charge escape; and it does not much matter whether he was absent at the moment in another part of the field. His faulty disposition of his troops was the real cause of his defeat; and the chances are that the English cavalry, even if it had been beaten back, would have rallied behind the foot, and renewed the battle. It is a minor circumstance, but in accepting the estimate that "thousands" perished in the Danube, as Lord Stanhope on the whole seems inclined to do, he is in opposition to the mature judgment of San Viali, who computes the victims only at some hundreds. It is doubtful, too, whether Marlborough in person pursued the fugitives. The better opinion seems to be that he hurried from the field he had won to support Eugene on the left. Generally, it may be said that, while Lord Stanhope's narrative is not actually or not greatly wrong, it does not assist the reader to a comprehension of Marlborough's strategy.

Three years after Blenheim had been fought, Marlborough thought it advisable to visit Charles XII., whose victories were exciting alarm in Germany. Politically the interview of the two conquerors was not very important; for Charles from passion, and his ministers from policy, were alike decided to let nothing interfere with the Russian war. Lord Stanhope, however, following Coxe, represents Marlborough as gradually winning over Charles by his persuasive powers to the English interest, and as distributing fees and pensions among the Swedish ministers. Fryxell's account is very different. "The two men," he says, "were ill-matched. Charles thought

that Marlborough was more of a fine gentleman than a soldier should be. Marlborough . . . considered that Charles was more influenced by love of personal reputation than by really statesmanlike views." Of Marlborough's influence on Swedish diplomacy Fryxell knows nothing, though he recognizes his good offices with the Emperor. In the same way he rejects the story of the bribes given by Marlborough. It is true it comes from the Duke himself; but Marlborough's reputation is not unblemished in money matters. "Olaf Hermelin," says Lord Stanhope, "at once accepted the offer that was made him." "As regards Hermelin," says Fryxell, "he was distinguished for disinterested and honourable conduct, as is abundantly witnessed by his own countrymen and foreigners; and it is not very likely that he allowed himself to swerve from it on this occasion." Of Count Piper, Lord Stanhope says that his scruples were overruled by his wife. But Fryxell quotes a letter of the French minister Torcy two years later: "Piper has always been true to his king, and has not deserved the reproach brought against him, of allowing himself to be seduced from the path of duty by bribes." Torcy would hardly have written this of an English pensioner, and could scarcely have been ignorant of an English pension. Piper's own denial at a later period must also be taken in evidence; and above all there is the strong probability that so shrewd a politician as Marlborough would divine the Swedish plans, which were in fact hardly concealed, and would not care to throw money away upon the ministers of a king who always decided for himself. Still the matter is to some extent an open one; and it is doubtful whether we shall ever attain to certainty on it. But the Swedish view of the question should have been given.

The most interesting parts of what should be Lord Stanhope's best chapter, that on "the Age of Anne," are an extract from an unpublished letter of De Foe, offering to supply evidence against Sacheverell's morals and loyalty, and a passage from an unpublished Memoir on the Mistresses of George I. and George II., by Lord Chesterfield. De Foe's character for meanness is becoming so well established that it will soon baffle apologists. Lord Chesterfield may have shown "good discretion" in leaving his memoir unpublished; but after the lapse of a century there can be little reason why it should not see the light. Generally, however, this chapter is taken up with a very meagre review of the literature of Queen Anne's reign, and with lamentations over the restlessness of modern times, the division between class and class, and the want of openings for young professional men. The moralizing parts are very creditable to the writer's good feeling, but do not add much to the social history of the period.

26. M. LEONCE DE LAVERGNE is not only an economist but also what the French call "un écrivain," a correct and elegant writer, who can amuse while he instructs. In his recent book on the French economists of the

18th century he fixes upon the anecdotal part of political economy; and all his stories belong to the lives of interesting and sometimes remarkable men. He gives his readers an easy access to the knowledge of doctrines, by borrowing from the memoirs of a period rich in productions of the kind, which will bear reading over and over again. The men of whom he writes are either the immediate precursors or the contemporaries and friends of Adam Smith; and their school is known as that of the Physiocrats. He has devoted an essay to the Physiocrats in general, and others to the Abbé de St. Pierre, Quesnay, the Marquis de Mirabeau, Turgot, the Marquis de Chastellux, the Abbé Morellet, and Dupont de Nemours—the principal members of the school. Gournay ought to have been added to the list, unless he is reserved for a second volume.

The most interesting of the essays is that on the Abbé de St. Pierre. The Abbé was a man of restless imagination, and fertile in inventions, of which many were in his own time regarded as utopias, and have only been realized after being re-invented a century later. Derided even during his life as a "projector," he bore the imputation with unflinching patience. "For twenty-five years," he wrote at the close of his life, "I have worked in the interest of the public, but without credit, and consequently have been of little service to the present generation. Nevertheless my projects will survive; and many of them will be gradually accepted by the young minds who will rise to take part in the government; and thus they will become of great value to future generations. This anticipation of the future has always been an ample recompense to me for my mortifications in the present." The better to inculcate his ideas he adopted a method useful in conversation but intolerable in writing: he incessantly repeated himself. Somebody once said to him, "There are excellent things in your writings, but they are repeated too often." He asked to be shown some instances, which was easily done. "You see," he rejoined, "that you have remembered them; if I had only said them once you would have forgotten them." It is from his work *Le Projet de Paix perpétuelle*, the first volumes of which were published in 1713, that his name will be chiefly remembered. The scheme was summed up in five articles. Actual possession and the execution of the latest treaties were taken as the starting-point; and all Christian sovereigns were to be invited to join the alliance. Each ally was to contribute in proportion to his revenues to a common fund, to be administered by plenipotentiaries at the place of their perpetual assembly. The allies were to pledge themselves severally not to use force for the settlement of their mutual differences, but to submit in all such cases to the mediation of the remainder of their body. If any member transgressed the laws of the alliance, the remainder were to arm against him, and act on the offensive till he yielded and made proper reparation. The plenipotentiaries were to regulate the ordinary affairs of the alliance by the decision of simple majorities; but the fundamental articles were not to be changed except

by the unanimous consent of the allies. These articles substantially anticipate the idea of a European confederation with an arbitrating tribunal, which is now so widely spread, and the realization of which is the formal aim of the Peace Societies.

The essay on Quesnay is very complete, and illustrates both the man and his system. Quesnay is known as the founder of the physiocratic school which M. de Lavergne exhibits in all its details. His merits, however, have been a good deal exaggerated; and he was not the sole head of the school; M. de Gournay stood by his side, and drew away many of the followers. It was Gournay who originated the famous maxim, "*laissez faire et laissez passer*," which has become the economical creed of the free-traders. Much might have been said of M. de Mirabeau, "the friend of humanity," the father of the orator; for he was a man of character, although the traits were not always pleasant; and he wrote much and diffusely. The best of the remaining essays, however, after those on St. Pierre and Quesnay, is that on the Marquis de Chastellux. But his book, which M. de Lavergne thinks excellent, scarcely deserves that verdict. His fame rests more on his adventures and wit than on his learning. The notice of Turgot is very short, probably because so much has been written about him before. In the many volumes on the subject it is difficult to find an unfavourable criticism on a minister who, though he was full of good intentions, never realized any of them. To say of a man all good and no ill is to put him in peril of ostracism.

27. In no other country has there been such a succession of women distinguished by their historical influence as in France. Under Henry IV. Madame de Montpensier was one of the chiefs of the League. The ladies of the circle of the Hôtel Rambouillet, of the time of Louis XIII. have had the good fortune to find so admirable a biographer as M. Cousin, who shows, moreover, of what sacrifices for a queen in disgrace women like Madame de Hautfort and Madame de Chevreuse were capable. In the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV., Mazarin, on signing the peace with Spain, congratulated Olivarez on the frivolity of the Spanish women, who contented themselves with making love, while in France, he said, there were at least three—the Princess des Ursins, the Princess Palatine, and Madame de Chevreuse—each of whom was capable of upsetting a whole kingdom. The progress of this reign was not favourable to the development of any such independence of character; and the degradation of that of Louis XV. was manifested when, under his successor, the representatives of the women who had lived only for their country or their party drowned themselves in the dissipations of Versailles, and amidst the misfortunes of their country and the ruin of their order heedlessly consumed their lives at the gambling table. The letters published in the *Souvenirs d'Emigration de Madame la Marquise de Lige de Volude* afford a striking example of this kind of existence, and of the power which the stroke



of misfortune sometimes had to restore the hereditary virtues of a dissipated race.

The book falls into two divisions. One contains the interesting and touching contribution of Madame de Lâge, the other the somewhat grotesque annotations of M. de la Morinerie, the editor. In his anxiety that the hereditary character of his heroine should be understood, he gives her pedigree on both sides to the furthest degree. He does not omit to mention that Madame d'Amblimont, the mother of Madame de Lâge, was first cousin once removed of a remote ancestress of his own; and that it was because this ancestress of his was cousin at once to M. de Buch and Madame d'Amblimont, that Madame d'Amblimont was related to M. de Buch, to whom she owed her support during the troubles at Bordeaux. While smothering his subject in this froth, M. de la Morinerie shows himself incapable of fully appreciating the grace and dignity of Madame d'Amblimont. He enumerates among her distinctions the good graces of Madame de Pompadour, whom he says she might have supplanted in the King's favour. He omits none of the substantial gifts bestowed on her; but he is lost in admiration at the supreme favour shown by the King and Madame de Pompadour in standing sponsors for her son. It was only the religion of loyalty which could gild or excuse the acceptance of such a favour; but it is impossible not to see that the woman who inspired the devotion exhibited by Madame de Lâge to her mother must have been high-minded as well as generous and amiable.

In her early years, however, Madame de Lâge had seen but little of her mother. Having been brought up by an uncle, she was at sixteen years of age attached to the Princesse de Lamballe, and remained so after her marriage three years later to the son of the Marquis de Lâge. She was one of the few intimates of this Princess and the Queen who were fortunate enough to escape the guillotine. At the time of the flight to Varenne, Madame de Lamballe was ordered to join the Queen at Aix. Madame de Lâge accompanied her. At Aix they learnt the capture of the Queen; and at the first summons the Princess hastened back to share her perils, but was unwilling that her young friend should risk life for her sake. Madame de Lâge, therefore, remained at Coblenz, where she was soon joined by her father and husband, and entered heart and soul into the dissipations of the giddy band that surrounded her. Madame d'Amblimont disapproved the emigration, and wished that her daughter had returned either to the Princess or to Bordeaux. But Madame de Lâge stayed on till she received news of her mother's dangerous illness; and then no representations could dissuade her from undertaking the perilous journey.

It is here that the manuscript of her souvenirs begins. After many dangers and narrow escapes she reached Paris, where, instead of being welcomed by her fellow sufferers, she was implored not to come near them. "Mon Dieu, qu'elle ne vienne pas ici; on saurait qu'elle arrive de Coblenz, elle me compromettrait," exclaimed the Queen. She

remained hidden accordingly in a hotel, under a false name, till she could proceed to Bordeaux, not however without having had a parting interview with the Princesse de Lamballe, who came alone and in disguise to the meeting. It was to be their last; for Madame de Lâge went on her way, remaining deaf to the assurances that Paris was the safest place, and that her mother must now be either out of danger or dead. In relating the conversation she adds, "Had I loved my mother less, I should have fallen a victim," for the court erred in the security of Paris. A few days later Madame de Lamballe was massacred, and tragical events followed in rapid succession, whilst Bordeaux was safe for some time longer. She remained there nearly two years, and during the greater part of that time was continually being sought by the police. At last she procured a passport and embarked for New York; but the vessel was captured by an English privateer, and was sent to Corunna. There Madame de Lâge was joined by her father and husband. The former fell at St. Vincent; and the latter with her younger daughter also died in Spain. In 1800, after an absence of seven years, she returned to her mother; and during the remaining forty-two years of her life she appears in Germany, France, and England, striving to regain some part of her former possessions, and meeting almost the same ill success when her requests were addressed to Louis XVIII. or Charles X., as when they were presented to Napoleon. Although the prime intention of these souvenirs is purely personal, they have also a historical importance, because Madame de Lâge's interest in politics was continually leading her into digressions and parentheses about the King and Queen, or the most significant figures of the day. The Queen comes out grandly; and the utmost measure of the writer's contempt is reserved for Necker and Lafayette, "without whom there would have been no Robespierres," and for Madame de Staël and Madame de Genlis, "their orgies, and their atrocious intrigues to draw others into their mode of life."

28. PROFESSOR SYBEL's combative vigour on the field of literature is well known. He has exerted it, not without a certain admixture of personal virulence, against Waitz, Ficker, and Hermann, and against M. Feuillet de Conches; and it was not to be expected that he would stop short in his controversy with Professor Hüffer. His last essay, "Polens Untergang und der Revolutionskrieg," published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, is, to say the least of it, a clever stroke. Profiting by the liberal administration of the Austrian archives, he has inspected the correspondence between Thugut and Cobenzl; and he has had the good fortune to discover the series of documents which throw light on the relations of the Emperor Leopold II. to the Polish coup d'état of the 8d of May 1791. The patriotic party at Warsaw raised a sudden panic by alleging another partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia, and so carried the proclamation of a very limited but hereditary monarchy in favour of



the Elector of Saxony and his daughter. Sybel formerly maintained against Hermann that Leopold II. fomented this coup d'état by secret intrigues, and must therefore be regarded as the real author of the Polish constitution of May 1791. This opinion he afterwards, in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (xii. p. 272), qualified as "hypothetical," and he has now modified it by saying that, whatever may be thought with regard to the Polish constitution and coup d'état of the 3d of May 1791, it still remains indisputable that Leopold II. evinced great warmth and energy on behalf of the new order of things in Poland. The correspondence of the Austrian ministry with Warsaw and St. Petersburg, which he has made use of, shows that Leopold was incessantly at work for the recognition and protection of the Polish constitution. This support was not disinterested; nor is Sybel wrong in attributing Leopold's intervention to his dislike of Prussia. Certainly it was a critical thing to go to war with France in conjunction with an ally who was not really trusted. Nor was this distrust of Prussia on the part of Austrian statesmen altogether unfounded or unjustified. Sybel endeavours to lower the importance of the partition convention of the 23d of January 1793, by which Prussia and Russia divided the Polish spoil behind Austria's back, and, to secure her acquiescence, held out a vague prospect of the exchange of Belgium for Bavaria, and "other advantages compatible with the general interest." But Professor Hüffer appears to be right in regarding this convention as a cunning device for overreaching Austria, and a personal mortification to the Emperor; and probably it was the conduct of Prussia in the matter which first weakened the alliance concluded against France in February 1792. On the other hand, the measures taken by Austria to separate Prussia from Russia, Thugut's intrigues to isolate Prussia, cannot be justified. But then his elevation was exactly the Emperor's answer to the exclusive Russo-Prussian partition-convention. Sybel has conclusively shown what a deep hostility Thugut felt for Prussia. One interesting fact which appears from the Austrian documents is that Lehrbach's mission to Berlin in the summer of 1793 was only a feint to keep Prussia quiet, while all real hope was on the side of Russia. Lehrbach declared indeed at Berlin that [Austria required an aggrandizement equivalent to that of Russia and Prussia, and asked for Alsace and Lorraine as well as guarantees for the eventual exchange of Belgium for Bavaria. But all these demands, as Thugut acknowledged, were simply advanced "pour amuser le tapis;" Austria really expected her compensation much rather from the goodwill of Russia than from the faith of Prussia. It was not a high or generous sort of policy, but, considering all the previous circumstances, it was a natural and perfectly intelligible one. When the reserve and distrust with which Thugut regarded Prussia began to be observed at Berlin, the right course would have been to put him to shame by assuming an attitude of magnanimity. Instead of this, there followed what Herr Sybel (p.

101) calls the "prudent order" to the Duke of Brunswick, to cover the German territories of the Empire but not to support an offensive action of Austria against France. Considering the state of military affairs on the Rhine, this order was the most grievous offence possible against the alliance of the German powers, which was still formally in existence. When, at the close of the year 1793, the projected conquest of Alsace turned to a bloody defeat, because the Prussians under Brunswick left Wurmser in the lurch, it was natural that the Austrian officers should talk indignantly of Prussian treachery. At all events, if the German powers are to be weighed against one another in the balance of patriotism, the order from the King to Brunswick not to assist Wurmser was a worse crime against the alliance than the alleged voluntary evacuation of Belgium by the Austrians in the summer of 1794. The events of the Belgian campaign of that year formed one main topic of the Sybel-Hüffer controversy. Sybel, who tried to raise to a certainty the suspicion of a voluntary evacuation, entertained at the time by the English and the Prussians, has now tacitly retracted some of his more extreme opinions, and thus diminished the real difference between himself and his antagonist. Amongst the positions which he apparently abandons is the view that the Emperor's going to Belgium was due to mere ennui. He admits it to rest on nothing better than a passage in Luchesi's despatches, to the effect that the Emperor Francis had been bored at Vienna, and sought distraction in the Belgian campaign. He further grants that the Emperor's journey and presence was a declaration of the resolve to defend Belgium to the last (p. 117). Again, he (p. 116, note) formally revokes the assertion that the evacuation was resolved on at a council of war on the 24th of May. On the other hand, he still lays great stress on a memorandum of Mack, which goes through the reasons for the evacuation, such as the scanty military reinforcements sent to the army of occupation, and Thugut's marked disinclination to trouble himself any longer about the defence of Belgium at a time when in the East, at Cracow and Warsaw, the dearest interests of the monarchy were at stake. But a negligent or inefficient defence of Belgium, or a "want of military unanimity at headquarters," is a very different thing from a voluntary evacuation of the country and the desertion or betrayal of England and Holland. The conclusion at which Sybel arrives, that Thugut cared more for Polish affairs and for combating Prussia than for the war against the French revolution (p. 119), is so reasonable that it would probably be admitted by Professor Hüffer. But such a modest conclusion widely differs from the author's former one, that Thugut wished to drive the Austrians out of Belgium and bring in the French. An acquaintance with the Austrian sources has also led him to draw the character of Thugut with more forbearance and equity than formerly. He neither, like Häusser, calls him a Vizier, nor, like Hormayr, a "crapulous

Mephistopheles." He regards him as a strong, clear, self-contained character, free from personal self-seeking, and animated by a profound idea of the greatness and high prerogatives of the monarchy he served—an echo of the old imperial thought that all the kingdoms of the earth owed allegiance to Austria, and that any power which resisted her claim was the victim of a moral error. His heaviest reproach against Thugut is for his "groundless" "suicidal" jealousy of Prussia. But the jealousy was not so unfounded as he believes; nor was the policy of the Austrian statesman necessarily suicidal because he refused to submit passively to the blows of Prussia.

29. DR. A. VON VIVENOT, who, both as author and soldier, has always been a valiant champion of the military honour of Austria, has published a work on the battle near Zürich in 1799, in which he attacks the Russian historians in much the same way as he recently attacked the "historiography of little Germany." Korsakoff's defeat on this occasion by Massena was an important episode of the Russo-Austrian alliance of 1799. The current opinion attributes to the Russians the larger share in the campaign of that year, and charges the bad arrangements of the Vienna War-office and the general slowness of Austria with spoiling much that Russian valour and the genius of Suwaroff had painfully achieved. This opinion is due chiefly to Miliutin's *History of the War of 1799*; from him Häusser has derived his hostile criticism of the Austrian operations of the year. Dr. Vivenot refutes these accusations generally by the aid of Russian reports and Miliutin's own words. He also draws from the reports of Wessenberg, Austrian commissioner at the head-quarters of Korsakoff, an eye-witness of the battle, and from a manuscript record of an Austrian officer on the staff of Hotze's corps. He shows that Korsakoff scornfully set aside the wise dispositions of the Archduke Charles, that he had no knowledge of the local difficulties of Switzerland, and that he considered the whole country as an immense fortress, only to be taken by storm. The Archduke Charles had planned an extensive combination of movements to compel the enemy to evacuate Switzerland, and in August 1799 had actually compelled Massena to draw back on every point. But Korsakoff rejected all these dispositions, and arranged his forces on entirely different lines from those which had been occupied by the Austrians. The Archduke Charles pointed out to him on the map the positions of the Austrian troops, and told him what force each required. But, whenever the Archduke named the number of battalions, Korsakoff muttered to himself the word "companies." The Archduke, fearing to be misunderstood, corrected him, and laid a particular stress on the word "battalions." "Exactly," replied Korsakoff, "Austrian battalions or Russian companies." This national conceit was singularly shown in Korsakoff's rejection of the advice of the Austrian veteran Hotze, to wait till he was joined by

Suwaroff, who was returning from Italy, and then to reconquer the smaller cantons, by attacking Massena's position in the rear. But he risked a total defeat by assuming the offensive before the arrival of Suwaroff. He resolved to charge with the bayonet the positions of Massena on the Albis mountains. The French commander, it may be imagined, was much less willing than Korsakoff to wait for the arrival of Suwaroff. By a simultaneous attack on every point of the line, he baffled the plan of the Russians, who were wholly unprepared for such a turn of things. On the 25th of September he repulsed the left wing of Korsakoff's army to the very gates of Zürich, and on the 26th drove the Russians out of the town. Their retreat speedily changed into a thorough rout. Korsakoff possessed just enough presence of mind to send a flag of truce to Massena, with proposals for surrender and for a general armistice; but he immediately decamped with a squadron of hussars, and when his emissary, Colonel Paravicini, returned, he found the Russian hero in bed at Eglisau, where he received Massena's answer with manifest symptoms of anxiety and dismay. The loss of the battle of Zürich had a fatal effect on the whole campaign. It shut up Suwaroff in the mountain passes of Glarus and Grau Bund, and lost to the Allies the whole of Switzerland, "in consequence," as Wessenberg says, "not of an ordinary defeat, but of a thorough rout, and an unexampled confusion which began in the head of the Russian General, and spread through the ranks of his officers and soldiers."

Dr. Vivenot describes the frivolity, rudeness, and ignorance that reigned at the head-quarters of Korsakoff, where, if Miliutin is to be believed, the very flower of the Russian army was to be found. He acknowledges the valour of their infantry, but blames their incapacity and the heavy movements of the cavalry. He shows that there was a total want of discipline and military training in the Russian army. Korsakoff's utter ignorance of Switzerland induced him to retreat along the very same road by which he had entered the country. By this means he actually sacrificed all the positions on the Thur, the passages of the Rhine at Büsingen, Diessenhofen, Stein, and Constance, and his connection with Suwaroff, thereby setting the crown on his foolishness. Dr. Vivenot also deals severely with Suwaroff. He recalls the fact that on receiving intelligence of the defeat of his colleague at Zürich, Suwaroff vented the whole of his indignation against Austria, and accused the Emperor Francis, "the owl" Thugut, and the Archduke Charles, of plotting against Russia. The Russian General, he says, was "a man without self-control, both in his hatred and his love, vain of his originality and of his European reputation. Miliutin has absurdly called him a modern Belisarius; but, in fact, he was an intriguer, who deeply wounded the friendship between Austria and Russia. While his reports to the Emperor Francis were couched in terms of the most servile compliment, to his own Czar he always wrote like a bitter enemy

of Austria. It would no doubt have been better if Austria had never invited the Muscovite to command her army. She had generals of her own who, for that year at least, and till the coming of Bonaparte, would have proved themselves as good commanders."

30. ADMINISTRATIVE organization is of two kinds—the unitary, which prevails in France, Italy, and Spain; and the collective, which prevails in countries of Germanic origin. On the Continent it is the unitary service, properly speaking, which is called bureaucratic; while in England the board is essentially collective. In France, indeed, the word bureau is sometimes taken in a collective sense for the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and collector of a society. But this is an exceptional meaning; the ordinary sense, that which has given rise to the term bureaucracy, is as follows:—A functionary, whether minister, prefect, or other, is charged by law with a branch of the public service; he has both the power and the responsibility, and everything is done in his name; but, as he cannot perform all the work alone, he engages auxiliaries, who are themselves without power or responsibility, and whom he chooses and dismisses at pleasure; these auxiliaries are organized into groups called bureaux. England possesses this kind of organization; but she has also collective administrations—committees, councils, boards in the English sense. These bodies consist of several functionaries, of whom each may have his peculiar province, but does not generally decide by himself: as a rule the decision emanates from the committee, and the majority makes the law.

The unitary form which prevails in France is for the most part a creation of Napoleon I., although the intendants, to whom the modern préfets have succeeded, were unitary functionaries. Napoleon's principle was that to give advice is the function of numbers, but to administer is the work of one. The great autocrat kept especially in view the easy realization of his schemes; but his opinion might have been influenced by the failure of the collective departmental administrations which had been organized by the republic under the name of directories, after the manner of the central executive power. M. du Chatellier, in his *Administrations Collectives de la France*, explains the character of these directories. He begins with the institutions anterior to the republic, and then describes the republican institutions up to the Empire. It is to be regretted that he does not pursue his subject down to the present day. He seems to think that there is now in France no collective administration at all, which, though true in a general sense, is not true absolutely, or without exceptions. His work aims at proving the advantages of decentralization, a question which in France is much discussed just now, and is likely to remain so for a long while. At present it is only the educated and intelligent class who feel the need of decentralization. The idea does not come home to the mind of the peasant. He has not a sufficient sense of independence, or

a sufficient knowledge of his rights, to make the proposed measures efficacious. Indeed, in a sense, decentralization is rather a political habitude than an administrative organization; and even the most liberal laws are of little value to men who do not know how to use them.

31. It is not without a certain air of self-importance that Herr von Klinkowström, the editor of the new collection from Gentz's literary remains, announces his intention to amend and supplement the collections made by his predecessors. In his devotion to his hero he has somewhat presumed on the patience of mankind. He has spread over 189 pages what might perfectly have been compressed into 15. Whatever may be the fame of men like Thugut, Cobenzl, Senfft, Adair, and others, to whom Gentz's newly published letters were addressed, it does not justify the publication of trivialities. The first six pieces in the book have already been published by Mendelssohn. Number 7 contains a report to Count Stadion on the consequence of the catastrophe of Jena, on which better and more thorough information is contained in Gentz's Diary of 1806, and in his letter to Prince Lobkowitz, published in the 32d volume of the reports of the Academy of Vienna for 1859. Number 8 concerns the regulation of the French war contribution, and is wholly unimportant. The correspondence with Kollowrat, Johnson, and Götzen (10-20) might equally have been omitted; Gentz's Diary shows the feelings with which he regarded the events of 1809. In the appendix, indeed, Herr Klinkowström gives some highly interesting details respecting the conclusion of the peace of Schönbrunn (p. 155). They confirm the opinion expressed by Bignon, and by Gentz in his Diary, that Napoleon extorted the assent of the Emperor Francis by threatening to make him abdicate in favour of his brother the Grand-duke of Würzburg; but their historical value is diminished by the fact that the name of the diplomatist from whose private papers they are derived is not mentioned. The most important part of Herr Klinkowström's collection is the series of letters and reports to Metternich (20-25); but Gentz's hostility to the Bourbons, his apprehension with regard to the secret aims of the allies of Austria, and his fear of the annexation-policy of Prussia (p. 56), were already known from his letters to Pilat. In his very characteristic paper of the 15th of February 1814, he discussed the isolated position of Austria. Her political interests, he maintained, were opposed to the restoration of the Bourbons, warmly insisted upon by some of the other allies, and required, on the contrary, an equitable arrangement with Napoleon. Thus, on the most important of all questions—the occupation of the French throne—she found herself in the position of being compelled to sacrifice either her own undoubted interests or her agreement with her allies. Blücher's march on Paris was really directed no less against Austria than against Napoleon (p. 72). The coalition had done, and more than done, its work; and

its fall was a matter of indifference. Even a Napoleon was entitled to justice and equity; and in very self-respect it ought to be remembered that this Napoleon had been acknowledged as an emperor and sovereign. "Although for the moment the maxim had become current that everything was lawful against such a foe as Napoleon, yet later results and more mature reflection would soon re-establish the better conviction that, even in dealing with the wicked, the dictates of justice cannot be violated with impunity." After the letters to Metternich come those to or from Bombelles, Nagler, Bubna, Stürmer, and Senfft, all about matters merely personal, and without any historical interest (26-42). No. 48, an extract from a letter of Walmoden, gives his judgment as a soldier with regard to the positions of the allied armies in the spring of 1813. But no kind of historical interest attaches to the correspondence of a vain, incapable, and intriguing hospodar like Caradja (46-67). Whether such a Phanariot maintained his position, or fell for want of money enough to bribe the Diwan, is a matter of no consequence; and it is only to be deplored that from 1812 Gentz should have consented, for the sake of money, to carry on a diplomatic correspondence with him, in the course of which political secrets of an inferior order occasionally leaked out. That Gentz regarded the modern Greeks as a set of knaves, and saw in Capodistrias a "pest of Europe," has been long known. Herr Klinkowström's historical notes contain a few interesting details with regard to the position of North-Germans such as A. Müller, Jarcke, and Schlegel, who like Gentz had come to Austria to seek employment, but met with little success or encouragement. Gentz himself had to struggle with the numerous prejudices of the old Austrian bureaucracy, who saw in him a dangerous intruder, and could not forgive his not being a "trained" Austrian official. The distrust with which he had been received into the Imperial service clung to him till his death. His unpardonable misfortune was that he had a mind and ideas of his own.

82. THE treatise on the foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, published by M. Hymans, as a first volume of his political and parliamentary history of Belgium, has been almost immediately followed by a new exposition of the same subject by the indefatigable Belgian historian M. Théodore Juste, in his *Soulèvement de la Hollande en 1813, et la Fondation du Royaume des Pays-Bas*. Of the two works, that of M. Juste is decidedly the better. Though he has been as sparing as his predecessor in the use of manuscript materials, he has more thoroughly investigated the printed sources, whether Dutch, English, or German; his narrative is, upon the whole, free from serious faults; and his judgments, especially of persons, are generally independent and well founded. Still, his book is not completely satisfactory; nor does it reach the height to which the author has attained in other works, such as his history of the States-

General of the Netherlands, and his biography of Leopold I. His knowledge is inexact with regard to the constitution of the United Netherlands Republic, and the political changes which took place there after 1795; and this shortcoming not only mars his account of the Dutch revolution of 1813, but further makes his introduction on the reign of King Lewis a hors d'œuvre, though the monarchical and constitutional unity which was then established really determined the character of the constitution of 1814, and its developments. A still greater defect is the author's failure to weigh carefully the value of that union between Belgium and her northern neighbour, which European diplomatists had so much at heart. By his varied researches in general Belgian history, from the time of Charles V. to the present day, M. Juste was particularly qualified to examine the arguments on both sides of the question, and to form a critical judgment on the action of the Congress of Vienna, and the fundamental law of 1815. Instead of doing so, he contents himself (pp. 280-285) with reproducing the views expressed by Benjamin Constant in 1817, in his *Tableau Politique du Royaume des Pays-Bas*—views which belong altogether to the politics of the day, and assign to momentary difficulties and errors the same importance as to the permanent and essential relations and characteristics of the two nations. His own opinion, however, appears from this quotation, and from a few words which accompany it. He thinks that great and wise ideas suggested the foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands; he sees in it a revival of the glorious traditions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and he believes that, by a liberal policy, King William I. might have established his throne, and won himself a lasting reputation. This opinion, which is a favourite one among the Belgian Liberals, appears to rest not on an impartial survey of the facts, but almost exclusively on a misappreciation of the strength of the clerical element in Belgium. In the united state the Catholic clergy could never have attained to so high a degree of political importance; and this fact, combined with the elements of national and material antagonism, made it doubtful from the first whether the kingdom of the Netherlands could stand.

83. SINCE the death of Otto Abel, Herr Springer has stood nearest to Dahlmann among the younger race of German scholars: and he is fairly entitled to the privilege of being his first biographer. It is perhaps to be regretted that the task has not fallen to one of the older generation; but, though peculiar interest would have attached to a life of Dahlmann from the hand of one of "the Göttingen seven," it must be allowed that Herr Springer has performed his work with great ability and judgment. Dahlmann's family have given him every assistance, placing at his disposal all the literary remains of the deceased scholar, as well as his large family correspondence. Even with such abundant materials as these, however, it is no easy thing to do justice to a character of Dahlmann's type. He belonged to a class of Ger-

man scholars, now fast disappearing, who combined learning and action, theory and practice. He could not endure the thought of yielding to violence and success, and teaching others that mere power was law; this, he said, would be "seinen Zuhörern Lug und Trug für Wahrheit zu verkaufen." His moral energy had been trained in the school of suffering. Herr Springer describes the toil and hardship of his youth while he was battling against the national prejudice which assailed a young German at Copenhagen, and explains his difficult position with regard to the Danish Government when the influence of his uncle Jensen obtained him a professorship at Kiel. He had incurred the royal displeasure by a speech made on occasion of a commemoration of the battle of Waterloo; but, though he was warned of the consequences of his persistence, he deliberately refused any attempt at a reconciliation with the King. As secretary of the Permanent Deputation of the Schleswig-Holstein nobility, he tried in vain to obtain a hearing for the Duchies at the Bundestag; and indeed the constitutional politics of Schleswig-Holstein in the earlier decades of the present century are so closely connected with his name that his enemies have attributed to him the very existence of a Schleswig-Holstein question. The political conflicts in which he became involved were not without their effect on his temper and personal bearing. At first sight men were repelled by his apparent gloom and austerity. There was nothing attractive in his manner. He seemed stiff, distant, and reserved. Nevertheless, beneath the surface, he preserved a warmth and tenderness of heart; and the pictures of his domestic life, his relations with his second wife, his children, and his Göttingen friends, are among the best drawn in the book. The publication of his love-letters at p. 249, shows that Herr Springer has considered the amusement as well as the information of his readers.

Niebuhr's last letter to Dahlmann (p. 295), with the date of November 1830, is an interesting point in the book. The July revolution had separated the two friends, who had formerly been in general agreement in politics as well as history. Niebuhr saw everything in its worst light, deplored the weakness of governments and individuals in yielding to the revolutionary spirit, and went so far as to consider Dahlmann a demagogue in disguise. His death on the 2d of January 1831 prevented a complete rupture. The great historian of antiquity knew his friend very imperfectly when he accused him of complicity with the French "bagauderie," and called him a revolutionist "à la Lafayette." Dahlmann thought that revolution was better than reaction. "Soll es einmal sein," he said, "so will ich lieber am hitzigen als am kalten Fieber sterben;" but he was very far from being a revolutionist ex professo. When the revolution broke out at Göttingen, he proposed to put it down by force. His parliamentary speeches, his articles written for the *Hannoversche Zeitung*, and his book *Die Politik*, show a mind free from all excesses of popular passion. His high idea of royalty, and his admiration for

the English constitution, were combined with a thoroughly German dislike of France; and he held the chief source of all French political troubles to be the absence of monarchical institutions on the basis of a landed nobility, and the "want of moral freedom" which characterized the people. Only a reckless violation of political right could have alienated so faithful a champion from the royal cause. The occasion was given by the revocation of the Hanoverian constitution of 1833 by King Ernest Augustus, when Dahlmann and his six famous colleagues—the two Grimms, Gervinus, Ewald, Albrecht, and Weber—entered a protest, in consequence of which, by a royal rescript of the 12th of December 1837, they were dismissed and banished. The University of Göttingen endeavoured, by the Rotenkirch deputation, to clear itself from any imputation of complicity with the protest; but the students showed their sympathy by taking the horses out of the Professors' carriage, and dragging it over the bridge towards Witzenhausen. The German nation heartily welcomed the exiles; and their courage and self-sacrifice produced a salutary effect on the public mind. The account of the protest of "the Göttingen seven" is one of the least satisfactory parts of Herr Springer's work. The copious materials at his disposal would have enabled him to treat it in a manner more in proportion to its importance.

84. THE new edition of the works of Charles Dunoyer is edited by his son, M. Anatole Dunoyer, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Berne. It is to be completed in five volumes, and has been begun by the publication of the second. The editor has added notes of two kinds to his father's work: some are comments by the author, extracts from revised copies, or corrections found among his father's papers; the others are historical or other illustrations, to explain, when the original occasions of publishing have been forgotten, the facts and circumstances necessary for an understanding of the text. Dunoyer's great work, *La liberté du travail*, which will enjoy a lasting reputation, is to appear in the third volume. The present one gives a number of essays and memoirs which merit preservation, and which implicitly contain the whole system of the author. Some of them also develop certain parts of it, and apply it to particular cases. The minor works appeared about fifty years ago in the periodical *Le Censeur européen*, and then attracted much attention. But their interest has diminished by the lapse of time; and what was then greedily devoured by the public will henceforth be sparingly consulted by the historical student.

The most remarkable essays in this volume are the following:—on public instruction in France, the political teaching of economical systems, on public loans, a fragment on economic criticism, a comparison of the spirit and methods of France and England with regard to public works, and especially with regard to railways, on the conversion of public funds, on the freedom of international trade, on the limits of political economy, on production, and

on the legal regulation of work in England. The charm of these essays is not altogether to be explained by the orthodox views which they contain. Dunoyer had ideas of his own, and the gift not only of presenting them clearly, but also of making them flow from their first principles with a precision similar to that of Bentham. In certain respects he may be called the French Bentham. There was a marked analogy between the methods of the two men; but Dunoyer did not carry it so far as the English utilitarian. His mind was not, so to say, so finely laminated as Bentham's; he satisfied himself with splitting the hair once, while Bentham would split the splittings a hundred times. The character of the French language, and perhaps also of the French public, imposed a limit on Dunoyer's analysis; it only goes so far as it can be followed with interest and without trouble.

One of the points in which he has particularly distinguished himself, is his definition, or rather limitation, of political economy, the boundaries of which he widely extends. He was the staunchest champion of "immaterial products," and maintained against the most conspicuous economists of his time that wealth consists not only in material objects conquered from nature, or transformed by the hand of man, but also in talents, knowledge, and useful or pleasant accomplishments. For him, the government was a producer of security, the doctor a producer of health, the professor a producer of learning, and so on. When reproached with extending political economy beyond its just limits, and trespassing on the ground of other sciences, his answer is that he simply studies the economical import of the professions in question, and regards them in no other point of view; that when he speaks of the professor, he does not busy himself about the method of instruction, nor about the science of medicine when he mentions the doctor; but that he only considers the effects of health and learning on the public conditions of prosperity. Besides, economical science may lay down certain precepts for those who exercise the liberal professions. In these professions there are buying and selling, competition, and perhaps monopoly; and certainly demand and supply produce their habitual effect. The producers of immaterial products understand this perfectly, and take advantage of it.

Dunoyer was an original thinker; and his works may be read with profit, apart from all question of the soundness or unsoundness of his ideas. His method is suggestive; it stimulates research and tends to make the student think out conclusions for himself.

85. THE party history of the United States for the last forty years is reflected with tolerable accuracy in the estimation in which the character and memory of Daniel Webster have been held at different times by his countrymen in the Northern States. Before 1850 his name was associated with the Constitution of which, in its national sense, he had been the most eloquent exponent; and his universal popularity testified to the almost religious veneration in

which that instrument was then held. By 1850 the Abolitionists had become a power in the North; and the worst possible passport to their favour was the desire to maintain a Union which they rightly thought to be the type and parent of later concessions to the slave-holding interest. The compromise measures of 1850, with their causes and consequences, fill a large part of the second volume of Mr. Curtis's *Life of Daniel Webster*. They made Webster for a time the best hated man in the United States; and there are many of his countrymen who still regard him as a renegade from the cause of freedom. The civil war brought a new class of opinions into prominence. The Union, which so long as it worked favourably for the Slave States the Abolitionists had called a "covenant with hell," became the object of enthusiastic devotion as soon as it admitted of being used for the opposite end; while with the great body of the Northern people the determination to reconquer the South found a convenient justification in love for the Constitution. Thus Webster's earlier speeches again became the textbook of popular oratory, though it may be doubted whether their author would have found himself any more in sympathy with the Abolitionists who quoted him during the war, than with the Abolitionists who had denounced him ten years earlier. It is true that the policy which had originally been supported by the latter was one against which Webster had decidedly set his face, as calculated to break up the Union; but the means employed to reduce the South to submission, and the spirit in which the Government has been carried on since the restoration of peace, are not less opposed to the principles he consistently maintained.

The year 1836 had seen the beginning of two movements, which, starting from opposite poles, were in the end to prove equally disastrous to the Union as it then existed. The battle of San Jacinto virtually established the independence of Texas; and certain members of an Anti-Slavery Society, who were also constituents of Webster, gave him formal notice of their intention to agitate for the abolition of slavery "by moral means." The way in which these two events promised to react on one another was this:—Texas, once separated from Mexico, would naturally tend to become a part of the United States, by emigrants from which it had been largely settled. So enormous an addition to the slave-holding region of the Confederacy was certain, in Webster's opinion, to bring the whole question of slavery within the sphere of Congressional discussion; and the spirit in which this discussion would be conducted on both sides could not fail to be greatly influenced by the existence of an avowed Abolitionist movement. Webster determined, therefore, to oppose with all his strength the admission of Texas into the Union. For some years nothing was heard of the project; but, in the winter of 1843, a treaty of annexation, which had been secretly negotiated under President Tyler, was sent to the Senate. The particular proposal was rejected on the ground of a pending dispute between Texas and Mexico as to the western boundary of the former. But

the Presidential Election of 1844 turned partly on this question; and it was not Webster's fault that it did not do so altogether. The Democratic party chose Polk for their candidate, over the head of Van Buren, for no other reason than that while Polk was, Van Buren was not, an advocate of annexation. The Whigs could not persuade themselves to take up an equally determined position on the opposite side. The choice of the party fell on Clay instead of on Webster; and the Convention, in declaring its principles, made no mention of Texas. Upon Polk's election the outgoing administration determined on anticipating the policy of their successors. Before the 4th of March 1845 Congress had adopted joint resolutions, admitting Texas as a Slave State, and pledging the United States to allow at least four more States to be formed out of the newly annexed territory, in all of which, if lying below the line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , slavery was to be allowed. At this time Webster was not in the Senate; and he had consequently no opportunity of giving adequate expression to his opposition to this measure. But the events that followed only deepened and justified his hostility to it. The admission of new Slave States made it impossible to treat slavery as a merely local question, affecting only the States in which it originally existed. The Abolitionists could now resort to the argument that so long as slavery was recognized within the Union the citizens even of those States which rejected it for themselves might be made instrumental in imposing it on others. Nor was this an accidental result merely. The consolidation of the slave power in the Union was the real motive for annexing Texas; and this vast addition of slave territory was the natural occasion of that "sectional conflict" which was afterwards to work so much mischief.

This point, or rather the close of the Mexican war three years afterwards, marks the extreme of Webster's approximation to purely Northern ideas upon slavery. He had set himself to resisting all measures that tended to make slavery a matter of political controversy; and inasmuch as, down to 1850, such measures had all come from the South, and been framed in the pro-slavery interest, it was assumed by many of his friends that whatever turn the controversy might take he would always be the representative of Northern views. To these persons what was thought his defection in respect of the Compromise measures of 1850 came as a terrible surprise. From that day till his death his consistency was the subject of much heated argument; and the feeling of a great part of the northern public towards him is still perhaps fairly expressed in Mr. Seward's description of him as "a great statesman now dead, who for a large portion of his life led the vanguard of the army of freedom—of freedom in the Territories, of freedom in the States—and who, on the day when the contest came to a decisive issue, surrendered that great cause."

The Compromise measures were Clay's work, and were designed as a final settlement of the slavery controversy. California, which had recently asserted its independence of

Mexico, was to be admitted as a free State; New Mexico and Utah were to be organized as territories without any prohibition of slavery; the resolutions of Congress allowing four Slave States to be formed out of Texas, south of the Missouri Compromise line, were to be maintained; and fresh facilities were to be given for the recapture of fugitive slaves. Webster has been charged with inconsistency in allowing new territories to be organized with no proviso against their ultimately becoming Slave States. But this accusation overlooks the fact that in 1850 it was evident that the physical conditions of New Mexico and Utah would make the introduction of slavery impossible; and to insert a needless prohibition would in Webster's judgment have been to irritate the Southern States for no useful purpose. His main position was that the Compromise simply recognized facts. In every part of the new acquisitions of the United States the question of slavery had now, he held, been decided—in Texas by the action of Congress, in New Mexico by the action of nature; and in recognizing these several decisions it was desirable to use no language which could give offence to either section of the Union. But if it had been possible to give effect to this recommendation in the matter of the territories, it was not possible to give effect to it in the matter of the recapture of slaves. On both sides the argument for or against slavery had been raised to the level of a Divine command; and from that day forward the sectional conflict was carried on with all the bitterness of an irreconcilable religious controversy.

36. PROFESSOR UJFALVY went to the cemetery of Père la Chaise to look for the tombs of Abelard and Heloise, and came away without seeing them, having been struck in the interval by the lines on the willow which are now inscribed on Alfred de Musset's tomb. This reminded him that he had seen Musset's name in Weber's *Universal History*, as that of a talented poet who ripened early. When he got home, he began to study his poems, and was surprised to find that they bore reading after Shakespeare. Accordingly he resolved to introduce what had fascinated himself to the German public. His present volume on the subject is only an instalment, and is to be followed by three others, treating respectively of the poet's plays, his tales, and his critical writings.

As the poems in Professor Ujfalvy's opinion are the most important and significant of Musset's remains, he begins with them. A short introduction explains the reasons why his author is less known and valued in Germany than Lamartine and Victor Hugo. According to him, Alfred de Musset is too French not to be valuable or to be easily popular. He is too witty for Germans; and when he deals with the most hazardous subjects, he moralizes too frankly and too seriously for the ladies who tolerate Paul de Kock. The method of the book is unambitious; the poems are analysed with copious extracts and just comment enough to underline the beauties. The only



specimens of unfavourable criticism are a mild protest against imputing nihilism to Kant, and one yet milder against Musset's reply to Bekker's song, "The German Rhine." Undoubtedly, as Professor Ujfalvy points out, no good could be done by recalling the conquests of Napoleon, though he does not deal with the further question whether Bekker's pugnacious patriotism was quite in place in time of peace.

With the fixed idea that every French work is perfect in point of form, Herr von Ujfalvy fails to observe that Musset has written a good deal of poetry, but no poem, with the doubtful exception of the "Nuits"—everything else having evidently been written for the sake of the few passages, which are sometimes suggested by the subject, but never subordinated to it. His judgment upon individual passages is commonly sound, though it was scarcely worth while to declare that the description of Don Juan, in the second canto of "Namouna," is on the whole to be considered as Musset's masterpiece. The "Nuits," also, are perhaps not the most appropriate part of the poet's writings to suggest the reflection that he had in him some of the material for another Byron. Still it is something to have perceived that after the "Nuits," and the letter to Lamartine, Musset produced no poetry of more than secondary value. The author's tone of half adulatory, half conventional euphemism in the rare allusions to Musset's personality will prevent real students from expecting any help from him in the endeavour to understand a somewhat perplexing poet.

37. ON the 29th of September, 1861, Montalembert saw Lacordaire on his deathbed, and urged him to dictate a sketch of his life, which should be an authentic record of his intentions and convictions, and should have the force of a spiritual testament. Lacordaire complied, and sketched out the plan of his paper, but died leaving the four last chapters out of fifteen untouched. After his death, the ms. passed into the hands of his executors; and the death of one of them prevented its coming to Montalembert's hands till he in turn was on his deathbed. The notice which he has prefixed to *Le Testament du P. Lacordaire* becomes in this way his own testament also. But it treats not of himself, but of Lacordaire. He asks how Lacordaire would have stood in the present controversy about Papal infallibility. "J'affirme," he replies, "qu'il eût regimbé avec non moins d'énergie que l'évêque d'Orléans ou le Père Gratry contre l'autocratie pontificale érigée en système, imposée comme un joug à l'Eglise de Dieu, au grand déshonneur de la France catholique, et, ce qui est mille fois pire, au grand péril des âmes." And he quotes a passage on "papal omnipotence" from a letter of Lacordaire in 1847 which justifies the affirmation.

The testament itself is a simple, brief, modest, and beautifully written autobiographical sketch. The part of the life which requires the most explanation is the writer's entrance into the Order of St. Dominic. He gives his motives and reasons in detail in the fifth chap-

ter. They do not altogether justify the wisdom of the proceeding. A man, thoroughly imbued with the ideas of the nineteenth century, gushing as it were with the wine of modern civilization, chooses the old bottles of the thirteenth century to put it into. The advocate of modern liberties deliberately ties himself to the order of the Inquisition. To revive what is ancient is sometimes the true work of an original genius; and this particular revival was doubtless effective enough as a means of asserting those ecclesiastical liberties which at the moment were in the throes of revival. But if St. Dominic himself had lived in the nineteenth century, it is morally certain that he would not have established his black and white habit, and his long lents, or imposed the Thomist philosophy on his order. An athlete of the day armed thus is like David in Saul's armour. It would be as easy to win in a suit of wainscot. If Lacordaire had founded an institution, his spirit might have remained in it; as it is, he only inoculated with his blood an old institute, on the whole and in the long-run incompatible with his spirit. As time goes on, his spirit will be expelled from it; and the very strength he gave it will be used against him. His strength was that of a Christian apologist who had more insight than any Frenchman of his day into the grounds both of belief and of doubt. The friar's hood added nothing to his real strength, and perhaps prevented him from putting it forth in its entire fullness.

38. SIR GILBERT LEWIS, who edits a collection of the letters of his late brother, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, seems rather actuated by the idea that he is communicating to the world a kind of authoritative and prophetic scripture from his brother's grave, than that he is merely giving some additional fragments by which men may judge of the character of a distinguished public man. "Many a time since his death," says the editor, "has it been said that confusions would have been avoided, difficulties been simplified, and events and decisions guided into better channels, had his calm and wise counsel been still permitted to prevail among us. Again and again, since his death, has his authority been invoked." He would evidently like to show that his brother, had he lived, would have opposed the line of policy which has prevailed since Lord Palmerston's death. It may be so; but the pegs on which he hangs his assertions are singularly weak. Thus Sir George Lewis, in 1849, describes the Encumbered Estates Act as being "a contrivance for enabling tenants for life to sell a portion of the settled property for the payment of debts, without the intervention of the Court of Chancery;" on which the editor, with evident ignorance of the meaning of the term "tenant for life," notes, "It is obvious from this statement that Sir George Lewis would not have entertained favourably any approach to fixity of tenure in Ireland, or the weakening the power of the landlord over his tenants." Of course, Sir George Lewis's tenant for life is the landlord of an entailed



freehold, while Sir Gilbert's is, apparently, the ordinary tenant. But the meaning of words is not a very strong point with Sir Gilbert. He speaks of a step-child of Sir George, "for whom he entertained the love of a daughter."

Sir George Lewis, ready enough to criticise the lack of imagination in others, never seems to have attained more than the obscure consciousness that lack of imagination was his own defect. He says of Sir Robert Peel: "He did not see far before him; he was not ready in applying theory to practice; he did not foresee the coming storm. . . . When a thing was to be done, he did it better than anybody. The misfortune was, that he saw the right thing too late, and went on opposing it when men of less powerful minds saw clearly what was the proper course." Again, of Lord Lansdowne he says that his admirable judgment was obscured by excessive caution. Sir George Lewis's weak point was his excessive scepticism. He not only refused his belief to things which were not proved to his mind, but went so far as to reject as untrue things of which he could not detect the causes and antecedents. Even in the realm of pure knowledge this bad critical habit often led him astray, as in his baseless carpings at the discoveries of Egyptologists and decipherers of cuneiform inscriptions. But, in the objective region of facts, the idea that causes stand still till we understand them is even more apt to lead astray than the imagination that we can command causation at will. Buckle thought that politics could be reduced to a science whereby political changes should be foreseen as accurately as the astronomer predicts an eclipse. He wished to test political science by its power of prediction. Sir George Lewis, though no positivist, wished also to be a scientific politician. He designed his *Treatise on the Methods of Reasoning in Politics* to be "an organon for the use of the political inquirer—a manual of rules for the guidance of the historian or politician in the method of conducting his investigations." He intended to dispose of almost all political speculators from Plato downwards, "by showing that their *methods* were unsound." He called the book his "political logic," and compared it to Mr. Mill's treatise on general logic. Such a writer ought to stand the test of political prediction; and these letters afford ample opportunity of applying it. They are full of predictions and views ahead. At p. 129 he predicts the continued opposition of Irish landlords to the poor-law, "even if it were administered by a grand jury:" he afterwards came to understand the uses which landlords could make of it. At p. 144 he prophesies a great future for Ronge and the "German Catholics." At pp. 177, 182, 230, 248, are predictions concerning France, all falsified by events. At p. 192 there is a similar prediction about Prussia. At pp. 209 and 214 there are predictions as unlucky about the temporal power of the Pope. At p. 219, though he was not desponding enough to believe that many landlords, and a majority of the farmers, were to be ruined by free trade he confesses that he looks "forward

to a serious struggle between the agricultural and other interests before an equilibrium is established." At p. 222 he declares a federation of the North American provinces to be unlikely: it took place within twenty years. At p. 229 (September, 1850), he looks upon repeal as virtually extinct, and Orangeism as moribund. At p. 233 he predicts that the result of the Papal aggression will be as follows:—"The extreme left [of the Tractarians] will become Roman, the middle and the extreme right will gradually drop the 'ritualism' and the other distinctive attributes of Puseyism, and relapse into old-fashioned High Church opinions, such as used to be held at Oxford thirty years ago" (in 1820). He was lawyer enough to foresee the entire inoperativeness of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act; but, in criticising the action of the Peelites in regard to that measure, he rather blames them for compromising their popularity by opposing it than praises them for the honest manifestation of their unpopular convictions. Throughout the Crimean War his faculty of foresight was ever at fault. He long refused to believe that there was to be a war. Then he would not believe that Sebastopol could be taken. He thought Turkey more to blame than Russia. He thought that it would not hurt England if Russia did occupy Constantinople, nor would it profit her if Sebastopol fell. He anticipated that the removal of the stamp on newspapers would not call new journals into existence, but increase the circulation of the old; and that the French treaty would not result in a greater consumption of French wine, but would result in a considerable increase of the permanent rate of the income-tax. To end, however, with one of the very rare specimens of a true and statesmanlike forecast, he declared that the outrage on Sumner was not a proof of the brutal manners of the Americans, but was "the first blow in a civil war."

When he sat in judgment simply to pronounce on the value of the evidence before him, without inquiring whether that evidence was all that was capable of being produced, Sir George Lewis exhibited great aptitude and thorough clearness. It is amusing to see how his exclusively critical character brings him into opposition with imaginative men. At p. 102 are judgments of Mr. Carlyle and Sir Walter Scott. Of the first we are told: "He is interesting and even instructive to hear, though he belongs to a class whose business it is to deny all accurate knowledge, and all processes for arriving at accurate knowledge, and to induce mankind to accept blindly certain mysterious dicta of their own." Carlyleists are then compared to "Sir William Courtenay's late followers in Kent." Of Sir Walter Scott, as exhibited in Lockhart's Life, he says: "How low and vulgar his objects, and how sordid his view of literature! He contracted to deliver novels as a Manchester manufacturer might contract to deliver bales of calico; and he received the money in advance in order to buy farms, or pay for gilt furniture"—almost in terms the criticism of "My Grandmother's Review, the British" on the *Heart of Midlothian* and its author at the moment of

its first appearance. His Ecclesiastical views were in favour of a Church which views every man as a Christian, as the State views every man as a subject. "I am," he says, "every day more and more inclined to attach weight to the destruction of the executive portion of the Church, and to the silencing its speaking organs of doctrine." On the whole, these letters do not add to the authority of Sir George Lewis; but they present many views of an intellectual character well worth study.

39. STUDENTS of international law, and politicians who have occasion to refer to the protracted negotiations carried on between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States during and since the American Civil War, ought to be grateful to Mr. Bernard for the pains he has taken to guide and help them in their inquiries. They will find in his *Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War* all that is material in that vast series of State papers, prefaced with a very lucid sketch of the causes, remote and proximate, which led to the war, and accompanied by careful and impartial comments. The defence of Great Britain against the charges brought by the United States becomes much clearer and more convincing when it is presented as a homogeneous whole. This is especially the case with regard to the claims founded on the escape of the "Alabama." In the later correspondence, for example, it is common to see the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality treated as merely evidence of the animus of England in the quarrel, important as interpreting the dilatoriness of the Government in not seizing the ship in time, but only elevated into a serious grievance when read by the light of subsequent events. The despatches brought together by Mr. Bernard, and the series of conclusions he deduces from them, show that it would be nearer the truth to say that the escape of the "Alabama" was only elevated into a serious grievance because Great Britain had previously determined to be neutral. Mr. Seward was quite as unreasonable on this point in 1861 as any senator among the majority which subsequently rejected the Clarendon-Johnson treaty. His position amounted in effect to this, that there ought to be no recognition of belligerency which has not been preceded by a recognition of independence. As regards foreign nations, "there can be no war, and consequently no neutrality, so long as there is a sovereignty *de jure* . . . In a contest between a sovereign and his subjects foreign nations could not assume the position of neutrals. This condition of affairs must last until the revolution should have 'run its successful course,' and the union should have been divided into two or more communities completely independent of each other. If after such division the strife between them should be continued, there would then be a war. Before it there could be no war." A little reflection probably convinced Mr. Seward that these positions could not be maintained by any modern government, and least of all by the Government of the United

States; and in his later despatches he shifted his ground. In the final case set up against Great Britain, it was asserted that at the date of the proclamation of neutrality there was no war in the United States, and that, even if there had been, this would not have justified the Proclamation, unless it could be shown—which it was alleged it could not be—that the issue of such a proclamation was "necessary." Mr. Bernard has not much difficulty in establishing that there was a war in the United States in May 1861; that as to the necessity of a declaration of neutrality the neutral power is the sole judge; and that in this instance Great Britain could, if she had been bound to do so, have proved the necessity to the satisfaction of any impartial tribunal. Perhaps he will have a better chance of getting a hearing for his temperate and well-reasoned examination of the American claims which grew out of the determination of Great Britain to be really neutral in the contest, and not, as Mr. Seward wished, a partisan of the North under cover of neutrality, from his going further in his condemnation of secession than the facts seem to warrant. That the election of Lincoln was not a sufficient ground for secession, supposing secession to require the same justification as revolution, is no doubt true; nor can it be denied that it would have been impossible for any citizen to plead the secession of his own particular state against an indictment for treason against the United States. But, between a strict legal right and a moral justification for revolution, a middle ground may be discerned. What if the Union was a contract, which, as it turned out, had been honestly understood in different senses by the different parties to it? Would not the rescinding of the contract by either side be in that case a legitimate way of escaping from a dilemma which, as it had not been foreseen, had naturally not been provided against? Still, whatever answer may be given to these questions, Mr. Bernard is no doubt right in saying that the "true moving causes" of secession lay behind all these technical arguments, and in describing these causes as "an increasing sense of insecurity, a profound estrangement of feeling, a temperament suspicious of insult, and quick to take fire, and the irritation engendered by a long and obstinate struggle." If it had not been for these influences, a strong democratic reaction would have followed the temporary success of the republicans—a success which was mainly due to the division existing among their opponents; and "slavery would at this moment have been as firmly established, and slave industry at least as profitable, as they were ten years ago." Whether secession was a crime or a blunder, it was signally and finally punished.

40. DR. VAN LENNER is a Levantine by birth, educated in Europe; and he has spent thirty years of his life in what is called missionary work, at Smyrna and other places in Asiatic Turkey. Driven, as he explains, from his chosen field of labour, "for presuming to defend the religious liberties and rights of the

sixty new-born Evangelical Churches of Western Asia, and for expressing views based upon a broader experience and more generous sentiments than have fallen to the lot of" his "persecutors," he has found a "quiet retreat among the Berkshire hills," and now gives the results of his long experience to the public, in his *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor*. He does not explain who the persecutors are; but, from various statements in his narrative, it seems that they are rather to be looked for among the rulers of the sixty Evangelical Churches than among Turkish Mollahs or Pashas. His work divides itself into two portions—one recording notes and incidents of travel, and observations on manners and customs; the other detailing the foundation and break-down of certain missionary enterprises at Tocat and elsewhere.

Tocat is a place of importance in the north; and thither, in 1854, the author was sent, under the auspices of the Smyrna Mission, to establish a seminary for "educating young men with a view to the ministry of the gospel." On his arrival he set to work with a will; put a large house provided for the purpose into order, arranged a chapel, planted gardens, and introduced potatoes, which, however, it was long before the people learned to like. As to fruit, they had nothing to learn, but much to teach. One Turk successfully cultivated thirty-seven species of grape: another, seventeen kinds of pears. Settled at home, the "school for theological instruction" was started, with students already collected, at Marsovan; and the flood-gates of discussion were opened. But the Evangelical Mission seeks for converts among Christians even more than among Moslems; and, in spite of the "command of the texts which bore on the questions at issue," the "unanswerable arguments" of Dr. Van Lennep's young men were ill received. "We were," he says, "publicly cursed and anathematized by the clergy in all the churches, Armenian, Papal, and Greek." Paying no attention to these anathemas, the mission proceeded with its work, and shortly attained what the author considers the height of prosperity: it was able to exhibit seventeen regenerate young men, all pastors in prospect, and a due staff of teachers. Then suddenly the Institution collapsed "for a time," from the failure of funds in the treasury at Smyrna. Two years passed, and it was re-opened. But prosperity had forsaken it; the pupils were fewer than before; and misfortune culminated when the whole premises were burned down, the fire having been kindled not by any persecutors, but by a malicious Catholic Armenian in revenge for what he deemed Dr. Van Lennep's unwarrantable interference on behalf of an Italian physician, in a lawsuit before the Austrian Chancery at Constantinople. During the five years preceding the fire, the efforts of two, sometimes three, missionaries, and of two native preachers, aided by the seventeen students, gained over thirty persons "admitted in all, of whom about one-half were members of other Churches:" so that, deducting fifteen persons who were Christians already,

the conversions by Evangelical Christianity were three per annum, or about one-seventh of a conversion to each of the twenty-one labourers. Whether the whole number included a Moslem, Dr. Van Lennep does not say. In the two subsequent years, he, single-handed, admitted seventeen converts; but he gives no particulars. And, since his departure, the return has been exclusively devoted to "one excellent woman."

At Amasia, a town about sixty miles to the north-west of Tocat, and nearer the Black Sea, a different experiment, though almost identical in principle, has been going on for ten years. This is "evangelizing by means of a Christian colony." Amasia is a place of some commercial importance; and Herr Metz, a German silk-merchant, conceived the idea of sending out to his agent, Herr Krug, a colony of Christian men and women from Germany for the "dissemination of godliness," without regard to the commercial interest of the enterprise. "It was thus that there were gradually collected here carpenters, masons, millers, machinists, shoemakers, and others, all thought to be good pious people, with their wives and children, and a schoolmaster, really a pious, godly man, with an equally pious and discreet wife, and half-dozen promising children." Dr. Van Lennep was an earnest watcher of the experiment; his then sole objection to Christian colonization being its cost. The conditions were all favourable. Herr Krug possessed abundant energy, a thorough knowledge of the country, and unbounded influence in Amasia. But it was soon found that, though some good men had been sent out, the greater number were not good. The "lives of nearly every one who came out with the hopes and prayers of Christian people in Strasburg became so dissolute and unchristian" that their very presence was a scandal alike to Turks and Armenians, Greeks and Jews. The whole affair ended in a disgraceful fiasco; and Dr. Van Lennep arrives at the conclusion that such a means of evangelization is "expensive in the extreme, and that even under the most favourable circumstances its actual results are not good." The history of missionary undertakings in Asia Minor is here given by an unimpeachable witness, and may be studied with great profit.

The portion of the work which contains the author's travels and observations on men and manners is pleasant and entertaining. Tocat, Amasia, and Angora, however, being all pretty near the 40th parallel, he is hardly correct in describing his journeys as through the centre of Asia Minor; and his long residence in Turkey perhaps has prevented his knowing how much the country, its physical features, its population, and its natural history, have already been studied. In his introduction he apologizes for any confusion of style which may arise from his long use of five or six different languages: it would be well if many who have not the same excuse were on this score as little open to adverse criticism.

41. CAPTAIN BURTON, in his *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay*, has sketched

the history of the war just concluded in such a manner as to make an intelligible whole. He exaggerates, however, both the extent and density of the ignorance that prevails with regard to the country and its history. It is quite true that the interest excited by the works of the brothers Robertson faded away after a time; but the reason is not far to seek. The policy of the Dictator Francia was one of complete isolation, enforced by imprisonment and the banquillo; and, in Captain Burton's own words, "at last Paraguay became to the political, travelling, and commercial world a *terra incognita*,—a place existing only in books and maps. It had been caused to disappear, as it were by a cataclysm, from the face of the globe." Of the books of the Robertsons, *Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror*, and *Letters from Paraguay*, he gives a very unjust account; but he immediately goes on to justify their strictures by his own. Francia was in truth what they describe him—a vulgar tyrant, of ability and strength of will sufficient to fasten a bloody yoke upon the neck of a half-breed race which had just acquired a delusive independence by the revolutions of 1810 and 1811. Yet the despot, whose cruelties and exactions were such as to appear the suggestions of insanity, was suffered, even in a South American State, to attain eighty-three years of age, and to die in his bed. His last act was an attempt to sabre his physician; and he left 600 political prisoners in his dungeons. His successor, President Lopez, reversed, in some measure, Francia's policy of isolation. He was soon involved in disputes not only with the neighbouring republics, but with Great Britain and the United States. In 1855, a quarrel with Brazil on a question of boundary—Paraguay claiming the Rio Blanco as the limit, and Brazil insisting on the Rio Apa, another tributary of the Rio Paraguay about 100 miles farther south—initiated the successive steps which finally led to the war. In 1856 a treaty was concluded at Rio de Janeiro, fixing six years as the period of determining the boundaries; but both parties commenced military preparations. Lopez died in 1862; and his eldest son, Francisco Solano Lopez, took means to be nominated President in an Electoral Congress, and was elected for ten years. Haughty, ambitious, cruel, unscrupulous, and immoral he certainly was; but he was also acute; and when, in 1864, a Brazilian army invaded the Banda Oriental, he was not wrong in judging that the time had arrived when Paraguay must fight or be overwhelmed by the weight of the empire. Refused permission to march his troops across Argentine territory, in order to attack his enemy, he seized two war vessels in the port of Corrientes and occupied the city. The immediate effect of this rash act, which however only precipitated matters, was a triple alliance between Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and the Banda Oriental. From this time a struggle, which could but end in the destruction of Paraguay, began; and the world has seen with astonishment, not unmixed with admiration, a little inland semi-civilized State, hemmed in on all sides, resist, for five years, all the military resources of a vast empire and its allies. It

was not till February 1868, when the Brazilian iron-clads ran past the batteries of Humaitá, on the Rio Paraguay, that a decisive advantage was gained; and nearly another year passed before the Brazilian commander-in-chief, Marshal Caxias, entered the deserted capital Asuncion. "At this point," says Captain Burton, "finishes the second act of the war, and begins the third, which is not yet concluded. Marshal President Lopez, safely sheltered by the mountains, determines upon a guerilla warfare, and collects for that purpose the last of the doomed Paraguayan race." Such a warfare, he could not, as is now known, carry on; and a short third act closes the drama. Lopez, brought to bay like a wild beast, died stabbed and shot down, refusing quarter, if it was offered him, which appears to have been the case. Paraguay, exhausted, with nearly all its adult male population slain or maimed, lies under the foot of the conqueror; and how Brazil will perform a victor's duty remains to be seen. It is not difficult to foreshadow one consequence of the war. All east of the Rios Parana and Paraguay, viz., the Argentine district, Entre Rios, and the Banda Oriental, will sooner or later be absorbed by the great South American empire, to which the command of the Rio de la Plata and its branches will add vast material and commercial strength. In the interests of civilization, no one can regret the curtailments of the barbarous rule of military tyrants who kill, torture, and impoverish their subjects until knife or bullet cuts short a career of crime. The change to a regular government which at least observes the outward forms of justice cannot but in itself be for the better, though in the dealings of Brazil with Paraguay hitherto there has been much to condemn.

Captain Burton paints all he saw in his accustomed vivid and dashing style, and with the most violent contrasts of colour. He has no half-tints on his palette; and chiaroscuro he repudiates altogether. It is unfortunate that a man of undoubted acquirements, powers of observation, and command of language, should mar his work by so much recklessness and flippancy. But, setting aside many and grave blemishes, his descriptions are graphic, vigorous, and lifelike; they present the scenes of the war and the principal actors in it with a coarse reality which cannot be mistaken. His visit to Humaitá, the failure of which stronghold to stop the Brazilian iron-clads virtually decided the fate of Paraguay, is perhaps the most interesting. As early as 1866 the allies attempted to take by storm one of its outworks, Curupaity, but were repulsed with fearful loss, and reduced for nearly a year to inaction. Captain Burton's judgment as to the strength of the batteries and works at Humaitá differs greatly from that of the generality of military critics. But of the bravery of the defence there can be no question. An expedition of some 1200 men, armed with swords and hand-grenades, was told off in canoes, lashed together in pairs and holding twenty-five men each, and actually endeavoured, by running down stream on a dark night, to carry the

iron-clads by boarding. Many of the canoes were drifted by the current beyond their mark; but about half succeeded in hitting it. The men sprang on board two of the ships and drove the crews below hatches and into the turrets, killing some fifty before they could attain shelter. The "Lima Barras" and "Cabral" were thus taken; but the captors in their turn became the assailed. The decks afforded no protection; and two more iron-clads steamed up and swept them off with volleys of grape and canister. Strong or not, had the defenders of Humaitá been well supplied with materials of war, and well commanded by scientific officers, it is clear that the running of the batteries would have been long delayed. The garrison had been reduced to "canister composed of screws and bar-iron, and grape of old locks and bits of broken muskets, rudely bound with llianas or bush-ropes." "To be killed by such barbaric appliances," Captain Burton professionally observes, "would add another sting to death." Several visits which he made to the front did not give him a favourable impression of the Brazilian troops as a whole. In his last letter he gives the contents of a few of the documents found in the private carriage of Lopez after his flight, which throw some light on his personal history and the atrocious discipline by which he ruled his levies.

42. M. AUDIGANNE has undertaken the easy task of proving that there is still some morality to be found in the rural districts of France. No doubt; French society would be in dissolution if it were not so. Men do not live together simply because there is a government and a police, but on account of moral causes. Morality however plays only a secondary part in M. Audiganne's book. It is proclaimed on his title-page, and imported into his conclusions; but it has very little to do with the argument. While he wrote, his attention was engaged in drawing neat sketches rather than in solving moral problems. *La Morale dans les Campagnes* consists in fact of three attractive pictures, each representing the customs, occupations, life, and industry of a rural district of France, which the author has had an opportunity of studying. He first exhibits Perigord, a subdivision of the old province of Guyenne, of which the centre is Périgueux. He shows the institution of métayage still in vigour; the proprietor furnishing land, house, cattle, and often seed, while the métayer and his family do the work, and share the produce with the proprietor. The question treated in this part of the book derives special interest from the fact that métayage, which was long held to be only better than nothing, and an obstacle to the progress of agriculture, has now its advocates, who see in it an application of the principle of association between master and labourer. The second picture exhibits the stone-cutters of Villebois and its neighbourhood, not far from Lyons. The sketch though good is less interesting than the other two. The population described is scanty, and the stage too wide for the actors that play upon it. The third picture is a life-like representation of the

populations on the Lower Loire, and paints the earth-tiller of Brittany, and the saltmaker engaged in extracting his produce from sea-water. Most of the chapters of the book appeared originally in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; but the author has now completed and connected them by his extraneous moral reflections. He thinks that in the hamlets and villages of France there is equal hostility to revolution and reaction; that the desire for peace is universal, because each father of a family wishes to keep his sons with him in his fields or workshop; that work is regarded as the source of prosperity and the means of individual independence; and that aggression is resisted as the enemy of all quiet enjoyment. "Ainsi dans sa sphère modeste le mouvement rural correspond fidèlement, en définitive, à celui qui procède des plus hautes sphères intellectuelles de la société. La politique ne saurait marcher sûrement aujourd'hui qu'en tenant à la main le flambeau qui l'éclaire sur l'opinion des campagnes."

43. MR. HEPWORTH DIXON's *Free Russia* professes to be a description of the "Living People" of Russia, "the Human Forces which underlie and shape the external politics of our time." Vast as this programme is, Mr. Dixon has unhappily allowed himself to go far beyond it, and digress into Russian history and antiquities. The result is unfortunate. An author dealing exclusively with the situation of the moment may plead many offsets to unfavourable criticism. He is perhaps siding with one political party against another, or he is offending both by a judicial candour. But there are some elementary facts in history and geography upon which all inquirers are agreed; and mis-statements on these points, which admit of demonstration, inspire a general distrust of a writer's accuracy. Above all, if it is obvious that the mis-statements result from an eager desire to produce an effect at all hazards, and that accuracy is invariably sacrificed to colouring, it is difficult not to regard the parts less easily tested with extreme suspicion. Mr. Dixon is apparently a little less reckless in his statements, and perhaps a little better informed when he deals with modern times than when he explains the past. But from first to last he must be regarded as quite untrustworthy, or at best as inferior in real knowledge to the general average of his predecessors.

Two or three instances will show the character of his work. He frequently speaks of Novgorod, has visited it, and devotes a chapter to it. His first statement about it implies that it was anciently the true representative of primeval Russia untainted by foreign influences (vol. i. p. 9). "Her colonies never learned," he says, "to walk in the German ways." As a fact, not only was Novgorod a member of the Hanseatic League, but "from the time of Rurik," says Karamsin, "many Varangians established themselves there." Indeed as late as 1884 the inhabitants of the foreign quarter in Novgorod were numerous enough to offer battle to its Russian population. If its colonies have acquired an exclusively national character, the

reason must be sought in the isolation of places like Archangel from the civilisation and commerce that invade St. Petersburg. Further on Mr. Dixon describes two appearances of Ivan the Terrible before Novgorod. A highly sensational paragraph relates how Father Nicholas goes forth on the first occasion and confronts the Czar, "'Bloodsucker and unbeliever,' cries the hermit, 'thou who art a devourer of Christian flesh, listen to my words. If thou or any of these thy servants touch a hair of a child's head in yon city, which God preserves for a great purpose, then I swear by the Angel whom God has given unto me to serve me, thou shalt surely die—die in the instant by a flash from heaven.' As he speaks the sky grows dark, a storm springs up and rages through the tents. A pall comes down and covers the earth. 'Spare me, fearful saint,' shrieks the Tsar," etc. From this Mr. Dixon passes to what he speaks of as Ivan's second appearance before the doomed city. "Her walls measure fifty miles, her houses contain eight hundred thousand souls." "When the work of slaughter stops, and the Tartars are recalled into their camp, the tale of murdered men, women, and children is found to be greater than the population of Petersburg in the present day." The blunders accumulated in this narrative are almost incredible. Ivan never menaced Novgorod a first time, as Mr. Dixon says; and during his early campaigns in Livonia he was on good terms with the citizens. The story of the interview with Nicholas belongs to Pskof not to Novgorod, and happened after, not before, the storm of the latter city. Mr. Dixon apparently has glanced hastily at Horsey's rather confused account of the saint's intercession, has transformed Horsey's narrative into a speech, intensifying the words, and has invented the episode of the sudden storm on the authority of the words "being in a very great and dark storm at that instant." Karamsin and Dean Stanley, both tolerably well-known authorities, tell the story simply and correctly. Karamsin estimates the slaughter in Novgorod and in the neighbourhood at about 60,000 persons, following the authority of the Annals of Pskof. But many estimates put it much lower; and Ivan himself reckoned the slain, in a service for their souls, at no more than 1505. That the walls of Novgorod ever measured fifty miles is a fable which the best modern writers have tacitly discarded. That as many as 800,000 inhabitants could have found subsistence on the shores of Lake Ilmen in days when the country round was sparsely peopled, and when railways were yet unknown, is a supposition that cannot be entertained in the absence of accurate statistics. Throughout, it will be seen, Mr. Dixon has adopted the most sensational accounts, and has mixed them up with blunders and additions of his own.

"It is not yet understood in England and America," says Mr. Dixon (vol. i. p. 284), "that a popular church exists in Russia side by side with the official church;" and he proceeds to talk of the Old Believers. It is difficult to say how far any fact is understood in

England and America; but if the existence of the Old Believers is not yet known to any student of Russian life, it is not for want of historians. Kohl mentioned them thirty years ago. Haxthausen soon afterwards described them at length and with much precision. Dean Stanley has given a clear summary of their views in his Eastern Church. Prince Dolgoroukof speaks of them with some fulness in his book *La Vérité sur la Russie*. Eckardt treats of them at considerable length. All these are books of general circulation, but if even apart from them it has rather been the exception with writers on Russia not to mention the Starovierti, certainly it was not reserved to Mr. Dixon to discover them; and his account of them will not give much light to those who approach the subject for the first time. So far as we understand him, he regards them as protesting against an official Church. But the intimate connection of the Russian Church with the State is a fact of the eighteenth rather than of the seventeenth century. What the Starovierti represent, as Haxthausen has very well put it, is "the old Russian national feeling petrified, the principle of immobility:" and their real revolt, as he and Dr. Stanley have both pointed out, has been rather against Peter the Great than against Nikon. They object to Italian art, to foreign music, to potatoes and tobacco, as much as to the revised version of the Scriptures, or to imperfect methods of making the sign of the cross. But because they have been persecuted they have acquired the austere virtues which come naturally to faith in the conflict with power; and, being recruited largely from the middle classes, they have the household durability of the bourgeois and farming classes. All that Mr. Dixon adds to our knowledge of them is a conjecture by a priest whom he met, that their numbers are now much larger than when Prince Dolgoroukof estimated them in 1860 at 10,000,000. With liberty they have come out into the light.

It might be thought that Mr. Dixon would be free at least from glaring and palpable errors in his account of self-emancipation. The subject has been so often and so well discussed that the labour of accurate compilation is reduced to a minimum. But, instead of simply telling what he has learned in Russia or read in London, he digresses into a philosophical discussion on the differences between serfdom in the East and villenage in the West. "No one," he says, "thought the villein was an actual owner of the land he tilled, and in no country was the emancipation of his class accompanied by a cession of the land." If the word "villein" be used in the primary and restricted sense to designate the highest class of servile peasantry in mediæval England, no statement can be more unfortunate. It was precisely by his possession of land that the villein was distinguished from the cotter or boor; and he paid a relief, like a baron or knight, when he entered upon his inheritance. On the other hand, if the word is used generally for the servile class in the West, the statement gains nothing in accuracy.

Even the cottar and the boor had a customary right in their lands during their lifetime; and the laws ascribed to the Conqueror declare that masters have no power to remove "coloni" from their holdings "so long as they discharge the services due." Practically they used to sell and exchange portions of their land down to the end of the thirteenth century; and Blackstone goes so far as to say that they often had a better interest in them than their lords. No one probably doubts that the class of copyholders in England was formed from enfranchised serfs. The instance of England, it may be said, is exceptional; and certainly there is no trace in the English laws of the powers for beating and imprisonment which Mr. Dixon assumes the lord to have possessed. Let us take the case of France. "We have said," observes M. Henri Martin, "that the land had come to belong practically to the serf, as well as the serf to the land. The movement continues. . . The emancipated serf resumes his servile holding by the name of tributary land; he then asks for the barren and unclosed land, the moor, the thicket, and the heath to break up for rent dues, and fixed labour rents; further a right to redeem these in every generation." Here it is true the land passed from the lord to the labourer by a series of separate agreements, and not by any general custom or decree; but the facts none the less contradict Mr. Dixon's words. In Prussia the case is even stronger. There "villénage," which, Mr. Dixon says, passed away with the Dark Ages, lasted to within the memory of this generation; its abolition in eighteen different kingdoms, from Prussia and Austria down to Saxony and Bavaria, falling between 1783 and 1833. The Prussian reform in 1811-1816 dealt with two kinds of holdings, those which descended to the peasant's family, and those which did not descend, but from which he could not be expelled during life; and it settled the terms on which the serf should acquire the absolute ownership of such properties. Mr. Dixon's résumé of villénage is therefore absolutely worthless; and if it were analysed line for line scarcely a statement would be left untouched.

It is more difficult to check his account of Russian serfdom, as part of it, though given as ascertained fact, is really a theory. He traces the origin of serfdom to the necessity of combating the nomadic habits engendered by Tartar rule. "The peasants had lost their sense of home, and the mujiks wandered from town to town." Perhaps simpler reasons for this migratory tendency may be found. In a vast empire, with much unoccupied land, the peasant might naturally prefer finding an independent home for himself to working for a lord. Moreover, as the Tartars were driven back and quelled, population which had been forced up into the north would naturally wander back into the rich corn-bearing steppes of the South. The Czars had to deal with this difficulty; and though it is not the case, as Mr. Dixon says, that "serfage came with the spreading light, with the rising of independence, with the sentiment of national life" in the six-

teenth century — for slavery is recognised in the laws of Jaroslaw — several laws were undoubtedly passed under Ivan III., Ivan IV., Fedor Ivanovitch, and Boris Godounof, which codified the customary law and mitigated or intensified its severity. The mitigations were generally in favour of the serfs' children. The aggravations consisted in restraining the right of the free peasant to transfer his service at will; first by imposing fines when he left an estate, and finally by depriving him of the power to quit the soil, and giving authority to his master to reclaim him. It is a trifling error that the laws by which Fedor Ivanovitch effected this in 1592 and 1597 are ascribed to his successor, Boris Godounof, who was probably their real author, but who was not actually on the throne. If, however, we accept Godounof's agency in this matter as unconditional, it is difficult to give him credit for unalloyed philanthropy in the measure of 1601, which Mr. Dixon describes as a "great and popular reform," giving the soil to the peasant, while Karamsin, who is followed by Oustrialoff, treats it as a modification of the previous edicts, by which in certain limited cases the serfs of small proprietors were allowed to change their lords. If Karamsin is right, Mr. Dixon must have confounded the act of 1597 with that of 1601.

It is not necessary to dissect Mr. Dixon's narrative further. Were it an object to point out incidental inaccuracies the list might easily be extended. But enough has been done to show that *Free Russia* is a book which deals with the gravest matters of history and politics as mere incidents in a sensational romance. The offence of such writing cannot well be over-estimated. Mr. Dixon possesses powers of no ordinary kind. He has the instinct for discovering what the large class of half-educated Englishmen likes to read about. He can group his subjects artistically, describe them in a vivid and epigrammatic though loaded style, and intersperse a popular philosophy in his narrative. In this particular case he has really visited the country he writes about, and has enjoyed peculiar opportunities for studying it. But he seems incapable of writing simply, and absolutely careless of fact when it interferes with the rounding of a period. Many of the errors which have been noticed above are on matters that he need not have touched upon. But this irrelevant rhetoric is a deliberate artifice of his style. It adds animation and colouring, seems to imply the possession of a recondite learning easily wielded, and in the case of a distant country such as Russia is not likely to be exposed. There is no temptation to dwell upon the minor faults of the book. That the Polish question is passed over, except that the Czar's clemency is incidentally praised, is, on the whole, matter for congratulation. The labours of Herzen and Ogareff might perhaps have claimed place in an account of *Free Russia*; but it is certain they could not have been described as effectively as the (non-historical) intercession of Nicholas at Novgorod. Perhaps, too, the subject of Russian literature, now more than ever important, might have



found better illustration than by a biography of its patriarch, Lomonosoff. But these are faults of omission; and the work Mr. Dixon has done is not of such a kind as to suggest a wish that its sphere had been enlarged.

44. THAT minorities are always in the wrong is the principle which lies at the root of Mr. Probyn's essays on *National Self-Government in Europe and America*. Under a despotic emperor or a despotic oligarchy he allows an oppressed minority to take up arms; but if the oppression proceeds from a despotic majority he rigidly denies them this right. "Supposing," he says, "the Western States of the Union desired free-trade, but finding they could not obtain it by the authorized constitutional means, resorted to arms on that account, as a means of establishing the free-trade principle, the Federal Government would be bound to put down such revolutionary violence." The example is unfortunate. Whatever blame attaches to the pursuit of political ends by other than "the authorized constitutional means" would belong, in this case, not to the Western States but to the Federal Government. The Constitution of the United States gives Congress power to impose duties for purposes of revenue; and a proposal to give it the further power of imposing them for purposes of protection was rejected by the Convention of 1787. If the Eastern States wished this decision reversed, the "authorized constitutional means" would be an amendment of the Constitution. If, instead of resorting to this expedient, the majority in Congress chose to abuse their power, and impose protective duties in defiance of the Constitution, any States which might take up arms against them would be really fighting in defence of it. If the aggressor in this case were a king, Mr. Probyn would probably see his conduct in a truer light. At least, he is duly angry at the former oppression of Italy and Hungary by Austria, and cherishes a patriotic regret that in 1859 French and English fleets did not appear together "off the lagoons of Venice as they did off the harbour of Sebastopol." In the field of contemporary foreign politics the book is a sort of compendium of the common-places of uninstructed Liberalism; but it fails to fulfil any higher or more comprehensive function.

45. MR. THOROLD ROGERS has produced a second series of *Historical Gleanings* on men of political note. If regard be had to the author's standard, none of the essays fall below it; and the first, on Wickliff, so far rises above it as to induce a regret that a paper of much original value has not been expanded and enriched with references. The sketches are in fact clever popular biographies by a warm and one-sided, but not a dishonest partisan, who has studied history to more purpose than most men, but has not cared to read up his subjects exhaustively, or to put his full power into his work. Here and there inaccuracies occur which a moment's thought would have corrected. The plague visited England under Charles II. in 1665, not in 1662

(p. 19). The story that Charles I. and Laud hindered Cromwell and Hampden from leaving the country (p. 118), was long ago disproved by Bancroft on very sufficient grounds. George III.'s rupture with Lady Sarah Lennox, which Mr. Rogers ascribes to Bute (p. 154), is accounted for by Grenville on other and perhaps more probable grounds; and generally it may be said that Mr. Rogers follows Walpole too unreservedly. So again there are passages in which the language implies an inaccuracy which it is pretty certain the writer did not intend. When he says (p. 79) that "Elizabeth more wisely only summoned one" Parliament, he must have meant to imply only one in the first five years of her reign; and it is difficult to understand why Old Sarum was not a mere nomination borough, because "it had an electoral roll of six" (p. 232). There was no place with few or many electors where the patron could always carry his nominee in the face of strong popular excitement or clever electioneering; but if he could count on doing it nine times in ten, the borough had a recognized market value. Again, some statements are altogether too strong. The dictum that "there is no study more wearisome and unprofitable than that of ecclesiastical history" (p. 190), is so wild that it never should have been put on paper. No amount of pettiness, intrigue, and ignorance can destroy the interest with which those who care for the spiritual nature in man will trace its growth in logical form and political organization.

It is pleasanter to point out the real merits of Mr. Rogers's work. Subject to the great drawback, that it does not in any appreciable degree examine or explain Wickliff's doctrines, his article on the Reformer gives the best history of him in a compact form that has yet appeared. Professor Shirley's theory of two Wickliffs has been so far accepted that the Master of Balliol is no longer described as ex-Warden of Canterbury Hall, and so far departed from that he is still spoken of as former Fellow of Merton. In a matter where the evidence is more than commonly perplexed, this is perhaps as good a solution as any. The view that Wickliff was at first rather a politician than a theologian, more opposed to the Popes of Avignon, and to the monks who supported them, than to the accepted creed of Christendom, is natural and probably true. None the less did the quarrel become doctrinal, when England withdrew from the great European struggle. It is a little difficult to understand the sudden change which made Wickliff in 1378 the favourite of the London mob, when in 1377 they had been ready to burn the palace of his protector, John of Gaunt. The explanation probably is that their rising in the former year was determined by hatred of the Duke of Lancaster, and that Edward III.'s death gave a slight advantage to the growing party of reform. How Wickliff stooped to defend a gross outrage by his patron upon religion and law, and obtained in consequence a protection which never left him with life, is told clearly, and with no attempt to palliate. But the connection of Wickliff's teaching with the revolt of



the peasantry is scarcely indicated; and, while the social forces at work have been carefully sifted and displayed, the doctrinal element is comparatively passed over. No charge, for instance, was more repeatedly brought against Wickliff and Huss, than of teaching that "God ought to obey the devil;" and as this thesis is put side by side with their other acknowledged article of faith, that "dominion was founded in grace," it may fairly be assumed that controversialists understood the two, as taught, to be not incompatible. Neither in fact were they; for the doctrine of passive obedience to constituted authority flows naturally from the belief that the real human order is of divine original. Putting the case, however, that the Church is in bondage to the State, and the State governed by a Nero, was the disciple of Wickliff prepared to abide by his principles? If he was logical, he answered in the affirmative; and his answer was not unnaturally exaggerated into the scandalous thesis which, so put, he disclaimed. It is easy, from this point of view, to see Wickliff's relation to the insurrection. He would have reformed the Church, root and branch, that its property, misused by monks, might be applied to purposes of real worth and charity. But he was honestly averse to a reformation effected by violence; while his followers, taking exclusively one side of his doctrine, conceived that they were only ejecting proprietors who had forfeited their titles at law. In what way these theories, again, were connected with the doctrinal question, how far the imperfections of the priest affect the efficacy of the sacrament, is not difficult to see. Passages in Mr. Rogers's essay show that he is thoroughly alive to the interdependence of these controversies; and it is the more unfortunate that he has not traced them in their results. It is fair to add that Lewis, Le Bas, and Vaughan are all unsatisfactory on this subject.

The three following sketches may be briefly dismissed. That of Laud displays the half-contemptuous kindness of a writer divided between his respect for the good High Churchman and patron of literature and his dislike for the statesman. That of Wilkes is so far incomplete that it omits the most creditable incident in Wilkes's life, his spirited defence of the Bank during the Gordon riots. The article on Tooke is perhaps the most appreciative of all, and is in great measure an assertion of the right of men in holy orders to sit in Parliament. Indeed, this and University deficiencies are frequent topics of rather fiery discussion, and detract from the judicial character of the book. This, however, is perhaps incidental to the character of political lectures; and if the writer often overstates his case, he never, as far as we have traced him, perverts his authorities.

46. THE consciousness of American writers that they are called to begin a national literature leads them too often to substitute a common tone of democratic optimism for personal convictions and individual views. Professor Lowell is a man of much cultivation; but four

at least of the essays in the volume *Among my Books* bear traces of the underlying thought that all history has been in labour of civil and religious liberty as embodied in the constitution of the United States, and advocated by the Republican party. His learning is not used to understand the past, but simply to illustrate the helps and hindrances to the development of the present. When he writes of New England two centuries ago, it is to show that the Pilgrim Fathers, without quite knowing it, were really the founders of American democracy. An anthology from the Winthrop papers could not fail to be amusing: it would have been more instructive and more amusing if it had been more disinterested. The matrimonial embarrassments of Hugh Peters and the younger Winthrop's speculations in alchemy, the brisk correspondence with England and Holland during the period of the Commonwealth, and the sanctimonious braggadocio of Captain Underhill, would be much more interesting if they were not mixed up with rhapsodical speculations intended to prove that the commonplace founders of the common-school system (for the writer knows and owns that they were commonplace) were in some unexplained way superior to real statesmen and heroes. Similarly, Lessing is placed above Goethe, because his reputation must be rested not upon his writings but his life. Much the best thing in this essay is the parallel between Lessing and Diderot. The defects of Professor Lowell's method culminate in the essay on Rousseau and the Sentimentalists. Rousseau was a democrat of the most vulnerable kind; and the autocrats on principle refused to spare him. Professor Lowell does not spare him either; but he cannot resist a tirade against the aristocratic critics. The essay on Witchcraft is an unfruitful collection of specimens of an unexplained superstition; and no disinterested person would be satisfied with the writer's reasons for believing that the exceptional intensity of the panic in New England is no discredit to puritan civilization. The essays on Shakespeare and Dryden are of a higher type than the others. But even Shakespeare suggests a great deal of declamation on his fortunate historical situation; and in general the essay is more remarkable for semi-intelligent fervour than for knowledge or for subtlety. It says essentially the same things that all Shakespeare-worshippers have been saying since *Wilhelm Meister*, with a superiority of judgment which just elevates its author above the herd. Dryden is much better treated; well-chosen extracts and judicious references, discreet and sparing comment, give perhaps a better idea than has ever been given before, in a similar form, of the robust and many-sided activity of that versatile enthusiast, who fell upon evil days, and had "to read God in a prose translation." If the writing in the other essays is too fervent and flowery, it is often enlivened by epigrams which are worthy of the author of the *Biglow Papers*.

47. EPIGRAMMATIC literature is so comprehensive, and branches out into so many varieties,

that a mere selection from it has very little chance of adequately representing it. Mr. Dodd's plan, in his book on *The Epigrammatists*, is to supply a catalogue of them in chronological order, and under each name to give one, two, sometimes up to five or six, specimens of the author's productions. The ancient and mediæval lists are very imperfect. That of modern English writers is more complete. Each name has its appropriate biographical identification; and each epigram is illustrated, where needful, with parallel passages showing its source, or the streams which have flowed from it, or with a brief note of the event to which it refers. Mr. Dodd chose the chronological arrangement in order that the gradual changes in epigrammatic literature might become apparent. He wished, probably, to show how epigram was first the brief commemorative inscription, next the short poem on a single idea, next the poem with a point, and how, after its revival by the mediæval writers and those of the renaissance, these three characteristics were variously mixed and modified by the professed epigrammatists. But a chronological series of epigrams has this fault, that it jumbles together specimens of the most heterogeneous description. Historical epigrams are mixed up with rhymed jokes, imaginary epitaphs, love-sonnets, and conceits. "Epigrammatic literature," says Mr. Dodd, "displays national history. The various turns of events, as they quickly pass, are caught and, as it were, photographed in the epigrams of the day; and minor circumstances which may eventually enable the historian to discover the small causes of great changes, are chronicled in a serious distich or a witty quatrain." It may at all events be owned that such epigrams give the coffee-house, or club, or drawing-room, view of passing events. But in that case, ought they not to be tabulated in proper series? Why should not we have separately first a series of historical epigrams, of course in chronological order, then a series of literary, dramatic, and critical epigrams, and then a series of biographical epigrams and epitaphs? The other kinds are almost as easily classified. The Greek epigram is the prototype of a class not easily mistaken. The Latin epigram is the parent of the swarm of wasplike rhymes, with stings in their tails. Both these kinds are divisible into two varieties, which may be called epigrams of the forum and epigrams of the study. The latter are mere exercises of poets or poetasters, striving to give a novel dress to an old idea or a venerable joke. The former are original productions thrown off under stress of circumstances, or of the artist's imperious necessity of creating.

In epigrammatic literature the pointed epigrams of the study constitute by far the greatest mass. Mr. Dodd has a prejudice against them, which is not perhaps unjust; the consequence, however, is that his book exhibits rather his preferences than the real proportions of the subject which he illustrates. In some cases it has led him to positive misrepresentations. Thus to Shakespeare he only gives the loosely-authenticated epitaphs which

appear in no collection of his works, and only one of which, that on Stanley, is worthy of him. But if he had looked into *The Passionate Pilgrim* he would have found some excellent and authentic specimens not only of the pointed epigram but of the epigram after the Greek manner. The two stanzas numbered x. in that collection, and beginning "Sweet rose, fair flower," constitute an excellent specimen of the epigrammatic epitaph. They are on a young friend, who seems to have been engaged in one of the numerous plots of the time. It is exactly the kind of epitaph which Shakespeare might have written for Chideock Titchbourne, the friend of Anthony Babington, who was brought to the gallows by his affection. "Of whom," writes Titchbourne, "went report in the Strand, Fleet Street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows what less in my head than matters of State." There is a charming sketch of this golden and poetic youth in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*. He suffered in 1586, a date which might very well agree with Shakespeare's epigram. It is only with reference to a young man of this kind that every line and every expression of the verses gain their fulness of meaning:—

"Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely pluck'd,  
soon vaded,  
Plucked in the bud, and vaded in the  
spring!  
Bright orient pearl, alack, too timely shaded!  
Fair creature, killed too soon by death's  
sharp sting!  
Like a green plum that hangs upon a  
tree,  
And falls, through wind, before the fall  
should be.

I weep for thee, and yet no cause I have;  
For why? thou left'st me nothing in thy  
will:  
And yet thou left'st me more than I did  
crave;  
For why? I craved nothing of thee still:  
O yes, dear friend, I pardon crave of  
thee,  
Thy discontent thou didst bequeath to  
me."

It is curious that these lines should refer so accurately as they do to Chideock Titchbourne. The first four nearly resemble the verses made by him the night before his execution, as printed by Disraeli. The two last of the first stanza may allude to the horrors of his premature cutting down from the gallows and his torture. The second stanza, more purely epigrammatic, seems to refer to his letter to his wife, when he tells her he had nothing to leave her but the legacies of his blessing and his prayers. Shakespeare says that he asked nothing from him, but received more than he asked—his discontent. There is no doubt that Shakespeare, like his friend Southampton in later years, was a malcontent. Another epigram of

the same pointed character is found in the stanzas beginning "Good night, good rest." The lines on "crabbed age and youth," and those on beauty, are also epigrammatic, but are more nearly allied to the Greek epigram, or nearer still to Goldsmith's well-known stanzas on Hope and on Memory, which are printed in the present volume.

Although Mr. Dodd only professes to deal with the epigrammatists, he yet thinks it allowable to detach stanzas and couplets from the works of poets who never professed to write epigrams at all, and to enrol them among his specimens. In this way Southwell and Lilly find a place in his volume. But, on the other hand, a number of professed epigrammatists of the period find no room in his book. He gives a specimen of William Gamage, the inanest scribbler of his times, and thereby he leaves himself without excuse for omitting all mention of Weever, Guilpin, Whitney, Richard Turner, Timothy Kendall, Matthew Grove, Thomas Drant, who translated the Epigrams of Gregory Nazianzen, the brothers Davison, editors of the *Poetical Rhapsody*, and Brathwayte, the author of the *Strappado for the Devil*. Of the epigrammatists he mentions he is sometimes contented with an imperfect bibliography. Thus he seems to be acquainted with only one book of Parrott's epigrams—his *Springs for Woodcocks*. There were also his *Mouse Trap*, his *More the Merrier*, and another volume entitled *Epigrams* simply.

At p. 230 Mr. Dodd gives an epigram on St. Stephen, by Henry Clifford, last Earl of Cumberland of the name. He draws attention to the thought of the two last lines as "singularly beautiful." They are—

'Each stone they throw is made a gem to fit  
Th' eternal crown that on thy head shall sit.'

And he adds, "A similar idea occurs at a later period, in an ode on St. Stephen's Day, by Dr. Warmstreg." He might have said that the idea is a common property of hymnologists and epigrammatists from a very early date. Thus an old hymn says that the stones thrown at St. Stephen are with his blood made rubies for his crown :

"Ad decorem sunt coronæ rubricati lapides."

And another hymn says :

"Qui coronatus lapide, Primus fulget in agmine."

And another, from the Parisian Breviary (Oxon. 1838, p. 84):

"O qui tuo, dux martyrum,  
Præfers coronam nomine,  
Non de caducis floribus  
Tibi coronam nectimus.  
Tuo cruenta sanguine  
Quam saxa fulgent pulchrius?  
Aptata sacro vertici  
Non sic micarent sidera."

Of Hood's epigrams and epigrammatic lines Mr. Dodd says, "Poor enough they generally

are." The author of such a criticism is scarcely a fit judge of epigrammatic point. Hood's puns constitute a treasure by themselves, for which "poverty" is the least applicable of predicates. Still, with all faults, Mr. Dodd's book is the best extant collection of English epigrams.

48. MR. LOCKER has some, but not all, of the gifts which make a brilliant poet of society. He versifies readily, and is easily moved to sentimental or cynical meditations which are original and profound enough for their setting. His discourses on First Loves and their daughters, on growing old and having children, on flirtations, and on London streets, seem spontaneous; and it is not easy to talk of imitation in connection with subjects which are the common stock-in-trade of a whole class of writers. But the want of character in his productions betrays itself, at uncertain intervals, now by a stanza which recalls Præd, now by a couplet that is nothing if not Byronic, and then again by a whole piece which is an adulterated echo of Thackeray. The tone of his *London Lyrics*, however, is one of perfect good temper; and with more wit there would probably have been also more venom. In a poem published with a philanthropic purpose we have as severe satire as the writer ever indulges in:—

"The world's as ugly—aye, as sin,  
And nearly as delightful!

The world's an ugly world. Offend  
Good people, how they wrangle!  
The manners that they never mend,  
The characters they mangle!  
They eat, and drink, and scheme, and plod,  
And go to church on Sunday;  
And many are afraid of God—  
And more of Mrs. Grundy."

More favourable extracts might be made from some of the poems, like "The Russet Pitcher," "Bramble Rise," or "To my Grandmother;" but, while some of the semi-humorous pieces have no point, those which have a little nearly lose it for want of concentration and conciseness. Most of the *London Lyrics* appeared originally in magazines; and two-thirds of them have already been collected and reprinted once. Their essential slightness of form and substance is severely tried by another reproduction.

49. MR. BUCHANAN has attempted many kinds of poetry, never without success, but never with perfect mastery. For he has great energy, pathos, and command of language; and the aspects of nature and the problems of the time move him deeply, indeed too deeply. The incompleteness of his genius is apparent in the fact that he has had no imitators; for imitation is an attempt to reproduce that fascinating and unmistakable novelty of music which every new master of poetry possesses, and which Mr. Buchanan distinctly lacks. The motive of the best of his former poems, "Meg Blaine" and "London

Lyrics," is a deeply-felt sense of the misery of the poor. It may be doubted whether this feeling, however earnest and passionate, can ever result in true poetry, except when it awakens the lyric cry in some one of the actual sufferers, when it finds utterance in the spontaneous ballad verse of which some fragments remain from the popular wretchedness of the later middle ages. In his present volume Mr. Buchanan deserts the subject which he once thought it his mission to win into the realm of art for that of the general misery of life. Orm is a Celtic singer, born in the evening of the world; and *The Book of Orm* is a record of visions seen through the mixed lights and melancholy vapours of Loch Coruisk. Here, like Obermann among fairer mountains, Orm broods on the great ultimate questions of life; but the harsh expression of his despair differs from the gentler melancholy of Senancour, as the meres and crags of Skye differ from the heights and lakes of Switzerland. The great blot of the book, indeed, is that it is too harsh and bitter in spirit; that the emotions it exhibits—those of religious longing turning with words of despair and anger on the God it cannot find—are unfit for poetic expression. Orm's soul is described as

"a Wind

Prisoned in flesh, and shrieking to be free  
To blow on the high places of the Lord;"

and the description is true of the matter and tone of the book. The Celtic seer is seeking for a sign; and, like many of the modern poets who choose religious subjects, he seeks with all the confidence, and none of the success of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

Some of the poems have already appeared in print; and several pieces which ought to complete the whole are wanting. The first part of the book deals with the weaving of the veil, of the visible world, and is expressed in verse which has a kind of vague solemnity and splendour, though it would have taxed the genius of Shelley to give interest to the indefinite Orm and his shadowy interlocutors, Spirits of the Book, Voices, and Old Men. The following passage from "The Man and the Shadow" seems to reproduce a theory ascribed to Schopenhauer:—

"Lift up thine eyes, old man, and look on me;  
Like thee, a dark point in the scheme of things,  
Where the dumb spirit that pervadeth all—  
Grass, trees, beasts, man—and lives and grows in all—  
Pauses upon itself, and awe-struck feels  
The shadow of the next and imminent  
Transfiguration. So, a living *Man!*"

In the "Songs of Corruption" the Sage is reconciled to the common ordinances of decay and death, by a vision in which the bodies of the dead seem no longer to remain and be mingled with the earth, but vanish suddenly with the vanishing of life:—

"And men and women feared the earth behind  
them ;

And for lack of its green graves the world  
was hateful."

The "Lifting of the Veil," in like manner, consoles him for the absence of the sign he had so eagerly desired, by showing what would be the effects of the constant and open presence of the Beatific Vision. The continual splendour petrifies all life and action; and in the details of this vision Mr. Buchanan appears at his best.

"Hard by I noted  
Little children  
Toddling and playing  
In a field o' hay—  
The Face was looking,  
But they were gazing  
At one another,  
And what cared they ?

But one I noted,  
A little maiden,  
Look'd up o' sudden  
And ceased her play,  
And she dropped her garland  
And stood up gazing,  
With hair like sunlight  
And face like clay."

What connection there may be between the calm of the Sage when he awakens and finds that this strange time was but a dream, and the forced misotheism of the succeeding Coruiskenn sonnets, it is not easy to see. In these unfortunate verses Mr. Buchanan has exceeded the irreverence, while he has none of the fiery and fitful music, of the choruses in *Atalanta in Calydon*. If the Palinode of the twenty-ninth sonnet has any sincerity, those entitled "God is Pitiless" and "Could God be Judged" are doubly convicted of being insincere. This assumed Titanism, the affectation of struggle and reconciliation with Destiny, is an offence to the quiet and dignity of poetry. Mr. Buchanan might remember with advantage the words of Althæa in the play which seems so powerfully to have affected him: "Small praise gets man dispraising the high Gods." In the sonnets "What Spirit Cometh" and "Stay, O Spirit," he shows what he can do on the ground of human affections and natural pathos. These he deserts again in the poems called "The Devil's Mystics," of which all that need be said is that they contain, among much obscurity, reflections of the thought of Clough and Blake. Better things may be looked for from Mr. Buchanan when he returns, in a happier spirit, to the subjects he has by previous treatment made peculiarly his own.

50. Mr. Rossetti's *Poems* have the unwonted and personal qualities of all really original work. The sense of strangeness is soon lost in admiration of the great beauty of the verses, of their wide range of subject, their various and appropriate music, their lyric fire, their lofty tone, and their high level of common perfection. This perfection becomes almost a difficulty to the critic. For there are scarcely any failures to be set against successes; and the slightest songs are as com-

plete in thought, as elaborate in art, as fitly set to their appropriate melody, as the sonnets or the tragic ballads.

Some of the sonnets which now appear in "The House of Life," have already been published under the title of "Sonnets of Love and Life and Death;" and these are indeed the theme with which the greater part of the volume is concerned. It is the elementary, the fundamental passions of human nature, that Mr. Rossetti handles, adding to the universality of his subject the most subtly modern treatment. Love in his poems unites the fervour of the eternal passion with the refinement and reflection of later days—of the love that has thought on itself, and found its own image, with a difference, in the light desires of Greek antiquity, and in the ecstasy of mystic mediæval longings. In this affection are wedded the delight of the eyes and the joy of the heart; and both find perfect utterance in the sonnet called "Love-Sweetness," which contains the very essence of Mr. Rossetti's love poetry:—

"Sweet dimness of her loosened hair's down-fall  
About thy face; her sweet hands round thy head  
In gracious fostering union garlanded;  
Her tremulous smiles; her glance's sweet recall  
Of love; her murmuring sighs memorial;  
Her mouth's culled sweetness by thy kisses shed  
On cheeks and neck, and eyelids, and so led  
Back to her mouth, which answers there for all:—  
What sweeter things than these, except the thing  
In lacking which all these would lose their sweet:—  
The confident heart's still fervour; the swift beat  
And soft subsidence of the spirit's wing,  
Then when it feels, in cloud-girt wayfaring,  
The breath of kindred plumes against its feet?"

The grief that dwells in this House of Life is not less gracious than the love; it is more patient than hopeful, saddened and soothed with memory, and does "with symbols play" of Christian art. The keynote of many poems is struck in the beautiful prelude verses of "The Blessed Damozel." There all that it has not entered into the mind of man to conceive, of the joy prepared for tried and reunited lovers, is set forth in figures which recall the early grace of Raphael, and the pure colour of Angelico. But in "The Blessed Damozel" there is more of the glow and movement of real life than in Angelico's art. Hers is not a painless sympathy with pain":—

"She cast her arms along  
The golden barriers,  
And laid her face between her hands,  
And wept. (I heard her tears.)"

The song of "The Woodspurge" depicts an-

other mood of sorrow, newborn, and scarcely realized, the dull continual pain of a soul shaken from its harmony by stress of the bitter passion whose will is like the wind's will:—

"The wind flapped loose, the wind was still,  
Shaken out dead from tree and hill;  
I had walked on at the wind's will,—  
I sat now, for the wind was still.

Between my knees my forehead was,—  
My lips drawn in, said not Alas!  
My hair was over in the grass,  
My naked ears heard the day pass.

My eyes, wide open, had the run  
Of some ten weeds to fix upon;  
Among these few, out of the sun,  
The woodspurge flowered, three cups in one.

From perfect grief there need not be  
Wisdom or even memory:  
One thing then learnt remains to me,—  
The woodspurge has a cup of three."

Apart from the main stream of personal emotions are the five poems "Jenny," "Sister Helen," "Edenbower," "The Burden of Nineveh," and a "Last Confession," which show the dramatic side of Mr. Rossetti's genius. Of "Jenny" it may be said that the beauty of modern life, its melancholy, doubt, self-questioning, sad pleasures, and extremes of luxury and wretchedness, have never been more finely treated by poets who find in modern life the only proper subject of modern art; nor has any one of the many authors who have been attracted by the "splendours and miseries of courtizans" seen more clearly "the pity of it," and the hopelessness:—

"What if to her all this were said?  
Why as a volume seldom read,  
Being opened halfway, shuts again,  
So might the pages of her brain  
Be parted at such words, and thence,  
Close back upon the dusty sense."

The necessarily painful character of this poem is relieved by the image of the "rose shut in a book, in which pure women may not look," as the tragic weight of "A Last Confession" is lightened by the gaiety and charm of the Italian song, and the picture of the loveliness of the girl

"whose dark lashes evermore  
Shook to her laugh, as when a bird flies low  
Between the water and the willow leaves,  
And the shade quivers till he wins the light."

The transition from "Jenny" to "Sister Helen" proves, in its abruptness, the versatility of Mr. Rossetti's genius. In this ballad the depth of sorrow of "the Bonny Hind" and the weirdness of superstition of "the Lykewake Dirge" meet and give each other force and gloom. As in a tragic rendering of the Theocritean idyl, the spells of a revengeful leman bring back the soul of her treacherous lover to the "far abode" where it shall never be severed from the soul of its victim and destroyer. "Edenbower" again, the strange music of which seems to glow with the liteness and life of the most

subtle of the beasts of the field, is the song of vengeance of the serpent bride of Adam. The power shown in it of adapting music to subject is again displayed in "the Burden of Nineveh," perhaps the most thoughtful of Mr. Rossetti's poems.

While it is too early to attempt to estimate Mr. Rossetti's place among contemporary poets, it is already obvious that he will not attain immediate popularity. He does not deal at all with easy metaphysics, or touch, in belief or scepticism, on popular theology. Nor has he the sensuous facility of describing nature, though he interprets it with magical fidelity in such lines as

"The empty pastures blind with rain"

or,

"At Iglío, in the first thin shade o' the hills."

As a rule, he reads his own emotions into the outward world, as in "The Woodspurge," or peoples nature with gracious forms of love, "and many a shape whose name not itself knoweth." Here, and always, he is a poet of the school of art; and it may be believed that his very highest merits, the personality of a genius only satisfied with artistic perfection, will prove the greatest bar to his general acceptance.

51. AMONG the German musical critics who have taken Wagner's side in the controversy connected with his name, one of the most enthusiastic is Herr Nohl. He has several times entered the lists in defence of the master: and his last work, *Gluck und Wagner*, is dedicated to the same purpose. The "music of the future" could not have a more devoted champion; but his zeal sometimes outruns his discretion. One of the most beautiful, and certainly the grandest, of Wagner's works is the trilogy, *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, in which, following the poetical form of his chief authority, the Edda, he has adopted the alliterative verse. Herr Nohl, in order to glorify his hero to the uttermost, goes so far as to declare that all the modern forms of verse and rhyme are simply a great mistake, which has at last been happily exploded by Wagner. Rhyme, in the modern sense, that is to say, the consonance of the ends of the different verses, he calls a wretched makeshift (p. 12); and the most natural metre of all modern Germanic languages, the blank verse, he would relegate to "the lumber-room of history." With Wagner also, he thinks, the period of spoken drama ends; after the *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* no recited comedy, after *Tristan und Isolde* no tragedy without music, is possible in Germany. This opinion is a fair specimen of his hasty method of generalizing. Supposing the musical drama in Wagner's sense to be the highest mode of expressing human passions, still the composer himself has determined the real sphere of the characters of the musical drama to be the age of gods and heroes. The great events of history and the course of domestic life remain the undisputed domain of the recited drama. The fundamental principle, however, of Herr Nohl's book is the necessity of music for the expression

of the most exalted human feelings; and his endeavour to show how this idea was indistinctly felt by the great German thinkers and poets before it was worked out by Wagner is not without value. His first impulse in this direction came from reading the *Briefe über die Wiener Schaubühne*, by Sonnenfels, written chiefly in defence of Gluck's operas. Gluck was the first master who distinctly felt and proclaimed the necessary subjection of music to the poetic intention. He even went so far as to say that in his dramas he always tried to forget that he was a musician. In this sense he may be, and is generally, considered as Wagner's predecessor. The two masters have many points of view in common; and their first reception by their contemporaries offers some striking resemblances. Herr Nohl looks for traces of Gluck's idea in all the great composers and poets of the intermediate time between him and Wagner. But in this task he exhibits an utter want of critical acumen. He runs through a great variety of names and subjects, some of which are very loosely connected with his point; and the essential investigation is lost in desultory talk on a multitude of collateral topics.

52. IN all matters of controversy there is much to be said on both sides; and any considerable writer on either will so write as to show his readers that he is conscious of the full force of the opposite arguments. Without exactly evincing this consciousness, there is perhaps no controversial writer who both suggests and provokes so many retorts as Mr. Matthew Arnold. The very precision of his argument narrows it into such definite limits that the adjacent and out-lying districts become also defined to the reader, and suggest an immediate objection to his mind. This is seen in the three parts of which *St. Paul and Protestantism* consists. The preface turns on an expression of Mr. Winterbotham, that "there was a spirit of watchful jealousy on the part of the Dissenters." Mr. Arnold contrasts this state of mind with the "sweet reasonableness" of which he makes the whole Christian spirit to consist. A controversialist of a different type of mind might object to Mr. Arnold that his view of Christianity was wrong, because it left no room for whole catalogues of fierce virtues, which ought to have their place as securely as the milder ones. For instance, St. Paul's finding fault with the Corinthians wrought in them carefulness, clearing of themselves, indignation, fear, vehement desire, zeal, yea revenge. "In all things," he says, "ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter"—namely, in the matter of a certain wrongful doer whom he had denounced. To the same converts he says, "I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy." It is easy, therefore, to retort on a controversialist who rebukes a religious body, not for having the prescribed feeling in the wrong place, but for having it at all.

Similarly, the introduction turns upon the sin of separation from an historical Christian church for mere opinions (so they be not moral doctrines), and of setting up a new organization for the preservation and propagation of re-

ligious ideas, or of preserving such organization when once set up. But on the other hand, Mr. Arnold's persistent attacks on the English "Philistine" are for expending his enthusiasm on organizations which were erected upon ideas when he has little care for, or appreciation of, the ideas which they are built on. He has to reconcile this with his theory of churches—that no body of men may separate, or set up an organization for religious ideas; and that they must, whatever doctrines they hold, continue in communion with the "historic" churches, on the ground that those churches are erected for the sake not of ideas or doctrines, but of morality and an ethical tone of "sweet reasonableness." "Ho, every one that would fight for an idea," he seems to say, "join the organization which cares for no ideas." And this invitation comes from the man who makes the essence of "Philistinism" consist in battling not for the idea but for the organization. In truth, the Zeit-geist, or spirit of the age, of which Mr. Arnold speaks so much, seems unawares to be running away with him. He sees that Dissent is about to do battle not for its gospel, but for its dissidence—for its position and its organization; that the doctrines on which it was founded are growing weaker; that it is putting under itself a new foundation of its own organization; and that it now claims to be true, not so much because it preaches truth, as because it is organized on the Scriptural model. But in the same way at Rome, the battle is not about the ideas of Nicæa, or Chalcedon, or Trent, but about the authoritative organ which may add to or take away from those ideas. And in Mr. Arnold's own mind the battle goes in the same way. It is for the organization of the Church of England, and not for the ideas of God and the soul which that organization is designed to support and propagate.

In like manner, the essay on St. Paul is singularly unsatisfactory; and its demerits are caused by its logical narrowness. Mr. Arnold wishes to examine by the light of scientific ideas whether St. Paul really teaches the circle of doctrines which he attributes to Puritanism—"calling, justification, sanctification." To prepare the way for this inquisition, he first has to eliminate the questions which "science can neither affirm nor deny," because "their very terms are such as science is unable to handle;" for instance, whether "our Lord is the Divine Logos," and whether "He shall come bodily to judge the world." If these were eliminated simply by a provisional Cartesian doubt, to be readmitted after the scientific investigation had been made, the process would be intelligible. But first they are rejected provisionally; then the scientific structure is raised; and then the non-scientific elements are refused readmission, not only on the ground that science has no room for them, but on the ground that science absolutely rejects them as false. The notion of God appeased by sacrifice, he says, "science repels." Here is clearly an illicit process. In the common apologies for Christianity, the argument runs thus:—Christianity is a compound system, partly natu-

ral, partly supernatural; the natural is verifiable by reason; if reason verifies the natural part, it will be an additional argument for believing the supernatural part, which, by the sheer force of terms, is beyond reason. Mr. Arnold, on the contrary, says, Let us take that which reason verifies, and agree not to quarrel about that which reason can say nothing to. That is, he banishes the supernatural parts of Christianity from the sphere of faith, because they do not fall within the sphere of reason. Thus he rejects all the theurgic element in St. Paul, and thinks very little of St. John on account of the preponderance of that element in the Apocalypse, fourth Gospel, and Epistles. In a similar way he rejects all the creeds and ecclesiastical formularies, because they are philosophical determinations, and, when they were made, the Zeit-geist, or Age-spirit, was not sufficiently critical and advanced to be capable of defining. They must therefore be inadequate. And the conclusion drawn is, not that though inadequate they are true as far as they go, and only break down where language itself breaks down, but that they are altogether to be discarded. This may be called Mr. Arnold's doctrine of elimination. He first of all dismisses from his consideration whole sides of Christianity, on the ground that, with his present instruments, he can only examine the side which remains; then, after this examination, he declares all the other sides to be matters of no concern whatever. "Dogma does not give its character to Paul's teaching." "Paul falls into Calvinism, but his Calvinism is only secondary with him, and illogical." Moreover it is not original; "it is borrowed from Habakkuk," and from old Jewish ideas. And what Mr. Arnold seeks in St. Paul is his original thoughts. His theme is Paul, not Habakkuk or Judaism; therefore he may dismiss from consideration Habakkuk and Judaism; therefore, by his peculiar logic of elimination, he may consider their contributions to Pauline doctrine to be false. St. Paul, it appears, did not really know what his central doctrine was—did not understand himself so as to see on what pivot his philosophy circled. Nay more, his conversion was no more than the conversion of Sampson Staniforth in the campaign of Fontenoy. Mr. Arnold ought to have observed that Staniforth is not alleged to have been corporeally blind after his vision, and that those near him are not said to have been sensible of any elemental commotion at the moment. Elimination is a convenient figure; but it is apt to spoil the value of an argument. It is almost superfluous to say that, with all his fallacies of logical plan, Mr. Arnold's essay teems with beauties both of diction and of thought; and that, within the narrow lines of the argument, his ideas are striking and true. They become untrue when he erects his particular into a universal.

58. To confine Logic to what Hamilton called Syllogistic would be philosophically defensible, however much it might be thought to fall short of the requirements of a logical treatise. The analysis of the syllogism might

advantageously be considered by itself, apart from all psychological and metaphysical accretions; and the fact that it has not been so considered by logicians is not a little remarkable. These extraneous accretions which have gathered round syllogistic as their nucleus are the seat of the controversies about the proper domain of logic; and they afford a sufficient explanation of the cause and scope of these controversies, which arose from the fact that the general body of literature termed logic was the result of the gropings of the human understanding after the true organon of concrete reasoning. In the course of this recon-dite inquiry, different men were led to take different views of the object to be attained; and this led them to propose different definitions of the term logic. The controversy thus served as a sort of legal fiction, under which was conducted a controversy about the nature of the true organon.

Mr. Bain's *Logic* is a good specimen of the modern dimensions of this problem. It is not to be regarded as concerned with logic only, in any philosophical or even in any historical sense of the word; it is a contribution towards the discovery of the true organon, of more ambitious design than was possible to the old logicians. In this view of its scope is found the best excuse for the miscellaneous character of its contents, which comprise portions of psychology, logic, dialectic, metaphysics, physiology, politics, and many other subjects. Not only is an account found in it of what the author styles the "theoretical abstract science," including the distinctive doctrines of Hamilton, Boole, De Morgan, Mill, and other modern writers, but this is used as a framework by reference to which the whole circle of knowledge is to be systematized, each topic being stowed away under its proper head. Mr. Bain's treatment of this department shows a large acquaintance with the books which he quotes, and with the scientific facts to which he appeals. Yet this appears to be sometimes superficial. "If a bullet of ten pounds moving at a thousand feet a second, were to strike an equal bullet at rest, the two would proceed at five hundred feet a second" (vol. ii. p. 22). But a game at billiards would show that this is a mistake. Not any bullets would do this, though Mr. Bain certainly says, and seems to think, that they would; but only peculiar bullets, and those only under "peculiar collocations."

The importance of the book depends a great deal upon its practical applications. We know that the significance of a proposition is indefinitely increased when we see it filling a place cut out for it in a coherent system. And the fact that a place can be found for it is always a legitimate argument in its favour. But this argument is carried too far if we suppose, as Mr. Bain does, that to find a place for a proposition is enough not only to render further proof superfluous, but even to evade the duty of replying to objections. To what lengths he can carry the argument is shown by such passages as the following:—"Not many years ago the phenomenon of volcanoes was regarded as

wholly mysterious; since the establishment of the Law of Conservation, all that part of the mystery connected with the source of the upheaving power has been removed. It is the internal heat of the earth converted at certain points into mechanical energy. What remains for scientific investigation is a pure question of collocation; we are still ignorant of the arrangements for effecting the transference of power in that particular manner" (p. 33). But until science shall have investigated this question of collocation the explanation will remain a mere surmise. To those who disbelieve the Law of Conservation, it is not even a surmise, but a hypothesis.

The theory of Conservation is so attractive that Mr. Bain's enthusiasm can be pardoned. But it is the sober truth that a part of the theory has been proved, and that a part of it has not; and of the latter, that one part is open to investigation and may be proved some day, while another part cannot even be investigated, still less proved. But Mr. Bain will listen to no moderate counsels; "whatever appearances," he says, "militate against the principle of Conservation are to be held as fallacious" (p. 30). He is determined to have all or nothing; and therefore he fills up the gaps "by analogy." To argument from analogy there is no objection; but analogies, when used as arguments, must walk securely upon four legs.

Under this Law of Conservation Mr. Bain views the general question of Causation; and it extends its ramifications throughout the bulk of the second volume. The "Law" is perhaps not too clearly apprehended, even as a problem for investigation, by the physicists themselves. It is briefly as follows: there are certain known forces or agencies, viz., "Molar" or ordinary mechanical force, and "Molecular forces," provisionally enumerated by Mr. Bain as (1.) Heat, (2.) Chemical Force, (3.) Electricity, (4.) Nervous Force, (5.) Light. Now the Law of Conservation may be reduced to these propositions about them:—First, The forces are all capable of being measured by reference to units. And they are all mutually convertible one into another, at fixed rates of equivalence; so that the same quantity of any one of them will always, if converted entirely and without waste, generate the same quantity of any other. That is to say, secondly, If  $a$  units of mechanical force are equivalent to  $b$  units of heat or to  $c$  units of electricity, and so on, then also shall  $na$  units of mechanical force be equivalent to  $nb$  units of heat or to  $nc$  units of electricity, and so on. And thirdly, if  $a$  units of mechanical force be equivalent to  $b$  units of heat or to  $c$  units of electricity, then also shall  $b$  units of heat be equivalent to  $c$  units of electricity; and so of all the rest in any order.

A preliminary objection is obvious. The theory, as stated by Mr. Bain, consists of two parts, a physical and a metaphysical. These lie quite in separate regions of thought; and they require different powers for their satisfactory treatment. To count "Nerve Force" among those to which the supposed law applies, is to state a metaphysical theory; and this



ought not to be huddled into the middle of a list of physical theories. Nerve Force ought to have been placed in a separate *croix* by itself, not fourth in a list (p. 24) where it is preceded and followed by "molecular forces" with which it is in no way homogeneous. It must be supposed, of course, that Mr. Bain has done this by design; and he has thereby at one blow begged half the question at issue. If the rest of the theory were proved, it would still remain to be proved that a double amount of the "special activity of the nerves and brain," or a "double amount of nervous transformation," is convertible with a "double amount of feeling." Mr. Bain candidly avows that he concludes this only by analogy. But the analogical argument upon which this conclusion is supposed to depend is itself a problem of metaphysics, not of logic, still less of physics; therefore it ought not to be mixed up with problems which are purely physical. As reasonably might an astronomer, because he happened also to know something about surgery, introduce remarks about phagedænic ulcers apropos of spots on the sun. And if he proceeded to argue by analogy from one to the other, the parallel would be complete.

The physical part of the theory is a possible problem of the highest interest, and deserving patient investigation. Taking a rather sanguine view of the matter, Mr. Bain declares that the law has been proved to apply to Heat, Chemical Force, and Electricity, which "can all be measured and put into strict equivalence with mechanical momentum" (p. 28). There remain Nerve Force and Light, about the equivalence of which nothing definite is known; and Mr. Bain concludes by analogy that they follow the law. But so long as a man infers the Law of Conservation from merely such facts as that the sun by its light and heat makes plants grow, plants make coal, coal boils water, and steam exerts mechanical force, it may be doubted whether by "strict equivalence" he means more than "any equivalence whatever." To talk like this is to break down the barriers between the old statement of causation and the "great generalization of recent times," as he calls it. The very point of the distinction between them lies in the strictness of the equivalence. "The expansiveness of steam is due to heat, operating through the medium of water. The heat arises from the combustion or chemical union of coal and oxygen. The coal was the carbon of plants of former ages, whose growth demanded an expenditure of solar heat. So, again, in the human body, mechanical force is obtained by muscular exertion; that exertion is owing to the oxidation of the materials formed in the blood; these materials are either vegetable products, or the bodies of other animals fed on vegetables; and thus we come round again to the agency of the solar ray in vegetation" (p. 80). This way of speaking may perhaps serve to impress people of excitable imaginations; but it looks very odd in the mouth of a logician. Volumes might be filled with such matter, without a step being gained in the investigation of the strict problem. Mr. Bain would have

spoken much more to the purpose if, instead of all this, he had suggested some way of measuring a "double amount of feeling" (p. 28).

54. M. DE PARIETU was Minister of Public Instruction in France twenty years ago; he has since filled high offices in the state; and he has recently again become a minister. His *Principes de la science politique* is therefore the contribution of a practical man to theoretical science. He discusses the constitution of societies and the classification of governments, monarchical, aristocratic, democratic, and mixed; he deals with the relations between the family and state and between political and religious institutions, and with international politics. His book is well arranged, and may be judged favourably if more is not expected of it than the author intended to give. He is generally unprejudiced, and has tendencies rather than passions; and he is familiar with English, German, Spanish, and Italian authors, whom he quotes without national narrowness or partiality, but also without scepticism and indifference.

The moderation of M. de Parietu's mind naturally disposes him towards a mixed or balanced government. For it is easy to discover inconveniences of any absolute form, and the utility of employing such portions of each as can unite together, and supply the defects of the others. But no form and no combination of forms will secure good government without the right men to set them in motion:—"A nos yeux, la théorie du gouvernement représentatif mêlé de monarchie, d'aristocratie et de démocratie, telle que l'Angleterre l'a appliquée et comprise, telle que l'ont recherchée parmi nous divers publicistes, est toujours en définitive la plus satisfaisante pour l'esprit, la plus recommandée par l'expérience historique; mais la confiance qu'elle peut inspirer à la pensée ne doit avoir pour conséquence ni l'entreprise d'innovation contraire à l'esprit public, ni le désespoir systématique au sujet de tout établissement dépourvu d'un ciment modérateur identique. Les lois politiques, utiles à rechercher, sont cependant plus élastiques que celles de la nature physique. La sagesse des générations gouvernantes, comme l'éducation progressive des gouvernés, ne peut-elle constituer un esprit de conciliation producteur d'équilibre durable, malgré les desiderata de la doctrine, comme la légèreté des hommes a fait écrouler souvent des prévisions pleines d'encouragement et d'espérance?" In one respect M. de Parietu is too modest. He is apt to quote his authorities, and there leave the matter. His own ideas are usually right, but he dispenses them with great economy. Concerning the relations between the state and the family, he makes it clear that the same influences which modify the political organization at the same time modify the laws which regulate the family, and that it is untrue to suppose this organization the absolute creator of the laws, or the laws the absolute cause of the political organization. Thus, whatever refines the manners will at the same time give rise to a demand for restraining the power of the head of the

state and of the head of the family. In the matter on the relations of Church and State, M. de Parieu is at once religious and liberal. In France he is generally called a "clerical;" but he distinguishes between his position and that of the Ultramontanés. Centralization, he says, in the political organization of Catholicism, "a repris plus tard son cours sous le nom d'ultramontanisme; mais ce changement, dont l'exagération aurait ses dangers, s'est opérée en entraînant une moindre intimité dans les liens entre l'Eglise et l'Etat." He appears to look for "a progressive relaxation of the bonds which unite the church with temporal powers," and even to her complete separation from them in case of the establishment of republicanism throughout Europe. He is also inclined to admit the possibility of great changes in the organization of the Papacy, "for," he asks, "est-il chimérique de supposer que l'ultramontanisme lui-même, avec une papauté moins exclusivement italienne et plus universelle et humaine, pourrait ainsi avoir en quelque sorte sa transformation libérale?" International politics M. de Parieu treats with minute subdivision. His position is that of a very liberal conservative; and his opinions, of that moderate kind to which the French give the appropriate epithet "sage," cannot, like extreme and a priori ones, be condensed into maxims and axioms, but are developed in long and qualified propositions. The general conclusions of the book are by no means absolute. The author takes too fair an account of local circumstances not to understand that what is bad in one time and place may be good in another; and he confines himself to the political casuistry of finding out what should be done in a certain number of given cases. The book is a finger-post, set up by a man of science on the highroad of progress.

55. M. RIVET in his *Influence des Idées Economiques sur la Civilisation* has set himself an interesting problem, and has succeeded, on the whole, in producing an interesting book. The field of political economy has, he believes, been pretty thoroughly explored: what may still be done with advantage is the perambulation of its boundaries. To determine its position amongst the cognate sciences, its relation to them, and the influence which it has exercised over their conceptions and over the thought and life of the age, are questions of the highest interest and importance. Of political economy as ordinarily conceived M. Rivet is no friend; indeed he finds it necessary to protest against the supposition that his purpose in writing this book has been to draw up a general indictment against the science. He professes himself an idealist in philosophy, an upholder of the authority of the State and of the Church in politics. But the tendencies of political economy are, he says, towards materialism and individualism. The fundamental postulate of the science is the universal desire of wealth; its golden rule is *laissez faire*. Elevating into a universal principle that which possesses only partial and conditional truth, economists are apt to ignore the fact that custom, the ties of family, patriotism, religion, are

influences as potent as what may be termed the commercial interest, and that man has other needs than those which relate to his material well-being. Hence, education becomes utilitarian, and the Church is regarded as superfluous or mischievous. Absorbed by the importance of leaving a free course to trade, the mere economist is unreasonably jealous of the interference of the State in matters where that interference is not only justifiable but necessary. In his desire to impose an excessive limitation on the restrictive and penal powers of the State he sacrifices the innocent to the criminal classes. In his subordination of all interests to those of commercial success he frames bankruptcy laws which sap the foundations of national morality. In his anxiety to escape from the tyranny of the State he falls a victim to the far more intolerable tyranny of society—a tyranny on which Tocqueville has commented in America and Mr. Mill in England, and from which France is comparatively free. Under the pretext of freedom of bequest the rights of the wife and children are ignored. Even sciences unconnected with politics have felt the influence of these individualist tendencies. From the home of individualism has sprung the denial of the reality of species.

M. Rivet is evidently influenced by a not unnatural bias or reaction against a school of thought which has fallen into exaggerations pardonable in an over-governed country. But he writes throughout in a temperate style, and does not forget to dwell on and develop the enormous benefits which the study of political economy and the practice of its principles have conferred on modern society. It is a pity that his book is disfigured by some grave faults. His metaphysics are hazy and questionable; and his style is awkward and full of harsh inversions. The book also contains some surprising mistakes. M. Rivet is apparently under the impression that the old debtor laws are still in force in England; and refers to Blackstone as his authority. The reference may very possibly be correct; but it would be worth while to know the edition to which it relates. He thinks that the Celtic character of Scotland may account for the similarity of its philosophy to that of France. And finally, when arguing that the study of Greek is not necessary in addition to that of Latin, he speaks of Catullus as a Greek poet, and says that Anacreon is sufficiently represented by Plautus and Terence.

56. THE greater portion of M. Bónard's essay on *Le Socialisme d'Hier et celui d'Aujourd'hui* is devoted to a refutation of the more extravagant doctrines of socialism, especially those which are connected with the name of M. Proudhon. In spite of the wide popularity which these doctrines have obtained, it seems superfluous to restate the A B C of political economy, to repeat arguments which have passed into the stage of truisms, and to prove with elaboration that the exaction of interest is not robbery, that the capitalist is not necessarily a criminal, and that property is an institution which is defensible and even useful.

But the sting of the book lies in the latter part, which is directed against "le Socialisme par en haut." In one chapter levelled especially at M. Thiers, the author goes through the protectionist arguments seriatim, and points out the complete parallelism between the capitalist's demand that the State should guarantee him his *droit au profit*, and the workman's plea of his *droit au travail*. He then proceeds to the task, more congenial to the French journalist, of tracing the delusions of the people to the errors of the Government. "You raise the red spectre of socialism," he says, "and announce yourselves as the guardians of property; and all the while it is yourselves who are the propagandists of the mischievous fallacies which you condemn. If you wish the doctrines of political economy to be believed, practise them yourselves. Abolish the monopoly of the Bank of France. Substitute direct for indirect taxation; and, in order to make the former suffice, retrench your unnecessary expenses. Open the path of education as freely and gratuitously as the highways; but confine its subjects to those which are strictly necessary. Grant full liberty of association. Abolish patents with other monopolies. Destroy exceptional jurisdictions. Sell to individuals the public forests. Suppress sinecures and privileges. And lastly grant full liberty to the press." In the main, M. Bénard belongs to the strictest sect of political economists. Only on one point is he conspicuously heretical, and that is the Ricardian doctrine of rent. This doctrine seems to have disclosed to socialists a weak point in the economist's armour, by showing that one form of increase in the value of property may be due to causes independent of the proprietor's exertions, and therefore, socialists argue, might fairly be claimed by the general public. More orthodox than economists themselves, M. Bénard valiantly, but not very conclusively, sets himself to prove that the admission on the part of political economy was unnecessary and erroneous. The book is written throughout in a lively and vigorous style, but is hardly solid enough to be of permanent interest.

57. M. ROBERT's book on the suppression of strikes by means of admitting workmen to a share in the profits of the masters might be superficially refuted by two facts, of which one is, and the other ought to be, contained in the book itself. The author cites the printing establishment of Dupont as one in which the working men share the profits, though it is notorious that the workmen belonging to it have been on strike; and the drapers' assistants have been on strike in France, though the participation in profits has been established on a large scale in this branch of trade in that country. There are some, though very few, of these assistants whose share more than triples their fixed salary; and there are more of them who double their wages by this means. The book, however, deserves a little closer consideration. Without doubt there are cases in which it is wise and advantageous to give the workmen a share in the profits. This has been

done for many years; and there are industries which from time immemorial have been carried on exclusively in this manner. But what is good under some circumstances is not always so under others. M. Robert argues in substance, though in softer language, that the workman is an animal devoid of conscience, who, having engaged to work ten hours for four shillings, works in reality only seven or eight hours, and that badly; and that, as he is incapable of improvement, the master must try to gain him by making it his interest to work well. As the argument progresses, the author warms with it, till at last he declares it to be just that the workmen should share the profits without incurring any risk of loss. There is no doubt that as long as sharing profits is the exception the master who grants it will have the prestige of generosity, and may obtain the gratitude of his men, to whom he accords a privilege. But if the system were to become general this sentiment would necessarily cease; and strikes would recommence for the purpose of getting a higher share of profits as well as for the increase of wages. Again, the vast majority of men prefer a small fixed income to the chance of a large one. If the alternative were offered, a thousand to one would refuse to run any risks; and, if the one who does run it were to be deprived of his profit, his example would not tend to encourage the future enterprise of others. In the present condition of the world strikes are a necessary incident of the separation between capital and labour: and no quack remedy will cure the ills that flow from the very mechanism of human society.

58. THE aborigines of Australia and Tasmania suffer in public opinion on account of the medium through which they have been heard of. The character of colonizers influences, for long, not only the fate but the reputation of the natives whom they displace. Chivalrous adventurers, Christian missionaries, greedy land-hunters, and brutalized convicts would give very diverse and contradictory accounts of the same race. Mr. Bonwick, in his *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, writes of a people about whom different accounts have been related, those of a darker tint prevailing, because, perhaps, the class of colonists which was the largest was also the lowest and least considerate. One reason alleged for regarding the Tasmanians as of a very degraded type was that they had no fire, or did not know how to produce it. The first allegation is completely erroneous: the second is a consequence of over-subtle reasoning. They take such care of their fire-sticks, it was argued, that they cannot know how to light them again when extinguished. Mr. Bonwick adduces the evidence of an ex-bushranger, who had lived as a refugee among them, to show that they were in the habit of obtaining fire by an ingenious device. In a hole made in a grass-tree stem, they put some soft downy inner bark mixed with powdered charcoal; friction with another stick ignited it. But in a land where, it is confessed, some of the tribes

habitually burned their dead, there must have been a long familiarity with fire. Such a custom has the elements of persistence. It is conceivable, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the art of navigation should be forgotten amongst the descendants of men who went in boats to Australia, and took up their abode in forests where no waters are, and where we find frogs (species of *Lymnodynastes*) diverging from general Batrachian habits so far as to bury themselves deep in sand during the day, emerging to feed at night. There is no reason for supposing that the sons of sailors must have an intuitive knowledge of maritime affairs. But such a custom as that of the burning of the dead, associated with human feeling at its strongest, lasts long. It is a custom whose origin must have been ancient, and which in all likelihood was transplanted from another country. The system of cremation was used among the ancient Irish, who Mr. Bonwick fancies were always buried "in a sitting posture." He would find representations of some finely formed and elaborately ornamented urns in the catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy. He is wrong to slight African burial customs by a reference to the Apingi, when he might have found an identical custom existing in Africa and Tasmania. Thus he quotes Dr. Milligan's observation that some Tasmanian tribes placed their dead in hollow trees, with their weapons, and closed them in with pieces of wood. The gigantic Baobab is used for precisely the same purpose in Africa, when negroes shut up the corpses of their poets-laureate in the hollow trunks. As to food, the aborigines were not so restricted in their choice as has been supposed; besides occasional cannibalism, they fed on kangaroos, opossums, bandicoots, wombats, birds, snakes, oysters, mussels, ants, and grubs. They had no prejudices, except against fat, fresh-water fish, the "native tiger," and the "devil." These they declined to eat. In the matter of vegetable food, they had roast *Mylitta*, an underground fungus, the base of the grass-tree leaves, various roots, top of *Alsophila* fern, manna, native cherry, and pig-face (*mesembryanthemum*) fruit; some acacia pods were roasted for their seeds, and kangaroo-apples were ripened in sand-heaps. Mr. Bonwick might have added to his list the *Quandang*, *Santalum acuminatum* for the north-west Australian desert. Whilst the pig-face fruit is a sickly sweet, this, the "native peach," is agreeably acidulous, and is borne in profusion each alternate year. Nor should the *Nardoo*, *Marsilea macropus*, be forgotten; abounding in swamps, its pounded spores furnish a nutritious bread. Besides, from the horizontal roots of the Mallee tree, *Eucalyptus oleosa*, and of the Water Hakea, *H. Stricta*, the hunters or wandering tribes could obtain a draught of water. The Australians were not so well provided with rivers as the Tasmanians. They seem to have surpassed the latter in the art of cookery. Whilst the Tasmanians are said to have generally roasted their food, by placing it in the fire among the embers, or on a hot stone, the Australians are credited with "ovens."

Some remains, though called by that name, may have been tombs; but others are shown by the shell-heaps to have been cooking places. Only a few such have been found in Tasmania. The animal was placed in a cavity lined with flagstones; and hot stones were heaped upon it. The description recalls that given by Keating in his *Gaethlic history of Ireland*, of the manner in which the ancient Fenians cooked the deer, when hunting. But their method existed contemporaneously with more complicated cookery, so that it would be an error to infer from the discovery of an oven that this was the highest type ever arrived at in a given district. Nets and baskets made by the women, wooden weapons and stone tools by the men, were their manufactures. The Australians employed themselves in the same way. "Her Majesty Mary Queen Dowager of the Bacchus Marsh and Melton tribe of Natives" was an exhibitor in the Victorian Exhibition of 1861, of baskets made from Victorian grass, "in her leisure hours." The Tasmanian men had, for weapons, only the wooden spear and waddy. Besides the woods named by Mr. Bonwick, the north-east Australians employed the *Acacia doratoxylon*. The Tasmanians used no shields like their neighbours, nor were their weapons so varied or well made. But on trees and rocks in Tasmania, as on the sandstone of Sydney Heads, rude sketches of fish, quadrupeds, birds, and boats have been observed. Boats were made by ripping the bark off a tree-trunk, and binding its ends; larger catamarans for sealing excursions were formed of laced bark; and rafts were constructed, decked with wickerwork, and capable of carrying ten persons. Mr. Bonwick explodes the popular delusion concerning general wife-capture. Brides were often taken by capture, as a formality, but often acquired without it. But in his comparative view of bride-capture in different nations, he misapprehends the Russian anecdote. Would he find in the case of *Gallus* as told by Pliny also a relic of "the same fashion"? If so, the verse of Meibomius on flagellation should be an authority. Nor is he right in saying that the Irish have a sham-fight at their weddings. The Australian aborigines have very strict rules as to the forbidden degrees. Their effect is to prevent marriage "with either a sister, or half-sister, or aunt [or niece], or a first cousin related both by the father's and mother's side." More materials than have yet been obtained are required to discuss satisfactorily the origin of the aborigines; and the collection of these is more meritorious than hasty theorizing. But, although Mr. Bonwick sometimes argues rather loosely, he deserves praise for the spirit in which he has undertaken this work, and the breadth of view and industry which characterize it.

59. MR. ALFRED WALLACE is a zealous and fearless advocate of his convictions, and adds to the merits of patient thought and accurate observation the attraction of a singularly lucid and pleasing style. His small volume of *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, though mostly a reprint of essays which have

already appeared in various scientific and other periodicals, contains a quantity of new and interesting matter, together with an exposition of the author's more recent views, which depart somewhat widely from those of Mr. Darwin and the majority of his followers. The essays are arranged in ten chapters. A large part of the book is taken up by subjects which are peculiarly Mr. Wallace's, such as protective mimicry, and the relation borne by birds' nests to the colours of the female birds. One of the most interesting parts of the volume is the last chapter, which treats of the limits of natural selection as applied to man.

It is here that Mr. Wallace deviates from the strict Darwinian view. He maintains that the origin of man has been brought about by the agency of a higher intelligence guiding the action of natural laws, as man guides them in the formation of the domestic races. He also attributes the origin of life and of consciousness to some deeper law than that of natural selection. He grounds his position concerning man on several facts. Thus he considers that savages possess, in the large brain with which they are provided, an organ beyond their needs, and one therefore which cannot have been developed by the action of natural selection alone. He also contends that the general absence and peculiar disposition of hair on the human body must have been obtained in some other way, the nakedness of the back being a positive detriment to the nude figure. Finally he thinks that on strict Darwinian principles alone neither the origin of such conceptions as those of space, time, infinity, etc., nor even the range and perfection of the human voice, can be accounted for.

These dissents from the views of Mr. Darwin are advanced with great modesty, but at the same time with confidence; and their expression on the part of the co-originator of the theory of "Natural Selection" is a noteworthy phenomenon. Mr. Wallace seems perfectly right in his objections; but, if a deeper law is thus seen to underlie necessarily the production of man, it is probable, *a priori*, that a similar deeper law also underlies the evolution of all organic forms. It is difficult to see design in the hand of man, and not see it in the singularly beautiful and perfect form of the horse, an animal to all appearance as specially organized for the service of man in one way as is the dog in another. Indeed it may fairly be urged upon Mr. Wallace that the action of intelligence is not manifested in the production of man only, or of the animals which minister to him, or of all organized life, but no less in the development of crystalline and other mineral structures, in the laws of heat and motion, in the geological evolution, and in that of the solar system, or of the whole sidereal universe. Such indeed is the result to which the book directly tends, in spite of the distinction Mr. Wallace attempts to draw between the physical origin of man and of other animals. This tendency is most strongly displayed in a few pages on metaphysical considerations, towards the end of the book. Here matter is reduced to force, and force is taken to be the expression of will. "If, therefore," says the author, "we have traced one force,

however minute, to an origin in our will, while we have no knowledge of any other primary cause of force, it does not seem an improbable conclusion that all force may be will-force; and thus that the whole universe is not merely dependent on, but actually is, the will of higher intelligences, or of one Supreme Intelligence."

60. THE leading idea and special intention of Dr. Rolleston's *Forms of Animal Life* has been "so to combine the concrete facts of Zootomy with the outlines of systematic Classification, as to enable the student to put them for himself into their natural relations of foundation and superstructure." The book consists of three parts. The first is introductory, and contains a classification of the animal kingdom, with an enumeration of the anatomical characters presented by its subordinate groups down to classes; the second is descriptive of different zootomical preparations; and the third is made up of twelve plates of dissections with explanatory matter.

It is perhaps a pity that the second and third parts of the book were not combined together, and at the same time more copiously illustrated. For although the preparations described have been selected, as far as possible, from specimens easily procurable, yet this of course has not been always possible; and, in the absence of specimens, good illustrations are all but indispensable for a clear comprehension of conditions so complex. The class Tunicata is exemplified by a description of a dissected specimen of *Ascidia affinis*, which, excellent as it is, must be very difficult for a student to apprehend thoroughly without the assistance of a good delineation; while the little diagram (Plate xi. fig. 3), is quite inadequate for the purpose. Similarly, the dissections of larvæ of moths seem decidedly to require the aid of figures for their clear comprehension. Other similar examples might readily be enumerated.

This imperfection, however, is a trifling one, while the book, as a whole, is a rich treasury of zootomical facts, and one so well arranged that objects sought for can readily be found in it. The bibliography also is both copious and convenient. At the end of the various descriptions of preparations, and of plates, are annexed references to the more important and interesting works relating to the matters treated of. Some of these descriptions are exceedingly complete, for instance that of the Common Crayfish, where also the very instructive tables are given. One of these shows the post-oral ganglia in adult and developing Crustacea, Arachnida, and Insecta. The other exhibits the special homologies of the post-oral segments of the body, in the classes just named and in the Myriapoda.

The system of classification adopted is much like that of Professor Huxley. But the Polyzoa, Brachiopoda, and Tunicata are united in one group with the Mollusca proper; while the Annulata are altogether separated from the Arthropoda, and are united with the non-echinodermatous Annuloida, under the general name Vermes. The Echinodermata, on the other hand, are isolated so as to form a sub-kingdom by themselves. Thus we have the follow-

ing sub-kingsdoms:—1. Vertebrata, 2. Mollusca, 3. Arthropoda, 4. Echinodermata, 5. Vermes, 6. Coelenterata, and 7. Protozoa. As to subordinate groups, the Vertebrata are divided into the Allantoidea and the Anallantoidea. The first of these is again subdivided into Mammalia and Sauropsida, the second constituting the Ichthyopsida. The Mammalia are arranged as Ornithodelphia, Didelphia, and Monodelphia. The existing birds are divided into 1. the Ratitæ or Struthious ones, and 2. the Carinatæ, comprising all other birds.

The book is written with admirable clearness of expression, and will be extremely useful to all advanced students.

61. SOUTH AMERICA and Central America, with perhaps the West Indies, constitute a distinct ornithological region—the neo-tropical, very rich in forms. According to the zoographical researches of Orbigny, Tschudi, Lafresnaye, Burmeister, Sclater, and others, it may be divided into the four following sub-regions:—1. The north-western or Columbian, including Tobago, Trinidad, the coast of the Antilles Sea as far as Maturin in the province of Cumana, Venezuela to the Orinoco, New Granada, the Western part of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. The Andes chain separates this sub-region from the following one. 2. Amazonia, a sub-region almost conterminous with the drainage basin of the Amazon. The coast line of this sub-region extends from the Orinoco to the Paranahyba; it also includes British, Dutch, and French Guiana. 3. The South Brazilian, which lies south of the wooded Amazonian country. The coast line extends from the Paranahyba to the La Plata. It includes the basins of the San Francisco, the Paraguay, and Uruguay, and the eastern part of the basin of the La Plata, and the Sertao or elevated table-land of Brazil. The basins of the Uruguay, Paraguay, etc., differ however considerably from the Sertao; and accordingly Lafresnaye makes the whole of the former a distinct sub-region—the Guaranian. Herr von Pelzeln however thinks that these districts form only a subdivision of the South Brazilian sub-region. 4. The Chili-Patagonia sub-region, which includes Chili, the south-west of Bolivia, the La Plata States as far north as that river, and the whole of Patagonia. Lafresnaye makes Patagonia a separate sub-region, so that the Chilian fauna on the west and the Guaranian on the east would form passages from the Brazilian and Columbian fauna to the Patagonian one.

Each of these sub-regions has been more or less investigated by successive naturalists; but by far the most extensive and important zoological collections ever made of the two sub-regions which are included in Brazil were those of the Austrian naturalist Johann Natterer, who spent nearly eighteen years in various parts of Brazil, from November 1817 to September 1836. The country investigated by Natterer included the environs of Rio de Janeiro, the southern and northern parts of the province of Sao Paulo; thence he crossed the country about the head-waters of the

Parana to Cuvaba, in Matto Grosso, at the upper sources of the Paraguay. He remained in this part of the Great forest country of Matto Grosso, from January 1825 until July 1829, when he commenced his river journeys on the river Guaporé. Thence he entered the Mamoré, and so on into the Rio Madeira, along which he passed into the Amazon. Ascending the latter river to the mouth of the Rio Negro, he sailed up that river to the Casiquiare, which connects it with the Orinoco. On his return to the Amazon he ascended the Rio Branco to the confines of British Guiana. Returning thence he sailed down the Amazon to Para, near its southern mouth. He occupied nearly six years in this great river journey, of which about four and a half years were spent in the Great forest country. It was his intention to explore the great province of Para, probably along the valleys of the twin rivers, the Araguay and Tocantins, a district as yet but little known zoologically. Thence he proposed to pass through the provinces of Maranhao, Rio Grande, Parahiba, Pernambuco, and along the east coast to Bahia, and thence to Rio de Janeiro, thus completing a circuit of Brazil. While he was at Para a civil war broke out; the insurgents killed the fine collection of living animals which he had made for the zoological garden at Vienna, and deprived him of everything he possessed, so that he was glad to get away to Europe in a British vessel of war.

Little or nothing is known of this great scientific journey; and, as if to complete the misfortunes which brought it to a close, the notes of Natterer's itinerarium are believed to have been burned in the fire which occurred in the Vienna Museum in 1848. Herr von Pelzeln has endeavoured to construct an itinerarium from some fragments, and from letters and printed notices which appeared at the time. Natterer's dead collections appear to have escaped destruction; for no less than 12,293 skins of birds, belonging to more than 1200 species, are in Vienna. This immense collection is not only interesting on account of the many new species which it includes, but especially, amongst other subjects, for zoological geography. Nearly all the specimens were collected by Natterer himself; and with few exceptions each bird has a label on which the species is numbered in consecutive order. The locality, the day, and the month of its capture, and the sex are also given. Besides the information on the label, there is a catalogue in which the species are correspondingly numbered, and which gives information that could only be gained from living or freshly killed animals, such as the colours of the iris, the bill, the legs, and naked parts of the skin, the form of the tongue, the contents of the stomach or crop, anatomical notices, measurements, observations on the mode of occurrence, habits, song, and lastly the several localities where found, and the date of finding.

These notices, made by the same observer over so vast a region, afford more information regarding geographical distribution, migration, local races, etc., than is possessed of any other area of equal extent. Their value is further

enhanced by the circumstance that Natterer remained a considerable time at some of the principal stations, and was thus able to make a thorough study of local faunas. It is much to be regretted that such invaluable materials should have remained so long unpublished. In the absence of a complete edition Herr von Pelzelin has judged rightly in publishing a critical summary of the chief ornithological results, with full bibliographical references to all works and memoirs concerning the several species, and descriptions of the new species. His summary on the geographical distribution of the 1288 species, catalogued over the six districts into which he divides the country traversed by Natterer, is especially valuable.

62. *The Refugium Botanicum* is devoted chiefly to plants exotic to the British Islands, which have been or which may be cultivated there. It possesses, however, an interest higher than could appertain to the manual of a mere horticulturist; for, whilst practical suggestions for culture are made, the subject is treated on strictly scientific principles. The editor, observing how difficult it was to arrive at even an approximately correct knowledge of the plants from the examination of dried specimens and curt descriptions, resolved many years since to introduce and cultivate for the purposes of study. He has succeeded, with the assistance of other botanists, in thus obtaining not only living specimens of many plants hitherto only seen in Great Britain in a dried state, but also in importing, growing, and studying some species previously unknown. To supplement the necessary imperfection of verbal description, numerous illustrations are given, drawn with fidelity and skill. To make the work more full and complete, the editor has not restricted its scope to his own collection, but has included remarkable exotics cultivated at Kew and elsewhere.

His first specimen is *Oxalis megalorhiza*, an interesting native of Chili and Peru. He includes its family as a tribe among the Geraniaceæ. For so doing he has of course precedents to adduce; but we cannot agree with him in disregarding or subordinating very natural distinctions. Many eminent botanists have set these asunder as distinct though closely allied Orders. The regma, beaked torus, exalbuminous seed, and generally tumid joints of the Geraniaceæ, are characteristics too prominent to permit a fusion with the Oxalidaceæ. Besides, the chemical qualities which so frequently corroborate the accuracy of the grouping of the Natural Families seem here as plainly to separate these. The aromatic and astringent properties of the Geranium order are not to be found in the Oxalis order; nor is the acidity of the latter known to be present in any member of the former. It cannot be alleged that the specimen here given tends to strengthen the classification adopted. The plant was grown from one of several stems imported into London in 1864, "from some port in the Pacific." Mr. Saunders adds, "It was called a sort of Rhatany root." He does not say whether the stema were used to adulter-

ate Krameria roots, or intended to be offered as substitutes for them. They are employed as astringents in medicine; and if the family of *O. megalorhiza* were really a tribe of Geraniaceæ the plant might be expected to have a certain amount of astringency. *G. Robertianum* is a popular astringent; *G. maculatum* is the alum-root of North America. But, as it is, there would be found, in all probability, nothing but the acidity which marks more or less even the "arracacha potatoes," the tubers of *O. crenata* of Peru, where Krameria likewise is found. It could not, therefore, serve as a kind of rhatany root.

Although, in general, the descriptions give evidence of great care and accuracy, they are occasionally loosely worded. For instance, the leaves of *Goodenia ovata* are thus described:—"Leaves alternate. The petioles a quarter to half an inch long, the blade ovate; two or three inches long by about half as broad; the point acute, the base cordate, the edges regularly, sharply, but not deeply, toothed." This epithet "toothed" is ambiguous; for it may mean that the margin is saw-toothed, or may signify that it is simply dentate. It is likely to be understood in the latter sense, being unqualified; and so understood it would mislead, for the margin is serrate. The base is not always cordate. Sometimes the description, without being inaccurate, is rather affected. Of the flower of *Pleurothallis bilamellata*, it is said: "Tepals much shorter [than sepals] rhomboid-lanceolate, tooth-letted towards the apex, one-nerved." A striking monster-form of *Hyacinthus orientalis* is described and figured. The flowers, elongated and narrowed, were of a bright green. The cylindrical ovary was nearly as long as the tube of the perianth, ovuliferous only in its lower half. The stigma was represented by six minute papillose knobs. The anthers, normal in form, were reddish-purple, being the only "coloured" portion of the flower. A month later the same plant produced another spike of twenty-three blossoms, composed as follows:—"Five flowers entirely green; twelve flowers party-coloured crimson and green, but more of the former colour; six flowers chiefly green, with crimson points to the sepals. Among the party-coloured flowers was one which was nearly crimson, and might be said to be true to the Robert Steigar variety of the Hyacinth." Mr. Saunders adds, with regard to the flowers he observed, that the more crimson of colour they were the more closely did they approach the normal shape. They likewise became less erect, and assumed a more horizontal position. One elongated erect flower, resembling those of the first spike, was green. The greatest amount of crimson was developed in the lower flowers of the spike, except in three blooms, which, in shape and colour, were most abnormal, and were inserted on the same level, while, strangely enough, the most nearly normal flowers arose a little above them. The crimson colour was most developed on the tubes; and pollen was perfected in one of the party-coloured flowers. From a physiological point of view more in-



formation is desirable. It is not stated whether, in the crimson and green flowers, the pollen was perfect; neither is there any statement of observations made to determine whether and in what flowers the ovules were fertilized. It would have been important to examine the respiration of the flowers under these circumstances, and to make a microscopical investigation of the segments of the party-coloured and green perianths, to discover under what conditions the colouring matter presented itself. These points appear to have been completely overlooked. However, in such a work as this, the subject can only be regarded as episodic. The *Refugium Botanicum*, so far as its special scope is concerned, merits praise. Professor Reichenbach has treated the selected tribes of the Orchid order in a thoroughly scientific and exhaustive manner.

63. MR. BLANFORD'S *Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia* embody much solid work, and are a valuable contribution to scientific literature. The principal defect of the volume—imperfect knowledge of the habits of the living creatures described—was the unavoidable consequence of a short sojourn in a country with whose language the visitor was unacquainted. Besides, he traversed but a limited extent of territory. He, however, enjoyed the advantage of being specially commissioned by the Government of India, and made such use of his opportunity as to form a collection comprising over 1700 specimens of vertebrata alone, representing 850 species, and about 8500 specimens of mollusca and articulata, representing 500 species. To the record of his researches is prefixed a personal narrative of imperfect interest. Some passages indicate that he is apt to form decided judgments on insufficient data. Soon after landing he saw Shohos; they were uncouth-looking, but were regarded as somewhat more "civilized" when they subsequently dressed themselves in old gunny bags. "These people," he observes, "are genuine Arabs, their hands against every man's, arrant thieves and cut-throats, but still with some principle of honour." It ought to have occurred to him that not the best specimens of these natives would be seen near the expedition; and he acknowledges that even those who came, and acted as paid carriers, did their work with but little pilfering. European travellers who have sojourned amongst these migratory, pastoral people, have found them hospitable and friendly; so that the denunciation of them by a casual intruder as "arrant thieves and cut-throats" looks like an instance of race-bigotry, from which naturalists should be free. But Mr. Blanford is quite candid, and relates frankly what he sees, whether it interfere with his first impressions or not. Thus, he found that most of the stories of attacks and thefts were invented by muleteers and camp-followers to conceal their own villany; and they pushed this villany so far as to seize Shohos for punishment whom it was discovered they had robbed of their hire.

During the eight months occupied by his

stay in Abyssinia, he did not confine himself to the track of the British army, but made various excursions into the adjacent districts from Zulla, Senafé, Massowah, and some other places. Following the narrative of his personal adventures come his geological observations. He differs from Dr. Ruppell in regarding his Kalkmergel hills at Senafé as formed by claystone passing into trachyte, and likewise differs from other explorers on certain points whilst confirming generally the accuracy of their views. The gorges of the Abyssinian plateau in which rivers flow he reasonably considers to have been formed by them. He can find no evidence of exceptional disturbance; and the strata are perfectly horizontal on either side. But here his experience is limited. Of marine denudation he could not recognise a trace: his perceptive power may, however, have been unconsciously controlled a little by his theoretical opinions. The power of rain and river to cause marked effects is more readily recognised where the tropical down-pour is seen at work than elsewhere. Mr. Blanford, who saw ravines in the Himalayas of Sikkim, excavated to the depth of from 6000 to 15,000 feet by the rivers running in them, is not prepared to agree with M. d'Abbadie's view of the causes which helped to mould the surface of Abyssinia. None of the lakes, except the minor Lake of Ashangi, was examined: and this he argues must have a subterranean outlet. His argument, though plausible, is not conclusive. He finds it impossible to account for the Ashangi hollow by any known process of denudation; and it is difficult to regard it as an area of depression, for the higher series of traps on the hills around gives no evidence of disturbance. Yet the lower group of traps is much disturbed. No trace of glacier action met Mr. Blanford's sight. In the preparation of his remarks on the weather-action on rocks he might have consulted with advantage the observations made by M. Agassiz in his recent tour in Brazil. He examines and reviews in succession the metamorphic rocks, the Adigrat sandstones, the Antalo limestones, the Magdala and Ashangi groups of the Trappean series, the Aden volcanic rocks, and of recent formations the soils of the highlands, coral islands of the Red Sea, and alluvial deposits near the coast.

In the sandstone, which is sometimes a thousand feet thick, no fossils were found; and thus no solid opposition is given to M. Ferret and M. Galinier, who class it in the tertiary system. The Antalo limestones, their oolitic beds, constitute the only group in which fossils were found. One new species of Echinodermata named *Hemicidarites Abyssinica*, was discovered rather abundantly; it approaches in form to *H. Wrightii*, Cotteau. Four new species of Lamellibranchiate Molluscs are figured, and named respectively *Mytilus Tigrensis*, *Pholadomya granulifera*, *Pholadomya subilirata*, and *Ceromya paucilirata*. Only a few specimens of them were found. The Trappean series has been insufficiently studied; but some interesting notes on



recent formations are made. On the sandstones and limestones of Tigré the vegetation was poor and sparse; it improved with the soil over the metamorphic rocks, whilst on and about the traps it was really rich. Wherever basaltic rocks prevail, a fertile and rather argillaceous black or dark soil was found, resembling the "regur" of the centre, west, and south of India. It is derived, Mr. Blanford believes, only from the disintegration of dolerites, not from trachytes. Flakes of obsidian were met with under circumstances which made their artificial origin probable. No well-formed implements were however discovered.

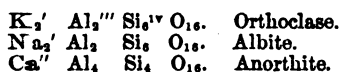
In the zoological portion of the work, Mr. Blanford, with the collaboration of many distinguished naturalists, has fully enumerated the collection of vertebrata only. Considering his limited experience, his separation of them into fauna-regions is not wholly to be relied on, and can only give approximate results. But they are at least suggestive, and afford some useful hints. The quadrumana are very imperfectly noticed, specimens of *Cynocephalus hamadryas* and *Cercopithecus griseo-viridis* only having been obtained. Mr. Blanford is right in believing that the former rarely attack man; but he should have suppressed his reason—i.e., that they did not assail any of the British expedition. The fact that boys are sufficient to guard the corn-fields against their forays would have furnished a better argument had it been known to him. His statement that monkeys are less docile, but not less intelligent, than dogs or elephants is quite in accordance with the experience of those who have studied their habits in their native countries. He saw a third species, which he doubtfully thinks to have been *Theropithecus obscurus*. "The beautiful *Colobus guereza*," he says, "of which skins are frequently brought to Aden from the mountains of the Somali country, I never heard of while in Abyssinia." But this, which is one of the most beautiful of monkeys, has been found in Tsagaddy and Walkait, if not in Tigré. It has been observed to frequent the high trees about churches, and this habit makes the natives careful of killing it. No lions were shot by any officer of the expedition; but Mr. Blanford, in his excursions, found them not unusual and sometimes dangerous. The civet-cat, he should have known, is very rarely found wild in this country; the Galla tribes keep it for the sake of the excretion, which sells for a high price, for export. He is surprised to find the African jackals classed in Dr. Gray's list with foxes, whilst the Indian jackal is placed with wolves. His case may be strengthened by the fact that the Abyssinians believe they occasionally hunt in packs, following up their prey with pitiless though not swift pursuit until it is wearied out. He slights the courage of the Abyssinian bear. "Several which I wounded," he remarks, "showed no inclination to charge under circumstances in which an Indian pig would certainly have shown fight." This is contrary to the experience of Parkyns, who, after wounding the animal, more than once found it make a rush at him in revenge.

A new species of Hyrax is suggested; but it is quite evident that a more patient and attentive study of the Hyraces is what is chiefly required. There is no guarantee that all the supposed characteristics remain unchanged in every phase of the life of the individual. Particular care appears to have been devoted to obtaining a good collection of birds; and the figures, where given, are remarkably well done. On the whole, the studious research and practical knowledge displayed in Mr. Blanford's book entitle it to a highly respectable position in the department to which it belongs.

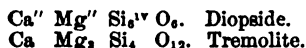
64. Few countries offer such typical examples of certain classes of crystalline rocks as the Austrian Empire. The newer rocks are represented by the varied and extensive Trachytes of Hungary and Transylvania, and the great development of basaltic rocks in Bohemia. The rocks of the upper palæozoic and lower mesozoic epochs are represented by the melaphyrs and porphyries of the Riesengebirge. The melaphyrs, augite and felsite porphyries, gabbro and serpentines of the Eastern Alps afford examples belonging to nearly all the formations between the Trias and the Chalk; while the classic districts of Predazzo and Monzoni in South Tyrol abound in rocks interesting alike for their mineralogical constitution and geological associations. These rocks have formed the subject of numerous investigations, and notably by the geologists of the Austrian Geological Survey, among which may be specially mentioned F. von Richthofen's *Geognostische Beschreibung der Umgegend von Predazzo, St. Cassian, und der seisser Alpe in Südtirol*. Within the last few years, however, microscopical and chemical lithology has advanced so rapidly that a reinvestigation of the crystalline mesozoic rocks of Austria appeared to the Academy of Vienna to be a desideratum. In 1867 they accordingly offered a prize for the best essay on the subject, which was gained by Dr. Gustav Tschermak.

The rocks described by him in his prize essay, *Die Porphyrgesteine Oesterreichs aus der Mittleren Geologischen Epoche*, and also in several separate papers, are as follows:—Quartz porphyry; quartz porphyrite; porphyrite; melaphyr, and the allied rock, augite porphyry; the so called tourmalin-granite of Predazzo; the peculiar rock known as the granite of Predazzo, and called monzonite by Dr. Tschermak; the coarse-grained mixture of labrador and augite known as hyperite, forming veins in the monzonite, and described as diabase by Dr. Tschermak; the allied rock gabbro composed of a mixture of a plagioclase rich in lime, and diallage; the more or less altered rock composed of olivin, bronzite, diallage, and anorthite, and extremely rich in magnesia, known as schillerfels, and called by Dr. Tschermak olivin-gabbro; pikrite consisting of olivine to the extent of one-half the mass, and either hornblende, biotite, or diallage; and teschenite, a basic feldspathic rock containing analcime intimately associated with the feldspar (mikrothin), and hornblende, or augite.

As regards the paragenesis of the constituent minerals of the two great groups of rocks examined by Dr. Tschermak—the group of porphyries, which represents the trachytes of later epochs, and the group of melaphyrs which represents the later group of basalt—he divides the silicates into three categories: the feldspar, augite, and olivine groups, which he regards as primitive constituents; the mica, zeolite, and quartz groups, which he looks upon as intermediate minerals; and epidote, chlorite, serpentine, and the pinitoid groups, or secondary, or metamorphic minerals. Like Sartorius von Waltershausen, he considers the majority of the recognised feldspars as mixtures. According to him there are but three typical feldspars:



Crystallographically he divides the feldspars into two series: orthoclase or monoclinic, and plagioclase or triclinic. The former includes orthoclase proper, and mixtures of orthoclase and albite, known under different names, such as adularia, rhyacolite, sanidin, amazonite, perthite, pegmatolite, loxoclase, etc. The plagioclase feldspars form a series commencing with albite, and ending with anorthite. Between the two lie all the soda-lime feldspars—oligoclase, andesine labrador, etc.—which are mixtures in various proportions of albite and anorthite. He considers the typical formulæ of the augite and hornblende series to be:



The aluminous augites, containing in addition the silicate  $\text{Mg}' \text{ Al}_2''' \text{ Si} \text{ O}_6$ , and the aluminous hornblendes, the silicates  $\text{Ca}'' \text{ Mg}'' \text{ Al}_2''' \text{ Si}_2 \text{ O}_{12}$  and  $\text{Na}_2' \text{ Al}_2''' \text{ Si}_4 \text{ O}_{12}$ . We have not yet seen the evidence upon which he bases this theory. Although the tremolites usually contain more magnesia than the augites, they are to be regarded rather as dimorphic forms of the same silicate, having the typical formula  $(\text{M}'' \text{ Si} \text{ O}_6)_2$ , than as chemically distinct minerals. The condensed meta-silicates being poly-

meric, the isomorphic bases may replace each other to almost any extent; hence the great variation which takes place in these groups—a variation which cannot occur in the ortho-silicates, or anhydro-silicates. In most, if not all, of the aluminous augites and hornblendes, the alumina is not derived from any such definite silicates as those assumed by Dr. Tschermak, but from the feldspar out of which they crystallized, or from garnets or other endomorphs which they enclose.

Among the most interesting results arrived at by Dr. Tschermak, may be mentioned that melaphyr does not contain hornblende, which agrees with Gustav Rose's and Streng's previous researches on the melaphyr of Ilefeld in Silesia, and proves that Richthofen was in error in describing the essential constituents of the melaphyr of South Tyrol as oligoclase and hornblende. Indeed some of the older melaphyrs of Bohemia do not even contain augite or hypersthene. Again, all melaphyrs contain olivine. This fact is of considerable importance. It disproves the hitherto received view that that mineral is characteristic of the rocks of the basalt groups, and is wanting in the augite porphyries and melaphyrs. And again, it shows that there exists an intimate connection between olivin rocks and serpentine, as had been already pointed out by Zirkel and Sandberger. This relationship, which establishes the thoroughly metamorphic character of serpentine, is interesting in connection with the discussion whether *Eozoon Canadense* is a fossil or a mineral pseudomorph.

The amount of phosphoric acid in some of the Austrian crystalline rocks is remarkable. In a specimen of melaphyr from Landeshut, analysed by Richthofen, 1.12 per cent. of  $\text{P}_2\text{O}_5$  was found, and in a specimen of Teschenite analysed by Herr P. Juhász, for Professor Tschermak, as much as 1.25 per cent. was found. This quantity represents about 8 per cent. of apatite. The curious rock in which this large quantity was found was composed of about 80 per cent. feldspar, 80 of hornblende, 27 of analcime, 6 of magnetite, 3 of apatite, etc.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1870, AND JANUARY, 1871.

VOLUME LIII.

---

AMERICAN EDITION.

---

NEW YORK:  
PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY.

140 FULTON STREET, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND NASSAU STREET.

---

1871.

---

**S. W. GREEN,**  
**PRINTER, STERNOTYPER, AND BINDER,**  
**16 and 18 Jacob St., N. Y.**

---

THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CV.

OCTOBER, 1870.

ART. I.—THE MOABITE INSCRIPTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the interest which has been excited by the discovery of the Moabite Stone, and though several of the most eminent biblical scholars and palæographers in Europe have attempted the decipherment of its mutilated lines, it is remarkable that there is still an uncertainty as to the very shape of the monument, and therefore as to the precise extent of the injuries which the inscription has suffered. Both M. Clermont-Ganneau and Captain Warren agree in representing the stone as rounded at the upper end and rectangular at the lower. "La forme de la stèle," says the former, writing at Jerusalem on the 16th of January 1870, "était celle d'un carré long, terminé en haut par une partie arrondie; l'angle inférieur était déjà cassé depuis fort longtemps." And the latter has sent home a sketch of the stone,—reproduced in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. v., 1870, as also among the photographs published by the Committee of the same Fund (April 8, 1870), and by Professor Rawlinson in the *Contemporary Review* for August 1870,—in which it is depicted conformably to M. Ganneau's description. On the other hand, the first discoverer, Mr. F. A. Klein, a Prussian clergyman, who has been for many years in the service of the Church Missionary Society at Jerusalem, positively asserts that the stone was rounded at both ends, and that, when he saw it in situ, on the 19th of August 1868, it was perfectly entire and uninjured. His own words, in a letter addressed to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 20, 1870, are: "The stone was lying among the ruins of Dibân, perfectly free and exposed to view, the inscription uppermost. I got

four men to turn it round (it was a basaltic stone, exceedingly heavy), in order to ascertain whether there was no inscription on the other side, and found that it was perfectly smooth and without any inscription or other marks. What time was left me before sunset I now employed in examining, measuring, and making a correct sketch of the stone, besides endeavouring to collect a perfect alphabet from the inscription. What I have I now enclose, and vouch for the perfect correctness of what I give, having taken it down on the spot. The stone is, as appears from the accompanying sketch, rounded on *both* sides, not only at the upper end, as mentioned by Monsieur Ganneau." "The stone itself," adds Mr. Klein, "was in a most perfect state of preservation, not one single piece being broken off; and it was only from great age and exposure to the rain and sun that certain parts, especially the upper and lower lines, had somewhat suffered." As to the number of lines in the inscription, viz. thirty-four, both our authorities are agreed; but they are again at variance in regard to the measurements of the monument. M. Ganneau says that the stone, judging by the impressions, had "1 mètre de hauteur et 0·60 centimètres de largeur, avec une épaisseur égale;" whilst Mr. Klein declares that, according to his correct measurement on the spot, "the stone had 1 mètre 13 centimètres in height, 70 centimètres in breadth, and 35 centimètres in thickness."

On his return to Jerusalem, Mr. Klein showed his sketch to Professor Petermann of Berlin, then acting as Prussian consul at Jerusalem; and this scholar endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to procure the monument for the Berlin Museum. Its existence was now no longer a secret; and both M. Ganneau and Captain Warren tried to get

possession of the stone itself, or, at least, to obtain satisfactory squeezes. Unfortunately, both the cupidity and the superstitious feelings of the native Arabs were now excited; and, to make matters worse, the local officials of the Turkish Government heard of the discovery, and endeavoured to put pressure upon the people with regard to the stone. Its actual possessors, the Beni Hamidè, believed, or pretended to believe, that, if they were deprived of the precious object, a blight would fall upon their crops. Probably, the offer of a substantial sum of money would have got over this difficulty; but the action of the Turkish officials exasperated the people, and, sooner than give up their talisman, they lighted a fire under it, threw cold water upon it when thoroughly heated, and thereby shattered it into pieces, which they distributed among their granaries to act as charms in blessing the corn. Fortunately, M. Ganneau had been able, before this was done, to obtain, through the exertions of three Arabs, a complete paper cast or squeeze of the inscription, which, though snatched from the stone while still damp and torn into several pieces in a scuffle, must have proved of great value in the arrangement of the fragments which were subsequently obtained. Soon after, both M. Ganneau and Captain Warren succeeded in procuring better impressions of the two largest pieces of the stone; and finally, these two pieces, with eighteen smaller ones, came into the possession of M. Ganneau, whilst Captain Warren got from his Arab "some small pieces, twelve in number, with a letter or two on each."

From these data the inscription had to be reconstructed; and M. Ganneau deserves high praise for the patience and ingenuity which he has shown in trying to perform this very difficult task. It will be almost impossible to arrive at a perfectly satisfactory conclusion, until the whole of the remaining fragments have been collected at one place, and submitted, by photographs or otherwise, to the examination of several competent persons. But nevertheless M. Ganneau has been harshly dealt with by certain scholars in England; and it is scarcely possible, with Mr. Deutsch, to "reject the bulk of M. Ganneau's restoration, transcript, interpretation, and all" (Letter to the editor of the *Times*, March 23, 1870). Professor Schlottmann's estimate comes much nearer the truth, in considering M. Ganneau's revised text as the result "eines objectiven, ebenso geschickten, als sorgfältigen und gewissenhaften Verfahrens."

In regard to its palæographical interest, the Moabite Stone has been ably treated by

Professor Rawlinson in the *Contemporary Review* for August 1870. The researches of the Comte de Vogüé, contained in his *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*, have clearly established, on the evidence of seals, coins, and inscriptions, varying in age from the eighth to the fourth century before Christ, that there existed at the commencement of that period, say B.C. 800–700, an alphabet common to all the Shemitic populations of Syria—an alphabet from which were derived the Greek letters on the one side, and all the later alphabets of the East on the other. This alphabet may be designated by the term Shemitic, as it was used, in the first instance, exclusively by peoples who spoke what we are accustomed to call the Shemitic languages. Not that the word Shemitic can be approved as a scientific term; but scholars are not yet agreed upon a substitute, and it is preferable to the term Cadmean, advocated by Mr. Deutsch and Professor Rawlinson. The idea of this alphabet, like that of the Egyptians, was pictorial. "The letters," to use the words of Professor Rawlinson, "were the pictures of familiar objects, which pictures underwent a gradual corruption, the great object being to simplify, by reducing the character to forms which could be traced without removing the hand from the paper." Till within the last four months, it was known to us exclusively from the brief inscriptions upon cylinders and seal-rings, Aramæan, Phœnician, and Hebrew, which have been collected and translated by the Comte de Vogüé in his *Mélanges* and by Professor Levy of Breslau in his *Siegel und Gemmen*. The oldest of these, all of which are of course undated, are estimated to belong to the seventh and eighth centuries before Christ, say B.C. 750–650. But we now possess in the Moabite Stone a long inscription of considerably greater antiquity; for, though likewise undated, it can be assigned, on internal evidence, as will be seen hereafter, to the reign of Ahaziah, king of Israel, or the commencement of that of his successor Jehoram, that is to say, to the earlier part of the ninth century before Christ.

The following are the forms of the letters in this inscription, with their equivalents in the ordinary square Hebrew character.

𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח
𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏
י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ
𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗
ק	ר	ש	ת				

The letter ט is accidentally missing (as in the great Phœnician inscription of Esh-mûn'azâr, king of Sidon); but its form probably did not deviate much from the ancient Greek ⓧ ⓐ or the Phœnician

ⓧ ⓐ. A closer examination of the tenth line may give certainty on this point. This alphabet is, doubtless, almost, if not absolutely, identical with that employed by the poets, prophets, and historians of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, when they committed their works to writing; and it may be well for scholars to bear this in mind when attempting conjectural emendations upon the biblical texts.

But, besides the archaic forms of the letters, there is another point especially deserving of notice in this monument, viz. its punctuation. Not only are single words separated from one another by a point, but the end of a clause or sentence is marked by a perpendicular line. A more minute investigation than has yet taken place will probably show that there is a point after each word, and may serve to correct M. Ganneau's facsimiles and statements in a few doubtful cases. For example, we have some suspicion as to the point after כ in חכ · ואסחב (line 18), and ח in כח · רבא (l. 8), and still more as to that after כ in ח · וא[כ] · חב (l. 12, 13). The perpendicular line seems superfluous after ברחח in line 3, and after רבלקח in line 30; but we desiderate it after עלם in line 7, and בת · מלך in line 23. The use of the point was already known from certain of the Phœnician inscriptions, e.g. the *Citiensis secunda*, and from Samaritan mss. The perpendicular line is employed in the Himyaritic inscriptions to separate single words, whence the double point (:) after each word in Æthiopic mss.; and possibly the Hebrew Sôph-pâsûk (:) may have had a similar origin. The Persian cuneiform inscriptions present a parallel in their use of a slanting wedge.

Before proceeding further, it is right to enumerate the principal pamphlets and articles which have been published regarding the Moabite Stone. This will save the trouble of constant references.

The first to make the inscription generally known to European scholars was M. Clermont-Ganneau in his letter to the Comte de Vogüé entitled *La Stèle de Mesa roi de Moab*, 896 *avant J. C.*, dated Jerusalem, 16 January 1870, with a note at the end by M. de Vogüé, dated Paris, 5 February 1870.

This has been succeeded by an article by M. Ganneau in the *Revue Archéologique* for March and June of the present year. Of the two facsimiles which accompany these essays, that appended to the latter is naturally by far the more complete. A short article by M. Renan in the *Journal des Débats* for the 25th of February did not add much to our knowledge. Then appeared a notice of M. Ganneau's first pamphlet, by M. J. Derenbourg, in the *Journal Asiatique* for January-February, and a longer article by the same scholar in the *Revue Israélite* of April 8, based upon M. Ganneau's revised copy. Among German scholars the first to take the field was Professor Schlottmann of Halle, whose excellent pamphlet is dated March 15. He also published his translation in the *Times* for May 5, and gave a revised version in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxiv. Bd., i. und ii. Heft, dated May 13. Meantime the inscription had been discussed by Professor Ewald in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* for April 20; and a complete translation had been attempted by Dr. Neubauer in the April number of Frankel and Grätz's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, agreeing closely with one which appeared in the *Times* of March 27. The well-known Jewish scholar Dr. Geiger or Berlin also wrote upon the subject in the above mentioned number of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; and finally Professor Noeldeke or Kiel published his admirable treatise, dated April 6, of which he himself wrote a short notice in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* for May 4. Of other articles which have appeared in France and Germany, we have seen only that in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* for April 16, written by Professor Haug of Munich, and one by Professor Schrader of Giessen in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* for June 1. Those by Dr. Abraham Harkavy in the כבודי, Nos. 13, 14 and 15 of the present year, we have not yet had the opportunity of examining.

The following is a transcript of the Inscription of Mesha, with an attempt at punctuation, after the Hebrew manner. We have endeavoured also to supply at least some of the lacunæ; but, in the absence of accurate tracings and photographs, it is impossible to do so with certainty.

אֶהָהּ מֶשָׁא בֶן כְּמִשְׁלָם רִי מֶלֶךְ מֹאָב מֶלֶךְ הָעָרִי  
רְבִינִי אֶהָהּ מֶלֶךְ הָעָרִי מֶלֶךְ הָעָרִי מֶלֶךְ הָעָרִי

1

2



- 3 תי . אחר . אהר | נאעט . חמשת . זאת . לכמש . בקרחו . [ב]מת [י]  
 4 שז . גי . חשעני . מעל . חשלבן . וכי . חראני . בכל . שגאי | ע . . . . .  
 5 י . מלך . ישראל . ויגעו . את . מאב . ימן . רבן . גי . חמשת . בשא [ר]  
 6 צח | ויחלפות . בנח . ויאמר . גם . הוא . אגענו . את . מאב | ברימי . אמר . . . . .  
 7 נארא . בח . ובכחה | וישראל . אבד . אבד . עלם . וירש . עמרי . את . . . . .  
 8 ע . מחיבא . וישב . גה . . . . . בנח . ארבען . שח . . . . .  
 9 בח . כמש . ברימי | נאבן . את . בעל . מען . נאעט . גה . חאשתי . וא . . . . .  
 10 את . קריתן | ואש . גר . ישב . בארץ . ע[ט]רת . מעלם . ויבן . לח . מל[ה] [י]  
 11 שראל . את [חמר] | ואלתחם . בער . יאחזו | ואררג . את . קל [ישיבי]  
 12 חמר . רחש . לכמש . ולמאב | ואשג . משם . את . . . . . ווא[ס]  
 13 חבית . לפני . כמש . בקרית | ואשב . גה . את . אש . שרן . ואח . א[ש]  
 14 סחרה | ויאמר . לי . כמש . לך . אחו . את . נבח . על . ישראל | וא[ח]  
 15 חלה . בלח . ואלתחם . גה . מרקע . חשחרת . עד . צחרם | וא  
 16 [ח]ח . ואחרג . בלח . שבצח . אלמן . . . . .  
 17 ח . חשח . גי . לעשתר . כמש . חחרמ . . . . . ונאחח . משם [אח]  
 18 [ג]לי . יחיה . ונאחב . חם . לפני . כמש | וימלך . ישראל . ב[ח]  
 19 [אח] יחזי . וישב . גה . בחלחחח . ברי | ויגרש . כמש . מ[ני]  
 20 [ג]אחח . ממאב . מארן . אש . כל . רשח | ונאשח . ברחי . ונאחח  
 21 לכסח . על . בריבן | אנה . בנחתי . קרחו . חשח . חצרים . וחמח  
 22 חזקל | ונאנה . בנחתי . שצריח . ונאנה . בנחתי . מנדלחח | וא  
 23 נה . בנחתי . בת . מלך . ונאנה . עשתי . כלאי . חאש — דו . ב[ח]רב  
 24 [ח]קר | ובר . אן . בקרב . חמר . בקרחח . ואמר . לכליחם . עשו [ג]  
 25 כם . אש . בר . בבירחח | ונאנה . ברחתי . חמברחח . לקרחח . בא . . . . .  
 26 ישראל | ונאנה . בנחתי [צ]רער . ונאנה . עשתי . חמסלח . בארני[ו]  
 27 [א]ח[ה] . בנחתי . בח . כמח . גי . חרס . הא | אנה . בנחתי . בצר . גי . ע . . . . .  
 28 . . . . . ש . בריבן . חמשי . גי . כל . בריבן . משמח . ונאנה . מל . . . . .  
 29 . . . . . את . בקר . אשר . חסחתי . על . תארץ | ונאנה . ב[ח]ח  
 30 . . . . . ויבח . דבלחח | ויבח . בעל . מען . ואשא . שם . את . מ . . . . .  
 31 . . . . . תארץ | ותורקן . ישב . גה . ב . ו . . . . .  
 32 [ניא]מר . לי . כמש . רר . חלחחם . בחורקן | וא . . . . .  
 33 . . . . . ח . כמש . ברימי . על . ח . ועש . . . . .  
 34 . . . . . שח . . . . . ק . וא . . . . .

In the following translation, words, or portions of words, supplied by conjecture, are printed in italics. Words within brackets are added merely to convey more distinctly the meaning of the original.

1. I, Mesha, son of Kemosh-gad, king of Moab, *the Di-*
2. bonite—my father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reign-
3. ed after my father. And I made this high-place for Kemosh in Korchoh, a high-  
place of de-
4. liverance, because he delivered me from all enemies and let me look [with pleas-  
ure] upon [the destruction of] all my haters. *There arose Om-*
5. ri, king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry  
with his
6. land. And his son [*i.e.* Ahab] succeeded him, and he too said, "I will oppress  
Moab." In my days he said *this*,
7. but I looked upon [the ruin of] him and his house, and Israel perished for ever.  
And Omri had taken possession of the *plain*
8. of Medeba, and dwelt in it; and *they oppressed Moab, he and his son, forty years; but looked*
9. upon him [*i.e.* Moab] Kemosh in my days. And I built [*i.e.* restored or fortified]  
Baal-Meon, and constructed in it the moat (?); and I *built*
10. Kiryathaim. And the men of Gad were dwelling in the land of Ataroth from of  
old, and the king of Is-

11. rael had built for himself *the city*; and I fought against the city, and took it, and slew all *the inhabitants of*
12. the city, [as] a [pleasing] sight to Kemosh and to Moab; and I carried off thence the . . . . . of *Yahveh*, and drag-
13. ged it [or them] before Kemosh at Kerioth. And I made dwell in it [viz. Ataroth] the people of Shiran and the people of . . .
14. M-ch-rath (?). And Kemosh said to me, "Go, take Nebo from Israel;" and I
15. went by night, and fought against it from the dawning of the morning until mid-day, and I
16. took it, and slew the whole [population] of it, seven thousand . . . . .
17. . . . . , for to Ashtor-Kemosh I *had* devoted it; and I took away thence *the*
18. *vessels* of Yahveh, and dragged them before Kemosh. And the king of Israel [*i.e.* Ahaziah] built
19. Yahaz, and abode in it whilst he was fighting against me; but Kemosh drove him out before me [*literally*, before my face];
20. and I took of Moab two hundred men, all his headmen (?), and I led them up (?) to Yahaz, and took it,
21. in addition to Dibon. I built Korchoh, the wall of the woods and the wall of
22. the mound; and I built its gates, and I built its towers; and
23. I built the palace; and I made the reservoirs for rain-water (?) in the *midst of*
24. the city. And there was not a cistern in the midst of the city, in Korchoh; and I said to the whole people, "Make for
25. yourselves each a cistern in his house." And I cut the moat for Korchoh with [the labour of] *the captives*
26. of Israel. I built Arero; and I made the road over the Arnon.
27. I [re]built Beth-Bamoth, for it had been pulled down. I built Bezer, for . . . . .
28. . . . men of Dibon, fifty [in number], for all Dibon was submission [submissive to me]. And I . . . . .
29. . . . . in the cities (?), which I added to the land. And I built
30. . . . . and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Meon; and I took up (?) thither the . . . . .
31. . . . . the land. And Horonaim, there dwelt in it. B . . . . .
32. . . . . And Kemosh said to me, "Go down, fight against Horonaim." And I . . . . .
33. . . . . Kemosh in my days. And . . . . .
34. . . . . year (?) . . . . .

The inscription may be divided, as to its subject, into five sections. In the following commentary these are indicated in their places, while the continuous numbering of the lines of the inscription is preserved.

I. Dedication of the high-place constructed by king Mesha at Dibon to his god Kemosh.

Line 1. אָנֹכִי, Hebrew אָנֹכִי, *anôchî*, but in pause *anôchî*; Phœnician אֲנִי, probably *anôch*, in later times (as in the *Pænulus* of Plautus) *anêc*, *anêch*. In one of the graffiti of Abydos, Zotenberg and Schröder find the form אָנֹכִי; but their reading has been rejected by Levy, as it seems to us, on good grounds. On the other hand, if the Moabites had pronounced the word *anochî*, or even *anôchî*, we should have expected them to write אָנֹכִי, just as they write אָנֹכִי, etc.—חֲשֵׁנִי, scriptio defectiva. In the Bible the name of the king is written מֶשָׁה, 2 Kings iii. 4, and that of another person מֶשֶׁה, 1 Chron. ii. 42.—

כְּמֹשֶׁה. The ך is said by M. Ganneau to be certain, but of the ך there remain only "des traces inappréciables." The reading is, however, in all probability correct, and the name finds its analogies in the Hebrew מֶשָׁה and מֶשֶׁה, the Hebrew or Ammonite מֶשָׁה (de Vogüé, *Mélanges*, p. 139, Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen*, p. 44), the Phœnician מֶשָׁה, etc.—In filling up the lacuna at the end of the line we have followed Noeldeke. The same conjecture was made independently by Professor Weir of Glasgow; and it has been adopted by Schlottmann, and by Ganneau, who says that the perpendicular stroke of the letter ך is still visible on the stone. King Mesha's family were probably natives of Dibon (compare Gen. xxxvi. 32-39 and 1 Chron. i. 43-50); and this accounts for the site of the monument. The orthography מֶשָׁה probably indicates the pronunciation *Daibon* (דַּיבּוֹן) or Dêbon (דֵּיבּוֹן); and Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* actually writes Δαῖβων.

2. **ללחין**. Here we find, for the first time, the plural form *in*, as in Arabic and Aramaic, **لَلْحَيْن**, gen. and acc. **لَلْحَيْن**. The Hebrew and Phœnician termination is *im*.—**לח**. The biblical form is **לח**, but the Phœnician inscriptions offer both **לח** and **לח**.

3. **ואנש**. Heretofore the use of the so-called *vav conversivum* has been regarded as a peculiar feature of the Hebrew language; but the inscription shows that it was shared by the Moabite. The use of the verb **נשח** is also a Hebraism, the ordinary Phœnician

word being **נחל**, Arabic **فعل**, which is only poetic in Hebrew.—**הבמה** is a Phœnician construction, biblical Hebrew requiring the repetition of the article **הבמה**. In **הבמה** we have an example of the archaic ending **ה**, so common in Phœnician and so rare in Hebrew, where its place is usurped by the weakened **ה**.

The Arab writes **ق**, by way of a compromise between **ق** and **ع**.—**קרחח**, *calvitium*, seems a not inappropriate name for the bare, bald summit of a hill. As the monument was found at Dibon, and yet said by the king to be situated **בקרחה**, it seems to follow that Dibon and Korchah are only different names for the same place; or rather, that **קרחח** was a part of Dibon, as **ציון** of Jerusalem—in short, its Capitol or Acropolis. If we read *Korchâh*, the termination of the word in **ה** would seem to contradict what we said just above regarding the Moabite use of **ה**; but the **ה** may here correspond, not to the Hebrew **ה**, but to the Arabic **ه**, **أه**, **أه**, or

**أه**, *anu*; and the correct pronunciation may be **קרחח**, or more likely **קרחח**. In Arabic we find **قَرَحَاء**, *Karchâ*, **قَرَحِي**, *al-*

*Karchâ'u*, and **قَرَحَان**, *Korchânu*, as names of places. This last is probably identical in form with our **קרחח**, for **קרחח**, just as **גילח** and **גילח** stand for **גילח** and **גילח**, as is proved by the derivative adjectives **גילח** and **גילח**. Compare also **גילח** and **גילח**.—**קרחח**, or **קרחח**, is the reading of Schlottmann, Noeldeke, and Derenbourg, adopted by Ganneau, who says that, after the **כ**, is visible the long stroke of **ו** or **ל**. Compare the name **אֲבוֹן הַצִּיּוֹן**, 1 Sam. vii. 12. We agree with Noeldeke, however, in regarding this conjecture as

uncertain, though we can propose nothing better. It seems to us that the straight stroke before the **כ** must be part of a letter, since the dividing line appears to be out of place here, and the combination of line and point scarcely admissible.

4. **השע** is a distinctly Hebrew form, a *Hif'il*, with preformative **ה**. The Phœnician prefix is **ה**, as in **השע**; the Aramaic and Arabic, **ه**. In these last named dialects the **ה** is of very rare occurrence, e.g. **هَرَادَ** for **أَرَادَ**, to wish, **هَرَانِي** for **أَرَانِي**, to pour out, **هَمَنِي**, to believe.

—**השלכין** is one of the most difficult words in the inscription. The **כ** is marked by Ganneau as somewhat uncertain. In Captain Warren's copy, on which, however, but little reliance can be placed, the word looks more like **רלכר** than anything else; out of which, with a due regard to possible confusions and permutations of letters, Schlottmann has expiscated **השלכין** = **השלכין**, *persecutors*. Another proposed reading is **השלכין**, *kings*, with **ו** instead of **W**; a third, **השלכין** (Levy), *plunderers*; a fourth, **השלכין** (Schrader), *rulers*. It is best, however, to abide by **השלכין**, from **שלך** in the sense of the biblical **השלך**, to throw down violently, to overturn and destroy, comparing also the uses of **שלח**.—With **הרמני בכל שנא** compare, for example, Ps. lix. 11 and Ps. cxviii. 7.

II. Retrospect: the oppression of Moab by Omri and his son Ahab; his deliverance by Mesha.

Line 4. The lacuna at the end of this line causes much difficulty. According to Ganneau, the stone presents **ו** and a figure which may be **נ** or part of **מ**; after which there is space for two, or at most three, letters. We cannot supply merely the name of Omri, **עמר**, for three reasons: first, that the single letter **ר** would not fill up the vacant space; second, that **מלך** in l. 5 is not the verb, which would require **ל** after it, as in l. 2; and third, that the substantive verb must necessarily be expressed if the sense were "Omri was king of Israel." Schlottmann reads **עמר**, to which there are two objections: first, that the figure upon the stone immediately after **ו** is certainly not **ל**; and second, that there is scarcely room for four letters after that one. We are therefore inclined, with Noeldeke, to change the **ו** into **פ**, and read **עמר**.

5. **יעני** is the 3 pers. sing. Imperf. *Kal*

of  $\text{פָּנָה}$  — Hebrew  $\text{פִּי'el}$  פִּי'el. The form resembles that of the Arabic,  $\text{عَانَ}$ , imperf.

$\text{יָמִים רַבִּים}$  — Hebrew  $\text{יָמִים רַבִּים}$ . —  $\text{יָמִים רַבִּים}$ . This is Geiger's reading. The

form is almost pure Arabic,  $\text{قَانَف}$  — Hebrew  $\text{הָאֲנָה}$ . — The lacuna at the end of the line is again perplexing. After  $\text{ב}$  Ganneau has marked a doubtful  $\text{ב}$  (or  $\text{ר}$ , or  $\text{א}$ ). Schlottmann supplies  $\text{בְּ[ח] יְהוֹאָחָז}$  with him [Moab] and his land, Noeldeke  $\text{בְּ[ח] יְהוֹאָחָז}$ , with the people of his land, for either of which there is scarcely room on the stone. On the other hand, the single letter  $\text{א}$  seems hardly sufficient to fill up the vacant space. In the meantime, however, until the stone can be carefully examined, we may content ourselves with reading  $\text{בְּ[ח] יְהוֹאָחָז}$ , with his land. Moab is the land of Kemosh, who stands to it in the same relation as Jehovah does to the land of Israel. The pronominal suffix  $\text{ה}$  — occurs in Hebrew, though  $\text{י}$  — is far more usual.

6.  $\text{וַיִּחַלְשֶׁהָ}$ . The radical  $\text{חַלַּה}$  has here the meaning of the Arabic  $\text{خَلَف}$ . The suffix is apparently a shorter form of the Hebrew  $\text{—הָ}$ . —  $\text{אָצְנוּ}$ , 1 pers. sing. Imperf.  $\text{Kal}$ , like  $\text{יָצְנוּ}$  in l. 5. The conclusion of this line presents great difficulties in connection with line 7.

7. Schlottmann supplies  $\text{כְּמֹשׁ}$  after  $\text{אָחָב}$  in l. 6, and regards the words from  $\text{וַיִּחַלְשֶׁהָ}$  as the utterance of the god: "In my days Camos said, Now I will look upon him and his house [temple], and Israel perishes in eternal destruction." As to the  $\text{ו}$  in  $\text{וַיִּחַלְשֶׁהָ}$  (*sic*), before the oratio directa, he refers to Ps. ii. 6, 1 Sam. xxviii. 16, 2 Kings iv. 41, vii. 13.  $\text{וַיִּחַלְשֶׁהָ}$  he takes in the sense of "to look upon graciously" (Gen. xxix. 32), referring to  $\text{בָּהּ וַיִּבְרָחָהּ}$  to Moab.  $\text{אָחָב}$  is then a prophetic perfect, as in Jerem. xlviii. 46, Isaiah xlv. 17. We venture to adopt an entirely different view. The subject of  $\text{אָחָב}$  is Ahab; as its object we would supply  $\text{וַיִּחַלְשֶׁהָ}$ , referring to the words  $\text{אָחָב}$   $\text{מָאָב}$ . Ganneau, it is true, exhibits a stroke after the  $\text{ו}$ , which could scarcely pertain to a  $\text{ו}$  or even an  $\text{א}$  ( $\text{וָאָחָב}$ ); but we cannot, as has been shown, place implicit confidence in his reproduction of the inscription where the stone is so much damaged.  $\text{בָּהּ}$  is the house, or line, of Omri or Ahab. The first  $\text{אָחָב}$  is a perfect; the second is a substantive governing  $\text{עָלָם}$  in the genitive. We have pointed the word  $\text{אָחָב}$  (Numbers xxiv.

20, 24); but in the Moabite dialect the word may perhaps have been a *segholate*. The expressions used here are, of course, hyperbolic, and imply nothing more than the death of Ahab and the successful campaign against Israel in the reign of Ahaziah. One slight objection may perhaps be raised to both Schlottmann's explanation of this passage and ours, viz. that the stone exhibits the greatest mark of punctuation | after  $\text{וַיִּבְרָחָהּ}$ , and not, as we should expect, after  $\text{עָלָם}$ . — The word  $\text{וַיִּרַשׁ}$  goes back, as a pluperfect, to a time antecedent to that last spoken of. At the end of the line there is space for a couple of letters; and l. 8 begins, according to Ganneau, with a doubtful  $\text{אָחָב}$ . Schlottmann has supplied  $\text{אָחָב}$ , altering  $\text{Q}$  into  $\text{A}$ . We had thought of reading  $\text{אָחָב}$  ( $\text{מִדְּבָרָא}$ ), "the plain (מִדְּבָרָא) of Medeba," which is often mentioned in the Old Testament, or, if the  $\text{ו}$  were correct,  $\text{בְּקָדָה}$  —  $\text{בְּקָדָה}$  —  $\text{אָחָב}$  [בְּקָדָה], taking  $\text{בְּקָדָה}$  —  $\text{אָחָב}$  [בְּקָדָה]; but Ganneau now says that the first letter of l. 8 is  $\text{א}$ , and that the whole word appears to be (as Noeldeke had conjectured)  $\text{אָחָב}$ .

8.  $\text{מִדְּבָרָא}$ , according to Ganneau with a point after the  $\text{ו}$ , seems to be the Moabite pronunciation of the name which the Hebrews pronounced  $\text{מִדְּבָרָא}$ . Compare  $\text{מִדְּבָרָא}$ , Gen. xix. 37. Noeldeke, however, writes  $\text{Mehēdeba}$ ,  $\text{מִדְּבָרָא}$ . —  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁב}$  from  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁב}$ . — Schlottmann fills up the great lacuna thus,  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁב אָחָב מָאָב וְהָאָחָב}$ ; but of course there is ample field for conjecture, nothing being certain but the words "and his son, forty years." Ganneau's reading,  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁב אָחָב מָאָב וְהָאָחָב}$  (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 365), is to us inexplicable; for at p. 382 he says "Je ne puis encore combler la grande lacune médiale." "Forty years" is probably to be regarded as a round number; for Omri was actually sole monarch only twelve years, and Ahab reigned twenty-two. By reckoning Omri's reign from the death of Zimri, we should, however, get a sum of 38 years; and the two years of Ahaziah would then complete the total of forty. — At the end of the line Schlottmann reads  $\text{וַיִּחַלְשֶׁהָ}$ , in the sense of looking graciously upon his people. Noeldeke, on the other hand, proposes  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁב}$ , from the radical  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁב}$ , which we would read  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁבְהָ}$  or  $\text{וַיִּשָּׁבְהָ}$ , "and Kemosh restored it [to Moab] in my days." Compare, for example, 2 Kings xiv. 22.

III. The campaign of Mesha against Israel.

Line 9.  $\text{וַיִּבְנֶה}$ , imperf. with  $\text{vav}$  convers., from  $\text{בָּנָה}$ , to build, meaning, however, nothing more than to restore, repair, or fortify. — After  $\text{וַיִּבְנֶה בָּהּ}$ , Ganneau now sup-

plies (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 382) האשור, whilst Schlottmann had filled up the lacuna with חחח. The word האשור seems to be identical in meaning with חירח and שחח, and the חירח of the Targûms, a ditch, trench, or moat. Its vocalization may perhaps be אַשְׁחָה (like אֶחָדָה, אֶחָדָה), or אַשְׁחָה (like אֶשְׁכַּל, אֶנְרוֹחַ, אֶנְרוֹחַ).—At the end of the line Schlottmann supplies האשור, or some similar word, signifying "I laid siege to." He refers the entire passage to Kiryathaim; but since Ganneau has discovered that the true reading in the next line is בִּארְעַן-רִיחַ, this view is no longer tenable.

10. קִרְיָתַיִם. This is the first example we have met of the Moabite dual in קִרְיָתַיִם, *ân*, contracted from קִרְיָתַיִם, *âyin*; whereas the Hebrew termination is קִרְיָתַיִם, *âyim*, the Phœnician, קִרְיָתַיִם (which is found in Hebrew only in קִרְיָתַיִם, קִרְיָתַיִם, occur, however, in the Bible, viz. קִרְיָתַיִם or קִרְיָתַיִם, and קִרְיָתַיִם, possibly also קִרְיָתַיִם (Ezek. xxv. 9). In this point, therefore, the Moabite dialect approaches nearer to the Aramaic

קִרְיָתַיִם, *ân*, and the Arabic كَرِيَّتَيْنِ, *ani, aini*.—אֶשְׁ, collective, as in Josh. ix. 6, Judges ix. 55, etc.—רִיחַ is really upon the stone (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 382).—After בִּארְעַן Ganneau has made out the letters רִיחַ-רִיחַ (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 366), but unfortunately the second letter is illegible. Probably it was the missing ר, so that the name is that of Ataroth.

11. וְאֶתְחַחֵם, 1 pers. sing. imperf., with *vau convers.*, from חִתְחַחֵם, corresponding in meaning and construction to the Hebrew חִתְחַחֵם. Grammatically the form seems to be identical with the Arabic eighth conjugation

أَتَحْتَحِمْ, not with the Hebrew *Hithpa'* אֶתְחַחֵם, which is the Arabic fifth, تَحْتَحِمْ, and had probably the same form in Moabitish (see l. 5, חִתְחַחֵם).—קִרְ is not a proper name, but the Moabite equivalent of קִרְ, meaning a walled city.—At the end of the line Ganneau gives a ח, with blank space after it for about three letters; but in the *Revue Archéologique* for June, p. 383, he says that the letter which he took for ח, is rather a ח, and that the next line commences with ח (חִתְחַחֵם). He therefore pro-

poses to read חִתְחַחֵם (!). More probably the ח is a ח, and we should read חִתְחַחֵם or חִתְחַחֵם. Noeldeke read חִתְחַחֵם; Schlottmann, [חִתְחַחֵם], חִתְחַחֵם, for which latter restoration there is hardly room on the stone.

12. The first word, according to Ganneau (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 383), is חִתְחַחֵם, not חִתְחַחֵם.—The word רִיחַ may be regarded, as it is by Noeldeke, as a contraction for רִיחַת ("Augenweide"), from רִיחַת, according to the form רִיחַת, נִשְׁחַחֵם, רִיחַת, the ר having been absorbed, as in רִיחַ (Job xxxix. 9, 10), רִיחַ (Deut. xi. 12), חִתְחַחֵם (Gen. xxv. 24). Compare רִיחַת, *Keri*, *Rachath*, Eccles. v. 10.

Others, as Derénbourg, regard it as a contraction for רִיחַת, from רִיחַת, comparing the Moabite name of *Ruth*, רִיחַת for רִיחַת. We write רִיחַת, not רִיחַת, as vowel letters are not used by the Moabites in the middle of a word, except in a few instances, which we shall try to explain hereafter.—For חִתְחַחֵם Schlottmann would read חִתְחַחֵם, "the god of Moab," regarding the ח as a blunder of the engraver for א. The possibility of such a mistake cannot be denied, as the inscription of Eshmûn'âzâr presents more than one certain example.—חִתְחַחֵם. We have preferred Schlottmann's punctuation חִתְחַחֵם, from חִתְחַחֵם, to Noeldeke's חִתְחַחֵם, from חִתְחַחֵם. The lacuna probably contained a statement similar to that in lines 17 and 18, viz. the plundering of a temple of Jehovah, and the transfer of the sacred utensils to the shrine of Kemosh at Keriath. The precise words are, however, very difficult to guess. At the end of the line, according to Ganneau (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 383), the letters חִתְחַחֵם are distinct, followed by a third, which is doubtful, and then come at the beginning of the next line חִתְחַחֵם, giving (see l. 18) the word חִתְחַחֵם, from חִתְחַחֵם, with the masc. suffix חִתְחַחֵם or fem. חִתְחַחֵם. The suffix is, if we may trust M. Ganneau's sight, separated from its verb by a point; and this is said to be again the case in l. 18 (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 383).

13. בִּקְרִיָּה, "at Keriath." Schlottmann reads בִּקְרִיָּה, "in Kiryath," i.e. Kiryathaim, comparing the *Kapúda* of Eusebius and *Corajatha* of Jerome.—Ganneau at first regarded the rest of the line as containing a specification of the captives and booty, reading חִתְחַחֵם, explaining חִתְחַחֵם as חִתְחַחֵם, "chiefs," and supplying the lacuna at the end by חִתְחַחֵם [חִתְחַחֵם], "objets de prix" (!). But he has since become a convert to the

\* The letter actually given in the *Revue Archéologique* is ח; but M. Ganneau's article is wretchedly bad, the Hebrew type being full of errors.

view of Derenbourg, Noeldeke, and Schlottmann, who find here the names of the places from which colonists were brought to Ataroth after the massacre of the Jewish inhabitants.—וַאֲשֶׁב, *Hif'il* of וָשַׁב, is, as Derenbourg was the first to point out, the name substituted in the *Targum Yerushalmi* for the biblical שָׁכַח, Num. xxxii. 38. He was also the first to suggest what is probably the true reading at the end of the line שַׁחַרְתָּ [שָׁחַרְתָּ] וְאָתָּה אֲנִי שַׁחַרְתָּ, “and the people of Tsereth Shacharath,” i.e. שַׁחַרְתָּ, Joshua xiii. 19. We do not see distinctly what Ganneau means when he says (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 383): “M. Schlottmann veut voir dans שַׁחַרְתָּ (l. 14) et dans la lacune finale de la ligne 13 (*lue ultérieurement par moi* שַׁחַרְתָּ), des noms des familles moabites. Il se pourrait que ce que j'ai pris pour שַׁחַרְתָּ fût un ש (toutefois je crois avoir bien lu, car la haste est parfaitement verticale et ne présente pas l'inclinaison habituelle du ש); nous aurions alors שַׁחַרְתָּ (שַׁחַרְתָּ), *Chofen*, au lieu de שַׁחַרְתָּ (— שַׁחַרְתָּ) (cf. שַׁחַרְתָּ, Nombres, 32, 35).”

14. Here Ganneau read at first, from his squeeze, שַׁחַרְתָּ, with a doubtful ש; now he reads, from the fragment of stone, שַׁחַרְתָּ, which he would identify with the Μαχαρῶς of Josephus. This cannot be; because the *Targ. Yerush.* has מַכְיֹור for Μαχαρῶς, and the place is still called M'kaur. A final examination of the stone will probably show that ש is correct.—The stone has, according to Ganneau's assurance, וַיַּאֲזֵר, and not וַיַּאֲזֵר.—Observe the peculiarly Hebrew form לָךְ from הָלַךְ.—נָכַח, according to the usual Moabite orthography, —נָכַח.—Schlottmann has filled up the lacuna at the end of the line with וְהָלַכְתָּ, reading at the beginning of the next line הָלַךְ, infinitive absolute; and similarly Noeldeke, וַיַּאֲזֵר הָלַךְ; but Ganneau says (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 384) that there is really not room at the end of the line for more than the letters וַיַּאֲזֵר. If so, we must (despite the imperative לָךְ) restore here the form וַיַּאֲזֵר (Job xvi. 22, xxiii. 8). Should it turn out that there is a larger lacuna at the end of the line than Ganneau admits, we might supply it with וַיַּאֲזֵר וַיַּאֲזֵר.

15. בָּלֵלָה, without י, is, according to Ganneau, the correct reading of the stone (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 368). Compare the Syriac orthography ܒܠܬܐ.—ךָ is evidently the Moabite equivalent of the Hebrew בָּלַל. The word is probably to be connected with the Arabic بَلَّ, *to go up*,

*ascend*, not with the Hebrew רָקַע.—We write וַיַּאֲזֵרָה (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 368), as a feminine equivalent of the Hebrew וַיַּאֲזֵר, like the Arabic سَجَّرَ; but one can hardly help suspecting, with Noeldeke, that the stone may really have וַיַּאֲזֵרָה.—וַיַּאֲזֵרָה, contracted for וַיַּאֲזֵרָה וַיַּאֲזֵרָה, presents a solitary example of the dual in ש, instead of נ.—At the end of this line and the beginning of the next, Schlottmann, misled by errors in Ganneau's facsimiles, has read וַיַּאֲזֵרָה וַיַּאֲזֵרָה [וַיַּאֲזֵרָה]. In reality there is, as Ganneau now states, no lacuna at the end of l. 15, and at the commencement of l. 16 the letters וַיַּאֲזֵר are certain (*Revue Archéologique*, June, pp. 368, 384). We must therefore read וַיַּאֲזֵרָה וַיַּאֲזֵרָה.

16. We read וַיַּאֲזֵרָה, with Ganneau and Noeldeke, not וַיַּאֲזֵרָה, with Schlottmann. The remainder of the line contained some further specifications.

17. The first letter of this line is ח, and then, after a lacuna, חַמֹּשׁ, according to Ganneau in the *Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 369; but at p. 384 he says: “J'ai déchiffré plusieurs mots nouveaux dans ces deux lignes, précédant כַּמֹּשׁ חַמֹּשׁ et נַחֲמָה וְרַחֲמָה, *dominas et puellas, les femmes et les jeunes filles*. Ces lectures partielles me feraient supposer qu'il faut considérer חַמֹּשׁ comme un infinitif hiphil חַמֹּשׁ suivi d'un mot signifiant *femmes*, précédées de l'article, peut-être הַנְּחָמָה ou le terme brutal חַמֹּשׁ. Il faudrait traduire dans ce cas: *Car à Astar Chamos appartient la consécration des femmes*.” This seems to be mere guess-work. The stone must be more closely examined. Meantime we may venture to read [וַיַּאֲזֵרָה] or [וַיַּאֲזֵרָה].—What phase of the divinity Kemosh is meant to be expressed by וַיַּאֲזֵרָה, “the Ashtor of Kemosh,” we cannot exactly say, but probably it was an androgynous deity, as Schlottmann has endeavoured to show in his pamphlet, pp. 26–29. Ganneau, with his mind full of the Hebrew and Phœnician וַיַּאֲזֵרָה, אֲשֶׁר־אֵתָּה, immediately concludes that a *female* deity is intended. “Le nom,” says he, “paraît s'appliquer ici à une de ces émanations féminines des types mâles, si communes dans la mythologie sémitique” (see Vogüé, *Mélanges*, p. 41 full.); and again: “Mésa aurait sacrifié les hommes à Chamos et les femmes à Astar Chamos; il n'y aurait désormais plus de doute, par suite de cette attribution caractéristique, sur le sexe de la divinité Astar Chamos.” It is quite true that וַיַּאֲזֵרָה was called שֵׁם בָּלֵלָה

by the Sidonians (see the inscription of Eshmún-ázar, l. 18), and מִן בְּנֵי (see Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars*, p. 142, and *Die Siegesssäule Mesa's*, p. 26); but מִשְׁחִירָה is not מִשְׁחִירָה, and the form of the latter word is masculine. Besides, the gender of the corresponding Himyaritic deity מִשְׁחִירָה appears to be masculine; one of the most recently discovered inscriptions has the words וְלִיקְמֵן כְּהֵרִי דִּיהֶבְרִי, "and may Athtor repel him who [tries to] break it," or "punish him who breaks it." The same remark applies to the Syrian Atergatis, so long believed to be certainly a goddess. In the Palmyrene inscriptions, published by M. de Vogüé, we find גְּרִמָּה and זִבְדִּימָה or זִבְדִּימָה, which leave no doubt that מִשְׁחִירָה or מִשְׁחִירָה (Athê) is the name of a deity. Consequently מִשְׁחִירָה is to be divided — מִשְׁחִירָה, "the 'Attar (מִשְׁחִירָה for מִשְׁחִירָה) of Athê" — מִשְׁחִירָה. That מִשְׁחִירָה is masculine seems certain from the names מִשְׁחִירָה, Ἀθῆναξος, and מִשְׁחִירָה. See Noeldeke in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxiv., p. 92.

18. מִשְׁחִירָה, plural of מִשְׁחִירָה, is most likely to be the correct reading. Ganneau casts a doubt upon it, and suggests מִשְׁחִירָה, tents, merely because he translates מִשְׁחִירָה (see above, ll. 12, 13) by "je les ai trainés à terre, déchirés." But the idea of *déchirer* does not necessarily belong to the word; in

Arabic سَكَبَ ذَيْلَهُ means "he drew his train after him," walking along pompously. Ganneau states that here (as well as above, l. 13) the suffix is separated by a point from the verb (*Revue Archéologique*, June, pp. 369, 383). We have here then the full form of the suffix pronoun, as in the Arabic يَسْكَبُهُمْ; compare Deut. xxxii. 26, מִשְׁחִירָה. Instead of מִשְׁחִירָה, Schlottmann gives מִשְׁחִירָה, "and I consecrated them," endeavouring to follow Captain Warren's indifferent copy; Noeldeke thought of מִשְׁחִירָה. — מִשְׁחִירָה. As the reading of this word seems perfectly certain, it may suffice to quote Ganneau's remarks (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 384): "La présence du nom du dieu national des Israélites avec l'orthographe même de la Bible, nous paraît prouver péremptoirement qu' à l'époque de Méša le tétragramme sacré se prononçait comme un mot ordinaire, et que ce n' est que plus tard, beaucoup plus tard, je pense, qu' apparut la réticence mystique dont il est l'objet. Il est clair que le Yahveh hébreu était tout aussi connu des Moabites et

autres peuples voisins que Chamos, Molech, Baal l'étaient des Israélites."

19. מִשְׁחִירָה is the infinitive, with suffix, of the form מִשְׁחִירָה (see ll. 11, 15). — מִשְׁחִירָה presents us with a certain example of the *Pi'él*.

20. מִשְׁחִירָה, Moabite form for מִשְׁחִירָה. — מִשְׁחִירָה, for מִשְׁחִירָה. Ganneau renders this expression by "en tout," Schlottmann by "die volle Zahl," "the full number." We have adopted the translation of Derenbourg, regarding מִשְׁחִירָה as a collective (opposed to מִשְׁחִירָה, Isaiah ix. 13, xix. 15); but Noeldeke's version is also admissible, taking מִשְׁחִירָה as "a chief," viz. "every chief of his." The suffix in מִשְׁחִירָה refers to the word Moab. — The next phrase מִשְׁחִירָה is rather difficult. Ganneau, Neubauer, and Noeldeke, take the word (as we have done) from מִשְׁחִירָה — מִשְׁחִירָה (compare l. 30), the suffix referring grammatically to מִשְׁחִירָה, without reference to the meaning. Derenbourg in the *Journal Asiatique* gives the translation "je devastai," but in the *Revue Israélite*, "je tombai avec tumulte sur Jahatz," which is almost identical with Schrader's rendering, "ich rückte unter Hurrahuf wider Jahasz." Schlottmann also derives the word from מִשְׁחִירָה, which he considers — מִשְׁחִירָה (see the *Hithpā'él* of both, and compare מִשְׁחִירָה). "Mit ב construit," says he, "scheint es term. techn. für das Belagern (gleichsam ins Auge fassen, cerniren) einer Stadt zu sein." We are scarcely prepared to go so far.

21. מִשְׁחִירָה, infinitive from מִשְׁחִירָה. The word is distinctly legible on the stone (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 370).

#### IV. The public works of king Mesha.

Line 21. Dibon, being in all probability the seat of king Mesha's family (מִשְׁחִירָה, l. 1, 2), was chosen by him as his headquarters, and strongly fortified accordingly. — The word מִשְׁחִירָה (Hebrew מִשְׁחִירָה) is in apposition to מִשְׁחִירָה. The final מ in מִשְׁחִירָה is doubtful; it should probably be מִשְׁחִירָה, though מִשְׁחִירָה for מִשְׁחִירָה in l. 15 seems to be certain. The words מִשְׁחִירָה designate one portion of the rampart, looking towards, or running along the edge of, the wood that clothed the mountain at the rear; whilst by מִשְׁחִירָה is intended another portion, most likely looking down upon the town.

22. Of the first word only two letters are certain, מִשְׁחִירָה; the third may be מ or מ; the fourth seems illegible. M. de Vogüé, mindful of the similar locality at Jerusalem, has proposed to read מִשְׁחִירָה, which we have adopted (compare Nehem. iii. 27); whilst Schlottmann conjectures מִשְׁחִירָה. The Ophel at Dibon, as at Jerusalem, was the higher

portion of the castle-hill.—שְׁעָרֶיהָ, or, after the Aramaic form, שְׁעָרֵיהָ, is the plural of שַׁעַר, with pron. suff.; and so in מִן־הַבְּרָדִים, from מִן־הַבְּרָדִים.

23. בַּח מִלֵּךְ is rendered by Vogüé, Neubauer, Schlottmann, and Noeldeke, "palace," בֵּית מִלֵּךְ, 1 Kings xvi. 18. Ganneau at first took it for בֵּית מִלֵּךְ (1 Kings xi. 7), to which view Geiger adheres.—The words הָאֵשׁ הַזֶּה have puzzled all the translators. Ganneau speaks of the lacuna as being an ancient one: "le milieu de ce mot a tout à fait disparu par suite d'une ancienne cassure, peut-être d'un martelage de la pierre." Schlottmann supposes it to have been a bad spot on the stone, which the engraver of the inscription avoided. Ganneau's first translation was "les deux différents (les prisons?) Acheraims (?)," from בְּלָאִים; his second, "les prisons des . . .," from בְּלָא, pl. בְּלָאִים. Neubauer gives "aqueducts," בְּלָאִי הַמַּשְׁקִי, which was also Schlottmann's first reading, though arrived at somewhat differently. Schlottmann's second reading is בְּלָאִי הַמַּשְׁקִי, "cisterns for the water that runs off the hills" (compare Num. xxi. 15). Derenbourg gives "les prisons pour les hommes," בְּלָאִי הָאֲנָשׁ. Noeldeke thinks of "storehouses" or "magazines." Lastly, Geiger, in accordance with his translation of בַּח מִלֵּךְ, reads בְּלָאִי הָאֵשׁ (בֵּית אֵשׁ), "instruments of fire(-worship), for there were none," taking בְּלָאִי as a plural of בְּלִי — בְּלִי, according to the analogy of בְּלָאִים, בְּלָאִים, etc. Of all these conjectures Schlottmann's second seems the most plausible. Ganneau's revised text exhibits הָאֵשׁ הַזֶּה, but in his former text he gave הָאֵשׁ הַזֶּה. Consequently the י is doubtful, and we may venture to read with Schlottmann הָאֵשׁ—הָאֵשׁ, plural of אֵשׁ.

24. The word בַּר is doubtless בַּר, not בָּר (for בָּר), as Ganneau supposes ("un puits").—אֵן for אֵן, as in Num. xx. 5, וְיָמִים אֵן (compare אֵן for אֵן, where?).

25. בִּבְרִיחָה should perhaps be pronounced בְּבִרְיָה, the retention of the י indicating the diphthong, as in בְּבִרְיָה. In l. 7 we had בְּבִרְיָה, and in l. 23 we find בְּבִרְיָה.—The words כְּרָחִי הַמְּכִרְחָה have caused some perplexity to the commentators, though all of them, except Ganneau and Schlottmann, agree in thinking that some sort of public work is intended. Neubauer, for example, gives: "and I made a ditch round Karhah with [the men] of Israel;" Haug, "und ich hieb nieder was niederzuhauen war (an

Bäumen) für den Marktplatz (um ihn herzustellen);" Derenbourg, "Je creusai encore le fossé pour la citadelle dans . . . d'Israel;" Noeldeke, "und ich habe den Graben (?) für die Fläche gegraben bei (dem Falle?) Israel's." Ganneau's translation was: "et c'est moi qui ai fait l'immolation, à l'esplanade (?), avec . . . Israel;" but subsequently he has wavered, being inclined to Neubauer's view of the employment of Jewish captives in the work. Schlottmann, following the analogy of בְּרִיחָה לְ, conceives the meaning to be: "and I made a law for Korcha against [keeping up the association with the people] of Israel;" that is to say, he takes ב in the sense of "against," and supplies the lacuna by reading בְּבִרְיָה. He is, of course, obliged to assume that the two populations, Jewish and Moabite, in the town of Dibon or Korchoh, had entered into a sort of association or league with each other, as at the present day the Christians and Mohammedans in Kerek. To us Neubauer's reading seems on the whole the best: "and I cut the moat for Korcha with (the help of) the captives of Israel," בְּבִרְיָה לְכִרְחָה. The word כְּרָחִי is the 1 pers. sing. of כְּרָח, not of כְּרָח, though the meaning is nearly the same, as shown by the following cognate word חֲמִכְרָחָה, which we may point חֲמִכְרָחָה, like מִלְחָמָה, or חֲמִכְרָחָה, like מִלְחָמָה. The "cutting" is here probably "a moat" or "ditch" round the citadel.

26. חֲמִכְרָחָה — Hebrew חֲמִכְרָחָה; but we might also read in the plural חֲמִכְרָחָה.

27. In חֲרָסִי הָאֵשׁ, as Noeldeke remarks, the forms refer grammatically to the word בַּח, as in Micah v. 1.—The lacuna at the end of the line is very puzzling. Schlottmann proposes בְּבִרְיָה בָּהּ אֵשׁ הָיְבִן, "for the men of Dibon had taken forcible possession of it," or "overpowered it." Derenbourg's translation is: "et je bâtis Betzer, qui était abandonné" (from עִזָּב); "[et les chefs] de Dibon étaient au nombre de cinquante." Perhaps we might venture to read בְּבִרְיָה בָּהּ אֵשׁ חֲרָסִי, "for I left behind in it men of Dibon, fifty [in number]." The figure after 〇 may be a badly drawn 𐤏, instead of part of a 𐤌. Compare Gen. l. 8.—Ganneau and Haug take חֲמִשָּׁן not as the numeral, but as the plural of חֲמִשָּׁה.—The word מִשְׁמִיחָה finds its explanation in Isaiah xi. 14.—The lacuna at the end of the line again places great difficulties in the way of the interpretation. Neubauer's conjecture, slightly modified by Noeldeke, is both ingenious and plausible: "and I con-



structed fortresses in the towns which I added to the land." In this case מְלֹא must be regarded as the plural of the biblical מְלוֹא, whilst מְלֹא (in the Bible מְלוֹא) is the plural of the well-known מְלֹא. Noeldeke himself imagined that מְלֹא might be the plural of מְלֹא, viz. מְלֹא ("und ich habe . . . die Rinder, die ich gesammelt hatte auf der Erde"), and that the passage might contain a reference to Mesha's wealth in flocks and herds (2 Kings iii. 4). Both Derenbourg and Schlottmann, on the contrary, regard מְלֹא as the name of a place. The one translates, "Je règne sur Baqrân, que j'ai ajoutée à mon pays;" the other, "I filled [with inhabitants] Bikran, which I added to the country," supplying מְלֹא. These conjectures are, however, all upset, if, as Ganneau thinks, (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 385), the letter immediately preceding מְלֹא be a מ, without a point after it, מְלֹא. In that case he would risk the translation: "Et j'ai atteint, ou rempli, (le nombre) cent (?) avec les villes que j'ai ajoutées à la terre." We shall not add a fresh conjecture to the above, as much light cannot be derived from such groping in the dark. — מְלֹא — מְלֹא. Compare the inscription of Eshmûn-âzâr, ll. 19, 20, and see above l. 21.

30. Schlottmann regards מְלֹא as meaning here "temple," "the temple of Diblathaim and the temple of Baal-meon." It is true that Baal-meon was mentioned above, in l. 9; but there the name occurred incidentally, whilst Mesha was speaking of his campaign against Israel; and consequently there is nothing surprising in a repetition of it here, where he is specifying what he did for the various cities of his newly acquired territory. At the same time, there is no reason to pronounce Schlottmann's interpretation wrong. — מְלֹא, from מְלֹא. See l. 20. — At the end of the line Ganneau now gives a מ, where before he had only a stroke ʾ. Schlottmann would fain read [מְלֹא].

V. Mesha's expedition against Horonaim.

31. מְלֹא, dual — מְלֹא. The ו indicates a diphthongal pronunciation, *Havrônân* or *Haurônân*, as in Hebrew מְלֹא.

32. מְלֹא, imperative of מְלֹא. Ganneau at first gave מְלֹא — (which was conjectured to be either מְלֹא or מְלֹא); afterwards, מְלֹא (*Revue Archéologique*, June, p. 375); but he finally admits the correctness of מְלֹא (*ibid.*, p. 385). — מְלֹא, imperative.

33, 34. Of these lines only a few letters are legible. In l. 34 Ganneau now gives

מְלֹא (perhaps מְלֹא, year), where before he had only מְלֹא.

Recurring now to the inscription as a whole, it may be remarked that, in respect of the scriptio plena et defectiva, the Moabite system stands midway between the Phœnician and the Hebrew. Final vowels are expressed by vowel letters, viz. —, é, é, ai, as מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא; —, é, as מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, as מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא, which also occurs in Hebrew, though ו is far more usual. We therefore pronounce מְלֹא, *ánôch*, not *ánôchi*; as also מְלֹא, *vai-yahléfêh*, not *-fêh*, מְלֹא, *shé'arêh*, not *-réhâ*. The only case in which a final ה seems really to indicate the vowel á is in the word מְלֹא; for מְלֹא is extremely doubtful (most probably מְלֹא). Internal vowels, on the other hand, are but rarely written, even where they are not simple, but spring from a diphthong. For example, מְלֹא (for מְלֹא), מְלֹא (for מְלֹא), מְלֹא (for מְלֹא), as in l. 25), מְלֹא (for מְלֹא). We do not reckon here the termination of the dual in ו or ה (l. 15), because we believe the Moabite pronunciation to have been *âm*, *am*, not *ên*, *em*. Where we find ו and י written, their presence probably indicates a diphthong, or, at least, a reminiscence of a former diphthong; e.g. מְלֹא, מְלֹא or מְלֹא. In מְלֹא (l. 22) the ו may perhaps be written only to avoid confusion with the singular מְלֹא. With respect to the quiescent aleph, the Moabite practice agrees closely with the Hebrew. For instance, we find מְלֹא, מְלֹא, מְלֹא; but also מְלֹא, מְלֹא (for מְלֹא), מְלֹא (if for מְלֹא). Hence, if for no other reason, we may conclude that the Masoretic orthography of the Scriptures rests on an old and sound tradition. The prophets and chroniclers of Israel, when writing their histories and oracles, must have used an alphabet and a system of orthography closely resembling that exhibited by this monument of king Mesha.

Grammatically the inscription offers several points of interest, both in its agreement with and its deviation from the well-known Hebrew forms. In the noun we may remark the feminine termination — (also Phœn.) in the simple form, as מְלֹא (l. 3), מְלֹא (l. 15), מְלֹא (l. 26), and probably מְלֹא (l. 12). The word מְלֹא (l. 2, 8) is a contraction for מְלֹא, as מְלֹא for מְלֹא (l. 12), מְלֹא for מְלֹא (l. 25) and מְלֹא (l. 18) may have been pro-

nounced either *הַמְכַרְתָּ*, *הַמְכַרְתָּ*, or more likely, *הַמְכַרְתָּ*. The *ה* in *הַמְכַרְתָּ* (l. 15) is not a feminine termination; and for the final *ה* in *קָרַח* we have accounted otherwise. Of the dual and plural termination in *ך* we have already spoken on several occasions. The form with *ם* occurs in l. 15 (dual) and l. 21 (plural).

Of the separate pronouns there occur only two, *אָנֹכִי* and *אָנֹכִי*. Among the suffix pronouns we may remark the forms of the 3 sing. masc., *ה*—(*הָאֵלֶּה*, *הָאֵלֶּה*), fem., *ה*—(*הָאֵלֶּה*, *הָאֵלֶּה*); plur. masc. *הֵם* (*הֵם*).

The verb occurs in various conjugations, of which the *Kal*, *Pi'el* (*הִנְיָרְתָּ*, l. 19), and *Hif'il* (*הִנְיָרְתָּ*, *הִנְיָרְתָּ*) seem to be identical with the Hebrew forms. Instead of *Hithpa'el*, we find an Arabic fifth conjugation, *tufa'ala*, in *הִנְיָרְתָּ* (l. 5) — *הִנְיָרְתָּ*; and also a form corresponding to the Arabic eighth conj., *ifta'ala*, viz. *הִנְיָרְתָּ* (imperf. *הִנְיָרְתָּ*, l. 11, 15; infin. *הִנְיָרְתָּ*, l. 19; imperat. *הִנְיָרְתָּ*, l. 32) — *הִנְיָרְתָּ*.

Syntactically, we may call attention to the use of the so-called *ad conversivum*, precisely as in Hebrew. The only other point worthy of notice, is the omission of the article in *הַמְכַרְתָּ* (instead of *הַמְכַרְתָּ*, l. 3), which has its parallel in *הַמְכַרְתָּ*, Ps. xii. 8, and is common in Phœnician.

As to the vocabulary, it is almost pure Hebrew; for there is, we believe, only one word in the whole inscription, of which the root cannot be found in the Bible, viz. *רַקַּע* (l. 15). Many words are specifically Hebrew, as distinguished from Phœnician, Aramaic, and Arabic; for example, *פָּשָׁה*, *פָּרַח*, the objective pronoun in the form *הָאֵלֶּה*, *הָאֵלֶּה*, the relative *אֲשֶׁר* (l. 29), the particle *גַּם* (l. 6), etc. Words as yet otherwise unknown to us, or of somewhat doubtful meaning, are *שָׁלַח* (l. 4), *אֲשֶׁר* (l. 9), *רִיח* (l. 12), *רַקַּע* (l. 15), *עֲשָׂה* (l. 17), *מְכַרְתָּ* (l. 25).

In conclusion, let us examine the historical data afforded by this inscription, and thus endeavour to fix its date, at least approximately.

Eastwards of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea lay the territory of two nations akin to each other and to the Israelites, namely the Ammonites and the Moabites. This territory reached from the Yabbok (*الزرقاء*, *ez-Zarkā*), on the north, to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, where it was bounded by the land of another kin-

dred race, the Edomites. These three tribes — the Children of Ammon, Moab, and Esau — had conquered and in great part extirpated the ancient inhabitants, such as the Emim, Zamzummim, and Horim (see Deut. ii.). At the period of the Israelite invasion, however, the mighty race of the Amorites had appropriated part of this region; for Sihon reigned as king at Heshbon, and had driven the Moabites to the south of the

Arnon (*الموجِب*, *el-Mujib*). In vain did Sihon oppose the onslaught of Israel. He and his people were swept away; and his brother monarch, Og, king of Bashan, whose territory lay farther to the north, shared his fate. In the partition of these lands among the conquerors, the kingdom of Og was allotted to the tribe of Manasseh, whilst that of Sihon was divided between the smaller tribes of Gad and Reuben (Joshua xiii.), the last named occupying the greater part of the district now called *el-Belkā*.

(*البلقاء*), between the Yabbok on the north and the Arnon on the south (Joshua xiii. 15–21). The division between these two tribes was, however, one rather of theory than of practice. For instance, in Num. xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 45, 46, Dibon is reckoned a Gadite instead of a Reubenite town; whilst the same is the case with regard to Heshbon in 1 Chron. vi. 66 (in the English Version, 81). Again, Aroer is Reubenite in Joshua xiii. 16, 1 Chron. v. 8, but Gadite in Num. xxxii. 34. And hence in Mesha's inscription, l. 9, the men of Gad are described as dwelling in Ataroth "from of old," in conformity with Num. xxxii. 34.

Though dispossessed of their territory by the Amorites, and kept out of it by the invading Israelites, the Moabites never abandoned their claim, and constantly strove to effect a reconquest. "The field of Moab" (*שָׂדֵה מוֹאָב*), "the plain" (*שָׂדֵה מוֹאָב*, Deut. iii. 10, iv. 43), "the plain of Medeba unto Dibon" (Joshua iii. 9), "the plains of Moab" (*שָׂדֵה מוֹאָב*, Num. xxii. 1, Deut. xxxiv. 8), could not be lightly surrendered by a pastoral race (2 Kings iii. 4), to whom their possession was almost a necessity. Hence the hostility of Balak, king of Moab (Num. xxii. 2), who saw in the Children of Israel a more formidable enemy than even the Amorites had been. Hence the tyranny of Eglon, who lorded it over the Israelites for eighteen years, and even made himself master of Jericho, "the city of palm-trees," to the west of the Jordan (Judges iii. 13). Hence the struggle with Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 47); and the subjugation by David (2 Sam.

viii. 2), who, as king of Israel, recked but little of his descent from Ruth or of the asylum afforded to his parents (1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4). During the reign of Solomon, the Moabites seem to have remained at peace with Israel; and indeed we find that monarch in his later years building "an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem" (1 Kings xi. 7). At the division of the Hebrew territory after Solomon's death, the sovereignty over Moab passed into the hands of the northern kingdom; and we hear no more of the Moabites till the reign of Ahaziah, when the fact of their rebellion is simply mentioned, 2 Kings i. 1, and again ch. iii. 4, 5, where we read that Mesha, "the sheep-master," refused the customary tribute, "when Ahab was dead," and "rebelled against the king of Israel." Immediately afterwards, v. 6, we are told that Jehoram, king of Israel, the son of Ahab and brother of Ahaziah, summoned his vassal (1 Kings xxii. 3, 4, 30, 2 Kings iii. 7) Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to aid him in making war upon Moab. The allies passed down the western side of the Dead Sea, "through the wilderness of Edom" (which was then a dependency of Judah, 1 Kings xxii. 47), where they were near perishing for want of water, and entered the territory of Moab from the south. They were encountered by Mesha upon the border. But the allied armies were victorious; and their devastating progress was only stayed by the walls of the capital, Kir Haréseth or Kir Moab. After siege had been laid to the city, Mesha, with seven hundred men, tried to break through the beleaguering host, but could not; and then, in his hour of dire necessity, he sought to propitiate his god Kemosh by taking his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offering him for a burnt-offering upon the wall. Whereupon, it is added (2 Kings iii. 27), "there was great indignation against Israel, and they departed from him, and returned to their own land," evidently implying that the siege had to be raised, and that the kings of Israel and Judah returned home without effecting the subjugation of Moab.

To follow the history of Moab further is, for our present purpose, unnecessary. There can be no doubt of the identity of the Mesha of the inscription with the Mesha of 2 Kings iii.; and we must therefore seek for a period in his reign to which the monument found at Dibon may be ascribed.

That it was not set up after the joint expedition of Jehoram and Jehoshaphat is certain, because in that case it would inevitably have contained a paragraph referring

thereto. Mesha would most assuredly have told how his foes besieged him in Kir Moab; how he sacrificed his first-born unto Kemosh; and how his god, thus propitiated, dispersed his enemies and made them flee again to their own land. But not a word of all this do we find in the inscription; no mention is made of the allied sovereigns, of the siege of Kir Haréseth, of the sacrifice, or of their subsequent retreat. With the exception of the expedition against Horonaim, the whole scene lies to the north of the Arnon. The enemy of Moab is the king of Israel; but Kemosh is propitious to his people; and under the leadership of Mesha the Moabites are invariably victorious.

Omri, king of Israel, as we are told in l. 5, oppressed Moab for a long time. As Eglon seized upon Jericho (Judges iii. 13), the Philistines upon Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 5, 23), and Baasha upon Ramah (1 Kings xv. 17), so did Omri upon Medeba, which he fortified, and from which he was able to command the whole surrounding country. His son Ahab maintained a garrison in the same spot; and so they oppressed Moab, speaking in round numbers, for forty years. But even before the death of Ahab, Mesha had ascended the throne of Moab, and was ready to take advantage of the outbreak of war between that monarch and the Syrians. He looked with joy (l. 7) upon the death of Ahab and the dispersion of his army (1 Kings xxii. 35, 36); and the rout of the Israelites at Ramoth-Gilead was the signal for him to throw off the yoke. To an energetic leader the enterprise must have appeared a hopeful one. He knew that there was a large Moabite population resident in some of the towns, whilst others were perhaps entirely in their hands; and he saw that no immediate help could be expected from the west of the Jordan. The mighty lord of Medeba was dead, and Jehoshaphat of Judah a fugitive.

So Mesha crossed the Arnon at Aroer, by the ordinary fords (עֲרֹרַי לְאֶרְנוֹן, Isaiah xvi. 2), took possession of the town, and fortified it (l. 27). At a subsequent period, in all likelihood, he constructed here a sort of road (דֶּבֶק) or dyke over the river, to facilitate the passage—a work of no small difficulty, as the ravine of the Arnon is, to use the words of Eusebius, τόπος παραγγύδης σφόδρα χαλεπός. From Aroer Mesha passed on to Dibon, of which town his family appear to have been natives and chiefs (דִּבְוִי, l. 1, 2). Here he was probably welcomed by the population (l. 28), and had no difficulty in making himself master of the citadel, Korchoh. This he

fortified strongly (l. 21, 22), built a palace in it (l. 23), constructed public reservoirs (l. 23), and ordered every citizen to make a cistern in his own house (l. 24, 25). Besides, he forced the Israelite population, or the captives he had taken, to construct a moat round the town (l. 25). He thus secured, in the southern part of this district, a fortress as a counterpoise to Medeba in the northern; and from here he undertook expeditions in different directions; in one of them a band of fifty Dibonites captured the town of Bezer (l. 28; see Deut. iv. 43, Joshua xx. 8). Mesha, however, pressed on northwards with his forces, and occupied, apparently without difficulty, Kiryathaim and Baal-meon (l. 9). The latter place, also called Beth-Baal-meon and Beth-meon, lay on the stream now named Zarkâ Ma'in

(زَرْكَا مَعِين), not far from Beth-Diblathaim or Diblathaim (l. 30, compare Jerem. xlviii. 22, Num. xxxiii. 46). And Kiryathaim could not have been very remote; for, like Noeldeke, we doubt the identification of Kiryathaim with the modern Koraiyât (قَرَيَات), which we are inclined to find in Keriôth, קְרִיּוֹת (Jerem. xlviii. 41, Amos ii. 2) or קְרִיּוֹת (Jerem. xlviii. 24), one of the principal seats of the worship of Kemosh (l. 13). This last-named place was no doubt one of those which gladly received the Moabite conqueror; and from it he probably organized the expedition against Ataroth (compare the name of the Jebel

'Attârûs, عَتَارُوس), a town with a Gadite population (l. 10), and one of the posts fortified by Ahab (l. 11). This place Mesha took by storm; he massacred the inhabitants (l. 11), plundered, as it would seem, the tabernacle of Jehovah (l. 12), and carried off the sacred utensils as an offering to his god at Keriôth (l. 13). He re-peopled the town, however (l. 13), with colonists from Shirân, שִׁרְאן, probably identical with Sibmah, Num. xxxii. 38, Joshua xiii. 19) and another place, the name of which may perhaps be צִרְחַת הַשְּׁחָרִי — צִרְחַת שְׁחָרָה (Josh. xiii. 19). Encouraged by his success, he planned a still bolder stroke. Well to the north, near the mountain of the same name, lay the town of Nebo (Num. xxxii. 3, 38, xxxiii. 47), apparently one of the principal seats in this district of the worship of Jehovah (l. 14). Marching all night, Mesha pounced upon the town at dawn, captured it by midday (l. 15), and treated it as the Israelites had formerly treated Jericho, Ai, Makkedah, Libnah, etc. The town was de-

voted to Ashtôr-Kemôsh, every living creature in it massacred, the tabernacle of Jehovah plundered, and the sacred vessels carried off to decorate the temple of Kemosh at Keriôth or Dibon (l. 16-18). With such scenes passing under his eyes, well might a psalmist cry out (Ps. xlv. 23): "For Thy sake are we killed all the day long, are counted as sheep for slaughter." These massacres seem at length to have aroused Ahaziah, king of Israel. He would appear to have marched against Mesha and to have advanced as far as Jahaz (Num. xxi. 23), perhaps about half-way between Medeba and Dibon, where he took up a fortified position (l. 18, 19). Of the events of this struggle we learn nothing either from the Bible or from the inscription. All that we know is that, for some reason or other (perhaps, as Schlottmann suggests, a threatened inroad of the Syrians), Ahaziah retired from Jahaz, driven out, as the inscription phrases it, by Kemosh (l. 19); and the place was occupied by Mesha at the head of two hundred of the chief men of Dibon (l. 20). Having thus made himself master of the whole Moabite territory, from the Arnon to the head of the Dead Sea, Mesha turned his attention to an enemy in the south, probably an Edomite chieftain, who had taken possession of Horonaim (Isaiah xv. 5, Jerem. xlviii. 34), not far from Zoar. Moab and Edom were by no means on friendly terms (witness 2 Kings iii. 9, Amos ii. 1); and besides, Edom was at this time subject to Judah (1 Kings xxii. 47), and did not cast off the yoke till the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat (2 Kings viii. 20-22). With the mutilated history of this expedition (l. 31-33) the inscription concludes.

The last line may possibly have contained a date; but, if so, it is, for the present at least, not to be deciphered. And we must therefore be contented to place the inscription, approximately, in the second year of Ahaziah's reign, or at the beginning of that of his brother Jehoram, B.C. 896-894.

## ART. II.—THE POEMS OF SHELLEY.

AFTER all that has been written about Shelley, his personality is still a riddle; he is the only one of that group of great poets which adorned the first quarter of the nineteenth century in England, whose life is too unaccountable to throw light upon his writings. Even Byron, whose reputation has been so much debated, is really less per-

plexing. Of him we know enough at any rate to discuss; there is evidence to support a theory. Whenever Shelley's life comes to be written, the evidence will be of a different kind; many minute circumstances will have to be accumulated, many inconspicuous habits will have to be established, before we shall be able to understand the impression which he made upon all or almost all who lived with him. While we have to look at his life in outline, many things seem strange, grotesque, irrational; some appear positively repulsive; there is an inexplicable medley of loftiness and pettiness, of shrewdness and childishness, of self-devotion and self-indulgence. It is impossible upon such data to entertain the question—with which Mr. Rossetti sums up the biography prefixed to his edition of his poems—whether Shelley the man was worthy to be Shelley the poet, or to ascertain by what standard he desired to be tried, or, by what standard we ought to try him. We cannot ascertain, with the materials before us, what was the charm of manner and of character which made it possible for so many good judges not only to love but to esteem a man whose organization was certainly diseased, whose habits were full of eccentricities, some of them unpleasing, and whose conduct was more than once incompatible with any theory of what was due to others. Perhaps, as a provisional theory, it would be most reasonable to conceive Shelley as something of a patrician Rousseau; there was the same abstract and ideal benevolence, the same tendency to find self-pity the choicest of luxuries, the same susceptibility to fanciful dangers and imaginary wrongs, the same neglect in the discharge of trifling obligations, the same impatience of ordinary social conventions. It is hardly unfair to Shelley to connect his great and undeniable superiority to Rousseau with the fact that one was an aristocrat born and bred, and the other a bourgeois born and bred. Much of Rousseau's sordid sensuality is the natural exuberance of keen and overwrought feelings in a nature never trained to refinement by any early influence, and including coarse fibres of its own. His insane jealousies, his ferocious ingratitude, inexcusable as they were, are only too like what might have been expected from a man of the people, with an hysterical temperament, whose eloquent writings had given him a precarious hold upon an aristocratic society. It would be unjust to forget or to depreciate Shelley's practical and habitual generosity; and to say that freehandedness is an aristocratic virtue is not a reflection on Shelley, but a compliment to aristocracies.

It is certainly impossible to separate Shelley's personality from his poetry, in the way in which Scott and Shakspeare can be separated from their writings. It has been said that Wordsworth could only represent three characters—Wordsworth at his best, and Wordsworth at his worst, and somebody else. Byron could embody no men, except his recollection of Ali Pasha, thrown into different attitudes, and relieved against different backgrounds, and tinged more or less deeply with his own remorse. His women all ring the changes on "the love of the vulture, the rage of the turtle;" they are all sultanas, soft or furious as the case may be. Byron, however, was at any rate a master of local colour; and his figures were never phantoms, though they might sometimes seem theatrical. But Shelley started with himself in fairyland, instead of with a distorted and idealized projection of himself in the Levant; he conceived poetry as embodying the highest moments of the highest minds; he knew no mind except his own; and he was certainly justified in ranking his own among the highest. His more ambitious poems are reflections of his aspirations: his lighter poems are reflections of his moods and his circumstances. The "Adonais" and the "Cenci" are the only two considerable poems where the writer does not inculcate his peculiar opinions, though he early discovered that the direct dogmatism of "Queen Mab" was hardly to be considered artistic. Still the "Revolt of Islam," "Prometheus Unbound," "The Masque of Anarchy," are all thoroughly didactic; so are the fragments of two poems which would have been very elaborate if completed, "Prince Athanas" and the "Triumph of Life." Even "Alastor" is made to inculcate the moral that an anti-social temperament is a curse which no genius, no purity, no devotion, no benevolence, can defeat. "Adonais" itself, though it is not written for any opinion, is visibly written from opinions like the rest. Under these circumstances, Mr. Rossetti did well to bring together the scanty material for ascertaining Shelley's opinions. It is scarcely a paradox to say that his opinions are the harder to ascertain, from the great importance he attached to them. We have a great deal of fervour and comparatively little statement. Some vital change in the thoughts and actions of all mankind is indispensable; the poet insists vehemently on the necessity and urgency of this, and the benefits to be expected from it; but the change itself remains obscure, owing to this very vehemence. Tyranny and superstition are to be rooted up, and then—

"Here the voice warbled, and changed like a  
bird's, [words,"

There was more of the music and less of the

This obscurity gives their value to the fragmentary prose treatises and to the remaining records of Shelley's conversation; they are the only sources for discovering what thoughts fed his desires.

Perhaps the newest and certainly the most significant of Mr. Rossetti's points, is the abiding influence of Berkeley on Shelley's speculations, which serves to explain, among other things, his habit of coupling Plato and Bacon as objects of admiration. He believed that those two great names belonged to kindred spirits; and we find an adequate explanation of his position in the influence of Bishop Berkeley, who stood himself at the meeting-point of Greek idealism and English inductive psychology. As Shelley was at no time a systematic student, he naturally adopted only what suited him. In fact he speaks in 1820 of being already long convinced, in 1812, when Berkeley's works were borrowed for him, of the truth of Berkeley's aphorism: "The mind can create nothing, it can only perceive." This, of course, is inconsistent with Berkeley's systematic doctrine, that nothing can be said to exist except mind and its perceptions. For the Mind which, according to Berkeley, presents to all other minds the ideas which they perceive, must surely be said *qua* mind to create; and this applies even to other minds, since they give existence to their objects by perceiving them. But this dualism is really more in harmony with Berkeley's original starting-point, and with the ordinary working of the human mind, than the conclusion which he actually adopted; and it may be an open question whether Shelley or Berkeley is to blame for misrepresenting the central idea of Berkeley's philosophy. It was naturally impossible to Shelley, as a dualist, to be a theist in any ordinary sense. It was still more impossible for him to be a pantheist. But it may fairly be said that he conceived both mind and nature in a pantheistic way; each was a force one in itself, and manifold in its forms. Of course the individual soul could be no more than one of the forms of universal mind; and the question of personal immortality becomes one of very subordinate importance. Mind and nature are imperishable through all their different transformations; and Shelley believed that their transformations were, upon the whole, stages of an assured and illimitable though not uninterrupted progress. Whether any of the forms of mind, any parts of the universal intellect (Shelley seems not to have decided between

these alternative metaphors, though each is a theory) can preserve a permanent and continuous existence, was not an important question to one so gregarious as Shelley in his dreams of happiness. When the good time came, when all space overflowed with the simple glee of universal brotherhood, it would matter little if one of the blessed should be able to recollect that he had sung and panted and sobbed for it in days when all men were not yet brothers, and when many men were unhappy. As his wishes were not too deeply interested, he was able to estimate calmly how little evidence there was for answering the question so stated; he was content to have some hopes and no fears, and to believe that the country beyond the grave was not foreign to men's interests or desires. It is difficult to believe that this indifference to questions aloof from his keenest feelings would not have disqualified him as a metaphysician, though he had undeniable metaphysical talent. Both his imagination and his intellect were admirably fitted to deal with abstractions; and no reader of "Queen Mab" and "Peter Bell" can deny his great dialectical acuteness. It was natural that one so gifted should have hesitated as to his way, especially as at an early age it seems more important to an intelligent person to have grasped neglected truth than to have produced immature poetry. If Shelley erred in the matter he may protect himself by the authority of Goethe, who, after completing his greatest poem, in the height of his poetical reputation, regretted that he had not devoted himself to physical science. It is true that Goethe did make discoveries in physics, which Shelley did not make in metaphysics; but Shelley in his life-time was never appreciated as a poet, and might be pardoned for forgetting that his imagination was too luxuriant and his intellect too impatient for a metaphysician.

This intellectual impatience was the chief reason that Shelley's protests against the political injustice of his time fell flat upon the public ear. A political theory always requires an historical theory to back it; and Shelley was too impatient of history ever to have an historical theory. It would be unjust to say that he had no political instinct; he perceived before most Englishmen of his day how much force lay in the simple expression of the will of large popular masses, even when they had no constitutional means of enforcing that will, and abstained from tangible threats of extra-constitutional action. As his fastidious humanity repudiated the violent means by which all previous revolutions, good or bad, had been effected, the

merit of the discovery must be divided between his head and his heart. The same delicate philanthropy made it possible for men like Medwin to claim Shelley's acquiescence as a support for their own prudent moderation, though there is no reason to think that he ever wavered in his adhesion to his own absolute theories, however he may have been perplexed as to their peaceful application.

The same incuriousness of a mind whose activity was uncertain and capricious had its effect on Shelley's views on art. It can scarcely be thought that when he joined in eulogizing the ideal beauty of Guido, and the Titanic sublimity of Salvator Rosa, he only exhibited the docility of untrained enthusiasm. Unintelligent admiration of Michel Angelo was enforced by a much stronger tradition; and yet Shelley judged him with absolute independence, in fact with something like summary contempt. Like Gibson, he was repelled by the prodigality of visible effort in his most magnificent works, and was at one time inclined to relegate him to death and hell to seek appropriate subjects. If he admired Guido and Salvator without reserve, it was because they suited him. To critics for whom the end of art is art as truth, those artists may reasonably appear empty and showy and subjective; but Shelley thought the end of art and nature was to feed human emotion. Guido ministers abundantly to two favourite emotions of Shelley's—ecstatic reverie and sentimental self-pity. The graceful gladness of the "Aurora" ministers to an emotion which he prized even more, because it was less familiar. The fantastic gloom, the feverish passion, the vindictive energy of Salvator, are the expression of a feeling too genuine not to be sometimes contagious, even when too visibly displayed for effect. Shelley was not a man to reject such attractions because they appeared in a debased school during a period of artistic decline. All critical classifications were odious to him, partly because he did not understand them, partly because he saw beyond them. Nothing about him is more remarkable than the combination of extreme exclusiveness of opinion with the widest inclusiveness of taste. There is not a word in his writings from which it could be gathered that he believed Judaism to have conferred a single service upon humanity; but he was unreserved in his admiration for the poetry of the Old Testament. There is nothing to show that he sympathised with any single aspect of Catholicism, except perhaps with the cultus of the Blessed Virgin; he certainly detested its hierarchical organization with his whole strength, and

not the least reason for his detestation was that the Catholic hierarchy gave a willing support to the monarchies of the counter reformation and the counter revolution. Yet he was the first to introduce Calderon to the English public; and it never occurred to him to make any reserve in his praise of the poet of the Inquisition. Even in *Æschylus* there was much to repel him; the father of Attic tragedy was orthodox, superstitious, and conservative. But Shelley speaks quite simply of his sublimity. He instinctively separated other men's opinions from their poetry, though his own poetry was always charged strongly with his opinions. Perhaps he was attracted to *Æschylus* and Calderon by an affinity of genius. With less robustness of nature, he had the same enjoyment as *Æschylus* in piling up grandiose thoughts, gigantic images, and sonorous diction; he is *Æschylean* wherever he is classical in his wonderful "Prometheus Unbound." His affinity to Calderon is remoter, perhaps deeper. His music is infinitely more manifold and subtle; his imagery is even more profuse; he has nothing of Calderon's sunny clearness and serenity. But he has very much in common with his naked mysticism. The "Sensitive Plant" shows that he possessed in perfection Calderon's gift of stimulating and baffling the imagination and the intellect, not by conceptions too vast to be adequate, or by symbols too significant to be fixed, but by the most concrete and simple images.

The influence of *Æschylus* and Calderon belongs to the period when Shelley had decided that poetry was upon the whole to be his work in life, and deliberately educated himself for it, as Mrs. Shelley has informed us. In his earlier writings he was influenced by much less distinguished names. There is no poet whose point of departure can be fixed more clearly. It is significant that he should have been attracted at first by artists so inferior to himself as Moore and G. M. Lewis, and have adopted from Southey the metre of his first considerable work. Wordsworth began as a continuator of Cowper, and became original by heightening and deepening his tone immeasurably, rather than by changing his direction. Scott began with the ballads of the Border, and with the German imitations of them; his first considerable poem borrowed its form from the "Christabel" of Coleridge, perhaps the most inventive and least productive of that great group of contemporaries. Byron began with the wit and the pathos of the eighteenth century: his Turkish Tales are visibly suggested by Scott, though they eclipsed his popularity. Keats began by re-

producing and exaggerating the sensuous profusion of one side of Elizabethan art; he continued till the end assimilating and reproducing the tone of one period after another, and enriching each with the complexity and intensity of a thoroughly modern mind. All these great poets valued the writers of whose tendencies their first attempts were a continuation for the positive worth of their results, which served for a time to satisfy both their imagination and their intellect. Shelley, it is obvious, followed a different course. When he chose to exercise it, his critical faculty was keen, sound, and subtle; but his instinctive preferences were independent of his critical faculty. What he sought spontaneously and found in Lewis and Moore was not a satisfaction but a stimulus. Nothing of Lewis's and little of Moore's, is satisfactory in the sense that it will bear to be contemplated calmly; but to keen feelings, that require the relief of expression, each of them is all that need be desired. Shelley's natural motives in poetry were horror and tenderness. As almost all that he imagined was imagined for these moods it was natural that he should imitate Lewis and Moore in the Early Poems, such as "Mutability" and "Stanzas, April, 1814." The last of these, without a single verbal imitation, recalls Moore at his very best, with his utmost subtlety of feeling and rhythm:—

"The cloud shadows of midnight possess their  
own repose,  
For the weary winds are silent, and the  
moon is in the deep,  
Some respite to its turbulence unresting  
ocean knows;  
Whatever moves, or toils, or grieves hath  
its appointed sleep.  
Thou in the grave shalt rest—yet till the  
phantoms flee  
Which that house and heath and garden  
made dear to thee erewhile,  
Thy remembrance, and repentance, and deep  
musings, are not free  
From the music of two voices, and the  
light of one sweet smile."

The stanzas on "Death" are even more remarkable, for they represent a visible transition of manner.

"The pale, the cold, and the moony smile  
Which the meteor-beam of a starless night  
Sheds on a lonely and sea-girt isle,  
Ere the dawning of morn's undoubted  
light,"

is Moore at his best. But the two lines that complete the stanza are too deep and too sad for him; and the poem passes through boyish stoicism into such characteristic utterances as

"This world is the nurse of all we know;  
This world is the mother of all we feel;"

and

"Who telleth a tale of unspeaking death?  
Who lifteth the veil of what is to come?  
Who painteth the shadows that are beneath  
The wide-winding caves of the peopled  
tomb?"

It is more difficult to account for the influence of Southey, with whom in reality Shelley had scarcely anything in common, except that Southey had once been an admirer of the French Revolution. What had been merely the fever of youth with Southey, was the passion of life with Shelley. Perhaps the same may be said of their poetry as of their politics. Southey was a man of letters, who had written poems, and only needed encouragement to make him rise early and write more before he began the day's work. Shelley was a poet. Probably he was attracted by Southey's stoicism, as he was attracted by the apparent force and repose of Godwin; and besides, the remoteness and ideality of "Thalaba" might seem to express an ambition akin to his own. "Thalaba" is the only poem of Southey's which he seems to have valued; and his admiration of this is a proof of the great importance he assigned to intention in poetry. Much of the elevation of "Thalaba" is conventional; much of its fluency is mechanical; but its intention, though over-didactic, is really rare and admirable; and Shelley's own inspiration and enthusiasm threw a glow over what interested him, which more than sufficed to cover such defects of execution.

"Queen Mab" is the only poem written in the unrhymed, lyrical iambic metre of "Thalaba." The only difference is that Shelley, trusting to his own sense of melody, continues the movement of each stanza longer, and is less careful to vary the length of line; in fact, the latter part is mostly written in blank verse, with an occasional octosyllabic at the beginning or end of a paragraph. In this didactic poem he is as uncompromising as Lucretius or Parmenides in his intention to teach, so that it can hardly be appraised, like the Georgics, by its beauties. It must be judged by the poetical value of the view of the universe which it inculcates, and of the machinery which is used to inculcate it. Though it was completed before the author was twenty-one, the machinery is already worthy of him. The evocation of Ianthe's spirit from her body, and the apparition of the fairy car, are full of the ghostly moonlit beauty that was afterwards to find a more complete expression in



"Marianne's Dream" and "Epipsychidion." The exposition of the past, the present, and the future might have been very impressive if the writer had been capable of conceiving any organic unity whatever; but in Shelley's mind equality and fraternity excluded all possibility of subordination, and consequently of organization. Hence the grandeur of the universe disappears in a vague immensity of noise and emptiness; and the visions of endless progress simply dazzle without satisfying, because progress is measured not by its approximation to a higher standard of positive perfection, but by the number of the restrictions that are surmounted, and by the errors that are left behind.

In fact, an historical view of human society was a curious enterprise for such a thoroughly unhistorical mind; even a scientific hierarchy was inconceivable to a spirit that was constantly seeking refuge in nature from the littleness and degradation of man. With Shelley as with Bacon, the glory of man was simply to be "naturæ minister et interpres," not to be himself the highest product of her forces, the clearest expression of her laws. But Bacon looked forward to the time when man would conquer nature by understanding her, and subdue her into an order which would work more easily and securely while becoming more complex: Shelley looked for the reward of intelligent obedience, not in the subjugation of nature, but in the emancipation of man. Bacon expected that a clearer knowledge would enable men to indulge in superfluities acquired without disproportionate effort: Shelley expected that a clearer knowledge would deliver men from their desire of superfluities, and from all the painful complications it involves, without the pain of self-denial. Bacon's ideal was a progressive civilisation; Shelley's was the Saturnian age, a perpetual vegetarian picnic for the body, and endless expansion of fraternity for the mind. To him the philosophy of history is simply the explanation of the mistakes which have hitherto rendered this simple and rational felicity impossible, and philosophy itself has only to explain its conditions, which, when stated, are almost self-evident. A development is affirmed, indeed, through which spirits are compelled to pass in order to fit them to share the ecstasies of this rudimentary paradox; but very little is done to show in what this development consists. Even its necessity is not very apparent; for an impulsive happiness and a spontaneous virtue have little to gain by a conflict with evil, though such a conflict is necessary to strengthen the sense of duty, an idea which has no natural place in the

ethics of "Queen Mab." But it was indispensable to vindicate the beneficence of Necessity, the mother of the world.

A poem which is conscientiously sacrificed to the exposition of a theory cannot be very poetical; and in this case the philosophy is about on a par with the poetry. Very often a passage which might be beautiful is marred because the writer is eager to stoop to truth and moralize his song.

"There was a little light  
That twinkled in the misty distance:  
None but a spirit's eye  
Might ken that rolling orb;  
None but a spirit's eye,  
And in no other place

But that celestial dwelling, might behold  
Each action of this earth's inhabitants."

This is a high fancy worthily expressed; but the writer goes on to be didactic:

"But matter, space and time,  
In those ærial mansions cease to act;  
And all-prevailing wisdom, when it reaps  
The harvest of its excellence, o'erbounds  
Those obstacles of which an earthly soul  
Fears to attempt the conquest."

Could anything be colder?

"How beautiful this night! The balmy  
sigh  
Which vernal zephyrs breathe in evening's  
ear  
Were discord to the speaking quietude  
That wraps this moveless scene. Heaven's  
ebon vault  
Studded with stars unutterably bright,  
Through which the moon's unclouded grandeur  
rolls,  
Seems like a canopy which love has spread  
To curtain her sleeping world. Yon gentle  
hills,  
Robed in a garment of untrodden snow,  
Yon darksome rocks, whence icicles depend.  
So stainless that their white and glittering  
spires  
Tinge not the moon's pure beam, yon castled  
steep,  
Whose banner hangeth o'er the time-worn  
tower  
So idly that rapt fancy deemeth it  
A metaphor of peace—"

In the way of mere description nothing could be more beautiful; but it has to be utilized:—

"all form a scene  
Where musing solitude may love to lift  
Her soul above this sphere of earthliness;  
Where silence undisturbed might watch  
alone,  
So cold, so bright, so still."

The last hemistich redeems it as a description; but after all it has been of little use. Even Ahasuerus is introduced rather coldly as

"a wondrous phantom from the depths  
Of human error's dense and purblind faith."

It is proverbially difficult to manage the supernatural when half-believed; but in "Prometheus Unbound" the same difficulty is overcome in dealing with the phantasm of Jupiter; and in "Hellas" the difficulty has disappeared, for Ahasuerus is allowed to appear to Mahmud without any impertinent speculation as to whether he belonged to history or mythology. Even in "Queen Mab" his appearance is impressive when he is allowed to come; and his criticism of revealed religion is quite equal for incisiveness and thoroughness to Milton's criticism of Athenian civilisation in *Paradise Regained*. Only Milton is more impartial; he admits a statement of its bright side too, though it is put into the mouth of the tempter. The character of Ahasuerus is of course only a sketch, based more or less consciously on Milton's Satan, and already containing a prophecy of "Prometheus Unbound."

"Thus have I stood—through a wild waste of  
years

Struggling with whirlwinds of mad agony,  
Yet peaceful, and serene, and self-enshrined,  
Mocking my powerless tyrant's horrible  
curse

With stubborn and unalterable will,  
Even as a giant oak, which heaven's fierce  
flame

Had scathed in the wilderness, to stand  
A monument of fadeless ruin there;  
Yet peacefully and movelessly it braves  
The midnight conflict of the wintry storm,

As in the sunlight's calm it spreads  
Its torn and withered arms on high  
To meet the quiet of a summer's noon."

The influence of "Thalaba" did not exhaust itself with the completion of "Queen Mab." We have Mrs. Shelley's authority for the statement that Thalaba's voyage suggested Alastor's, though Mr. Rossetti is probably right in supposing that Shelley's own experience of river scenery on the Rhine was not without its influence. Even apart from this circumstance the poem is certainly personal. It was written when Shelley thought he was dying; and it contains the thoughts with which he reconciled his imagination to the idea of death. It is the first poem in which his characteristics appear in their perfection of richness if not yet in their perfection of unity and intensity. It is full of beauties; indeed it is made up of them. One cannot see the poem for the poetry. In one respect this is fortunate; for the story is slight and the subject too sentimental, it might almost be said too mawkish, to be very interesting. Both the

invocation and the valediction are on the full scale of the epic, both in extent and majesty; and together they occupy more than an eighth of the poem, while the separable comments certainly occupy as much more. The story is soon told:—A poet who has had all the experiences of travel and education which Shelley would have wished to have, has had a vision of one who combines all that Shelley would have wished to desire or possess in the way of female loveliness; he pursues it; and he dies in the pursuit.

The poem itself is not long; but a commentary might be voluminous without exhausting the analysis of its complex and varied sweetness. The peculiar charm, the independent inspiration of Shelley's own genius are unmistakeable already; but they do not yet appear alone; they are blended with all manner of reminiscences of elder poets, some clear and deliberate, others fugitive and evanescent. The exordium is marvellously like and unlike Milton. The proud self-consciousness of the poet's enumeration of his qualifications for his task is quite in the spirit of the great Puritan; but the details and the feeling of the invocation contrast vividly with the severity of the framework. One might fancy that Milton had impressed Shelley through Wordsworth, whose "Excursion" appeared about a year before "Alastor;" but if the solemnity is like him the tenderness and the abandon are not. He might have written:

"If our great mother have imbued my soul  
With aught of natural piety to feel  
Your love, and recompense the boon with  
mine,"

or:

"If no bright bird, insect, or gentle beast  
I consciously have injured, but still loved  
And cherished these my kindred;—then forgive  
This boast, beloved brethren, and withdraw  
No portion of your wonted favour now!"

But he could hardly have written:

"If spring's voluptuous pantings, when she  
breathes  
Her first sweet kisses have been dear to me."

There is a distincter echo of Milton in

"The secret caves,  
Rugged and dark, winding among the springs,  
Of fire and poison, inaccessible  
To avarice or pride, their starry domes  
Of diamond and of gold expand above  
Numberless and immeasurable halls,  
Frequent with crystal column, and clear  
shrines  
Of pearl, and thrones radiant with chrysolite."

And there is all Milton's art in the juxtaposition of proper names in :

"Athens, and Tyre, and Balbec, and the waste  
Where stood Jerusalem, the fallen towers  
Of Babylon, the eternal pyramids,  
Memphis and Thebes, and whatso'er of  
strange  
Sculptured on alabaster obelisk,  
Or jasper tomb, or mutilated sphynx,  
Dark Ethiopia on her desert hills  
Conceals."

And again in :

"Through Arabia  
And Persia, and the wild Carmanian waste,  
And o'er the aerial mountains which pour  
down  
Indus and Oxus from their icy caves."

The first paragraph of the story does not recall any single manner, and yet recalls too much of previous literature to be accepted as a perfectly individual and independent embodiment of original thoughts in an original style, such as Shelley subsequently attained. It would be nearest to the truth to say that the imagery and versification resemble, while they surpass, the imagery and versification of the poets of the eighteenth century, who endeavoured, more or less consciously and successfully, to recover the tone of the "Elizabethan Age." There is even a touch of the *Vicar of Wakefield* in :

"He has bought  
With his sweet voice and eyes from savage  
men  
His rest and food."

The following extract is a deeper echo of the eighteenth century, but of eighteenth century reminiscences of the past :—

"O storm of Death !  
Whose sightless speed divides this sullen  
night !  
And thou, colossal skeleton, that, still  
Guiding its irresistible career  
In thy devastating omnipotence,  
Art king of this frail world, *from the red  
field  
Of slaughter, from the reeking hospital,  
The patriot's sacred couch, the snowy bed  
Of innocence, the scaffold and the throne,  
A mighty voice invokes thee ! Ruin calls  
His brother Death ! A rare and regal prey  
He hath prepared, prowling around the world ;  
Glutted with which thou may'st repose, and  
men  
Go to their graves like flowers or creeping  
worms,  
Nor ever offer more at thy dark shrine  
The unheeded tribute of a broken heart."*

This is the sublime of Young and Pollok and Akenside ; it is the sublime they desired, but could not attain. The following extract may serve as a specimen of eighteenth century profundity :—

"Now on the polished stones  
It danced like childhood laughing as it went :  
Then, through the plain in tranquil wander-  
ings crept,  
Reflecting every herb and drooping bud  
That overhang its quietness. O stream  
Whose source is inaccessible profound,  
Whither do thy mysterious waters tend ?  
*Thou imagest my life. Thy darksome still-  
ness,  
Thy dazzling waves, thy loud and hollow  
gulfs,  
Thy searchless fountain, and invisible course  
Have each their type in me."*

Of course these resemblances are not alleged to suggest any doubt of Shelley's literary independence ; for he was more independent than any of his contemporaries, except Wordsworth, and, perhaps, Coleridge and Scott. In fact, except when he resembles Milton or Wordsworth, he is so decidedly superior to his predecessors that we should almost hesitate to acknowledge their influence if he had been as exclusive in his sympathies as he was refined in production. Our last extract from "Alastor" is in Shelley's own unique and distinctive manner.

"Roused by the shock, he started from his  
trance—

The cold white light of morning, the blue moon  
Low in the west, the clear and garish hills,  
The distinct valley and the vacant woods,  
Spread round him where he stood. Whither  
have fled

The hues of heaven that canopied his bower  
Of yesternight ? the sounds that soothed his  
sleep,

The mystery and the majesty of earth,  
The joy, the exultation ? His wan eyes  
Gaze on the empty scene as vacantly  
As ocean's moon looks on the moon in heaven.  
The spirit of sweet human love has sent  
A vision to the sleep of him who spurned  
Her choicest gifts.\* He eagerly pursues  
Beyond the realms of dream that fleeting  
shade ;

He overleaps the bounds. Alas ! alas !  
Were limbs and breath and being intertwined  
Thus treacherously ? Lost, lost, for ever lost  
In the wide pathless desert of dim sleep,  
That beautiful shape ! Does the dark gate  
of death

Conduct to thy mysterious paradise,  
O Sleep ? Does the bright arch of rainbow  
clouds,

And pendent mountains seen in the calm lake,  
Lead only to a black and watery depth,  
While death's blue vault with loathliest va-  
pours hung,

Where every shade which the foul grave  
exhales

Hides its dead eye from the deserted day,  
Conduct, O Sleep, to thy delightful realms ?"

\* Apparently the Arab's daughter, who idolises Alastor, and waits upon him in the desert, and is clearly taken for temporary use from Thalaba

Here is the very essence of Shelley—a delicious imagination in the service of a feverish unearthly reverie. The landscape, the feeling, the melody of the versification, all combine in one impression of shivering loveliness. There is nothing of the pathetic fallacy in the description of the landscape; and there is nothing of the otiose luxuriance which we find elsewhere in this and later poems. Not a single image is introduced simply because it is beautiful, not a single epithet is falsified in order to make "mute Nature mourn her worshipper." The aspect of outward things is made to reflect the temper of Alastor, because it has been made to fashion it; or rather we are made to feel that the unity between the scene and the spectator is deeper than consciousness, too deep for sentiment. And the fervour of the passage is on a par with its remoteness, its truth and its subtlety. Even when it is remembered that Shelley was Alastor, it is wonderful that he should have thrown himself with such sobbing eagerness into the imaginary sorrows of an imaginary being. It must be admitted, if we feel for Alastor at all, that his airy trouble leaves both the poet and the reader less calm than the substantial affliction of Elaine. Even when he had finished "Alastor," Shelley did not at once throw off the tender brooding depression which the thought of early death had left upon him. The poems written in 1816 include a lovely little set of verses called "The Sunset," which resumes the situation of "Alastor" from a simpler point of view. This time the poet dies of his own genius, and is parted from one lady whom he has already found; and the interest of the poem, which, within its narrow limits, is far more complete and satisfactory than its predecessor, lies in her patient and reverent sorrow. The same source of interest is touched once more in the introductory canto of the "Revolt of Islam," where Cythna writes how

"A dying poet gave me books, and blest  
With wild but holy talk the sweet unrest  
In which I watched him as he died away—  
A youth with hoary hair—a fleeting guest  
Of our lone mountains."

The two other poems, written in 1816, are less interesting. "Mont Blanc" has all Shelley's pomp and splendour of language, and it must be added that, like many of his writings, it combines a visible intellectual ambition with an unmistakable poverty of thought.

"The everlasting universe of things  
Flows through the mind, and rolls its  
rapid waves.  
Now dark—now glittering—now reflecting  
gloom—

Now lending splendour, where from secret  
springs  
The source of human thought its tribute  
brings  
Of waters,—with a sound but half its  
own,  
Such as a feeble brook will oft assume  
In the wild woods among the mountains  
lone,  
Where waterfalls around it leap for ever,  
Where woods and winds contend, and a vast  
river  
Over its rocks ceaselessly bursts and raves.

This is meant to be splendid; and it is splendid. If it were not meant to be profound, it would hardly suggest "a tale of little meaning though the words are strong." And so the torrent of eloquent imagery rolls on. The magnificent scenery of Mont Blanc is magnificently described. Even a captious critic would scarcely venture to object to a superfluity of metaphor, if metaphors and descriptions were not pompously employed to point the empty moral that it is wonderful that nature should affect the human mind; nor is the barren grandiloquence of the poem as a whole really redeemed by the brilliant Berkeleyan paradox which is placed at the end to do duty as a thought. The "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" is solemn and sweet, but too visibly didactic; and there is something of pedantry and egotism in the way in which Shelley insists upon his fidelity in propagating the worship of an unfruitful and rather uninteresting abstraction.

His next considerable work will long be memorable as the most magnificent failure in the English language, if at least posterity retains the piety which has hitherto accepted *Paradise Lost* as a success. The "Revolt of Islam" does not fail, like "Endymion," because the author did not know what he intended to do, or because the performance came short of the intention. From beginning to end there is no trace of immaturity or incompleteness or inequality. The subject is completely exhibited; and the medium of exhibition is uniformly rich and appropriately varied. But the subject is absurd; and the style harmonizes with its absurdity. The poem, we are told, and it is easy to believe, was composed in little more than six months; and that period was devoted to the task "with unremitting ardour and enthusiasm," which was not wonderful, as the poem consists of five or six hundred Spenserian stanzas, or between four and five thousand lines, and was produced by "a series of thoughts which filled" Shelley's "mind with unbounded and sustained enthusiasm." He was quite right in resisting the temptation to correct it. No correction was possible; indeed, apart from an occasional neglect of

rhyme, no correction was necessary. The poem was written when Shelley was smarting under the decision which deprived him of the children of the wife from whom he had decided to part, and was harassed besides by the collisions with his own family, "to which his peculiar views of duty and liberty exposed him." He felt that he had a right to be indignant; and he was too proud and too generous to express his indignation at individual grievances as they affected himself. Accordingly, he set forth poetically an ideal representation of the principles of revolution and of order—the order from which he suffered. With no visible literary motive, he took the pains to outrage contemporary sentiment, by making his orphan lovers brother and sister, as well as atheists and republicans. Of course, there is a play of Ford's and a play of Byron's which prove that the source of poetical interest to which he appealed was very powerful; but the appeal can scarcely have been very serious; the alteration and omission of fifty lines at most was sufficient to suppress all sign that it had been made. The story is simply childish. The population of European Turkey passes from slavery and degradation to liberty and virtue, because a male and female enthusiast, both of whom complacently relate the history of their own insanity, recover sufficiently to propagate the finest sentiments and convert everybody, including the Janizzaries and the Sultan, who is treated very respectfully on his abdication, and allowed as much pageantry as an Indian prince. A grand picnic is held to inaugurate the republic; in the midst of the rejoicings, the troops of the coalition arrive, to the surprise of every one except the Sultan. Then a counter revolution of the Neapolitan type takes place. The hero and heroine escape together from its manifold horrors; but an inquisitor, who feels that there is more scope for his energies in Islam than in Christendom, takes advantage of a pestilence to preach the solidarity of persecutors, and extorts an edict that Laon and Cythna shall be burnt alive. Laon appears in disguise before the Divan, and, after a last sermon on the blessings of toleration, gives himself up on condition that Cythna is sent safe to America. Of course she appears in time to insist upon sharing his fate. Her glorified spirit conducts Shelley in a magic boat to a magic island, after he has witnessed an exciting contest, which is beautifully described, between the eagle of despotism and the dragon of democracy, whose defeat is symbolical of the final collapse of the French revolution at Waterloo. There Laon relates their joint adventures, which, atheism and republicanism apart, are

such stuff as children tell to one another when they lie awake in bed. It need not be stated that Shelley had the imagination of a man, but he set it to work not on his experience, but on his desires, as if he had been a child. Some of his desires were the direct product of his rare and delicate organization; and when his imagination was set to work upon them, he produced poems like "Alastor:" others were the product of his crude opinions and unprofitable sympathies; and from these he produced poems like the "Revolt of Islam." He lived a double life. He was proud of one side of it; the other he regarded with a pity that was near akin to shame. He was gregarious in principle and a hermit in practice, a rapid humanitarian who mistook moral declamation for philosophical poetry, and an inspired solitary whose sick fancies crystallized into priceless jewels.

"Rosalind and Helen" is a poem of a kind which is not common in Shelley's works. It is visibly an expression of his own experience; and for that reason he spoke of it contemptuously. He wrote it under the influence of a double sorrow. His children had been taken from him in the name of social orthodoxy; his love had come into collision with the opinion of his countrymen upon marriage. His sorrow is idealized and divided between two ladies. Rosalind has given up Helen for her unwedded love, and has to take shelter with her in Italy at the foot of the Splügen, when her dead husband has taken her children from her by a slanderous will. The meeting of the destitute widows (for Helen's lover is dead, and has left her his all in vain), is thoroughly graceful and pathetic; and there is something almost angelic in the calm with which Helen receives Rosalind's reproaches without meeting them or being humbled by them, and only replies by a soothing tenderness that has almost a touch of patronage. The delicacy of Helen's son, too, combines admirably with his boyish cheerfulness, and serves to prevent the poem becoming too lachrymose. To write such a poem perfectly does not require such a genius as Shelley. It stands upon a comparatively low level; and it is natural to regard it as the highest work of an inferior man. But when those allowances are made, it remains one of the most satisfactory poems of its class, one of the sweetest and most beautiful, and, above all, the most natural; there is nothing of that deliberate abstraction of manner, that artificial solemnity of plainness, which is often found in idylls and dramatic lyrics of the present day. Shelley wrote of daily life just as he wrote of what he considered to be ideal life—with easy freedom and abundant grace: now peo-

ple write of daily life because they fear that there is something unreal in writing about anything else; and, under such a sense of responsibility, there is sure to be something unnatural and uneasy in their way of looking at the subject they approve.

Mrs. Shelley certainly deserved well of mankind in persuading her husband to conquer his contemptuous disinclination to finish "*Rosalind and Helen*:" she deserved equally well in allowing him to leave "*Prince Athanase*," a fragment. The scheme of the poem was an improvement upon "*Alastor*." The hero was to be wildered by Aphrodite Pandemos through life, and only meet Aphrodite Urania in death; but unfortunately, as the poem began, it was more than doubtful whether the hero would have met even Pandemos. When Shelley once began upon his history and personality, it was impossible for him to finish; happily he had sense to perceive the danger of becoming morbid in "an attempt at excessive refinement and analysis." The weakness which he could suspect but not overcome is to be regretted; for his theory of the seamy side of love might have been an addition to our knowledge of the subject, and would certainly have been an addition to our knowledge of the author. As it is, we are left to make what we can of "*Julian and Maddalo*," on the whole the least interesting of his poems. It is a clinical lecture on a madman who plays upon the piano, and has been deserted for unexplained reasons by a lady of unexplained character. Maddalo, who is meant for Byron, naturally thinks this unfortunate gentleman a case in point in support of pessimism; Julian, who is Shelley, thinks that his misfortunes can be explained upon principles of optimism. Of course the discussion is sometimes clever, and the ravings are sometimes heartrending; but the discussion is made hard and inconclusive, and the ravings give no glimpse of an ideal situation. It is chiefly valuable for the discreet and kindly appreciation of Byron's character in the preface. It shows that Shelley understood Byron better than Byron understood him; and perhaps this might be taken for a note of Shelley's superiority, which Byron acknowledged without analysing the vague homage. "If Shelley were appreciated, where should I be?" is best understood as a confession that when Shelley did his best he aimed at something higher in kind and not only in degree; while it proves that Byron was too proud or too generous to remember that he did his best much more readily and certainly than Shelley, and that his second best was more satisfying than Shelley's, as well as more intelligible.

"Prometheus Unbound" was written at Rome on the rich ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, after the writer had been revelling in the Italian opera and the ballet in London. Besides these influences of circumstance, it bears traces of a double literary affinity. One might even question whether the Walpurgis Nacht in *Faust* has not had a stronger effect upon its structure than the "Prometheus Bound;" only what is an episode in Goethe is expanded into the substance of one of Shelley's greatest works. Any reader going through it for the second time will be surprised to see how little there is of Prometheus, and even of Asia and Panthea, in proportion to the crowd of Voices, and Echoes, and Spirits, and Earth, and Moon, and the like. To borrow a metaphor from music, the accompaniments overpower the air. This is of less consequence, because no superhuman poetry can be adequate; and the danger is greater when the poet is aware of it. The only resource in such a case is that of the painter who covered Agamemnon's face. The curse of Prometheus would have impressed us if we had never heard it spoken; the utmost of horror has been reached when the effects of the curse have been described; it was impossible (though the curse is very fierce and very eloquent) to present anything so terrible as we have been led to expect. It is to be observed also, that nothing whatever comes of Prometheus' desire to hear a repetition of his curse. It serves, no doubt, to explain the situation; but in a well-constructed tragedy the first scene, especially when it is so laboured and magnificent, ought to serve for something more. Even the Furies come and go without producing any perceptible effect; and their threats of what they will do are so dreadful that what they actually do seems tame. The third Fury has said:

"Thou think'st we will live through thee, one  
by one,  
Like animal life, and though we can obscure  
not  
The soul that burns within, that we will  
dwell  
Beside it, like a vain loud multitude  
Vexing the self-content of wisest men:  
That we will be dread thought beneath thy  
brain,  
And foul desire around thine astonished  
heart,  
And blood within thy labyrinthine veins  
Crawling like agony."

This, it appears, is not enough. The whole family is invoked from the ends of the earth to produce a greater and more subtle torment; and all they can do is to exhibit a vision of the bad effects, as conceived by Shelley, of knowledge and the Crucifixion.

It is an obvious criticism that Prometheus must have foreseen these, even if he did not know them historically, which he probably did, as the three thousand years assigned as the term of his sufferings already past would bring the action within the limits of the present century. Throughout the play the scenes, according to the extreme of the English and Spanish method, exhibit the action without forwarding it. Asia and Panthea are carried with extreme solemnity to the cave of Demogorgon and back again. They receive much exciting and impressive information; but neither they nor any one else take any action in consequence. Fauns speculate sympathetically, though without any apparent reason, upon their journey through a beautiful scene. All that can be called action in the play is compressed into the two pages where Demogorgon wrestles with Jupiter, and "Hercules unbinds Prometheus, who descends." The fourth act we know was an afterthought. On a first reading it may appear an excrescence: on a closer inspection it will be seen that the speech of the Spirit of the Hour, at the end of the third act, is not a satisfactory close to the poem. Here is its last paragraph:—

"Thrones, altars, judgment-seats, and prisons,  
wherein  
And beside which by wretched men were borne  
Sceptres, tiaras, swords, and chains, and tomes  
Of reasoned wrong, glozed on by ignorance,  
Were like those monstrous and barbaric shapes,  
The ghosts of a no more-remembered fame,  
Which, from their unworn obelisks, look forth  
In triumph o'er the palaces and tombs  
Of those who were their conquerors mouldering round:  
Those imaged to the pride of kings and priests,  
A dark yet mighty faith, a power as wide  
As is the world it wasted, and are now  
But an astonishment; even so the tools  
And emblems of its last captivity,  
Amid the dwellings of the peopled earth,  
Stand, not o'erthrown, but unregarded now.  
And those foul shapes, abhorred by God and man,  
Which, under many a name and many a form,  
Strange, savage, ghastly, dark, and execrable,  
Were Jupiter, the tyrant of the world;  
And which the nations, panic-stricken, served  
With blood, and hearts broken by long hope, and love  
Dragged to its altars soiled and garlandless,  
And slain among men's unreclaiming tears,  
Flattering the thing they feared, which fear was hate,

Frown, mouldering fast, o'er their abandoned shrines:  
The painted veil, by those who were, called life,  
Which mimick'd, as with colours idly spread,  
All men believed and hoped, is torn aside;  
The loathsome mask has fallen, the man remains  
Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man  
Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,  
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king  
Over himself; just, gentle, wise: but man  
Passionless; No, yet free from guilt or pain,  
Which were, for his will made or suffered them,  
Nor yet exempt, though ruling them like slaves,  
From chance, and death, and mutability,  
The clogs of that which else might oversoar  
The loftiest star of unascended heaven,  
Pinnacled dim in the intense inane."

The last three lines are in Shelley's best manner; but even without the fourth act we might infer that the picture did not satisfy him. The Spirit of the Hour herself was disappointed at first not to see

"a greater change  
Expressed in outward things. But soon I looked,  
And behold! thrones were kingless, and men walked  
One with the other, even as spirits do."

The real greatness of "Prometheus Unbound" is the fervour and neatness of the lyrical accompaniment. It has already been said that the journey of Asia and her sisters seems motiveless dramatically; but the crowd of magic suggestions and impulses which urge them forward is exhibited with incredible vividness and grace. The same character of flowing energy runs through all the chorusses and semi-chorusses, which are bewilderingly numerous. The very few passages that recall the classical situation which furnishes its original framework to the play are as felicitous in tone as possible. There is nothing of the stiffness of deliberate imitation; but there are touches which repeat the manner of the ancients, sometimes closely, sometimes distantly, so that the transition to the thoroughly modern portions of the poem is imperceptible. Here is an extract that recalls Homer and Virgil as well as Æschylus, while the music is modern throughout:—

"But see, where through the azure chasm  
Of yon forked and snowy hill,  
Trampling the slant winds on high  
With golden-sandalled feet, that glow  
Under plumes of purple dye,  
Like rose-ensanguined ivory,  
A shape comes now,

Stretching on high from his right hand  
 A serpent-cinctured wand.  
 PANTHEA. 'Tis Jove's world-wandering herald,  
 Mercury."

The immediate transition from the Prometheus to "The Cenci" measures the full extent of Shelley's power, if, that is, we are to suppose that his powers ever attained maturity. He himself was dissatisfied with "The Cenci;" he thought that it was too popular to be excellent; and perhaps he felt that, to a certain extent, he was forcing his talent. Beatrice and Lucretia and Count Cenci are all thoroughly human and thoroughly Shelleyan. Beatrice is a counterpart to Prometheus—a victim of the law of the world, oppressed and tortured by the cruelty of a father who is supported by the authority of a pope, and a despairing witness to the higher law of right and love. But Prometheus is lifted above his sufferings, because he understands their source and their end; he cannot hate, for he understands that revenge is certain and unnecessary. Beatrice shares the fate of her tyrants; and though Shelley condemns her in the preface, in the play he feels that she is compelled to act, and stay at any cost the pollution which was poisoning her life. Count Cenci might be an incarnation of Jupiter: he is simply tyranny and selfishness run mad. Lucretia is a simple type of patience and unintelligent tenderness, an elder sister of Helen, and has never departed from conventional virtue till she becomes an accomplice in her daughter's deliverance. All the other characters are simply theatrical properties. Giacomo is the stage dupe; Orsino is the stage traitor who tempts his victims, as nearly as possible as King John tempts Hubert, or as Richard tempts Buckingham. Olimpio and Marsio are stage assassins, the only difference being that, considering the purpose for which they are employed, the most resolute instead of the most superstitious is naturally represented as least base. Camillo is simply the stage ecclesiastic; his neutral and ineffectual character is really an appeal to religious prejudice; and the appeal is more emphatically repeated in the case of Orsino, since his insincerity is made to be a consequence of his false position as a celibate.

The conventionality of these characters is at worst a negative evil: it is a more serious question whether the play has not suffered by the endeavours to make it theatrical. A false lustre is thrown upon the character of Count Cenci, by the close juxtaposition of the fine in the first scene and the superb cynicism with which he hails the news of his son's death in the second. Again, as Shelley conceives it, the ideal

problem of the play is to determine whether any wrong can justify revenge; and it is certain that when an historical combination of circumstances is used to illustrate a spiritual problem the conditions of the problem ought not to be changed. Now, according to the manuscript narrative, which appears to be Shelley's only authority, Beatrice enjoyed her dear-bought peace six months without suspicion, simply and solely in consequence of her own resolute action. According to the play, the cause of Count Cenci's death is discovered the same night, owing to the arrival of papal commissioners charged to arrest him on a capital charge; so that we are given to understand that, if his wife and daughter could have waited a few hours more, they would have been delivered without incurring any danger or responsibility. It may be admitted that the change makes the story more dramatic in the ordinary sense; perhaps it may make it more tragic; but it certainly changes the conditions of the problem which the poet had undertaken to solve. In another scene the play suffers from an over-consciousness of the problem. When Beatrice is confronted with Marzio, and faces him out of his confession of what was called her guilt, everything is made to lead up to the sentimental line—

"A higher pain has forced a higher truth."

This brings out Shelley's didactic theory of the situation; but the advantage is purchased at the expense of making Beatrice defend what she ought to disavow, in order to extract from an Italian bandit a fine phrase which would be ludicrously undramatic in almost any mouth, considering all the circumstances. When one turns to the trial scene in Webster's *White Devil*, one sees that it is sometimes an advantage to a dramatic poet to have no sense of spiritual problems. It is more doubtful whether the poem suffers, as a poem, from the unhistorical way in which the principal characters are conceived. Cenci idealizes his wickedness, and his daughter idealizes her wretchedness, in a way which the evidence does not warrant as regards the father, and almost certainly excludes as regards the daughter. There is nothing whatever in the narrative to suggest that Count Cenci was an eloquent and courageous man, who delivered brilliant speeches upon the delights of infidelity and the economies of murder. Shelley himself attained a point of view undeniably more philosophical, if less poetically effective, in "Peter Bell the Third:"—

"The Devil was no uncommon creature,  
 A leaden-witted thief just huddled



Out of the dross and scum of nature,  
A toad-like lump of limb and feature,  
With mind, and heart, and fancy muddled.

He was that heavy, dull, cold thing  
The spirit of evil well may be,  
A drone too base to have a sting,  
Who gluts and grimes his lazy wing,  
And calls lust luxury."

The irritability that follows satiety might give a drone a sting; and the rest of the description might fit the historic Cenci for anything we know. The manuscript narrative gives a much completer picture of Beatrice than of her father; and her nature seems to have been as simple and positive as it was lofty and strong. In reading the narrative we never forget, what in reading Shelley we never remember, that she was emphatically *comme il faut*. Something is lost with the proud, simple strength of such traits as these. "When she was already tied under the torture, he brought before her her mother-in-law and her brothers. They began all together to exhort her to confess, saying that, since the crime had been committed, they must suffer the punishment. Beatrice, after some resistance, said, 'So you all wish to die, and to disgrace and ruin our house. This is not right; but since it pleases you, so let it be.' And turning to the gaolers, she told them to unbind her, and that all the examinations might be brought to her, saying, 'That which I ought to confess, that will I confess; that to which I ought to assent, to that will I assent; and that which I ought to deny, that will I deny.'" Even the dresses "after the manner of nuns," which Beatrice ordered for the procession of judgment and execution, because her own and her mother's were too splendid for decorum, and the handkerchiefs with which she wiped her forehead, and her mother wiped her eyes on the way to the scaffold, serve to complete the impression of a figure which is not less beautiful for being less ethereal. The fact is that, though Shelley takes credit in his preface for preserving the local colour, his success is only in the scenery and circumstances; his heroine is really a self-conscious, almost romantic Englishwoman. This is especially visible in the first scene between her and Orsino, because Shelley had never realized the relation of which the creator of Caponsacchi has given such a masterly analysis. But, after all, criticism is ungrateful in presence of a character so sad, so sweet, so lofty, and so beautiful, as Shelley's Beatrice. He was fortunate in finding in the story of the Cenci a subject dramatic in itself, and containing two characters, one of which appealed to his highest inspiration,

and the other to the fierce loathing and the terrified disdain of selfish prosperity which also seemed to be a kind of inspiration. The fragments of "Charles the First," to which Mr. Rossetti has been able to make large additions, are almost sufficient to prove that his dramatic gift depended upon such felicitous fortuities. If the play had been finished it would have belonged to the same order as the *New England Tragedies*, though its place in the order would have been higher. The writer, after all, would have done nothing but exhibit his own historical theory of the period in magnificently ornamented dialogue.

No falling off of the kind appears on comparing "Hellas" with "Prometheus Unbound:" it might almost be said that an inferiority in subject is compensated to some extent by an advance in art. There is no pretence at action. Mahmud takes no step whatever under his perplexities except opening the treasures of Solymán and consulting Ahasuerus; and from the last he expects no practical result. But if it is once admitted that exposition apart from action is a legitimate form of dramatic art, nothing can be finer than the scene of Mahmud and the messengers. And throughout the poem the reader is kept far more strictly to the situation than in "Prometheus," where the majesty of the principal character has to be brought out at the price of much purely didactic eloquence. If we take Prometheus and the Cenci as the measure of the range within which Shelley could be great, we might take "Hellas" and "Epipsychidion" as the measure of the range within which he was safe, and could always trust his inspiration. Passion was necessary to him: the odes to Naples and to Liberty suffer from the want of it. An ideal medium was necessary: the "Masque of Anarchy" suffers for want of it as soon as the splendid and cutting symbolism of the vision gives place to the plain political sermon which occupies two-thirds of the poem; even the Cenci suffers from want of it, which made it impossible for him to do as Keats implored him, "and load every view of his object with ore." In "Hellas" and in "Epipsychidion" he could do this: in "Prometheus" he could attempt it, but here we find too much of the abstract thought, which was always a temptation to him, and often was a danger. If "Hellas" is taken as Shelley's maturest attempt to embody the passion of the world, "Epipsychidion" may be taken yet more confidently as his maturest attempt to embody the passion of the soul. The poem is at once the antithesis and the complement of "Alastor." As in "Alastor," the hero is Shelley himself, under a yet thinner disguise; and this time

he is left to tell his own story. In both the hero is in love with loving, in both he pursues an ideal which he misses—in "Alastor" because he refuses to accept any earthly realization of it, in "Epipsychidion" because he seeks its realization amiss. The theory of love in the latter poem is like the theory of worship in the Vedas; the last lady-love is the only true satisfaction of the lover's ideal longing, just as the god who is addressed in each hymn is for the moment supreme, and resumes within himself the attributes of all others for the worshipper.

It is evident that marriage, even a happy marriage, had no tendency to close the list of Shelley's love affairs. No doubt his later loves were entirely Platonic; but none the less they showed that they had ceased to satisfy him. In fact, a Platonic affection is enough in theory to satisfy the demand of free love, which by its very definition excludes any passion strong enough to demand a permanent or exclusive possession of its object; and a passion which is content without this is scarcely a passion at all, and may remain, without sacrifice if not without danger, at the stage of purely ideal contemplation. In fact the hero of "Epipsychidion" is a kind of Platonic "Don Juan," less hopeless because less shameless, purified, perhaps emasculated. It is a curious question whether, if he had not been shipwrecked before starting for the Cyclades, he would have outlived love altogether, or have learned (for he was learning) to treat it as Lander treated it, as the most delicate of amusements, a perpetual caress, just too tender to be either insipid or voluptuous. There is a very marked progress in this sense between the terrible fragment headed "Misery" (1818) and "The Question" (1820), and "The Recollection" (1822). One thing was clearly impossible, that he should find an end of love in the beloved. He idealized everything; he idealized the imperfections of each of his wives till he sometimes fancied them intolerable. In the case of his first wife these fancies deepened to a permanent conviction. The wise kindness of his second prevented them from being more than passing clouds; on the whole he was happy with her, and knew that she was good to him; but she could not feed him with the constantly renewed ecstasy for which he pined.

To such a nature inspiration was singularly like a disease; and the limit to his popularity lay not merely in the transcendent excellence of his creations, but in the abnormal conditions out of which they sprang. It is not an accident that of his longer poems the two which are least original are most popular. In "The Cenci" and "Adonais,"

he was carried out of himself and was forced to dwell on something whose existence was independent of his feelings and desires. The machinery of "Adonais" is taken without scruple from earlier works. The opening stanzas are an expansion of themes taken from Bion's dirge for Adonis. The procession of the mountain shepherds comes through Lycidas from Virgil. The splendid pageant of the inheritors of unfulfilled renown comes partly from the same source and partly from Isaiah. The thrilling apostrophe

"Our Adonais hath drunk poison—oh!

What deaf and viperous murderer could crown  
Life's early cup with such a draught of woe?

The nameless worm would now itself disown,

comes direct from Moschus's *Elegy on Bion*; and the exultation over the transfigured life of Adonais is taken from Milton's

"Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no  
more

For Lycidas, our sorrow, is not dead,  
Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor."

It would not be possible to point out anything like such a list of suggestions voluntarily accepted in the construction of the elegiac poems which Mr. Arnold and Mr. Swinburne have dedicated to Clough and Baudelaire. But Shelley could take what he pleased, from his predecessors, and make it his own; his colouring is never richer or more characteristic than here, when he is filling up their outline. It is only in "Adonais" and the unfinished "Triumph of Life" that he can be considered a philosophical poet; and in "Adonais" the gain is clearly due to his sympathy with the concrete personality of the departed, which made his mysticism at once less obscure, more ardent, and therefore more exalted.

It is a striking proof of Shelley's nobility of mind, that he could pay such a fervent and magnificent tribute to a poet for whose poetry he hardly cared. Keats and Shelley stand side by side as the two great ideal artists of their generation; but they never appreciated each other. There is no excuse for seeking the reason in anything so dishonourable as jealousy; for neither could by possibility have thought the other was overrated by the world. And, even if we admit Mr. Rossetti's explanation that Keats was rendered captious and irritable by disease, this will not account for the slighting and unsympathetic way in which Shelley spoke of all his works except "Hyperion." He evidently regarded Keats as a man of genius, who was in great danger of wasting himself; and, even in "Adonais," he inclined to number him with the inheritors of unfulfilled

renown; and the enumeration shows that this is not to be taken simply of the gifted souls, whose names must be left to wait for justice from posterity. The fact is, each of them felt the faults of the other; and the reason that Shelley, with this feeling, spoke more warmly of Keats than Keats spoke of him, is not wholly that he was more generous, but also that he was less critical.

Of all great poets Keats was the most literary; and it was natural that he should be exacting. To him poetry was an end in itself; its mission was simply to fill and satisfy the spirit with images of objective loveliness. His philosophy, so far as he had one, was a judicious quietism—a seeking of the beautiful where it was to be found, in the ordered stability of nature, and in the rich moments of life which come to those who are ready for them. It is certain that he came nearer than Shelley to the temper of most great poets, of Homer and Sophocles, of Pindar and Shakespeare, of Chaucer and Goethe. Perhaps he was right in recoiling from Shelley's subjective fervour, from his feverish pursuit of an impalpable progress, as Shelley was right in warning him against his tendency to bury every subject he undertook under a profusion of flowers. It may be questioned whether Shelley's power was not higher; but Keats was justified in feeling that his own aims in poetry were surer.

We have said little of Shelley's shorter poems, not because they are less valuable than his elaborate works, but because their beauties do not require analysis. The naked swift melody, joyous or sad, as the case may be, which overflows wherever he could content himself with a lyrical cry, had forced itself on public recognition as early as 1839, when Mrs. Shelley remarked that the ode "To a Skylark" and "The Cloud" were thought by many to contain a purer spirit of poetry than any of his other works. The wonderful cleverness of his satires and the excellence of his translations, may be recognised without comment; the problem which requires solution is how, with so many other gifts, and with so much ambition, he produced nothing perfect beyond the range of the lyrical cry, except his translation of the Homeric hymn to Hermes.

---

### ART. III.—THE GROWTH OF A TRADES-UNION.

THE subject of trades-unions is not a speciality wanting in general interest. In Great

Britain in particular, for more than fifty years these associations have repeatedly excited anxious attention; Parliamentary Committees have sat on them; witnesses have been examined, and bills proposed; and a Royal Commission, demanded with equal eagerness by their friends and their enemies, has scarcely closed its reports upon them. There can be no doubt that the trades-union question is the great industrial question of the day, and at the same time the shape in which that secular crucial difficulty of politicians, the social question, seeks for its solution. For it is notorious that the active and progressive element among those interested in the question believes that its salvation lies in this organisation. The immense majority of the working men in the skilled trades of the country, the aristocracy of the labouring classes muster under this standard, and cling to it with the utmost tenacity. It has often been made a reproach by its antagonists, as it is the boast of its advocates, that it affords so many advantages to its members that they prefer it to their government and country. And, though the employers have again and again supposed that they had crushed what they considered a dangerous foe, it was never really dead; but after some brief interval for rallying it has always arisen with increased vigour. As interests so various are deeply involved, the judgments on the organisation of trades-unions are necessarily divided and passionate. Yet all men, whether friends or enemies, will now probably agree in one point—the impossibility of suppressing it. Its existence is a thing to be counted with in politics. It is therefore worth while to consider objectively how far an institution of such vast importance may be required by present circumstances, and to inquire into its operation among workmen of the average type. The present essay is intended to be a contribution in aid of the formation of a judgment on these points, so far as a typical example of the development of the organization of trades-unions is the first necessary basis for such a judgment.

In Dr. Brentano's recent inquiry into their historical origin these associations are shown to be of thoroughly organic growth. He cites the history of the chief trades of England in proof of this. He points out that when alterations occurred in the order of industry created by the craft-guilds, and codified by the Act 5 Elizabeth, chap. 4, the artisans and small masters were menaced in their hitherto secure and prosperous condition, and the harmony between masters and men was destroyed. Then, when attempts were made by the employers to abolish this

order, the workmen sought for its maintenance through the justices; and when these refused their assistance they attempted to maintain it by self-help and combination. When the disorganisation spread, the miserable position to which it brought the artisans, and the grave abuses arising from the want of protection of the workmen by their employers, made the working class organize itself into guild-like unions, to maintain the old order, or to create a new one. The first combinations took place among all the workers of a workshop or of a place, who tried thereby to protect themselves against new abuses. These comprehensive combinations were ephemeral: they vanished generally with the cause which called them forth. But as a rule, there then arose in their place a lasting organisation of workmen of a better sort, more zealous and more devoted to their order, into closer and more restricted associations, or regular trades-unions, whilst the lazy, lukewarm, and egotistical mass sank back into its old torpor after the danger which stirred it had been removed. After trades-unions had once thus come into existence, we frequently find transformations of previously existing benefit societies into societies after their pattern.

Besides these two kinds of origin, Dr. Brentano shows the possibility of a third. When the craft-guilds degenerated, associations of journeymen, under the control of masters, arose everywhere on the Continent, called in German *Gesellenladen*, and in French *Compagnonnage*. Must not, at the same time and under the same circumstances, similar associations have existed in England? Dr. Brentano's essay leaves this question unanswered. But he shows a strong and probably a just inclination to affirm it. The necessity of such an organization of the journeymen in those days seems to speak for its existence. The craft-guilds, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had in spirit and members already become mere associations of capitalists; the great body of journeymen had long lost the chance of becoming masters; and though still members of the craft-guild, they were merely subjects. Another argument is afforded by a comparison of the rules of many trades-unions, such as are frequently found in the first half of this century, with those of the Continental journeymen's fraternities, especially in Germany. The chief features of organization are the same in both; in both there occur a great number of absolutely identical regulations, and a striking similarity between the usual ceremonies, which were mostly so absurd that they cannot easily be imagined to have arisen in two places inde-

pendently. Further, the great similarity between the regulations of these old Continental journeymen's associations and some of the English trades-unions occurs chiefly in trades which do not owe their existence to modern developments of industry, as for instance in many of the regulations of the London tailors, as shown by the Parliamentary report on Combinations, of 1824. Usages similar to the ceremonies of the Freemasons are only found in the old trades, as, for instance, in the cloth trade; while among the various sections of the engineering trade traces of them exist only in the rules of the smiths, and none among the purely modern branches of the trade. After considering these points it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that many trades-unions are but continuations of old journeymen's associations, which arose under the new circumstances of industrial life to new vigour, and a new policy.

The fact that the present working men have lost the recollection of such former associations finds ample explanation in their habitual obliviousness and ignorance of their own history. But if they really existed in England in the time of the craft-guilds, they could scarcely have attained such importance there as on the Continent. Dr. Brentano has collected but few traces of their existence; and yet they should have left their mark in the general history of the country. We know of the German *Gesellenladen* how they often nearly succeeded in wrenching the government from the hands of the weak authorities of the Imperial towns. May it not be that wandering journeymen of the Continent, where journeymen's associations were so flourishing, if they did not introduce their organization into England, yet influenced the similar societies which they found there, and imported especially their strange ceremonies? Weisser's *Recht der Handwerker* contains registers of the towns through which wandering German journeymen had to pass. Several of the German trades sent their journeymen to England. It was the Hanse which in the middle ages spread the Guilds all over Europe; and in modern days it was the emigration of members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers that imported their trades-union into America and Australia.

Since the appearance of the first systematic opposition on the part of the workmen against their employers, by means of combinations, in the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, trades-unions have passed through three chief phases of development. The first begins with the

appearance of merely ephemeral combinations, and comprehends the time when the old order of industry was still legally in existence, though really in dissolution. Workmen distressed by violations of the legal order might at least hope for legal redress of their grievances. Accordingly the combinations chiefly aimed at enforcing in the courts of law the observance of the then existing laws. Strikes occurred only when the journeymen were entirely ignorant of the existence of the Act 5 Elizabeth, chap. 4, or when the justices refused its application: deeds of violence, only when the repeal of the protecting laws had destroyed all hope of legal remedies, as in the case of the cloth-workers, or in consequence of revolting behaviour on the part of the masters, as in the case of the frame-work knitters. The second phase comprehends the period after the repeal of the old legal regulations of labour while self-help by means of combinations remained legally prohibited. This is for most trades the time from the repeal of the Act 5 Elizabeth, chap. 4, in 1814, to 1824. For some trades, as for the cloth-workers, the old order had already been legally abolished in 1807. A very few trades in corporate towns, on the other hand, as the Thames Lightermen and Watermen in London, are still legally governed by a company according to the regulations of these old rules. In this period trades-unions grew up exuberantly in all trades. Its characteristics were distress of the working men, secrecy in their organization, narrowness in their industrial policy, and violence in their means; they did not even shrink from assassination. The third phase begins with the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824. The consequence was an enormous increase of strikes, which were no longer a crime. To this succeeded an increasing prudence and openness. Violent means were only exceptions. The policy lost its narrowness. The trades-union became a public institution, the unsuppressable organization of the flower of the working class, the best means for its moral, intellectual, and political education, and the most effectual remedy for the frequency and still more for the disorders of strikes.\*

The reports of the Social Science Association and of the Royal Commission on Trades-Unions have superseded the necessity of further proof that the time of their

absurd, reactionary and narrow industrial policy, and of their use of criminal means, has long since gone by. It is true that from an economical point of view a great number of objections may still be made to the industrial policy of trades-unions; but no one who is acquainted with their former ideas will deny the progress they have made in economic understanding. Criminal means indeed are not everywhere extinct. The report on some trades-unions at Sheffield exhibits a series of infamous crimes carried out systematically. But it is recognized by the majority as well as the minority of the Royal Commissioners that these relics of the past have only maintained themselves locally in certain trades, assisted by extraordinary individual depravity. It is in the nature of every gradual, natural, and organic growth, that while an institution is already in its highest perfection in one place it is in other places still in all the various historical stages of its development. The Thames Working Lightermen and Watermen's Protection Society is an existing trades-union in its first phase. The watermen and lightermen of London are still legally governed by a company according to the old trade regulations; and the only object of the trade society is to prosecute before the court of the company those masters who do not observe them.

But in order to judge of the character, the operation, and the future of the organization, it is necessary to study it where it is furthest developed. It is intended therefore to describe in the following pages a type of the third phase of the modern trades-union—the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in England. Its organization has been developed by the aristocracy of English trades, with a remarkable and constant consciousness of their quality as pioneers of the progress of the working classes. It has been adopted subsequently by the foremost bodies of working men, as the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, and the Amalgamated House Decorators and Painters; and the society enjoys the undisputed precedence among trade societies. The account of its gradual development will therefore be the best aid in the formation of a judgment on trade societies considered objectively as industrial and social organizations.

The sources on which the following statements rest are:—1. a bundle of rules; 2. the minutes of the delegate meetings of the society; 3. the abstract reports of its council's proceedings; 4. a sketch of the society by Mr. William Newton, contained in the

\* Compare the Eleventh and Final Report of the Royal Commissioners on Trades-Unions, p. xiv. § 31.

report of 1862; 5. various circulars of the society; 6. various monthly and yearly reports; 7. the journal *The Operative*, edited in connection with the society in the years 1851 and 1852; 8. the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Trades-Unions; 9. personal communications from Mr. Allen, the general secretary of the society, who has answered every question, and thrown open all the archives of the society for our inspection; and 10. various other papers which will be mentioned in their places.

The history of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers may be divided into two stages. The first is that of the development of its organization: the second, that of its activity. Not as if the society had not in the first period been active for the same objects for which it acts to-day; on the contrary, its organization was gradually developed out of the experience which was afforded by its activity. But in the retrospect the development of its organization is the most important and interesting feature of its first period. After the close of that period the organization was not altered, except in details; whilst the activity of the society in the first period would give but an inadequate idea of its present importance.

The first period embraces the time from 1826 to the amalgamation in the year 1851, when the society in its present form came into existence. Seven individual trade societies were then amalgamated into one. With one great exception, most of them were merely local societies, chiefly in London. Like all local associations, they had necessarily but a very limited operation and importance compared with the societies which were spread over entire districts of the country. Whilst the members of such societies numbered thousands, the members of the local societies were only counted by hundreds, and in one case did not number more than one hundred. But even the larger amalgamating societies, those whose branches were extended over the entire country, were very small when compared with the Journeymen Steam-Engine and Machine Makers', and Millwrights' Friendly Society, with its centre at Manchester. This society overtopped all others so much in numbers, consideration, and excellence of organization, that it completely impressed its own stamp upon the new society after the amalgamation. The greater part of the members of the new society had been members of the Manchester society, and the new organization and rules were adopted without material alteration from its code, so that it was not so much an amalgamation of the various societies into one, as the disem-

bodiment of a number of small rivers into a great one; and as the history of a river is that of the chief stream, and not of its side streams, so the history of the Amalgamated Society is that of the Journeymen Steam-Engine and Machine Makers', and Millwrights' Friendly Society at Manchester.

This society was founded at Manchester on the 27th of July, 1826, under the name of the Friendly Union of Mechanics. Its oldest documents are its rules of the year 1834. According to their preface, the society was the first successful attempt to establish a lasting union of mechanics embracing several localities. All former attempts, however well-meant, had perished, in consequence of errors proceeding from want of experience. Originally there existed only local societies. But a trade spread over the whole kingdom, and subject to fluctuations which make work plentiful in one place and scarce in another, like the iron trades, necessitated frequent migrations of the workers. As long as nothing but local societies existed, their members were benefited only while they remained in the district; an organization was wanted to benefit the workman wherever he went. This was attempted before 1826, by the Mechanics' Friendly Union Institution, founded in 1822 at Bradford and Leeds. According to its rules of the years 1828 and 1829, it appears to have tried to attain this object by some sort of confederation of independent societies existing in various places. It was not very comprehensive; and its rules are much more defective than those of the Manchester society, in which it was afterwards absorbed.

In respect of their contents, the rules of 1834 of the Manchester society are the same in their chief features, as well as in many detailed regulations, as those of the present amalgamated society. Not so in regard to their form. Whilst the present rules of the amalgamated society appear as a more or less systematically arranged code of laws, the former statutes consist of a number of confused paragraphs. The want of order is said to have been a relic of the days previous to the repeal of the combination laws, and intended to make the rules unintelligible to strangers.

The ultimate object of this, as of every other trade society, was to protect the workman against the special disadvantages connected with his calling. And the means used by the society for attaining this object appear from the rules:—the assistance of members when out of work; and when on travel in search of work; the grant of a certain sum to the widow and family in case of the death of a member,

and a smaller sum in case of the death of his wife; and assistance in case of accident incapacitating a man permanently from following the trade. No further benefits are mentioned.

According to these rules of 1834 the members of the trade are united in the various parts of the country into special branch societies. These branches, however, though in possession of complete self-government, are no longer independent local societies, weakly united into loose conglomerations. On the contrary, there exists but one sole society, consisting of the totality of the members of all branches. The branches are, with regard to legislation, as well as with regard to the property of the funds, entirely subject to the whole body. First, as to legislation. The totality of the members is represented by the meeting of delegates of all branches, and by the acting branch. The delegate meeting is held yearly on Whit-Monday. Whatever it agrees upon is binding upon all the members. It has legislative power, and is the highest authority for the decision of doubtful cases. In its absence the acting branch is the highest authority. This branch has to be chosen every second year. It has the regular executive power. All the branches have to send to it every six months a report containing a detailed account of the income, expenditure, and assistance granted. These reports are then put together, printed, and published by the acting branch. The public rendering of accounts of trades-unions demanded by the Royal Commissioners is thus found in this society as early as 1834. Secondly, in regard to the property of the funds. The individual branches are subject to the totality. It is in this principle of the equalization of funds that the chief financial advantage of the union of so many local societies rests. It was first introduced by this society; and it has since been adopted by all the better-regulated trades-unions. In accordance with this principle the funds of an individual branch are not considered as its private property, but as the property of the entire society, and its income and expenditure as those of the entire organization. A calculation is therefore made every six months how much the entire funds of the society would give to each member. According to the result, those branches whose funds are too high in proportion to the number of their members are caused by the acting branch to make up the funds of those branches which are below the average level. The burden of a calamity which would soon have exhausted the strength of a local so-

ciety is thus thrown on a far greater number of shoulders; it is therefore less severely felt, and losses are more easily repaired.

As the centre of force of the entire society lies in the delegate meeting, that of the individual branch lies in the branch meeting, which is held every fortnight, and considers all current affairs, and receives the report of the officers. The regular as well as the urgent business is transacted by a committee, consisting of from five to thirteen members, according to the number of branch members. Every branch, moreover, has a president, vice-president, secretary, and various stewards. As one of the oldest objections against trades-unions is that these officers are self-elected, it must be mentioned that the first three named are elected every six months by the majority of votes. No officer is allowed to nominate his successor. The stewards are to be taken according to the order in which the names stand in the books. Every quarter the reports and accounts of these officers are to be examined by two auditors chosen *ad hoc*, who have to report on them to the branch meeting. No officer of the society is to receive a salary, the secretary and money-steward excepted. The smallness of their salaries may be seen from the fact that fines had to be imposed for refusing to accept office if elected, and that later on we meet repeatedly with proposals "to bring into operation some system of orders to act as a stimulant to office." As a rule no branch is allowed to number more than 300 members. It is only as an exception that the highest authority of the society may permit the existence of larger branches. The salary of the branch-secretaries varies according to the size of the branch, and amounts to from 25s. to £10, 4s. a year.

Besides administering the affairs of the society, the branches exercise certain judicial functions. On occurrence of a case for which the society's rules make no provision, the president and secretary have to assemble the committee, which has to consider and decide it according to the spirit of the rules. On infringements also of the rules of the society, and accusations of such acts as embezzlement or fraud, the committee is to give a decision. Fines and exclusion from the society are however the highest punishments fixed for misdeeds of any kind. Should the member not be satisfied with the decision, he may appeal to the branch meeting, the decision of which is to be final. In a similar manner the various kinds of guilds exer-

cised formerly their own jurisdiction over their members in all guild-affairs. The decisions agreed on in a meeting to which all members have not been properly invited are not binding.

The society, like all trades-unions, exists only among skilled workmen. Accordingly the first requisite for becoming a member is to have served a five years' apprenticeship before the age of twenty-one, either as machine-smith, filer, turner, joiner, pattern-maker, or millwright in the machine and steam-engine business. Any person not having served five years before the age of twenty-one may become a member on proving that he has worked exclusively in one of the above branches of the trade for seven years at least before asking for admission, or that he is an able workman, and likely to be of use to the society. There is also the old craft-guild privilege of the sons of members, who are not required to be bound as apprentices by indenture. Another requisite for admission is the satisfaction of the members with the character of the candidate. Moreover, it is required that the age should be below forty (later on, forty-five), and that a certain entrance-fee should be paid, which was then 10s., and varies now according to the age of the candidate from 15s. to 50s.

Besides these entrance-fees and fines, the funds of the society are made up from contributions of the members. The contributions of those who took part in the first combinations were voluntary. But as such payment was too irregular, it was everywhere superseded by certain low weekly contributions, or levies from all the members in each special case of want. From the point of view of the insurance company, this is a very objectionable manner of raising contributions. But it corresponds completely to the character of trades-unions, which are not, like the modern insurance companies, associations of capital, but, like the old guilds, associations of men. Insurance companies consist of a number of persons, unknown to each other, and indifferent to good or bad personal qualities. To raise contributions in the way just described as that of trades-unions would never give them the necessary moral security that each member would fulfil his duty. They require contributions regulated by a purely mechanical rule of probabilities. But the situation changes entirely in a society consisting of men of tried character, personally known to each other; there this moral security becomes possible. Further, this way of raising contributions corresponds especially to the nature of the income of the workmen. Unlike the regular receipt of interest by the capitalist, this

income at present, and still more under the circumstances of the first half of this century, appears, as a rule, exceedingly fluctuating and uncertain. If the workman were required to pay contributions of such unexceptional regularity as those of the insurance companies, it is extremely doubtful whether he would be able to do so. He would constantly be in arrears, and would be fined, and finally excluded. Moreover, it must be considered that the income of the workman is slender. He is not in a position to take complicated measures for providing for the time of his distress. The assistance afforded to him by his trade society is, as a rule, the only one at his disposal. To this must be added that he is exposed to the danger of considerable periods of distress. It is therefore of the greatest importance to him that he should receive in such cases assistance of longer duration, and adapting itself more closely to his wants, than the fixed sum which an insurance company would grant him. In short, the nature of the income of the workman requires greater elasticity in contributions and in assistance than would be compatible with the principle of an insurance company.

The way in which the workmen were first assisted by their fellow-workers was in exact correspondence with these data. The man out of employment received a certificate from the president of the society. On showing this he obtained a contribution from every workman of the workshops which he passed whilst travelling in search of work. And men on strike were assisted by levies from the rest of the members. When trades-unions became more strongly organized the situation was gradually changed. First, they raised the capability of the workman to pay contributions; for they weakened considerably the bad effects of the irregularity in his income and position. The trade society admitted only such members as were sufficient workmen to get certain minimum wages. If they lost their employment they were protected by it against distress. Thus they became enabled to pay regular low contributions. Further, a certain repetition was shown by experience to prevail in the sums necessary to assist those out of employment and travelling in search of work. Now, as regular contributions had become possible, their payment became desirable for defraying the regular expenses. Accordingly the rules of 1834 ask for regular contributions for defraying regular expenses, *i.e.*, for assisting men out of employment or travelling in search of work, and for granting funeral-money. But the higher and more irregular assistance which members were to receive in



case of accident (£40) is still to be raised in each special case by levies. This was also the way in which men on strike were assisted up to the time of the amalgamation. In each special case voluntary contributions ad hoc were collected; or, when the entire society believed the strike to be of general importance, special levies were raised. Frequently the society lent from its funds the necessary money before these contributions had come in.

The regular weekly contribution is sixpence according to the rules of 1834; now it amounts to one shilling. Members in arrears with their contributions are to be fined as soon as these arrears reach a certain amount, and eventually are to be excluded.

Besides these regulations regarding the organization of the society, there are a number of rules adapted to raise the moral tone of the members. Thus a member is not to receive the donation benefit, *i. e.*, the assistance when out of work, if he has lost his employment in consequence of drunkenness, disorderly conduct, or dishonesty. Members on tramp are under special control, that they may not abuse the assistance by indulging in idleness. The assistance in case of accidents is not to be granted if they are the results of intemperance or other improper conduct. For receiving the assistance in case of death, it has to be shown that the member has lived with a legal wife, and not with a concubine. Further, if a member on tramp leaves a house with debts, he is to be severely fined. A member guilty of fraud or embezzlement is to be excluded, and his name to be posted. With regard to behaviour in meetings, we find the same precepts as in all guild-statutes up to the oldest times. Disputes, swearing, drunkenness, and the like, are punishable by fine. Similar punishments are fixed for talking on religious or political matters in the society—a principle strenuously observed by all trades-unions down to the latest times. Members are also expressly exhorted to behave respectfully towards their employers.

These rules of 1834 show that the organization of the society was already highly developed. One thing however in the above analysis will strike everybody acquainted with the present society—the want of regulations for assistance to sick members. But as the want of such assistance was felt by many, it was proposed repeatedly in successive delegate meetings to establish a sick-benefit society in connection with the trade society. At last, in August 1836, such a benefit society was established. Its relation to the trade society was absolutely identical with that recommended by the majority of

the Trades-Unions Commissioners in their report. According to its rules the society was to be established on the “broad and liberal principles” through which the society had obtained its “superiority over all trade societies, and unequalled success.” It was to receive especially the same broad financial basis, that is, to adopt the principle of equalization of funds. The entire organization of the society was exactly the same as that of the trade society just described. Members of the trade society only might become members of the sick-benefit society. There was however no obligation for them to do so. Of course with such an arrangement the funds of both societies were separate. The benefit society was therefore exactly a “First-Class Trades-Union Benefit Society” of the majority report of the Royal Commissioners.

The issue of this experiment does not speak, however, in favour of the separation proposed by the Commissioners. After a short existence it was found impossible to carry on the sick-benefit society. And indeed, when trade funds and benefit funds are separated, this fate seems always to menace the benefit societies connected with trade societies. The basis of the benefit society, *i. e.*, the number of members taking part in it, is enormously diminished in consequence of such separation. For, in the first place, the obligation to pay two contributions deters many persons from paying the second, though they would have paid a larger single contribution without hesitation. And as of course no workman can be a member of the benefit society who is not a member of the trade society, the result of the second contribution, *i. e.*, the real assistance in case of sickness, depends not only on the regular payment of contributions to the benefit society, but also on the member's conduct towards the trade society. Every occurrence excluding him from this excludes him at the same time from the benefit society. Again, in the second place, the younger members will never join the sick benefit society. They do not yet feel the want of it in the same degree as the older ones, and abstain from contributing to a fund from which they do not expect any immediate advantage for themselves. Hence the benefit society is restricted to the older and more sickly members; and the less the number of members, and the greater their sickness, the larger must be the contributions. Then this greater amount of the contributions causes a further restriction in the number of members, and consequently less efficiency, security, and solidity in the society. On the other hand, members enter the trade society in greater numbers the more benefits are afford-

ed by it. The union of the funds increases therefore the efficiency of the trade society, and besides puts larger funds at its disposal in case of sudden wants of any kind. Besides the saving in the cost of administration, the union of the funds therefore brings advantages not only to both benefit and trade societies but even to the public. For it gives a *prima facie* assurance that the trade society will not rashly engage in any strike, or any perverse opposition to employers, which would throw a large body of men upon its funds.

But the year 1836 was far more important for the society in another way, inasmuch as it was the year of the first overt movement of the men in the engineering trade against overtime. From that year the abolition of overtime appears constantly as one of the chief objects of the society, besides giving the first impulse to perfect the organization in its present shape. Mr. Newton in his sketch of the Amalgamated Society reports on it as follows:—"It had been the custom of the London trade up to the year 1836 to work 10½ hours per day, and to work overtime until 10 o'clock at night for the same rate of payment as for ordinary time. A general feeling then evinced itself that the 10½ hours should be reduced to 10, and that a check should be put upon the practice of working overtime, by charging time-and-quarter up to eight o'clock, and time-and-half after that hour. The London masters resisted these demands, and a strike took place which, from first to last, continued for eight months. During that period nearly £5000 were expended for the support of men out of work, and to raise that sum it was necessary to appeal to the whole trade. The country responded heartily to the appeal of the metropolis, and a large portion of the sum was produced by country contributions." At last the masters succumbed; the men obtained their demands in full. The working hours in London have never been more than 10 hours a day since that time; and overtime has been paid for at the rate of time-and-quarter up to eight o'clock, and time-and-half after that hour. But this strike had another important result. It tended to bring the scattered societies together, and to break down the distinctions and jealousies that divided them from each other; and the help afforded by one society to another in this contest, and the sense of mutual reliance fostered by it, made their future union possible, or rather was the first step towards it.

A complete revolution in the organization of the society seemed imminent in 1838. By the Act 5 William IV. chap. 40 (30 July 1834), the advantages of friendly societies

were extended to societies "for any purpose which is not illegal, provided always that when the rules of any society provide for relief in any other case than that of sickness, infancy, advanced age, widowhood, or other natural state or contingency as aforesaid, the contributions for such other purpose shall be kept separate and distinct, or the charges defrayed by extra subscriptions of the members at the time such contingencies take place." Rules, alterations, and amendments of rules were to be binding on the several members and officers of such societies, when certified by the barrister appointed to certify the rules of savings banks.

Now the Friendly Union of Mechanics desired to get their rules registered, in order to obtain the advantages connected with such registration, especially the protection of their funds against fraud, embezzlement, and theft, as well as the legal possibility of their secure and profitable investment. After various delegate meetings had been held, the rules agreed on by them were certified by Mr. Tidd Pratt, on the 18th of April 1838. The society then also changed its old name into that of the Journeymen Steam-Engine and Machine-Makers' Friendly Society. But it was not merely the name, it was the entire society, which was changed by these rules. Though it had been hitherto, in regard to legislation and property in funds, one single society, yet the several branches enjoyed in all other respects the most extensive self-government. Each branch independently elected its own officers, carried on its affairs, invested its money, elected its delegates for the delegate meeting; and by turns one or other of the branches was the head of the entire union. But, according to the existing law, the society could not with such a constitution be enrolled as a whole; it would only have been possible to enrol each individual branch as an independent society. Of course this would have entirely broken up the unity of the trade, and would have thrown it back into the local union stage with all its evils. To prevent this, the entire government of the society was concentrated in the hands of the Manchester branch to such a degree that the whole union appeared as a single centralized society with its seat at Manchester. According to the certified rules, the officers, the committee, and the meeting at Manchester appeared as the sole leaders. All branches were dependent upon Manchester; and their officers appeared as nothing more than the agents of the central government, and even their delegates as being elected by it. But it was never the intention of the delegate meetings to curtail the self-government of the

branches, or to give any prerogatives to Manchester. Accordingly, the committee of the acting branch framed a series of bye-laws, to explain the rules, by which everything regarding the government of branches was to remain as before. But these bye-laws, not being certified by the barrister, were not legally binding. It was then that the Glasgow branch of the society showed, for the first time, the jealous character which distinguishes it throughout the entire history of the society. It was of opinion that it ought not simply to depend upon the goodwill of the Manchester branch to explain the rules in this or that manner; if possible, such expressions should be used as to make every misunderstanding impossible; nothing should be left to be "understood." It asked Mr. Tidd Pratt for his advice on the legality of these bye-laws. His opinion was of course against them; and the Glasgow branch at once made preparations for leaving the society. On this the acting branch entered into negotiations with it; the entire question was brought, through circulars, to the knowledge of each individual member; and a delegate meeting was called in London in 1839 to settle the matter. After having consulted various legal advisers, the delegate meeting soon became convinced of the impossibility of bringing the desire of the branches for independence and self-government into harmony with the demands of the law regarding the enrolment. The idea of registration was therefore entirely given up; and the attempt has not been repeated to this day.

These proceedings, on the one hand, are a strong proof of the individual independence and love of self-government of the members; and, on the other hand, they show what would be the consequence of laws which would admit trades-unions to registration under conditions opposed to the spirit of their organization. Either the conditions would be eluded or the laws would not be used.

The delegate meeting assembled in London in 1839 submitted the rules of 1834 to a minute revision; and changes of the utmost importance were made in them. Amongst these changes was the addition of the superannuation benefit. Any member who had been eighteen years consecutively in the society, and who, through old age or infirmity, was no longer able to earn more than 10s. a week, was to receive 5s. until his death. Further, it was requested that those who met with accidents might be assisted by voluntary contributions, over and above the £40 which they received from the society. In the rules as revised by the delegate meeting in 1841, the assistance given to such members was raised to £80, of which £30

was to be taken from the funds of the society, and £50 to be raised by levies. In 1847 this assistance was raised to £100, of which £70 was to be brought up by levies. It is worth noticing how we find here, as in the guilds, the gradual change of voluntary contributions into compulsory irregular levies, and the partial transfer of the levies to the charge of the accumulated funds. Remarkable also is the security with which these levies have been brought in throughout the existence of the society. A levy once imposed has never yet been refused. This shows how little there is to fear for the solvency of the society, even when funds are temporarily declining.

The meeting of delegates elected by the various branches in proportion to the number of their members was, according to the rules of 1839, the centre of the society. This meeting was however by no means an independent representative assembly. Its members were bound in the strictest manner by instructions from their constituents. A delegate meeting was to take place every second year. Each branch secretary had to send in, three months before the meeting, the proposals of his branch for any alteration of or addition to the laws. Copies of all these proposals were to be furnished to each branch of the society. The delegate meeting was not to have the power to make, alter, or rescind any law, unless the proposed addition or alteration had been given notice of to the members of the various branches six weeks before the meeting, and read over at branch meetings specially convened for that purpose. Whatever was then agreed upon by the meeting was to be binding upon all the members. Immediately after its close a printed statement of the votes and decisions given by the delegates was to be forwarded to each branch. These forms are to this day observed by the Amalgamated Society. But it is evident that such proceedings are cumbrous and costly. Several efforts have therefore been made to substitute something easier and cheaper for the delegate meeting. Thus the rules revised in 1841 established a small delegate meeting consisting of seven members, four from England, two from Scotland, one from Ireland. This arrangement does not seem however to have agreed with the democratic tendencies of the members, for it was abolished in 1843, and an attempt was made to do the work of the delegate meeting by correspondence. But this failed also. Proposals to the effect that the members of the entire society might change the rules by vote were not yet accepted, out of regard to the stability of the society. But

there is a tendency in this direction in the rules of 1841, according to which the acting branch may take the opinion of the members on any particular subject, the decision to be by majority. The great delegate meeting continues, however, to the present day.

An important innovation, which is first met with in the rules of 1839, is, the institution of a General Secretary of the society. Hitherto the secretary of the acting branch, who was at the same time an active workman, had also fulfilled the duties of a secretary to the whole society. These duties had however increased too much with the growth of the society to be any longer discharged in such a way. Hence the acting branch was to elect every second year, in a meeting especially convened for the purpose, a general secretary, who was to devote all his time to the business of the society. His salary was fixed at £2 a week by the delegate meeting of 1845. These rules contained moreover a most elaborate system of checks and counter-checks to prevent any malversation of funds. They endeavoured to compensate for the want of legal protection of the funds, by the participation of a greater number of members in the administration of them.

The measures taken for providing the labour market are of wider importance. Any branch secretary on receiving notice from the general secretary, or any of the branch secretaries, that men were wanted in a particular district, was immediately to send such members as he considered qualified, being out of employment, and receiving the donation of the society, to such district. In 1845 these measures were still further developed. Henceforth there was to be one member in every workshop charged with the duty of communicating at once to the secretary any vacancy in the trade. On the other hand, every member out of employment, who was in the receipt of donation, was to sign each day the vacant-book at the secretary's office. Thus every vacant place in a workshop was to be filled in the shortest possible time. Though these measures were taken originally in the financial interest of the society, they were at the same time of great service to the employers and to the trade.

These features introduced by the rules of 1839 were further improved in detail in the subsequent years, as may be seen from what has been said. In 1842 a regulation was added, which was of importance for the development of the law of the society. Decisions of branches in doubtful cases, so far as they were in accordance with the spirit of the rules, and had

the approbation of the leading branch, were to be published in the monthly report, in order that the branch might at once be corrected, if erroneous in its decision, or that, if the decision were correct, it might be a precedent for the other branches. At the delegate meeting of 1843 another primary alteration was made, which completed the internal organization of the society. Before 1843 a branch had always been elected as acting branch. As a rule, this was always one of the two branches at Manchester. The committee of the acting branch was at the same time the committee of the entire society, and its president the president of the society. But now, in consequence of the increase of business, the two offices could no longer be united. A special executive council was therefore elected for providing for the general interests of the society, and for deciding in cases of appeal, and where the rules were silent. Its seat was to be at Manchester. The first Manchester branch was to elect seven, the second six, members. These thirteen members formed the Local Executive Council and were to transact all ordinary business. But all cases of greater importance were to be decided by the General Executive Council, *i.e.*, nine members elected by nine towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester. The duration of office of the council members was fixed at three months, but in such manner that only half of the members were to retire every third month.

After the internal organization had come to a kind of close with the institution of a special executive council in 1843, there were three great objects which occupied the attention of the society. The pursuit of these led them by necessary steps to complete the organization of the entire trade. The first object was the better regulation of the financial affairs of the society; the second, the abolition of certain abuses in the trade, and its regulation in the interest of the workmen; the third, its own aggrandizement.

1. As regards the financial affairs of the society. It was not exactly a better regulation of income and expenditure that was required, though this question several times caused great anxiety to the officers. The society in the beginning of the year 1843 was literally without funds. And the general secretary, in his fear, forgot the true nature of a trade society to such a degree that he proposed, as the only remedy, a scale of contributions from the members according to their age and the duration of their membership, and a scale in the benefits granted

regulated according to the same data. The delegate meeting, however, understood better than its secretary the true character of a trade society. It would be impossible to regulate a society so thoroughly irregular in its wants, and with such an incalculable expenditure, according to the model of a friendly society. The strength of the society did not consist in more or less accurate calculations of income and expenditure, but in the feeling of solidarity of class and interests, which induced the members to answer for each other, like the members of one family, almost without limit. With what security they might rely on this feeling is shown by the regular entry of levies. It was then only a consequence of this general family feeling among those belonging to the same class, that all who needed it were assisted equally without respect to their shorter or longer membership. The temporary want of cash was at that time remedied by a slight reduction in the amount of benefit-money, which had been raised the year before. With the beginning of 1843 the circumstances of the trade became so prosperous that by the year 1847 the society was able to accumulate from savings £26,000. To prevent, however, the repetition of such embarrassments measures were taken in 1849 which corresponded better with the character of the society. If the funds should sink to less than £1 a member, every member was to contribute 1s. a week; if to more than £1 and less than £2, the contribution was to be 10d.; if to more than £2, only 8d. But if they should fall below 12s. per head, the executive council was to make special proposals for their increase. It was enacted in 1847 that 1d. per week should be raised for the establishment of a special fund for rendering assistance in such cases of sickness, misery, and other distresses, as had hitherto been assisted by voluntary contributions. Here again appears the old phenomenon of a gradual transformation of voluntary contributions into forced ones. The executive council was to expend these monies on the proposal of the branches. If this fund accumulated to £1500, £500 of it was to be carried to the general funds of the society.

The chief anxiety as to finances was however then, as it is now, the investment of the accumulated funds. The oldest rules of the society provided that if, after the rendering of the accounts, £20 remains in the treasury of any branch, £10 or more of it, according to circumstances, is to be deposited in a bank by fit persons, chosen by the majority of members present at the monthly meeting. But when the funds increased, this modest investment was no longer sufficient. Besides,

it cost almost as much money as it brought in interest. Every branch had a proportionate amount of money; and every branch invested that amount in its own local bank. The average amount of interest obtained amounted to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. But the whole funds being invested by a hundred different branches, each of which had five trustees, the expenses of five hundred trustees swallowed up one-third of the interest. As there was no legal protection for the funds, and as there existed so many legal difficulties in their investment, the workmen believed that many trustees were needed to make them secure. Banks, again, are only open at hours when working men are engaged at their employment. To leave that employment in order to transact the business of the society cannot be afforded by those who have nothing to depend upon but their labour. Remuneration for such loss of time was inevitable; and so the expenses of investment swallowed up all the profits. Accordingly at an early period plans are found for securing better investments. Thus the rules of 1841, sect. 9, order the investment of a portion of the funds of the society in freehold or leasehold property. But as the society was not duly registered, this was scarcely possible according to the law. In 1842 there were proposals of members to the delegate meeting to invest the funds in land in England or America, for the employment of members out of work. Others made similarly impractical proposals for the establishment of manufactories for the same purpose. In 1845 these proposals were repeated, and even considered earnestly, especially one to establish a machine workshop; but even then no attempt was made to carry them into practice. In 1847 the want of a profitable investment was again the theme of deliberations; it was even resolved as an experiment to invest £5000 in railway obligations. This probably would have been done, but immediately after the delegate meeting trade suddenly became so depressed that all the funds were likely to be required to meet current expenses. In 1849, again, the society entered fully into the consideration of the question. But nothing was done in the matter beyond receiving information from agents of various joint-stock companies. There was a remarkable suggestion for an investment in railway shares, not so much for the purpose of obtaining a large interest, as for the opportunity it would give the members of being represented at the general meetings of shareholders, and influencing such meetings on points regarding the engineers upon the line. A resolution was carried that £300 should thus be invested as an experiment when the

funds reached £12,000. But they never reached that sum after 1849, and the investment was not made. In former years the funds had amounted to more. According to the only yearly account of the society still extant from the time before the amalgamation, the funds amounted in February 1847 to £24,971, 12s. 6d., the number of branches to 82, that of members to 7153. The income of the last year was £18,562, 15s. 6½d., the expenditure £5823, 10s. 7d., the increase of members 824, and that of branches 11.

2. The second object upon which the society, after the greater perfection of its internal organization, bestowed an increased attention, was the carrying out of some regulations of trade for preventing and abolishing certain abuses. These are chiefly four:—(1.) it endeavoured to secure that no workman should be admitted to lasting employment on the work of skilled artisans, unless he had served for five years some sort of apprenticeship in the given branch of the trade; (2.) it gave great attention to the observation of a certain proportion between the number of apprentices employed and that of skilled workmen; (3.) it opposed piecework; and (4.) it opposed systematic overtime. This industrial policy of the society was justified by the abuse of absolute liberty on the part of the employers. "Illegal" hands, that is, workmen who had not served their apprenticeship, were said to be less able, and therefore ready to do the work cheaper; and the employers were said to take advantage of this for the general reduction of the wages of all workmen. It was alleged further that, if the number of apprentices did not stand in a certain fixed and regulated proportion to the number of skilled workmen, the employers would have such a number of apprentices that the greater part of the workmen would be discharged immediately after completing their apprenticeship, so as to be replaced by apprentices; since the labour of apprentices was much cheaper, and they could in the last years of their apprenticeship perform much of the work of skilled workmen. The reasons against piecework are thus stated by the society: "The price is arbitrarily fixed by the masters or middlemen, and often piece-masters or sweaters are introduced, who take a portion of that price themselves, thus making the workman pay but of his wages for the cost of direction and management. If the workman should, by dint of his own expertness and working very hard, earn much more than an ordinary week's wages, the price which was arbitrarily fixed is as arbitrarily reduced for the profit of the manufacturer, who refuses to pay the

price originally agreed upon. This is done with the strongest and most expert workmen, and the moderate in strength and ability are compelled to work worse than slaves for a comparatively miserable pittance." Lastly, with regard to both systematic overtime and piecework, it is declared that they exhaust the men's physical strength, deprive them of rational enjoyment, and prevent them from using opportunities for culture.

Besides the controversy on these four points, the society had sometimes other disputes with employers who attempted innovations detrimental to the workmen. An instance occurred in 1844, when there arose a combination of all trade societies of the engineers in Lancashire, to resist the attempt of the employers to introduce the quitance-paper or character system. The reasons of the workmen against this system were that with it no workman could find work unless he held a satisfactory certificate from his last employer, that no one could ask higher wages from his new employer than his former one had thought good to give him, that the workman was obliged first to give up his place before he could apply for a new one, that he was prevented from bettering his condition by going to places where he could get higher wages, and that, should he have once offended a superior, he was literally excommunicated from the trade unless he either went to a place where the system did not exist or by unworthy submission obtained pardon and a passport to other places. In the earlier years of the existence of the society, there was also resistance on the part of the workmen against the attempts of the masters to employ unskilled labourers on such machines as performed work previously done by skilled workmen. But long before the amalgamation such resistance had ceased, except in individual branches. The society as such never opposed these proceedings of the employers. Though the executive council was glad to see an individual branch victorious in such a dispute, yet it did not grant the assistance of the whole society to strikes got up for such a reason.

One controversy of the time before the amalgamation requires special mention from the circumstances which accompanied it. In 1846, the employment of "illegal" hands led to disputes of the society with the firm of Messrs. Jones and Potts of Newton. The dispute was approaching its end, and the firm in all probability would have had to submit to the demands of the men within a fortnight, when suddenly one night several of the members on strike were arrested in their beds; and later on several officers of the society, the general secretary among

them, were taken into custody at Manchester. The accusation was, as always in such cases, for conspiring to injure the property of others; there was also a count of intimidation exercised whilst picketing. As the seizure of the members, who were generally recognised to be men of the best character, was unnecessarily violent and even illegal, several of them having been arrested without warrant, so the course of the process was an instance of class injustice.\* The true bill found against the defendants was 57 yards long: the number of points of which they were accused was 4914. A special jury at Liverpool, consisting only of merchants and one banker, declared the general secretary, who had done nothing but sign a proclamation for contributions for the assistance of men on strike, and eight others, guilty. The case was brought, however, before the Queen's Bench; and the accused were dismissed there without judgment. This process cost the society £1800. On the other hand Messrs. Jones and Potts became bankrupt in 1851, in consequence of the losses inflicted by the strike. The delegate meeting which followed the dispute resolved in consequence, "that neither the executive council nor general secretary should engage in any misunderstandings between the employers and the employed, seeing that such interference is so injurious to the interest of our society, and calculated to involve its members in legal proceedings." If a strike, after having been authorized by the executive council, had once begun, a special committee was to be chosen to regulate all matters regarding it.

The chief attention of the society in the matter of the regulation of trade was, however, after the internal organization was perfected, directed to the abolition of piecework and systematic overtime. While the disputes just mentioned were only occasional accidents, it was on these points that the society acted with deliberate consideration. The delegate meeting of 1843, in an urgent appeal, begged the members to oppose systematic overtime by all legal means. In 1844 the society took part in a London movement for the shortening of the hours of labour. A committee, consisting of members of all London trade societies connected with engineering, was formed for the consideration of the question. It was decided to apply for a reduction of the hours, which were then 60 a week in London, whilst they were only 57½ in many of the provinces. The London employers agreed to the appli-

cation; the hours were reduced to 58½ per week; and since that time no further alteration in that respect has been asked for or has taken place. The delegate meeting of 1845 repeated the appeal of that of 1843, and forbade its members, under fines, to work, on any pretext, at piecework or under a piecemaster, or to be piecemasters themselves. It also offered a prize for the best essay on the evil consequences of systematic overtime, which was won by a Lancashire surgeon. Up to the amalgamation the same resolutions respecting piecework and systematic overtime were repeated every year by the various organs of the society. In the years just before the amalgamation there was a deeper and more systematic survey of the subject. The chief argument was as follows:—Supply and demand regulate the wages of labour. We do not pretend, therefore, to set up a standard of wages; we do not propose to insist upon a fixed sum, neither more nor less; we are not desirous of dealing with wages at all, in a direct manner. We purpose rather to regulate the supply itself, as wages depend upon it. The first measure in this direction is to provide that no more workmen shall enter the trade than the trade can maintain. This is already secured by the regulations as to apprentices, which are in practice. But further, wages are not regulated by the number of men in work, but by the number of men out of work. Unless the number of unemployed men be reduced, wages will fall. Now there are two things especially by which the number of unemployed men is increased; first, piecework, and especially the piecemaster system, by which a lesser number of workmen do the work which would otherwise maintain a greater number; and secondly, systematic overtime, whereby "the employment, which of right belongs to all, is given to a portion of the trade." Moreover, fluctuations of trade are favoured by systematic overtime, inasmuch as the work which would otherwise be distributed over the whole year is performed in a short time, which is followed by intervals of stagnation. What is needed, therefore, is that the workman, in favour of his entire class, should renounce a pecuniary benefit which in consequence of these fluctuations can only be temporary; there is needed "an equalization of labour that is to be done among those who are to do it." This argument clearly implied nothing less than an entire organization of labour.

3. To obtain these primary objects of the society since 1843, namely, the better ordering of the financial affairs and the carrying out of the industrial regulations, it was necessary to give the greatest possible im-

\* See *The Queen on the Prosecution of Messrs. Jones and Potts against Henry Selsby and twenty-five others*. Edited by W. P. Roberts, 1847.

petus to the increase of the society. It must embrace, if possible, the entire trade. With regard to finance, the security of the assistance to be given would increase with the number of those assisting. Ordinary insurance companies become the more secure the broader their basis is. But this is still more the case with trades-unions, whose system of assistance rests on the security of the payment of contributions, in each case of want, by all members except those to be assisted. Still more is it evident that to carry out the trade regulations, the united operation of the greatest possible number of workmen was necessary. The regulations must be observed either by all or at least by the majority, or they could not be carried out at all. And whenever the struggle for carrying them out came on, unity of action was especially required. Hitherto the workmen of the various branches of the trade had squandered a great part of their force and time on the arrangement of disputes among themselves. The disputes among the various societies had often been conducted with great bitterness. Members of one union often preferred to see non-unionists working in their workshops rather than members of other societies; and if the members of one branch of the trade struck work, frequently the members of another branch or of other societies were ready to take up the abandoned job. The work in the various branches of the machine trade was so closely related that workmen of one branch could soon without much labour learn to do the work in another branch. But setting aside the enmities amongst workmen themselves, it is evident that the prospect of success in the disputes with employers increases with the size and the number of members of the society which fights them. The smaller the number of those out of work in proportion to the number of those assisting them, the greater becomes the probability of victory. And if a society embraces the entire trade of the country, a very extensive lock-out would be required in order to cripple its funds.

Simultaneously, then, with the appearance of a stronger desire for the regulation of the trade, there began a lively agitation for the union of all its societies.

Of course, the increase of the association had always been one of the chief objects of its attention. There had already been amalgamations of several others with the Manchester society. Thus in 1837 the Friendly Union of Mechanics at Bradford and Leeds joined it, after some of their branches had already gone over to it. The conditions under which the entire union amalgamated in 1837 were that it should

transfer all its property, and that its members should be treated like those of the Manchester society in all respects except in regard to the superannuation benefit. They were to receive this superannuation benefit only after having been eighteen years members of the society. But the society endeavoured to increase its numbers in a still more efficacious way. It was resolved in 1841 that the machine-joiners also might enter it. The growing pretension of the society to embrace the entire trade may also be seen from its adding the word "millwright" to its title in 1842. In this year also the amalgamation with the London Engineers' Society was spoken of. And the delegate meeting of the year resolved "that a correspondence be kept up with persons in America, with a view of inquiring into the future probability of opening branches of our society in that country." The amalgamation was promoted in the year 1844 by the combinations of the trade societies in the engineering trade in Lancashire for resisting the quit-tance-paper system, but still more by the common committee of the London societies for obtaining a reduction of hours. The committee did not restrict its deliberations to this point alone; it took into consideration all matters affecting the London trades, and, among others, the desirability of a more perfect union. From this time there began a continual agitation from London for the amalgamation. There the want was most felt; for it was there that the greatest number of societies existed alongside each other. Soon amalgamation came to be advocated in all societies, both by speech and writing; and circulars were at various times sent round to all the branches in the United Kingdom. A young London workman named William Newton, must be mentioned here—a man of acuteness and eloquence, who filled among the various engineers' societies the place of an Arnold von Walpoden the founder of the Rhenish town confederation. It was chiefly his work that in 1851 the first trade of the kingdom was, with more or less completeness, united into one society, an event in the history of trade societies, and not without importance for the development of the entire labour question.

In 1847 things had already proceeded so far that the delegate meeting of the mechanics' society charged its general executive council to enter into negotiations with the other societies. This led to a meeting of delegates of the three largest associations in the trade, the Manchester Society, the Liverpool Steam-Engine Makers'



Society, and the General Smiths' Society, on Whit-Monday 1850 at Warrington. The delegates adopted the basis upon which amalgamation afterwards took place. They circulated the points they had agreed upon, in the form of proposals, throughout the societies; and the members were then to vote on them. The document shows that the chief object of the amalgamation was to carry out the regulations of the trade. "We find," says the first paragraph, "that our trade, even in the most prosperous times, is well supplied with members, and therefore upon the least reaction considerable numbers are thrown out of employment, and consequently upon the various societies." It says also that the abolition of piecework and systematic overtime was absolutely necessary for bettering this state of things; that this abolition had hitherto been impossible, "in consequence of the division existing among us, and the unwieldy nature of our societies, through being various in their constitution and management;" that it would only become possible by the amalgamation and united organization of all the societies; and that the principle of trades-unionism would gain through this, since the existence of one single and strong organization in the trade would induce many workmen who hitherto had not been members of a trade society, to join this organization, and thus increase its size and influence.

To carry out more strongly the intended industrial policy, the delegates made two proposals, which up to this time had been foreign to the organization of the society. Hitherto all assistance given to men on strike had been defrayed from voluntary contributions; henceforth it was to be defrayed from the funds of the society, "so that the inequality of our voluntary contributions may be superseded by a system of equalizing payments." There was even to be established a special fund, the trade protection fund, from which, in all disputes with employers, where principles of trade were in question, the men on strike were to be assisted. In other words, there was to be a special war fund—a situation similar to that which would arise from the separation of trade and benefit funds, as proposed by the majority of the Royal Commissioners. The evil consequences of this arrangement however soon became apparent. The second proposal was for the creation of special organs for this war fund, in the district committees. They were to watch over the interests of the trade in a larger district, and to protect its customs. They were to become a military staff, spread over the entire country. All district com-

mittees were to be under the superintendence of the executive council. Should anything happen anywhere which jeopardized the position of the members, the executive council was first to be consulted. It was then to appoint a deputation to visit the place where such circumstance had arisen; and, if it were decided to proceed in the matter, the executive council was to have the power to grant an extraordinary disbursement from the trade protection fund.

A less objectionable innovation was the introduction of two new benefits into the society. The Manchester Mechanics' Society did not give any assistance to sick members. On the contrary, if a member fell sick he did not receive the donation benefit until he brought a medical certificate of his complete recovery. But the General Smiths' Society connected the assistance of sick members with its other benefits; and the Steam-Engine Makers' Society was nothing but a Friendly Society. It was now argued that a trade society should give its members every assistance possible. And, indeed, a trade society which, instead of confining its operations to the mere relief of the unemployed, grows also so as to embrace, like the old guilds, all other contingencies of the working man's life, and to provide for them, will interweave itself far more closely with all his thoughts and affections. The second new benefit was the assistance of emigration. In order to control the supply of labour, the district committee was to have power to assist those who wished to emigrate. It was to make its proposals to the executive council, which was then, according to the state of the society's funds, to define the number of those who were to be assisted; and the district committee was then to choose the individual emigrants. The assistance was to be £8.

Besides these fundamental innovations, a further new provision became necessary in consequence of the amalgamation of all branches of the machine trade into one society. The several branches had been used to watch each other jealously to prevent any workman passing over from one to another. So long as each had a society of its own no special provisions were necessary. Now it was otherwise. It was asserted that the passing over of workmen of one branch of the trade to another, to which they had not been accustomed, had a tendency to reduce the wages of the latter, as men were frequently disposed to accept less, under the feeling that they were learning a new business. To prevent one branch of the trade from injuring the interests of another, it was now decreed that all members of the future society

should "follow as closely as possible that branch to which they had been brought up, as being best able to maintain its interests." Thus notwithstanding the amalgamation, the Act 37 Edward III. c. 5 is still maintained even among members.

As to the property of the societies represented at Warrington, the funds showed but little difference in the amount per member. Each society had about 22s. a head. The delegates therefore proposed not to take into consideration the small differences, but to require any other society joining in the amalgamation to produce funds amounting to 22s. for each member.

After these proposals had circulated for three months among the members of the trade, forty-four delegates of seven societies belonging to the various branches met on September 9, 1850, at Birmingham. The most important among the societies represented was the Journeymen Steam-Engine, Machine-Makers, and Millwrights' Friendly Society of Manchester, with about 7000 members. The entire number of the members represented was about 10,500. After long and hard discussions, the basis agreed upon at Warrington was accepted, and rules drawn up according to it. But the Manchester Society was not only superior to all others in numbers; its organization also was so much more excellent that it was accepted without essential change. The only innovation of importance was the transfer of the Executive Council to London. London was to elect seven members, who had, as the local executive council, to transact the current affairs, whilst for all extraordinary affairs eight delegates from other towns were to be consulted. There is here an example of a phenomenon which has often occurred in the great social movements of England, to wit, that they begin in Lancashire and the rest of the factory districts, and grow there, but after they have reached a certain size, and when a united government has become necessary, transfer their head-quarters to London, where what has originated elsewhere is completed.

After the meeting at Birmingham had agreed upon the rules, it carried unanimously three resolutions respecting the industrial policy of the future society. The proportion of the number of apprentices to the number of skilled workmen was fixed as one to four; the establishment of an equal number of working hours in all districts was recommended; and with especial vigour the meeting attacked piecework and systematic overtime. It is said in the resolution: "We therefore instruct the Executive Council to take steps for its immediate discontinuance,

by ascertaining the opinions of our members, and the practice of various localities in relation thereto." The meeting then elected Mr. William Allan, the hitherto general secretary of the Manchester Society, as general secretary. Finally, the society received one of those long-winded names so much liked by English working men's associations, "The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Patternmakers."

The term fixed for the beginning of the amalgamation was January 1, 1851. But several of the societies had not been represented at the delegate meeting, where their participation had been expected, as the Boiler-makers' Society, the Engine-drivers and Firemen's Association; and on the 1st of January not even all the members of the various represented societies were yet united into one association. Old jealousies and prejudices still prevented many from joining; but others made not ill-founded objections against the aggressive tendencies of the new society, concealed under the term of trade protection. In this category there were nineteen branches of the old Manchester Mechanics' Society. They therefore still held aloof from the Amalgamated Society on the 1st of January. However, at a delegate meeting held by them in May 1851, there appeared such an inclination to reunite with their brethren that they resolved to amalgamate on the 26th of July 1851, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the society. But at the same time they pledged themselves, in a resolution, to an unremitting agitation for the abolition of the trade protection rules. They entered the society on the 26th of July; the Manchester Millwrights in December 1851. The society, which on the 1st of January had only consisted of 5000 members, in the December of the same year numbered 11,829, that is, more than all the societies together before the amalgamation. With the amalgamation on January 1, 1851, the development of the organization of the workmen in the machine trade came to a close.

Scarcely was amalgamation completed when the new force was everywhere set in motion against the employers. Small squabbles arose in a dozen places where the old oppressions were to be removed or innovations to be resisted. Everywhere success attended the progress of the society. A real strike was seldom necessary to enforce workmen's demands; and where it was resorted to the employers always yielded after a few days, usually to a deputation from the Executive Council, which stated and proved the grievances and demanded redress with civility and moderation. The enormous power which

was behind them gave sufficient force to their demands. But, if necessary, it was spoken of. Their tone throughout was 'that things were different now from what they had been;' and 'that the society was in a position to enforce its resolutions.\*'

The language of the various subordinate organs, as well as of individual members of the society, was at that time full of the pride of power, the consciousness of which might easily lead to imprudent acts. But the Executive Council remained calm amid this phrenzy of success. Induced mainly by consideration for the remnant of the old Manchester Society, which still opposed amalgamation, it took the opinion of the Attorney-General, now Chief-Justice Cockburn, and of another lawyer, upon the legality, first, of strikes, and secondly, of carrying out the rules concerning district-committees, and the abolition of piecework and systematic overtime. Their opinion was favourable on both points. But so far from this leading to imprudence, the committee, in nearly all its communications to the members, warned them against over-enthusiasm and too impetuous progress, and reminded them of the extreme necessity of caution and of justice in the employment of their increased power; they were reminded also that, in disputes affecting the work of a number of members, the branch-committee could give no advice before consulting the Executive Council, under pain of severe reprimand. The committee always insisted that whatever was done to remove obstacles in trade should be done systematically, and that the increase of power should be confirmed by moral rather than physical means. The mere existence of the union would suffice to improve its condition considerably, without the necessity of strikes or other hostile proceedings.

Disputes which arose from purely local relations excited the attention of the branch union alone. But the whole society interested itself in two movements, both of which aimed at restoring, by an organization of labour, that steadiness and regularity of employment which was the main object of the amalgamation. One of these movements was based upon the existing relations between employers and employed, and was intended merely to regulate them by the abolition of piecework arbitrarily settled by the employers, and of systematic overtime. The other aimed at revolutionizing the position of the employers by the creation of workmen's productive associations. All the members collectively took part in both movements, and individuals chiefly in the one or the other.

Beyond doubt, however, the interest in the abolition of piecework and overtime was the more keenly and generally felt. The idea of productive associations was then comparatively new to the English workmen; only the best among them understood it, and knew how to value it; to the mass it still seemed rash and visionary. Of the adherents to the principles of association, the staunchest were the Executive Council. They had however especially at heart the abolition of the evils connected with piecework and overtime. With this view they had previously laboured for amalgamation; and its establishment was due to this motive. Yet nothing was further from their minds than to spend the funds of the society on a strike. They thought that the demands of the vast majority of the workmen would make such an impression as to be effective by themselves, and that the funds might be most profitably employed in the establishment of productive associations.

The principal cause of this tendency was the influence which the so-called Christian socialists, or, as their official title was, the Society for promoting Working Men's Associations, exercised upon the men generally, and in particular upon the leaders of the Amalgamated Society. The question had often been mooted before. But since 1846 the idea of association amongst the workmen had made considerable progress, partly in consequence of the events in France, but mainly, even then, through the writings and personal effort of the Christian socialists. The idea of association had taken such deep root that a branch of the Engineers at Bury kept aloof for a time from amalgamation, because the statutes of the Amalgamated Society did not make any provision for the realization of socialist principles. In the months immediately following the amalgamation, members of the Executive Council consulted the members of the Society for promoting Working Men's Associations about the best means of laying out their considerable funds. The result was a great agitation in favour of these principles among the Executive Council of the Engineers in their official organ, *The Operative*, which came into existence with the amalgamation, and the programme of which was the improvement of the position of the workmen by means of association. As a practical embodiment of the idea, the Executive Council, in July 1851, called upon the members to subscribe funds to purchase the Windsor Foundry in Liverpool, which was then to be managed on associative principles, and in conjunction with the society. Rules were already drawn up, and several members of the Society for promoting Working Men's Associations

\* *The Operative*, July 29, 1851, p. 20.

were named as trustees, when events occurred which rendered the scheme impossible.

At the assembly of delegates at Birmingham in September 1850, the Executive Council had been unanimously commissioned to make stringent rules for the abolition of piecework and systematic overtime. After the amalgamation the desire for this abolition was greatly strengthened. In Lancashire and around Glasgow great efforts were made to put down the practice. Numerous assemblies of working men passed resolutions against it; and the separate branches agitated the question in circulars to the whole trade. The first active step was taken at Oldham. A dispute arose there between the firm of Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, and Co. and their workmen, who had demanded the abolition of systematic overtime as early as 1851. As this dispute, in its consequences, acquired great significance, some details of it must be given.

Besides the abolition of systematic overtime, the workmen at Oldham demanded the dismissal of a foreman whose conduct respecting piecework they found oppressive, and the restoration to skilled machinists of the work at certain machines which required only unskilled workmen. After the quarrel broke out the workmen wrote to London, requesting that Mr. Newton, who was a member of the Executive Council, should be sent to Oldham and should endeavour to mediate between them and the firm. Before leaving London (in May 1851), according to the minute in the society's books, "Mr. Newton informed the Executive Council that he had received a communication from Oldham, requesting him to go down there, as there was a dispute between Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, and Co., and their workmen, respecting systematic overtime and the working of machines, the particulars of which he was not enabled to state; but he would like to know the opinion of the Council on these questions before going." It was resolved: "That the Executive Council is prepared to assist the Oldham members to the extent of their power in abolishing systematic overtime, but cannot consent to assist them in removing the unskilled workmen from the self-acting machines." Mr. Newton on his arrival, earnestly, but in vain, exhorted the Oldham workmen to withdraw their demand for the dismissal of the unskilled workmen. He then accompanied a deputation of them to the firm. The strenuous resistance of the workmen and the pressing business of the firm combined to induce Mr. Platt to promise that, after Whitsuntide 1852, the machines in dispute should be worked by skilled workmen, that the workmen should no more work overtime, except by consent of the District

Committee, and that the obnoxious foreman in question should be dismissed. At a meeting of workmen on the 9th of May, Mr. Newton strongly recommended the acceptance of these terms. But the meeting declared that, after the experience they had had, they could not trust the word of Mr. Platt. The minutes of the Executive Council in May 1851 contain the following entry:—"Mr. Newton stated to the Council that he had been to Oldham, but had not been able to mediate successfully between the workmen and Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, and Son. Mr. John Platt had made certain propositions, and he had advised the men to accept them, but they had refused; when it was 'Resolved:—That in the opinion of this Council the offer of Mr. John Platt ought to be accepted, and the Oldham men will not be justified in refusing it; and that Mr. Newton of London and Messrs. Norbury and Hemm of Manchester be deputed to the workmen of Messrs. Hibbert and Platt to prevail on them not to leave their situations, but to accept the proposals of Mr. Platt.'" This deputation accordingly went to Oldham, and announced to the workmen that, if they gave up work, they could expect no assistance from the society. In the course of another conference with Mr. Platt it was agreed that the machines in dispute should pass into the hands of the skilled workmen at Christmas 1851, instead of Whitsuntide 1852; and the agreement thus altered was adopted by the workmen on the 16th of May. At the end, however, of July 1851, fresh disputes arose in Oldham. The obnoxious foreman had not been removed, as was promised; and the complaints against his behaviour from the workmen under him still continued. Accordingly, on the 26th of July, the workmen determined to strike, unless the overseer was dismissed. Mr. Platt had just then a number of pressing orders, and yielded; and the workmen returned to work after a strike of three days. They were censured, however, for this conduct by the Executive Council in London, and received no donation from the society during their strike.

These details show how entirely the society disapproved the demands of the Oldham workmen for the dismissal of the unskilled mechanics. Much less would the society itself have put forward such demands. But the easy victory in the overtime question at Oldham had excited the most sanguine hopes among the members. Eager as they had previously been to make vigorous progress in this matter, repeated demands now poured in from the branches to the Executive Council to carry out the resolution of the assembly of delegates at Birmingham, and collect the opinions of the members

regarding piecework and systematic overtime, and the practice prevailing on this point at different places. Accordingly, the committee issued circulars to all the branches in June, in which answers to the following among other questions were required:—"How many members are there in your district working systematic overtime? How many non-society men are there working systematic overtime? How many members are there in your district working piecework? How many non-society men are there working piecework? Votes of members in your district in favour of abolishing systematic overtime? against? Votes of members in your district in favour of abolishing piecework? against?" In October the result of the inquiry was known. Never, perhaps, among such a large body of men had there reigned more perfect unanimity. For the abolition of systematic overtime there voted 5709; against it, 16. For the abolition of piecework there were 5297; against it 18. At last, on the 24th of November 1851, the Executive Council announced to the employers that, after the 1st of January 1852, the members would cease to work systematic overtime and piecework. But not a word was said requiring the dismissal of unskilled workmen from self-acting machines. Mr. Platt, however, represented the case to other employers as if the Executive Council had made this demand. In consequence of his endeavours a lock-out of the workmen followed on the 10th of January 1852, an account of which may be found in the Report of the Social Science Association on trades-unions, 1860. The only points which concern us at present are, first, that the society did not demand the dismissal of unskilled labourers, and, secondly, that the engineers, during the dispute, made repeated proposals to settle the matter by arbitration, which were all rejected by the employers.

After a struggle of three months the workmen were completely beaten. They had to sign a declaration that they never would attempt to join a trades-union, a promise which no workmen kept, though a large number of them preferred to emigrate rather than subscribe it. At this crisis the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations came again to their aid. One member of that society advanced £1030, afterwards repaid with its interest, to a number of men who wished to emigrate to Australia. The result of this emigration was the establishment of branches in Australia. The pecuniary loss which the society suffered in the contest amounted to £40,000.\* Through-

out this struggle the regular expenses of the society, in the shape of allowances during sickness and old age, and towards burial, were punctually defrayed. The total expenditure for the half-year ending 30 June 1852 amounted to £50,885, 12s. 2d.; the actual balance in cash only to £1721, 0s 11d., against which the society owed about £1000 to other societies. But this loss did not lead to any disorganization. The rules respecting contributions, instead of being relaxed, were made more stringent. Thus, after the dispute terminated, when there were still many members and non-society men out of work, the Executive Council asked from the members an extraordinary contribution of half a day's wages, to support the unemployed members and non-society men alike, until they should find work again. This demand was liberally if not generally complied with. The Executive Council could not make it obligatory: to justify such compulsion the sanction of the assembly of delegates or the common consent of the society-men would have been necessary. However, a meeting of delegates at Glasgow, in the beginning of June 1852, ordered a compulsory levy of 6d. a week for thirteen weeks. Of course these repeated and searching calls on the resources of the society-men led to many defections from their ranks. The number of members, which on the 31st of December 1851 had amounted to 11,829, and at the end of June 1852 to 11,617, was reduced on the 31st of December 1852 to 9757. Thus about 2000 had been excluded for arrears. Nevertheless the society was financially saved by this severity; and at the opening of the year 1853 it possessed a disposable cash surplus of £5500. The principle of the levies had just been justified; and, after this experience, the idea of bankruptcy seems inadmissible. "We would act," said Mr. Allan before the Royal Commission (Q. 706), "in the event of danger threatening a disappearance of our funds, precisely as we did in 1852; that is to say, we would call on the members to contribute each of them half a sovereign or a sovereign, as the case might be." The society-men who had been excluded for arrears subsequently re-entered the ranks to a man. The engineers, though defeated, came out of the struggle with enhanced reputation. And far from damaging the society, the quarrel was rather, as Mr. Allan explained before the Royal Commission

Os. 9d. The difference arises from Mr. Hughes having placed to regular expenses the sum of nearly £5000, which should have been placed to the account of expenses of the lock-out."—*Abstract Report of the Council's Proceedings, 1852*, p. 75.

\* "In Mr. Hughes's account the total cost of the struggle to the men is estimated at £35,459,

(Q. 980), "the means of getting a great number of persons to join the society who had for years stood aloof from it." Nevertheless, at the assembly of delegates at Glasgow in June 1852, the aggressive resolutions against piecework and systematic overtime were again expunged from the rules, and thereby the chief cause of the past struggle removed.

It is generally true that the less a historian has to record of a people beyond their outward life, the lower they stand in the scale of civilization. Of many nations, in fact, we know nothing, except their wars. Nay, even at the present day, the wars of a nation are frequently given to us as its history. The same rule applies to trades-unions. At their lowest grade the strike is their one object of existence. Frequently they are formed merely for some definite contest, and fall to pieces after its termination. But even where they have already attained that higher stage of social development which attempts to satisfy the requirements of domestic life, and to secure order and regularity, the public generally knows nothing of them except their quarrels. Consequently it believes that their sole purpose is to fight out those quarrels. But in reality, at this comparatively advanced stage of existence, quarrels about work are rare and of small significance in proportion to the whole action of the society. This will be seen from the doings of the Amalgamated Society since 1852, some particulars of which, not in chronological sequence, but grouped and classified, we proceed to give.

1. The first point is the expansion of the society. On the 31st of December 1852, that is at the close of the year of the struggle, there were 129 branches, with 9737 society-men. In the reports of December 1869, 316 branches with 33,915 society-men are given. The average increase is at the rate of from 2000 to 3000 members a year. The greater part of this increase is from the admission of individual men; but up to the end of 1867, four trades-unions had joined the Amalgamated Society, from which they had previously stood apart. According to the statement of the general secretary before the Royal Commission (Q. 626), between two-thirds and three-fourths of the workmen in the trade were members of the society in 1867. At the end of 1869, of their 316 branches 8 were in Australia, 1 in New Zealand, 4 in Canada, 1 in Malta, 1 in Constantinople, 13 in the United States, and 1 at Croix in the north of France, where, after permission had been obtained from the Prefect of Police, it had been established in 1864.

2. The manner in which these 316 branch-

es are conducted has been already explained; and it has been stated that, with the transfer of the government to a special Executive Council in the year 1843, the development of the internal organization of the society was completed. But this statement requires to be limited. It is true that since that time no further change has been made in the rules respecting the constitution of the society; but practically the importance which at first belonged to its separate organs has been to a large extent modified. This however applies only to the organs of the society as a whole; no change has occurred in the absolute self-government of the single branches, subject to the rules promulgated by the general body. They choose, as formerly, their own officers; they have the substantial management of their own funds; and they exercise over the members a species of jurisdiction similar to that of the early guilds, by determining penalties for transgression of the rules and for breach of trade regulations.

The principal change which has taken place in the constitution and government of the society concerns the delegate meetings. These, as we have seen, form a kind of parliament, strictly tied by their constituents in all votes for introducing new principles or altering old ones, and with functions restricted to the details of execution. Besides this, the delegate meeting forms a medium for gathering detailed advice from all parts of the country. But even before amalgamation it was recognised that this machinery was too clumsy and expensive; and attempts had been made to reform it. With the growth of the society the inconvenience increased. The delegates accordingly resolved in 1854 that, instead of their usual biennial meeting, their next meeting should be held in 1857. And in 1857 they determined that at the beginning of each year a vote of the society should determine whether a delegate meeting should take place at Whitsuntide. The next meeting was that at Manchester in 1864. These meetings have become rare because they have become superfluous. When an emergency arises, the electors are at once appealed to, and the question is submitted directly to their votes. This reform was not effected without some opposition, especially on the part of single branches in Scotland. But the new mode of proceeding was confirmed by a general vote, and approved by the delegate meeting in 1864, which merely recommended to the Council to make the members vote only in cases of the extremest necessity, and empowered the general Executive Council alone, and not the local Executive Council, to arrange the voting. In all other questions the Council was left free.

But it was not merely on questions of principle that the delegate meeting proved superfluous. It had become useless also for the elaboration of schemes previously resolved upon. Its numbers were against it. For example, in 1864 there were 260 delegates; and even in earlier times the delegates had repeatedly left to the Council the practical elaboration of the principles agreed upon, as a task unsuited to a large assembly. This duty now invariably devolves upon the Council, which first collects the opinions of the separate branches, and then guides its decision by their votes. The process of deliberation is now less clumsy and less expensive. The branches constantly report to the Council, and make corresponding proposals. In questions of general importance, the Council orders, if necessary, a statistical inquiry, and then submits its proposals to the votes of the members. If the question is local, the Council assembles the delegates from the branches of the district. Such an assembly took place at Manchester in the beginning of 1867. Its expenses amounted to £65, 10s. Thus the monster delegate meeting, which cost £4000, has become superfluous in every respect.

The abolition of the delegate meeting greatly strengthened the position of the Council, which since 1864 has itself become a small assembly of delegates. It consists now of 37 members: 11 form the local Executive Council, and are chosen in turn from the 23 different London branches; the remaining 26 are chosen from the different country branches. All together form the general Executive Council. The local council manages the regular business of administration; but in all cases of importance a meeting of the General Council is held. This Council, like a senate, has the right of proposing measures to the society and submitting them to its votes. It can, with the consent of the members, levy contributions; and it decides in all cases of appeal against the decisions of a branch. Formerly an appeal was possible from the Council to the delegate meeting; but now the 26 provincial members of the General Council compose the appellate tribunal against the decision of the Local Council. In some disputes between the branches and the Council an appeal may be made to the members collectively. In these rare cases the parties make their written statements of the matter in dispute, which are printed and circulated among the members, who then vote. The Council also distributes the extraordinary allowances which the society grants, and determines all matters of trade. The members of the Council must have belonged for five years to the society. They are chosen half-yearly, but so that, at least

in the Local Council, one member retires each month. The reason of this gradual reconstruction is the necessity of keeping in the Council men experienced in matters of business. The retiring members are eligible for re-election, although, as a rule, they are not immediately re-elected, since the choice lies with different branches alternately. The annual lists of members rarely exhibit the same names recurrently.

The Council is the supreme court of the society; and the general secretary is its most influential member. To attain the position he must enjoy the general confidence; and having attained it, he is subject to the constant control of the Council in the performance of his official duties. He must undergo re-election every three years by a general vote, or at a delegate meeting, if one is then sitting. The general secretary of the Engineers, Mr. William Allan, has been constantly re-elected since the amalgamation; but this, as the example of other societies shows, would certainly not have been the case had he given cause for discontent to the members. The general secretary can do nothing without the consent of the Council. Constitutionally, his powers are limited to the execution of their directions. But, practically, his accurate knowledge of the trade and of the interests of the union give him a preponderating influence in the Council and the Union, and lend especial weight to his advice. It lies, in fact, with him, whether the Union adopts a line of conduct salutary or ruinous to the workmen. Thus a government has arisen not easily classified in any of the usual categories. The first coalition consisted simply of the workmen of a certain trade at a certain place. They were not compactly organized. Everything was done by the assembly of the men collectively. Nevertheless, as in all assemblies, the action of the whole body was restricted, no doubt, to affirming or negating the main features and cardinal principles of the proposal before them. The working out of these principles was undoubtedly confined to a few trustworthy leaders. These conditions, common to all assemblies, are now established by rules in the administration of the society, and developed to suit more extensive relations. The 34,000 members content themselves with affirming the principles of the measures which they wish to be carried through. For working out and administering these principles, they choose their Council and secretaries. They define the principles on which they wish to be governed, and leave their leader to apply them to all details. They reserve to themselves the ultimate control. The leader always remains responsible to them.

Conduct of which they disapproved would immediately cost him his office. But, except in such a case, they do not change their leader lightly; but they retain him as long as he is capable of serving them.

A necessary condition of this mode of administration is a periodical inquiry respecting the wishes of the members and the actual conditions of the trade. Hence the trades-unions expend great care upon statistics. The general secretary of the Engineers employs an entire staff of assistants in the disposition and preparation of the materials which come in to him. Nowhere are there to be found more detailed and trustworthy data concerning the relations of labour. The statistical inquiries of the Society are either regular or extraordinary. Every branch secretary is bound to report monthly on the state of the trade in his district, whether "good, improving, moderate, slack, dull, steady, unsettled," or the like, and to give the number of members receiving allowances for being out of work. These statistics are extremely instructive. Those who believe that the employer alone sustains all the losses arising from fluctuations and stoppages in trade, while the workman enjoys uninterruptedly a fixed, if moderate income, would find from these monthly returns that such a position is untenable. Every depression of trade reacts immediately upon a larger or smaller number of workmen whom it throws out of employment. The statistics of the sums spent during the last year upon the support of the unemployed are very instructive. The great depression of industry which followed the failure of Overend, Gurney, and Co., raised the total of these sums from £14,070 in 1865 to £22,782 in the following year, to £58,243 in 1867, and to £64,979 in 1868, whilst the portion of them expended in the support of workmen who had lost their employment from disputes with their employers in the years 1867 and 1868 amounted to only £7000, and in the preceding years to still less. On the other hand every improvement in trade shows itself at once in a corresponding decrease in the number of the unemployed. Another regular return was initiated in 1854. The branch secretary was ordered, on the death of a member, to report his age and the cause of his death. The object was to ascertain the diseases to which the members of the trade are most subject, and the average duration of their life. The society from time to time compiles tables of the average age of members, besides annual lists of the ages of newly-elected members of other trades-unions. In like manner the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners publishes yearly statistics of the ave-

rage rate of wages and the state of the labour market in the branch districts, in order to show the progress in the improvement of the scale of wages and in shortening the hours of labour.

Besides these regular inquiries, an extraordinary one is periodically held, with a view to procure a perfect and detailed knowledge of the conditions of trade. The first inquiry of this kind took place at the commencement of the dispute in 1852; another, much more comprehensive, was undertaken in 1862. It extended to such minute details that it enabled the Council to decide in all trade matters with complete security. The result was printed, but only for the use of the Council. It fills a folio volume of 128 pages. It would be difficult to find any statistical inquiry on the relations of labour which can be compared with this for comprehensiveness, and for the capacity shown in its preparation. As it was compiled by the workmen for their own exclusive use, its authority is unimpeachable. Another extraordinary inquiry took place in 1868, concerning the number and the age of children employed in trade.

3. The relations of employers and employed from 1852 have been characterized by one prominent fact. Since the great battle of that year no quarrel, no strike, or lock-out, of any importance whatever has occurred. The history of the Amalgamated Engineers confirms, therefore, the axiom which has been frequently applied to all trades in common, that with a trades-union which has once fought a pitched battle a second contest never occurs. The struggle of 1852 exercised a salutary effect on both parties. They had measured each other's strength, and had learned to respect one another. The sanguine expectation of the workmen, that the mere existence of their power, without any further effort, would secure obedience to their demands, received a check. The thought of seizing at once a higher social position was entirely destroyed. They learned not to forget the power of their opponent when contemplating their own. Their demands are now put forward with prudence and regard to the possibilities of success. It is true that the attainment of a demand by a strike is not absolutely excluded. But such a contingency is not lightly contemplated. On the contrary, "the members generally," as Mr. Allan expressed himself before the Royal Commission (Question 827), "are decidedly opposed to strikes, and the fact of our having a large accumulated fund tends to encourage that feeling amongst them. They wish to conserve what they have got; as I have heard it put here, the



man who has not got a shilling in his pocket has not much to be afraid of, but with a large fund, such as we possess, we are led to be exceedingly careful not to expend it wastefully; and we believe that all strikes are a complete waste of money, not only in relation to the workmen, but also to the employers." On the other hand, the contest of 1852 taught the employers that it is possible to conquer, but not to annihilate, a trades-union. They felt the cost even of victory; and success has become much more doubtful with the increasing size of the society. "It would be folly," said Mr. C. F. Beyer of the Gorton Foundry in Manchester, before the Royal Commission (Question 18,865), "for a single establishment to fight the club." And another employer (Questions 19,067-19,071) declares it to be impossible for even a union of employers to resist successfully for any length of time the union of the workmen. The nature of the case renders the permanent success of a union of employers almost impossible. The normal and natural relations between them are those of rivalry and competition, and it is against their nature to fight in concert. The longer the struggle lasts, the greater will be the temptation of the single employer to make his own fortune by deserting his class and concluding a separate peace. And experience shows that the employers are far less proof against this temptation than the workmen. Accordingly, while the society, on the one hand, guards itself against making thoughtless demands, the employers, on the other hand, no longer delay to fulfil its reasonable wishes.

The manner in which the society since 1852 has put forward its demands is by means of deputations to the employers. Three or more of the workmen from the firm, often accompanied by members of the Executive Council or special delegates, represent their grievances to the employer. The matter is then talked over; and generally the workmen receive what they ask, or a compromise is effected. The Executive Council has prevented numberless strikes in this manner. Thus in the year 1865 it obtained a formal recognition of the society's rules about the "piece-master system" at Boston; the same thing happened at Oldham with Mr. Platt in 1865. If the deputation fails to accomplish its object, no further step can be taken till the decision of the Executive Council has been obtained. A branch which sets up a strike for itself is severely reprimanded, and receives no assistance from the funds of the society. Nevertheless there have been since 1852 several independent strikes of single branches. Unlike other

trades-unions, however, in similar circumstances, the society has not been drawn into the dispute. In other unions, when all the employers of a district have been induced by the strike of the workmen of one firm to close their manufactories, from that moment the struggle of the branch, though commenced in defiance of the rules, has become legal in the eyes of the trades-union, and the men on strike have received its support. This happened in the strike of the Stonemasons in 1859, and in that of the Puddlers in 1865. It is clear that the system of negotiation by deputations paved the way for the chambers of labour which were inaugurated and made permanent by Mr. Mundella. As early as the contest of 1852, the society repeatedly declared itself ready to accept arbitration. It energetically supported the attempts of Parliament in 1856 and 1860 to constitute courts of arbitration; and it welcomed with joy the success of Mr. Mundella's scheme.

The few instances in which the society, since 1852, has had to fight out purely local disputes, are as follows. In the year 1855 there was a dispute with the firm of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts at Manchester. A newly-entered overseer had dismissed a number of skilled workmen and taken apprentices in their place. The society sought to obtain the re-engagement of those workmen. As however the firm refused this, and the society was not able to enforce its demands, the affair ended by the workmen obtaining employment elsewhere. In 1864 a strike on a small scale occurred at Belfast on account of piecework. Through the mediation of the Executive Council this was soon terminated in favour of the workmen. Similar disputes took place at Keighley, Sidney, Blackburn, and Manchester, most of them in consequence of the mode of payment for piecework and the disproportionate employment of boys. Some disputes occurred at Hull, Huddersfield, and Preston, on the question of an increase of wages; but these took place without the knowledge of the Executive Council. None of these disputes, however, were of importance. All were soon ended either in accordance with the wishes of the workmen or by a compromise. Once the society was drawn into a dispute which was not directly its own. In 1866 the ship-joiners on the Clyde demanded a reduction of the hours of labour from sixty to fifty-seven hours a week; the employers in consequence locked out all their workmen and many members of the Amalgamated Society were thrown out of employment. The matter was however accommodated after a month on conditions nearly

the same as those proposed by the Amalgamated Society. Another trifling dispute with the employers gave the society an opportunity of acting like the unions in their first phase, in defence of the law. According to an existing law, the engineers who have the care of steam-engines used in the whale-fishery must be furnished with testimonials to their competence. In 1864 the shipowners in Dundee, on representing that no such trained workmen existed, obtained an exemption from the Board of Trade. The representation, however, was contrary to fact; for there were eighteen legally qualified machinists in Dundee. The Executive Council thereupon sent to the Board of Trade proof of the worthlessness of the shipowners' statement, and reminded the President that he had exceeded his powers in suspending the operation of a law.

These disputes show that the trade policy of the society since 1852 is identical with that pursued before the amalgamation. It avoids direct interference in the matter of wages, both as regards individual members and the community at large. The rate of each man's wages is left entirely to contract between the employer and employed. Afterwards, if the member apprehends that he does not receive the wages he deserves, he can lay his grievances before the branch. If the branch finds them just, and the member is still refused his demand for higher wages by the employer, then he receives the donation benefit. If, however, the branch finds that his pay is proportionate to his merit, his grievance is not entertained, and he receives no donation if he leaves off work. On the other hand, the society admits no member who does not earn the average wages prevailing in his district, or excludes him if he has been admitted. The lists of the members excluded, which are annexed to the annual reports of the society, invariably show several cases of expulsion "for not receiving the ordinary rate of wages."

Similarly, in the regulation of wages in common the society has never directly interfered since 1852. The strikes for higher wages have all been the work of branches, without the knowledge of the Executive Council. It is a remarkable fact that the wages of the members in and around London, for the space of ten or twelve years, fluctuated very little, if at all. And this goes to prove that the principal aim of the society is not to enforce the maximum of wages attainable; for in that case it would have availed itself of every improvement in the state of trade to raise the scale. Its object is rather to make the life of the work-

man even, regular, and secure; and, as the engineers earn sufficient wages for the ordinary wants of life, the society aims chiefly at shortening the hours of labour and introducing regularity in business. This is most clearly shown in the lock-out on the Clyde in 1866. The society negotiated then for a shortening of the time of work; and the Executive Council recommended the men on strike to be content with a reduction of wages for a corresponding decrease of working hours. Upon this basis a reconciliation between the contending parties was effected.

The principal means by which the society endeavours to promote regularity of employment are resistance to overtime, and the limitation of the piecework system, and of the employment of a disproportionate number of boys. Where piecework exists the society raises no objection; but it strongly opposes its introduction elsewhere. Against the piece-master system, however, it everywhere contends, unless the profits are shared with the workmen. The piece-master is a workman who undertakes by contract a certain piece of work, as the construction of a locomotive, either working in person, or merely superintending and employing other workmen at weekly wages. These are urged as much as possible, since the more work is squeezed out of them during the week the smaller portion for weekly wages will have to be deducted from the sum to be received by the piece-master for the whole piece of work, and the larger his remaining profits. For the same reason he employs as many cheap boys as possible in preference to full-paid adults. The society thinks it wrong "for one or two men out of a dozen to drive their fellows like slaves, always with them, always driving them, in order to reap the sole advantage of the extra labour of others for themselves." It demands therefore that the piece-master shall divide the surplus of the contract-money for the whole work, over and above the sum-total received for weekly wages, with all the workmen employed on the work, whether apprentices, non-unionists, or members, and that each man's share shall be in proportion to his wages. A higher rate of wages is to be reckoned to the piece-master; and he is to receive from five to ten per cent. of the surplus, previous to any deductions, for his superintendence. From the years 1858 and 1859, perpetual complaints were made of the abuse of the piece-master system. But the Council, instead of sanctioning active proceedings, ordered its statistical inquiry into the whole conditions of work in the trade; one of the results of which was that the piece-master system, without a share of the

profits, was shown to exist only in very few places. The Executive Council confined itself accordingly to adopting two resolutions for the division of the profits among all the workmen at one piece, whether apprentices, non-unionists, or members. Members refusing to divide the profits, or submitting contentedly to the refusal, were for the first offense to be fined 10s.; for the second, 20s.; and to be punished for the third by expulsion. By order of the assembly of delegates in 1864 these resolutions are read out to every member on his entering the society. As regards the employment of children, the society had to display an extraordinary activity. The practice of employing children of six years of age in the workshops began to spread rapidly in the trade. The Executive Council, in 1866, set on foot an inquiry to ascertain how far this practice had spread. The next year a Bill for the Extension of the Factory Acts was brought into Parliament; and, in opposition to the endeavour of certain workmen to induce the Home Secretary not to extend the provisions to the Machine trade, the society sent deputations to members of the Government and of Parliament, and by a statement of the facts secured the adoption of the Bill as it was originally framed.

4. Besides the defensive measures which have been discussed, the society displays a remedial activity in numerous acts of assistance. These are of two kinds, one kind more germane to a trades-union, the other to an insurance company.

The first and principal form of assistance is the donation in case of want of work. Since 1852 this has been 10s. a week for fourteen weeks, for the next ten weeks 7s., and for the next ten 6s. The society thus protecting its members against poverty caused by fluctuations in productive industry does the work of an insurance company. But it is not satisfied with keeping unemployed members from starvation. The drain upon its funds thus caused forces it to endeavour to procure work for its members. Even before amalgamation it made arrangements to this effect, and these arrangements are now systematically developed. Every branch has vacant-books in which all members out of work must enter their names. In Manchester and Glasgow, where the members are very numerous, there are proper offices with clerks for that purpose. It frequently happens that employers who want men send for them to these registry-offices. Where this is not the case, a workman from each workshop reports every vacancy, for which the office sends a candidate. Work is sometimes thus procured for non-unionists, but only when

no member is out of work. A member who wishes to procure a place for a non-unionist must first obtain the sanction of the president and secretary of the branch. But if a member is himself in receipt of relief, and helps a non-unionist to a place, all payment to him is stopped for three months. A further provision on behalf of the labour-market is exhibited in the monthly reports of the branch secretaries on the state of work in their districts. These are printed as they come in; and the members then out of work are transferred, at the expense of the society, from places where trade is bad to others where it is good. In addition to this, members on tramp in quest of employment receive assistance for travelling. At some branches beds are supplied to them. In this manner the trades-unions perform a work which would otherwise be incumbent, in their own interest, on the employers, and towards which, in the time of the guilds, they contributed, namely, the constant and prompt relief of the labour-market. The trades-unions have, however, achieved this result, that the freedom of locomotion in England is a reality. They were the first to introduce a prompt supply of labour from places where there was no demand for it to others where there was. In theory the full freedom of changing residence, ought, as a matter of course, to produce this effect; but in practice it never does. The trades-unions also alone have set the example of a serious endeavour to balance, in different places, the rate of wages and the hours of work. In theory this also should take place spontaneously; but in practice such an equilibrium does not exist, as is shown by the statements of the officers of the society (see Q. 655-671 in the report of the Royal Commissioners), and by the statistics of wages.

The society in thus distributing the force of labour over the whole country, and regulating the supply in the different markets, and in the entire trade, discharges the office of a trades-union. But it does so still more in supporting the men who leave their work in order to resist aggressions on the part of the employer, or to secure more favourable conditions of employment. This is what is popularly supposed to be the whole duty of a trades-union. So far, however, from its engrossing the energies of the society, whole years have passed since 1852 during which no contest has arisen. Only 10 per cent. of the sum spent since the lock-out in 1852 upon the support of the unemployed has been applied to the relief of those who had lost work in consequence of disputes with their employers. And this percentage was only paid in part from the regular contribu-

tions of the members, the smaller part coming from the Trade-protection Fund, now called the Contingent Fund. It has already been seen how the amalgamation brought about a new arrangement of this fund. When members became entangled in a contest with their employers, in which principles affecting the whole trade were in question, they were to receive 15s. a week instead of the ordinary allowance of 10s. The additional 5s. was to be taken from a special trade-protection fund. When the delegate meeting in 1852 rescinded paragraphs 22 and 23 of the rules, this fund was abolished; but it was re-established in 1855 by means of levies, upon the representation of several branches and by a general vote; and in 1856 it was determined that a yearly quota of the society's revenue should be applied towards its maintenance. Several branches nevertheless, as well as the Executive Council, took an unfavourable view of the fund; and as often as it has been exhausted a dispute has arisen regarding its renewal. The delegate meeting in 1857 did not abolish it again, but resolved that it should be renewed at all times by extraordinary levies, and that the money collected by the regular contributions of the members should never be employed for its formation. They thought that, if the members had to replenish it by direct contributions, they would not easily re-establish it except on occasions of real importance, and that the check thus given to any needless demand for such a fund would not prevent its formation in times of absolute necessity. When the fund was again exhausted in 1858, and again in 1862, the feeling against its renewal was so strong that the Executive Council, in spite of repeated solicitations, refused to submit the question of its re-establishment to the society. In 1866, however, it was renewed. As a rule, it is renewed whenever contests either have happened or are imminent, and when the minds of the members are in consequence excited. In a normal state of affairs their disposition is decidedly opposed to it.

The sums spent from the 1st of January 1851 to the 31st of December 1868 upon the support of men out of work amount to £425,844, or £1, 2s. 3½d. per member annually. Deducting from this £40,000 spent in the lock-out of 1852, there remained, according to the statement of the general secretary, in which on an average ten per cent. annually is reckoned for the support of members engaged in contests; a total of £347,260 applied from 1851 to 1868 to the relief of men out of work from the normal conditions of trade.

A union for regulating trade must relieve its members; and it would be perfectly natural if it assisted them in emigrating. When the amalgamation took place some resolutions were passed to that effect. Their application was limited by the delegate meeting in 1854 to those periods when the revenue amounted to £4 a head, which sum was reduced in 1857 to £3. The assistance was not to be for individual and independent emigration, but for such emigration as was for the interest of the society. "So long as trade is comparatively good at home, and the number out of employment not greater than may reasonably expect to obtain employment within a short time, the society has no need of emigration; and it is only when there are a great number out of employment, and when in all probability every man who is out is likely to absorb more of the society's funds in donation-benefit than the amount allowed for emigration amounts to, that the society will be benefited. As an acknowledgment of this principle, and as a means of protecting the society's funds, emigration relief will not be granted until there are 7½ per cent. of the whole of the members out of employment. When that time arrives, it may be said that there is a sufficient surplus in the market to justify the society in expending a portion of its funds in removing it, and so endeavouring to amend the general condition of trade." The society has never yet been in a position to grant assistance in accordance with this rule. In the budget of other trades-unions, however, it forms a regular item of expenditure.

In its other forms of relief, the Amalgamated Society exhibits the character of an insurance company. Such are the allowances for sickness, which amount to 10s. a week for twenty-six weeks, and 5s. a week for the rest of the illness. During the eighteen years between 1851 and 1868 inclusive, this relief amounted to £161,388. The Poor-law guardians thoroughly appreciate the alleviation thus given to the ratepayers, as has been shown by their attempts to claim the society's allowance for insane members, who are however excluded from the receipt of aid. But such a permanent incapacity as blindness or paralysis entitles the member to a donation of £100. The grant is made by the Executive Council upon medical certificate, and upon the motion of the branch to which the member belongs. Such relief has amounted to £16,000 in the eighteen years. The allowances for old age are given to all members who are fifty years old, and incapacitated by age, and who have been members uninterruptedly for eighteen years. If these conditions are complied with, the man re-

ceives 7s. a week as long as he lives. Should he have been a member for twenty-five years in succession when he first made his claim, he receives 8s. a week; if for thirty years, 9s. According to the monthly reports for the year 1869, the society numbered 167 members of this last class of recipients, 97 of the second, and 117 of the first, in all 381, in an aggregate of 33,915 members. The total amount of this relief granted during the eighteen years was £45,272. There is also a burial allowance. On the death of a member whose arrears do not amount to more than 16s., the treasurer pays £12 to his widow, or administrator, or next of kin. Any arrears are deducted. On the death of his wife a member receives £5; and in that case only £7 remains for his own burial. The total amount of burial allowances granted by the society during the eighteen years was £50,250. Finally, there is a form of relief, resolved upon at the delegate meeting in 1852, which again assimilates the society to an insurance company, viz., compensation for the loss of members' tools by fire. The loss must first be proved to the satisfaction of the branch-committee. This relief is never to exceed £5, and is raised by a levy.

In addition to these regular forms of relief, the society makes extra grants from what is called the benefit fund, which has existed since 1854, and is raised from time to time by means of levies, for members who are in circumstances of special distress, such as sickness or want of work, and at the same time have a numerous family to maintain. During the cotton-famine in Lancashire, from 1862 to 1864, the society expended from this fund alone £3000 upon its members in the cotton districts. The total sum spent in this manner during the fourteen years from 1854 to 1868 amounted to £12,526.

A further extraordinary relief is often granted to members who are prosecuted by their employers, or are themselves obliged to prosecute to enforce their rights, as, *e.g.*, the fulfilment of a contract, or such a claim as arose in 1854, when the widow of a member killed by the bursting of a damaged boiler sued the railway company, which was constantly using defective machinery. The Executive Council always, of course, examines beforehand the legal merits of the case. Without this assistance it would be scarcely possible for a workman, considering the enormous cost of litigation in England, ever to go to law. The funds for this purpose are invariably raised by special contributions.

Besides relief to its own members, the society also assists other trades in their con-

tests with their employers. The fund for this purpose is raised by levies. Thus in 1859-60 the society granted £3100, after a preliminary general vote, to the London builders, who were then engaged in a contest of great importance to working men in general. In 1864 the society gave £1120 to the locked-out at Preston, and in 1866 £1000 to the locked-out file-cutters at Sheffield. The sum-total of relief granted to other trades during fifteen years amounted to £10,375. A liberality on so large a scale served, of course, materially to raise the influence of the society among the working classes. The entire aggregate of relief granted by the society from 1851 to 1868 amounted to £721,655.

5. The sources from which this relief flows are the regular contributions and the extraordinary levies on the members. From the annual surplus of these revenues over the expenditure the society at the end of 1866 had amassed a capital amounting to £138,113. At the close of 1868, however, it had decreased to £98,699, in consequence of the great want of work which had prevailed since 1866.

Before the amalgamation a chief question with the society was the investment of its capital. After 1851 a solution was sought in the direction of the co-operative movement. The contest of 1852 materially assisted this movement. The society had already thought of forming a productive association in Liverpool; and individual members had actually formed such associations. But when defeat came in April, when the accumulated capital had disappeared in a few weeks, and neither large contributions from other trades nor loans of money had availed to save the society from ignominious terms of capitulation, the conviction became general that, in place of the violent but fruitless means heretofore adopted to improve the position of the working man, deeper and more systematic remedies would have to be applied. The Executive Council in its publications, and the individual members in their declarations, were unanimous in this opinion; and an agitation arose in favour of productive associations. This led to a commission, directly issued to the Executive Council by the delegate meeting in 1852, to make proposals for the establishment of such associations in connection with the society. But before the money was applied to carrying out these proposals the votes of the members were to be taken. The matter did not come to a practical issue till 1854. In that year the delegate meeting at Leeds offered a prize for the best essay on the outlay of the funds of trades' unions,

which was won by Mr. Edward Vansittart Neale. His scheme was to erect a manufactory of machines. The question accordingly was submitted to the votes of the members, whether £5000 should be devoted to the erection of workshops to find employment for members of the society. But the matter had dragged over too long a time; and the interest once taken in it had subsided. Of course the proposal obtained a majority of votes. But the voters were few. There were 2939 ayes to 1716 noes, giving a majority of 1223. The minority, however, remonstrated against carrying into execution a vote in which so few had participated, and against which there existed an opposition proportionately so strong. In the delegate meeting of 1857 again the majority was for the proposal; but they did not wish "to enforce their opinion, because they thought that to introduce a principle, which required great unanimity and good feeling to carry out, into a society among the members of which there existed great difference of opinion, was not the way to insure its success." The members, on the other hand, were recommended to make attempts towards the establishment of productive associations independently of the society. No further efforts have to our knowledge been made since. The associations which had been formed during the contest in 1852 all degenerated. The principle of association was abandoned; and they became for the most part ordinary manufactories. At present, we believe, only one of them survives.

And indeed there are strong reasons why such alliances of productive associations with trades-unions must always be unsuccessful. In the first place, though it has often been considered possible, it is in reality impossible, that a co-operative factory should subsist under the condition of affording immediate employment to members out of work. Such experiments may have met with a temporary success; but this was always in trades where, as in the case of the cork-cutters in London, no outlay of capital was necessary beyond the material to work upon and such tools as the workmen generally possessed, and where the members had to incur no expenditure for machinery or costly buildings, but only to provide a roof over their heads. In all factories requiring a large investment of capital such instant employment would be impossible. The natural result would be that to-day a large number of workmen would be employed, to-morrow a few; to-day this workman, to-morrow that; to-day much work would be done, to-morrow little or none. With such a system, the most flourishing times of trade, when orders are abundant

and all workmen employed, would be the most disastrous for the society's factory, which would lose the whole interest of its capital by having to stop at a time when business was brisk. It is impossible, moreover, that a machine factory should arrange its business according to the number of unemployed workmen; it must enlarge or curtail it according to the demand for machines. Finally, the longer the same workmen remain the better it is for the factory. A profitable undertaking therefore would be impossible under this system.

The only alternative is that the trades-union should hire men like any other employer, without regard to the numbers of the unemployed. But here fresh difficulties arise. The chief object of trades-unions is to regulate trade and the conditions of labour. They aim at a certain amount of wages; they determine the number of working hours, and impose other restrictions for the protection of the workman against the employer; and the members are very zealous for the observance of these regulations. Moreover, the trades-union embraces the whole trade, excluding none but incompetent workmen. Still, though all the members were to bring to the success of an enterprise the necessary skill, yet the indispensable requisite for the prosperity of a productive association is a quality not characteristic of large masses, but only of the select few. This requisite is self-denial on the part of the workmen. It would often be necessary to work for small wages, frequently even gratis; now on this kind of work, now on that; often for many hours, and often overtime. But all these conditions are diametrically opposed to the line of trades-unions. The necessary sacrifices would be made by very few members. But suppose, further, that the better men amongst the unionists were prepared for such sacrifices, still they would only be forthcoming where the entire profits of this extraordinary industry were their own. But the relation of the trades-union to the workman in its factory would be either that of a stock-jobbing company, which would give the workmen no share of the profits, or else that of employers in an industrial partnership. In the first case, the undertaking would assuredly fail; in the second, the trades-union would stultify its own fundamental principle—that the benefit of the advantages it confers, and its whole practical usefulness, should extend to all the members. Further, since all the workmen in the trade, and consequently non-unionists also, enjoy the advantages of the union, it proceeds on the idea of the activity of the few for the benefit of all; but in the industrial

partnership supported by the whole union, the sacrifices of all would be required for the benefit of the few, and just cause would be given for jealousy. Lastly, in those instances already mentioned in which members of the Amalgamated Society established productive associations, a spirit of independence was manifested, and the tendency was to uphold the claims of the workmen against the manager as jealously as those of the unionists had been upheld against their employers, and far too obstinately to allow of the necessary subordination to superiors self-chosen and dependent on the workmen themselves. There was only one exception to this rule. There however the superiors understood so well how to assert their authority that they converted the factory into a private undertaking of their own.

But if these difficulties could be surmounted, still the investment of the capital of a trades-union in manufacturing associations would be impossible. The money must be so invested that it can be realized at any moment. The only way, therefore, in which trades-unions can support such associations is by depositing their funds in co-operative banks.

After the idea of investment in productive associations was abandoned, it was proposed to invest in land or buildings. But the opinions of the Attorney-General and another lawyer convinced the society of the legal impossibility of this plan. The capital therefore remained unprofitable till 1864, when the Executive Council deputed their president and the general secretary to wait on Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to obtain his permission to deposit their money in the Post-Office Savings Banks. The society thus acquired, not for itself alone, but for the whole of the trades-unions, the privilege of lodging their monies to an unlimited amount in these savings-banks.

They did not, however, long enjoy this privilege undisturbed. In 1854-5 a Special Committee of the House of Commons had been appointed to inquire into the laws respecting Friendly Societies; and Lord Gode- rich had then suggested to the Executive Council that it would be opportune to obtain protection for their funds, which were unprotected against embezzlement and theft. A conference of all the trades-unions of London was therefore held. Deputations were sent to Members of Parliament; and in the Friendly Societies Bill of 1855 a clause, drawn up with the assistance of members of the Amalgamated Society, was inserted, which gave non-registered societies the same legal protection for their funds as registered Friendly Societies. As this clause had been

inserted at the instance and with the co-operation of the trades-unions themselves, and with the distinct intention of granting legal protection to their funds, they considered themselves perfectly secure. But after twelve years, on the 15th of January 1867, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn declared that trades-unions were societies which restrained industry, and were therefore legally incapable of possessing property. Thus all theft and embezzlement of their funds by their officers were exempt from punishment; and the Government had a right, without further ado, to confiscate the whole of their monies invested in the Post-Office Savings Banks. At this news a chorus of indignation arose from the working classes. They believed themselves duped by former Governments. Having full faith in the protection conceded to them, the societies had expunged from their rules a number of restrictive and precautionary provisions for the control of their officers. They now found themselves defenceless. The Amalgamated Society, which had invested more than £40,000 in the Post-Office Savings Banks, summoned a large assembly of the trades-unions of London on the 21st of February 1867, when nearly 4000 members were present. A deputation, headed by the general secretary of the Engineers, went to Mr. Gladstone, who expressed his astonishment at the judicial decision, and promised his co-operation for the removal of the wrong. It was redressed by the Statute 31 and 32 Vict. cap. 116 (31 July 1868); and since that time the funds of trades-unions have enjoyed protection and security like any other kind of property.

6. The internal activity of the society since 1852 having now been described, it only remains to mention three traits of its external aspect, in order to complete the picture.

It may be mentioned, first, that in 1862 the society joined the London Trades' Council, which was formed in that year, and usually furnishes its president. The council is not a confederacy of the various trades-unions, but rather a committee of them, which watches all the transactions and Bills in Parliament which concern them, and examines into the rights of unionists engaged in disputes, who demand aid from other societies. Its efforts are therefore confined to the external attitude of the body. It has no voice in the domestic affairs of individual unions; and the resolutions which it passes within the limits of its sphere of action have no binding authority over those unions separately. Soon after the formation of the London Trades' Council, the International

Workmen's Association was founded, and the Society declined an invitation to join it or to send representatives to the Congress. Few, if any, of the English trades-unions, as such, belong to the International Association, though individual members are not forbidden to join it in their private capacity.

Secondly may be noticed the openness which characterizes the dealings and attitude of the society. Far from shunning publicity, it affords the public every opportunity of becoming acquainted with its working. All its different publications, the monthly, quarterly, and yearly reports, all circulars and summonses distributed to the members, are regularly forwarded to the newspapers for insertion. Besides this, it takes every opportunity of arguing its case before the world. Thus in 1854 it sent a deputation to a conference on the relations of capital and labour, appointed by the Society of Arts. After the annual congresses of social science had commenced in 1857, the Executive Council in 1859 resolved to send a delegate, that no misrepresentation of their society, or of other trades-unions, might remain unanswered. At the congress in 1861 their member, Mr. Newton, explained the development and working of the society; and he had already, in 1859, delivered a speech at Edinburgh, refuting an attack made by Mr. Adam Black on the society and on trades-unions in general.

The third point is the attitude of the society in matters which concern the mass of the working classes. The course of this inquiry has already shown it at the front in all those industrial questions which are common to trades-unions; in these questions it has often taken the lead at no small sacrifice to itself. On the other hand, it took little part in the agitation for Parliamentary Reform. The resolutions passed by the London Trades' Council in favour of the Reform movement were introduced, it is true, by members of the society. But these men acted solely in their private capacity; and several branches objected to the proceeding, regarding it as an abandonment of an essential principle of trades-unions, namely, non-interference in political or religious movements. A formal explanation was thereupon made by the Executive Council. "At the same time," the Council continues after this explanation, "we consider the Society should not allow either political or religious questions to be introduced or discussed at any of its meetings."\* And it is the same with the large majority of the trades-unions.

The history of the Amalgamated Engineers derives its importance not so much from its exhibiting the working of a given society as from the insight it affords into the normal development of the modern trades-unions, of which that society is the aptest type. It is therefore relevant to observe, in conclusion, that the changes which have been made, or are proposed to be made, in the law affecting trades-unions, since the Report of the Royal Commission, are all in the direction of increased freedom of association. The Bill brought into Parliament this year by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Mundella was based on three principles:—1. The perfect freedom of work and of employment upon such terms as the individual workman or employer may choose to accept; 2. The protection of the property of all associations for purposes not criminal; 3. The abolition of special tribunals to try special trade offences, and the trial of all such offences by the law and law-courts common to all subjects. This Bill became law in the present year; and thus, after a struggle of nearly a century, the trades-unions obtained a legal recognition. The three stages through which their history has led them are similar to those which in former times the Frith-guilds and independent Craft-guilds experienced. These earlier associations were at first entirely forbidden; then they existed on legal sufferance; and finally they were recognised by the Legislature, and became in due time links in the organization of the State, as legal combinations for the objects they had in view. The next step in the progress of their modern representatives will be the legal establishment of Mr. Mundella's "Chambers of Labour," with the trades-unions to represent the workmen. In this way there will be a return to fixity of conditions in the sale of labour between employers and employed, such as existed before the degeneration of the Craft-guilds, and, with that, a return to a well-regulated state of industry in general.

---

#### ART. IV.—PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND METAPHYSICS.

THE three words, philosophy, psychology, and metaphysics, are words so frequently confounded, they are words of such comprehensive signification, and, lastly, they are words the use of which is so absolutely unavoidable by all deep thinkers—even those who most dislike the subjects which they represent—that it is worth while to attempt

\* *Abstract Report of the Council's Proceedings.* 1868, p. 13.



accurately to distinguish and define their meaning. I believe that they are all necessary words, and of perfectly distinguishable meaning; and I shall accordingly attempt to define each of them in turn.

I. In the times when the word Philosophy was first invented, there could have been no question with any intelligent man as to its true meaning, nor any need for a definition or explanation of it. As the love of wisdom, it stood to signify the whole sum of those efforts by which men get to know what is truest, highest, most important for their welfare. Nothing was excluded from it; nothing lay outside its circumference. It was the attempt to comprise in one view all those relations the knowledge of which is our guide to happiness. No one would then have dreamed of putting philosophy in antagonism to science, and arguing, from the splendid attainments of inquirers in certain definite lines, that the deep-rooted instinct of man to make a way for himself in the unknown, the unexperienced, the novel, the obscure, was henceforth to be quenched and die away. Such was not the temptation of a primitive age; they had too little accurate knowledge to be inclined to set up that which they had as a model to which all the future investigations of men must conform; they were not oppressed by the magnitude of their possessions; they had the freedom of all first beginnings. What they were not, we are. We have gained such wealth of knowledge that we are afraid to desert the structures that have been built for us by the energy and ability of our predecessors. Here, we think, we are secure; here let us remain. Nevertheless in this, as in all other respects, the freedom of man must be vindicated. Even in the most firmly organized societies different members are perpetually severing themselves from the parent body to become the founders and originators of a new order of things, to establish offshoots and colonies which shall be instinct with a spirit as yet unheard of; and so it is with our knowledge. Whatever the solidity of our achievements, there is a necessity for ever to refuse to be enslaved by them. To prevent our enslavement is the task of philosophy. Philosophy then is rightly opposed to science; but it is opposed to it not as if they were rival and incompatible endeavours, nor again as if they were different methods of pursuing the same object, nor again as if they were the pursuit of different branches of knowledge as astronomy and geology are different branches. It is opposed to science as the germinal impulse is opposed to the perfected fruit, as the universal energy of creation is opposed to

the particular concrete attainment. Astronomy, geology, chemistry, all the separate sciences, are the divers kind of produce which the teeming force of the human intellect has brought forth to the light of day and solidified in concrete manifestation; but the vivifying energy which created these is not confined to these, any more than the productive power of nature is limited to those plants and animals which at present exist; and the creative spirit must ever retire from the cosmos which is its accomplished work, and seek new modes of origination from the darkness from which it first issued.

Let us then consider the nature of this philosophical impulse, the different views held respecting it, its characteristics in birth and growth, its real and true aim as contrasted with that which may erroneously be assigned to it. The first idea of those who endeavour to take extensive and original views of things is to find some formula which shall be applicable to every imaginable circumstance and phenomenon. This was the aim of Thales, of Heraclitus, of Pythagoras; and these celebrated men put down water, fire, and number respectively as the ultimate foundation, as the key to the solution of all things. What notions they had about the value of their doctrines to men, of the future progress of the race in knowledge, it would be vain to inquire. They doubtless thought, as many after them have thought, that they had arrived at finality, that after them none could any more move from the centre which they had established; and thus they fell into the first great danger of philosophy. The notion that the universe contains some one secret, the discoverer of which will be the greatest of mankind, is one into which original minds are the most prone to fall. It inspires them with the most brilliant ambition, the ambition of being the king of the intellects of the world, to whom all succeeding inquirers will acknowledge that their own victories are due.

But this notion, that there is any one secret in nature, which she jealously hides from us, but which we may, if clever enough wrest from her, is the bane of philosophy. As long as it is entertained, it will be useless to try to avert the ridicule of men of the world or men of science, who will insist on putting the awkward question, whether philosophers have yet found what they are looking for. Secure in their own success, since they sought after the clearly attainable, they will plausibly argue that philosophers, in the endeavour to gain a deeper insight, have grasped at mere moonshine and shadow.

But let it once be acknowledged that there is no such single secret of nature, and philosophy is free again. Secrets enough nature has; to unfold them one after another is the highest intellectual delight; it is the very task of philosophy to feel that what has hitherto been supposed to be open and plain really conceals depths of being, to exhibit which fully is a task for long ages. But this is an infinite process; the end of it will never be reached. If we are to accept in any sense that legend of the veiled Isis, we must interpret the veil as signifying, not any mysterious self-concealment of an unknown power, but the pure open infinity which escapes our apprehension by its simple magnitude.

Nothing has so much tended in modern times to foster the idea of a single secret of nature as the great discovery of Newton. To those who during the last century saw the unfolding of the theory of gravitation, and the universality of the region over which it prevailed, it was no unnatural thought that this was that to which all future inquiry must be subservient. And yet, whether gravitation according to Newton's law be really universal or not, it is certain that even physical science has not by any means tied itself down by a rigid connection with the theory. Electricity, magnetism, the development of species, the development of language, are all subjects which, at any rate at present, lie quite outside the theory of gravitation. It therefore was very useless trouble in many of the promoters of spiritual science to endeavour to obtain some great spiritual principle which should displace Newton's theory from its imagined position of arbiter of the universe. It was more than useless; it was even injurious to them. For the great secrets of the universe are not specially disclosed to those who have an extraordinary ambition to discover them, but at the time when the minds of men are ripe for them.

When then I say that philosophy has for its aim to quit the certain, clear, and definite, and to elicit new modes of origination and discovery from the obscure and dark parts of the universe, this must not be taken to mean that philosophy has for its aim to find out the secret of the universe. Doubtless that unity of feeling and impulse, that kinship of nature, which runs—so we cannot avoid believing—through all things animate, and as some would think even through what we call the inanimate, will impress itself on the philosopher, and guide him in his research. Doubtless, too, the philosopher must aim at universality. This is an essential part of the distinction between him and

the scientific inquirer; for the scientific inquirer avowedly takes only a portion of the field of knowledge as his own. But there is the widest difference between the idea that nature has one ultimate secret, and this impulse after universality. The latter does not presuppose finality; the former does.

To proceed. It is an error to suppose that philosophy is connected in a special manner with the science of mind. It is an error, too, purely of recent times; no ancient philosopher conceived in this way of philosophy. Thales and Heraclitus, Plato and Aristotle, all regarded the physical universe as material for the most widely speculative intellect. It is true that the way in which these four thinkers respectively regarded physical research was very different. To Thales and Heraclitus, the difference between mental and physical inquiry had not yet suggested itself; nor indeed did they contemplate any division of the field of knowledge into separate branches. When Heraclitus declared that fire was the essence of the universe, and that all things are in a state of flux, he did not regard himself as a physical inquirer, or as a mental inquirer, but as an inquirer simply. In Plato's time physical science was beginning to develop itself as a separate study; and, as we see in the *Phædo*, he rejected it. But it is to be observed why he rejected it. He did not, like many modern writers, allow the excellence of physical science, and then set it aside by side with philosophy, as separate subjects; in which case he would certainly have limited the area of philosophy to mental science. But he rejected the physical science of his day precisely because it was erecting itself as a separate subject, because it did not submit itself to that deeper philosophy which he sought to promote. So far was he from excluding the physical universe from his thought, that in the *Timæus* he made an elaborate theory of it. He did indeed err in this rejection; for none without deliberately shutting his eyes can deny the splendid success of physical science as a separate subject. But his error was the error of a noble mind. He had an intellect that imperatively demanded unity. He could not endure schism either in the universe, or in state polity, or in the thought of man. And it is evident that when physical science or any other pursuit separates itself from the central aim of man's nature, a schism is, to a certain extent, produced in that nature. It required more experience than Plato perhaps could have possessed to discern that such a schism is only superficial, that knowledge is advanced by men's devoting themselves to

the separate branches of it respectively, and that such a separation of pursuits does not imply that each inquirer is cut off from the central root, the unity of the whole, which is on the contrary that which supplies to all inquirers their life and energy. Aristotle was the first to teach the separation of the sciences; and this was one of the greatest steps ever taken in the development of knowledge. But Aristotle was very far from thinking that knowledge was entirely multiform, and that philosophy had to do with one branch of it, and not with another. He was as well aware as Plato that all knowledge was a single realm, though he had not the enthusiastic eagerness of Plato to contemplate this whole realm at once.

It is clear then that in the primitive original idea of philosophy, investigation into the physical universe formed a part of it. It is, however, a different and much harder task to show that this is still a part of philosophy—that the physical sciences are not independent, isolated systems, but that they have their root in the philosophical impulse, and that it is by this impulse that they become connected and receive development. And to show the full relations of physical science with philosophy, it is necessary to have recourse to wider principles than physical science can supply.

All true philosophy seeks, as has been said, to be universal, and to contemplate the universe as a whole possessed of an intrinsic unity. Hence all true philosophy must assume that the dualism of mind and matter (the broadest division of things with which we are acquainted) is only an apparent dualism, and that beneath it lies a more comprehensive unity. Every true philosopher is penetrated by the sense of this unity, and seeks as far as possible to exhibit it. No philosopher has yet exhibited it fully; and the full exhibition of it is more likely to come about by the gradual development of thought than by any sudden discovery. But there are two ways in which a philosopher may attempt, as far as he is able, to exhibit the unity of matter and mind, or, to use a better term, spirit. He may set down matter as ultimate, and make spirit a function of matter; or he may set down spirit as ultimate, and make matter a function of spirit. The former is, in one respect, the most obvious, and at present certainly the most workable method. For the material universe is given to our eyesight as a whole; all its parts are continuous; whereas the spiritual world appears to consist of a number of isolated, independent beings, and it is very difficult to conceive of it otherwise. It is then much easier, in our investigations,

to consider spirit as a function of matter, than to consider matter as a function of spirit. Nevertheless, few who reflect on the question are able to resist the conclusion that the universe is, fundamentally, spiritual. If we analyse what we mean by matter, we find that each of its elements taken separately—such as colour, smell, taste, even size and shape—is capable of being considered a function of mind. The percipient is as necessary to the existence of these elements as is the thing perceived. If there were no eyes in the world, there might be the vibration of an undulatory ether, but there would not be colour in our sense of the word colour. It used to be thought that shape and size were absolute qualities of matter; but the eminent English psychologists have shown that without the energy of the percipient these qualities also would fade away into unmeaningness. Hence it is that there is no quality of matter which is incapable of being exhibited as a function of the percipient mind. But, on the other hand, there are spiritual qualities incapable of being exhibited as functions of matter. Our passions and emotions are purely spiritual. Take anger or fear, for example. The signs of anger or fear, the redness or paleness, may indeed be exhibited on the face of a man; but the signs are no more to be identified with the emotion itself of anger or fear than are the letters of the words anger or fear printed on this paper. These considerations appear to prove that if we could contemplate the universe as a single whole the fundamental character of it would be seen to be spiritual.

If this be true, then it must be the effort of the philosopher to subordinate the material to the spiritual, to assign to every external law a meaning derived from the internal, to show that gravitation, electricity, the cohesion of granite, the fluidity of waters, have in them that which is not without kinship to the impulses of man. But this is a hard task; nor, in saying that it must be the effort of the philosopher, is it implied that it must be his total effort. For the search after knowledge has, as was implied in what was said about Plato, a double character. Partly we have to throw ourselves freely over the wide realms of nature, and gather in the diversity of objects which she presents to us; partly we have to discern the unity of character and principle prevailing among the diversity of objects. The philosopher must not, while pursuing the latter aim, neglect the former; or his philosophy will wither up for want of sustenance. He, above all other inquirers, must desire to be catholic, universal, uniform; but there are

schisms in our knowledge which he must tolerate, to which he must at present submit himself.

Those philosophers who endeavour to bring to its completion this great tendency of philosophy, to exhibit the spiritual unity of the world as dominating over and comprising all other laws, are called metaphysicians. Of their methods more will be said presently. Here it will be sufficient to remark, that their end, though one that all men must hope for and believe in, is yet not one immediately practical and visible. Time will, as I believe, work on their side; the material will be gradually penetrated and transformed by the spiritual. But we must beware of thinking that metaphysics is the only philosophy, or that the physical sciences will remain in their isolated, schismatic state until that final culminating moment when they shall be shown to be subordinate to the spiritual unity.

On the contrary, philosophy is even now, and has ever been, at work among the sciences. A vast and gradual influence tends to bring these separate portions of our knowledge into connection with each other—an influence sometimes vaguer, sometimes clearer, but always rising out of vagueness into clearness, sometimes tending to attach only some two or three sciences together, sometimes applicable to the whole range of our knowledge. Thus the nebular hypothesis, if true, would connect astronomy and geology, and if carried far enough, would probably wholly unite these sciences; but it need not touch upon any science but these two, though, of course, it might do so. Thus the nebular hypothesis is a philosophical effort, though one of a limited character. Its tendency, as far as it goes, is to make our knowledge uniform; but it does not go very far in this direction. On the other hand, the theory of evolution, of the development of the heterogeneous out of the homogeneous, as given by Mr. Herbert Spencer, is a very wide philosophical effort; there is hardly any portion of our knowledge, material or spiritual, to which it is not applicable; it has a strong tendency to promote the unity of our knowledge. Not that even this, or any effort within our present capacity, attains to anything like the dimensions of a final philosophy. It is enough that the tendency exists; that all our knowledge is undergoing a perpetual remodelling, a fundamental change which is not destruction but renovation. There is not an atom of it which is not continually being set in some new point of view, wherein it is harmonized with other portions that have hitherto been supposed alien to it.

This change is the work of philosophy; and it is evident that all philosophy is not spiritual philosophy. The tendency of philosophy is spiritual; those who seek to bring all our knowledge into harmony will be compelled to have recourse to spiritual principles; but as there are purely material parts of our knowledge, so there are purely material ways of harmonizing those parts.

— Thus while philosophy has a clear and universal aim—namely to bring all knowledge, all reality, into harmony—and while philosophy, as a whole (unless the view here maintained be wrong), has a metaphysical and spiritual tendency, and the principles which will gradually shine clearer and clearer in proportion to our increased command of truth are spiritual principles, yet this latter belief is no part of the meaning of the word Philosophy, as it is a part of the meaning of the word Metaphysics; and the philosopher will not bind himself down to any spiritual principle, but will seize upon any facts, any forms of representation which appear to him able to harmonize and link together different portions of our knowledge. Thus a philosopher may know his theories to be partial, and not universal, as would be the case with those who thought of the nebular hypothesis; but he could not call himself a philosopher without a belief that his theories directly aided the establishment of a universal harmony.

Here, however, it is that philosophy touches upon science. For the essential characteristic of science is, that it submits to be partial for the sake of clearness; so that when philosophy submits to be partial, even with a view to furthering the universal harmony of knowledge, it touches the border of science. And in fact there is no clearly marked line between philosophy and science; though of some views we may say decidedly, "these are scientific," and of others, "these are philosophical." It is the first aim of the scientific inquirer, not to enlarge his range, but to be accurate and complete within his range; it is the first aim of the philosopher to embrace a large compass, so that he is compelled to submit to a want of definiteness for the sake of universality. The solid masses of knowledge, which we call the sciences, stand in a manner isolated, like the planets and stars in the heaven; and just as in the material universe there floats an ether, dividing and yet uniting the solid orbs, so those parts of our knowledge which we are entitled to consider fixed and certain are separated and at the same time united by large tracts of obscurity, enlightened by only a few elementary principles. Philosophy is bound

not to shrink from dealing with these tracts of comparative obscurity; the scientific inquirer does, with reason, pass them over: but it is not unimportant to our welfare that they should be kept before our notice. Thus all theories on the nature of things which are too large to be corroborated and verified by such observation of facts as we can command, and yet are such as within this limitation approve themselves to our reason, are essentially philosophical. Scientific men are afraid of vagueness; but it is right not to be too much afraid of vagueness, though no one should be content with resting in it. Those who refuse at the outset to take into their consideration regions that to their apprehension are dark or dimly lighted, who confine themselves to clear ideas and irrefutable logic, will never effect anything original. Few men indeed are aware how great their ignorance is; or, if they are compelled to own it in any case, their next resource is to represent the subject as inaccessible to human inquiry altogether, so that at any rate they may not be inferior to others. But the truth is, there are immense tracts, of which we are ignorant now, which are not necessarily inaccessible to human inquiry, and in which patient observation may disclose to us here one gleam, there another; and it is a most essential part of philosophy not to let us ignore these tracts. Even in such sciences as chemistry and astronomy, how much there is which must be true, which will be discovered, of which we have not the shadow of an idea now; and how much more when we come to the thoughts and faculties of men or of brutes. The obscure, inchoative character of philosophy is intimately connected with the originality and universality of it.

And if it be objected that what is here said of the obscurity of the realms of philosophy is not consistent with what was previously said of philosophy being the endeavour to harmonize all knowledge, this is by no means the case. Philosophy is not responsible for the fact of our ignorance, though it is that which convinces us of our ignorance: in obeying the purely free and unconfined impulse to know the world in which we live, we do actually find that the fields of our knowledge are but as islands in an ocean of the unknown. It is possible, in endeavouring to harmonize all reality, to ignore realities which are unknown or half known, as if they were non-existent? It is impossible; and therefore philosophy, in the endeavour to be universal, must of necessity linger among the obscure.

Yet philosophy is not alien from science,

and if we like, we may consider science simply as philosophy contracting itself for the moment and bringing itself to a focus. For philosophy is nothing more than thought, the thought of the successive generations of men; and though thought is infinite in its capacity, it can narrow itself to grasp the finite. And when we come to the great generalizations of science, the highest successful achievements of the human intellect, we feel it not unnatural to call the authors of them philosophers. We call Newton a philosopher. And again, if we look at these great generalizations, it is observable that they were, for the most part, distinctly reached by the way of philosophy; that is, they occurred not to men whose minds were bent on the clear and comprehensible, but to men whose minds roamed over the spaces of the unknown. The theory that the earth goes round the sun was thought of centuries before Copernicus; and even Copernicus did not prove it; so gradually did it emerge out of the category of the fantastic into the category of the demonstrated. Kepler's laws were not certainly thought of before Kepler; but if Kepler had not possessed an immense imaginative power such as on other occasions displayed itself in hypotheses seemingly the most eccentric, all the clear thinking in the world would never have discovered what he discovered. Gravitation was thought of before Newton; the atomic theory, in quite ancient times; the development of species is even yet rather a hypothesis believed from its adaptation to our reason, than a theorem proved on the evidence of facts.

One of the best instances of the aid which even a partly erroneous philosophical theory may lend to the formation of clear science is afforded by the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. And this is especially noticeable; for the Ptolemaic system grounded itself on observation more than most scientific systems do; so that if we can see the remodelling impulse, the element native to thought, working in this system, it will be plain how greatly it must prevail through all science. Now the theory of epicycles and eccentrics, on which the whole Ptolemaic system was based, and without which it would have been impossible to register and preserve those observations which were the indispensable preliminaries of the Copernican system, was essentially philosophical. It sprang up in the Platonic school; it was adopted by Aristotle. It was a theory that, rough as it was, still demanded the effort of thought, and not merely the keen eyesight. It had another characteristic common in philosophy; in it we see truth

gradually emerging from error, the truth and the error at first commingled in one hypothesis, and then the slow deposition of the error, and the liberation of the truth that had previously been contained in solution. The theory of epicycles, as is well known, was this: that every heavenly body moved in an orbit traced by some point of a wheel revolving round another wheel. Now originally, these wheels were supposed to be actual material, solid, though invisible bodies, and the planets and stars to be stuck on to them, as a stone may stick on to the wheel of a carriage. In this form the theory was untrue; yet it contained the germ of a truth. Nor perhaps could the truth at first have been set forth, or at least have taken hold of the minds of men, without the admixture of error. The living truth lay in the dead error, as a chicken before it is hatched lies in the eggshell. The hard lifeless shell can withstand the external forces, which would overpower the living thing were it too soon exposed to them. And, precisely in the same way, the lifeless, unproductive mass of error may, by the fact of its easy intelligibility, take hold of men's minds far more readily than the exact truth, which is always difficult to understand, could have done; and in this way the truth is enabled to survive till a period comes when it is strong enough to break from the surrounding crust, and develop without fear. This is a process which we constantly see; and where the error is simply dead error, and has not a pernicious activity, it is a very beneficial process. And accordingly, when Hipparchus came, he discarded that portion of the theory of epicycles which had been necessary to render the theory originally comprehensible, namely, the materiality of the wheels, and retained the rest. And in this form the theory of epicycles, in its broad features, was actually true; not the highest astronomical truth, not so comprehensive as the hypothesis of Kepler, but still true and for the time most important. And both Hipparchus and Ptolemy would probably have agreed in this further characteristic of their theory—that it was a tentative theory, which might in time be superseded by something better; and this tentativeness, implying as it does a radical development and not merely change in the subordinate branches of a hypothesis, is essentially philosophical. We know at all events that Ptolemy was as well aware of the cumbrousness of his epicycles as was Milton or King Alfonso.

No considerable development can take place, either in any separate science, or in the great whole of knowledge, which com-

prises so much that is not yet formed into the solidity of a science, without passing through this stage, which is the philosophical stage—the stage of tentativeness, incompleteness, formation. But sometimes this stage may be contained within very narrow limits. And occasionally, in the development of a particular science, the philosophical stage will be confined to the breast of one individual, so that to the multitude it will appear as if there was no philosophical stage at all—as if the science had simply widened from one clear hypothesis to another equally clear and wider. Thus botany, as a particular science, has had perhaps the minimum of philosophical speculation; the Linnæan classification has been superseded by the natural classification, not certainly without tentativeness, but with as little tentativeness as is possible in such a change. On the other hand, geology has always been, and still is, open to a vast amount of tentative speculation. And when we come to the great whole of knowledge—to the connections of the sciences and the interspaces between them, to all the array of facts and principles that cannot be set down as belonging to any particular science—there must, we may be sure, always be room for the philosophical impulse to work in. Nor will any new science arise except by this philosophical impulse determining itself in a particular direction; so that philosophy may justly be considered the parent of science.

Let us then recapitulate the characteristics of philosophy. The philosophy of an individual is the view which the world as a whole presents to the mind of that individual; so that, as has often been said, every man must have a philosophy. But it is seldom thought worth while to speak of the view which any man takes of the world as a philosophy, unless where the man has tried to grasp and hold consistently the total sum of knowledge possessed by his generation. Philosophy, then, is the effort of each successive generation to contemplate the world as a whole; to look at the universe with its own eyes and not under a merely traditional aspect; to unfold from the realms of obscurity new principles which may unite and harmonize those portions of reality which at present we know only as disconnected; to suggest modes of harmonizing where certainty is unattainable; to arrange all reality in order, from the seed to the tree, from the genesis to the perfect development. Universality and originality are the essential aims of philosophy. And for the sake of these it must resign itself to being inchoative and obscure in many parts, especially in its most fundamental principles: whereas science

resigns universality for the sake of clearness. Yet philosophy is not separated by any broad line from science; for what is universal to one man and one age may be partial to another man or another age. There is only one assertion in the above pages respecting philosophy that needs further proof—the assertion, namely, that it has a spiritual tendency, that the universal view of the world tends more and more to become a spiritual view. But the proof of this will come more fitly when we consider metaphysics.

II. Psychology is the science of mind considered as a function of the material world. In saying this, it is of course not denied that psychology may gradually disclose the spiritual unity of which mention has been made. But it bases itself on the material unity; this is its primary foundation.

No one can look out into the world, and not be conscious that he knows a great deal more than the simple phenomena of sense. He knows that there are living beings beside himself, who like himself have sight and hearing and feeling, and moreover, like himself, have desire and pleasure and pain. Men, beasts, birds, insects—not to go any further than these, it is at any rate unquestionable that these do actually see and hear, desire and feel. The question then immediately arises, What is it that these men and living creatures round us see, desire, and know? Can we appropriate to ourselves truly their mental state, put ourselves into their position, see as they see, desire as they desire, think as they think? We know that within certain limits we can; and we know that we can progress in this knowledge of our fellow-creatures. And just as the object of physical science is to enable us to represent to ourselves those portions of nature which are capable of striking on our senses, but which do not actually strike on our senses, because they are absent from our immediate neighbourhood and environment, so the object of psychological science is to enable us to represent to ourselves those feelings and desires, that knowledge and thought, which belong to other living beings than ourselves.

It is quite impossible to deny the reality and solidity of psychological science. As certain as we are that the cities, the houses, the rivers, the sun, and the sky do really exist, and are real objects, into the nature and properties of which we can inquire, so certain are we that every one of our friends and relations, that every man in the streets, every beast and bird and insect, has feelings, senses, desires. *What* is felt or thought or de-

sired, either by men or by the beasts and birds, we do not know, or at least we do not know with anything like the accuracy with which we know our own feelings and sensations; but we are sure that their mental state is not a mere dream of our own, and that by the growth of our own experience, and thought, and reflection, we can get to know more and more of what is passing in the minds of others, whether of other men or of creatures other than men. Further; not only is psychology most certainly a real science, but it is also a most assiduously and successfully cultivated science; and the welfare of the world depends on its successful cultivation. If men did not know what was passing in the minds of their fellow-men, if certain persons had not a very wide and clear knowledge of what was passing in the minds of their fellow-men, would not the world collapse in a month? It is because we can anticipate what others will think and feel in consequence of actions of our own that we are able to act in harmony with others. Families are preserved, states are preserved, the whole society of nations is preserved in happiness, prosperity, and continual progress, because the different members of families and states, and the different several nations, have the knowledge of each other's thoughts and feelings. Directly this knowledge departs from a family or a state, that family or that state begins to fall asunder and decay. Barbarians have far less knowledge of each other's minds than civilized men have; and this is why barbarous tribes are so fleeting and unstable. Nay, we cannot carry our eyes back two hundred years in the world's history and not perceive that the knowledge which mankind possess of each has been largely increased during the interval; different nations and different religious bodies have no longer that distrust and hatred of each other that they had then. And this has been effected by no cause so much as this (though other subsidiary and partly material causes might be named), that writers of various kinds who by study and natural insight have become possessed of wide knowledge of their fellow-men have made it their business to diffuse that knowledge through the world.

It will be obvious to remark that the conception of psychology presented above includes much more than is found in the ordinary treatise on psychology. It is so; and yet I think that my account of psychology is fully justified, or rather demanded, by the history of the word. The word psychology was first invented to indicate a science of mind founded on an experimental basis. Those who invented it thought the aim of the metaphysicians—the complete subordi-

nation of matter to spirit—too ambitious an effort at all events for our present powers. But, they said, at any rate we can know something about mind; mind is presented to us as a phenomenon in the universe; as a phenomenon let us study it. This, then, was the primitive aim of psychology,—to study mind as it is given to us in connection with the actual world. And does not this aim fully cover the account of psychology given above? It would perhaps be better to speak of the psychological sciences than of psychology; for our whole experimental knowledge of mind is capable of being divided into as many separate portions as our experimental knowledge of matter. But psychology is the shorter term, and so far preferable. Nor is there any prescriptive usage sufficiently strong to tie down psychology to the meaning which Mr. Spencer and Mr. Bain give to it, namely, the account of the origin and development of the faculties of man. And besides, to say the truth, able as the treatises of those writers are, and numerous as are the points of light evolved in their inquiry, I conceive that a continuous and progressive science of the nature of that which they seek to establish requires a wider basis than they have given to it. I must then now proceed to point out the numerous divisions of the experimental science of mind; and I think it can be shown that they all have their correspondent in physical science.

First of all, there are parts of physical science which deal not with principles at all, or at least not primarily with principles, but with simple facts. Take geography, for instance. This is mere description of what exists; the geographer does not enter into the question how the mountains, rivers, and seas came into existence, the date of the foundation of towns, the rise and fall of the nations whom he marks in his maps, but simply says: There they are; these mountains, rivers, seas, towns, nations, do exist; and I record their existence. Nor can there be the slightest doubt of the utility of such a pursuit. Now the history of the annalist is in mental science that which corresponds to geography in physical science. The object of the annalist is to describe men as they actually exist, what the acts are that concrete human beings have done, what the feelings by which they have been moved, what the organizations that they have made. It is not the main duty of the annalist to philosophize, to generalize, to discuss political and social problems. True, he may do all this incidentally, just as the geographer may have a chapter on the geology of the countries which he describes; but the main purpose of his work is to describe concrete facts, namely, the actions, thoughts, and passions

of individual men. Natural history, again is a branch of physical science which is almost entirely descriptive. The explorer who traverses the Brazilian forests or the islands of the Eastern archipelago has one principal duty—to say what he sees there, what variety of birds, beasts, insects, trees, herbs, occupy those regions. He may philosophize; but this is not his most immediate task. And there is a natural history of mind as well as of matter. To describe the different races of men, or the different classes—such, for instance, as the blind or deaf, or those who pursue special occupations, as miners, sailors, weavers—to describe them not merely externally, but in respect of their faculties, habits, desires, is a worthy object, and one that has in many instances been undertaken with success. This, the least scientific portion of science, is that which most approaches the function of the artist. Vivid representation is the first, second, and third duty of the artist. He is better for being a philosopher as well; but, if he is not, it is no vital error.

But the great mass of science, physical or mental, has far more generalization than belongs even to that of the geographer or the annalist—very far more than belongs to poetry or art. Thus it is that we have those great sciences which extend themselves beyond the limits of our experience, and from slight signs educe the knowledge of what has been but never met the eye of man, and of what will be but will never meet the eye of him who predicts it, which does not even in imagination come before the eye of the thinker as he predicts it, but is understood through symbols only. Astronomy, geology, botany, zoology, are among these; the distant in space or time, the long sequence of causes through the ages, the metamorphoses which the forms of nature, animate or inanimate, have gone through in their progress to their present state, are rendered comprehensible by such sciences as these. In them the penetrating and unravelling power of thought adds far more to the simple senses than the telescope and microscope add to the naked eye. And there are psychological sciences which correspond to these physical sciences. Political phenomena, social phenomena, respectively afford materials for systems not less broad, not less real, though at present less developed, than astronomy and geology. Little as I am able to agree with the total conception of philosophy and science entertained by the positivists (as far at least as its polemical and best-known phases are concerned), to this extent I can go along with them—that political and social science is of all the spiritual sciences that which promises at present most immediate fruits to our



research. But there are many more branches of psychological science. The capacities of the lower races of mankind furnish an interesting subject for investigation; an equally interesting and more practical subject is furnished by the capacities of the poorer classes among civilized nations. How little is this understood, and yet how important is the understanding of it? The simple character of the intellect of the poor, not incapable of entertaining the most generous ideas but unable to limit those ideas by considerations of practical necessity, is a matter which statesmen are imperatively required to understand, but which few understand rightly. Curious, again, as a more accurate gauge of intellectual power than perhaps any that could be instituted, would it be to compare the capacity for apprehending number and mathematical formulæ in different races and classes. There are savages, it is said, who cannot count beyond five. Can we enter into, understand the possibility of, such a state of mind? We cannot; in such a case it is hardly more difficult for the lower intellect to advance to the higher, than for the higher to retrace its steps, and, through imaginative sympathy, put itself in the position of the lower. Yet it is a real problem for us to do so; and the solution of it might have most important results. Again, the mental and intellectual condition of beasts is a subject of which it would be difficult to overestimate the interest. Those most conversant with beasts, most able to understand their feelings and capacities, have hitherto had too little of the scientific spirit. But that it is a most fruitful subject does not admit of question. In all these subjects, physical science can contribute much, in some cases essential, aid; but the subjects themselves are psychological.

Further, just as there is a science which deals with the highest and most universal abstractions of the material universe, namely mathematics; so there is a science which deals with the highest and most universal abstractions of mind, namely, logic. The material universe can be surveyed in many aspects; but in all its aspects it has one common property—it can be measured; and mathematics is the science of measurement. So too mind can be regarded in many aspects; but one common property it always has—it reasons, consciously or unconsciously; and logic is the science of reasoning. But yet, just as mathematics is not the deepest philosophy of the material universe—just as a far more concrete theory, whether it be the atomic theory or any other, is required to lie at the root of the great physical sciences, to be to them as a common origin, a common

principle, and to bind them together—so logic is not the deepest philosophy of mind. Logic is concerned with the form of thought, as the Germans express it, not with its substance; it is a science of abstractions, which may indeed be illustrated by concrete instances, but does not primarily take any concrete phenomenon, or series of phenomena, as its subject. A more fundamental philosophy of mind is required. Now if the materialist view be true, that matter is the absolutely fundamental element, of which mind is merely a function, then of course the fundamental philosophy of mind is to be looked for in those atomic theories which are the deepest in all physical research, and all psychology must centre in these, and radiate from these. There are, however, reasons compelling man to believe spirit to be the deepest element in the universe; and hence a philosophy has to be sought which ought indeed to amalgamate with the deepest philosophy of the material sciences, but ought to underlie it, and be plainly the original of which that is the derivative. This deepest philosophy of the psychological sciences is metaphysics; and to the consideration of metaphysics we must now proceed.

III. Metaphysics is the endeavour to demonstrate and bring clearly to light the spiritual unity of the world, not as contradictory of the material unity, but as underlying it, and being the source from which it proceeds.

The connections between metaphysics on the one side and philosophy and psychology respectively on the other side have already been indicated; but it may be worth while to repeat them. Philosophy is the endeavour to take a view of the world as a whole, with all its parts ranged in the order of their genesis and development; and if, as I believe, in such an arrangement a spiritual force, a spiritual principle, is found to be the most primitive element, then philosophy will be found to centre round metaphysics. Psychology is the endeavour to know all we can about spiritual beings and spiritual faculties as exhibited in the world, without necessarily endeavouring to reduce our knowledge on these subjects to an organic unity. But if we do endeavour to bring out such an organic unity, and if such a unity is necessarily a spiritual unity, then the search after such an organic unity is metaphysics. Thus, while it is quite impossible to deny philosophy and psychology their place as rational and useful attempts, there is one hypothesis, and only one, by holding which we should deny the possibility of metaphysics—the hypothesis, namely, that matter is capable of

being rationally taken as the origin of all things, and that spirit, in all its manifestations, is capable of being exhibited as a function of matter. I have given reasons for believing this to be impossible; and it must now be shown how natural is the belief that spirit is the absolute first origin of things, and how perfectly it is reconcilable with what we know of the laws of the physical universe. I must premise, however, that I do not promise absolute demonstration, or the explanation of all the phenomena. A belief may be the only rational belief, and yet such as we cannot verify in detail.

That we all "live, and move, and have our being" in God; that we are "children of God," and therefore brethren of each other—such are the most familiar expressions by which it has been endeavoured to express the intrinsic unity of spiritual beings; and schemes of conduct have been laid down as the fit and natural result of the belief thus expressed. These schemes of conduct belong to religion, and into the subject of religion I cannot here enter; but the meaning of the belief itself it will be proper, as far as possible, to elucidate.

If we regard on the one hand, the phenomena of the external world, and on the other hand all those different personalities endued with passions, senses, faculties, that together make up what we understand by the spiritual world, these two classes of intelligible things move to a certain extent parallel to each other, in such a way that the material phenomenon is the symbol or, so to speak, the shorthand register of the spiritual state. This parallelism, indeed, is not manifest beyond certain limits. There are many thoughts, many emotions, that pass through our minds, which do not give, even for a moment, any token of their existence to the bystander who watches our bodily frame. Conversely, in the external world, inorganic matter appears purely soulless. And even among organic living beings it is only animals that by their outward frame give us any index of a spiritual state; and in most cases the index is a vague and imperfect one. Still, however imperfect, the parallelism is real. If we look at the broad types of character and faculty, each is attached to some definite outward characteristic, from which it is never dissociated. A powerful intellect is invariably united with a complex structure of the brain. If we analysed the brain of a Newton, and then the brain of a Hottentot, we should be quite certain that the latter would have far fewer convolutions than the former. If we found an animal without eyes, we should assume at once that it could not see. The habitual feelings of men leave

an unmistakeable stamp on their face, their mien, and bearing; even transient momentary feelings have an equally distinct mark, unless where care is taken to suppress this mark, as is generally the case with civilized men. And it is to be observed that the more permanent is the feeling or faculty the more permanent is the outward index which denotes it. Thus the paleness of fear passes away with the fear, the blush of shame with the shame; but intellect, being of a more permanent nature, has a more permanent symbol in the brain, and so has the faculty of sight in the eyes, and the faculty of hearing in the ears.

All these are obvious facts. That to which I shall now proceed is the extension of the principle involved in these facts to regions where it is only possible to conjecture, and not to see clearly its operation. But the conjectures that will be brought forward are those, as I think, naturally suggested by a view of the universe as it is.

I say then that this function of material bodies, to be the expression of spiritual states and spiritual agencies, is no mere casual function, one out of many; that on the contrary it is the one primitive function of matter, its fundamental essence, to be the intermediate agency in the spiritual world, the means by which the parts of the living whole communicate with and affect each other; that body is strictly definable as the manifestation of spirit to spirit. The proposition conveyed in this sentence calls for considerable explanation; but before proceeding to this, attention may be directed to two distinct speculations—one philosophical, the other scientific—which tend to confirm the mediating function here assigned to matter and to the material world.

It is well known in what difficulties Locke found himself involved in attempting to explain the meaning of the word Substance. The word itself is a scholastic word; but the sense of it is broadly popular; nor is there any difference to speak of between the scholastic and the popular use of it. Philosophers or not, we all understand that there is a difference between the properties of a thing and the thing itself, or at any rate that at the first blush there appears to be such a difference. But philosophers, inasmuch as they seek to be accurate thinkers, cannot be content with merely noting the fact of a difference; the question is forced upon them: What, precisely, is the difference between a thing and its properties, a substance and its qualities? Can we, not indeed realize what a substance or a thing in itself is (for that would be too much to ask), but at all events assign a meaning to the

word which may definitely and once for all distinguish it from mere qualities? This was the question at which Locke stumbled; all he could say was, that we had an obscure idea of substance, and that it was not identical with qualities. This was equivalent to giving up the problem; for however obscure our idea of substance may be, yet if we do draw a distinction between substance and quality (as we undoubtedly do) we ought to be able to say wherein the distinction consists. Berkeley cut the knot. There is no such thing as substance, he said: there are only ideas which we, spiritual beings, contemplate. And he tried to show that the popular voice was with him, which unquestionably it was not. Mr. Mill, in his *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, has given a more thorough assent to Berkeley's main principle than perhaps any other thinker has done. But no one can experience the powerful active force with which ideas are impressed upon us—a force which may sometimes be overlooked, but which is always present, and which often demands of us the exercise of a strong reciprocal exertion, if we wish to preserve our cognisant faculties, as when we look at the sun with the naked eye, or receive a blow on the head—and not spontaneously assume that substances have a positive existence apart from the bundles of their cognisable qualities. But wherein does this positive existence consist? It consists, I reply, in the spiritual basis of phenomena. Phenomena are the impressions which spirit makes upon spirit. Such a conception may be thought obscure; as far as possible I shall endeavour to elucidate it presently. But at all events, it does mark definitely a broad distinction between substance and qualities; and I know no other distinction that has been even attempted.

Again, consider the characteristic of matter which scientific thinkers set down, that it is invariably accompanied by force. How are we to conceive of this force? This is a question that has so much puzzled some modern writers on dynamics that they have actually defined force as acceleration—the thing itself by one of the results of the thing. And, indeed, if a spiritual meaning be not given to the word force, I am quite unable to conceive what meaning can be given. It is only the effects of force that can be conceived as pure external phenomena.

I hold, then, that all substratum or substance is of a spiritual nature, that the external world is definable as the perpetual interchange of impressions between spiritual beings. But I am fully alive to the im-

mense difficulty of realizing such a conception. Certainly, we have to go very far from those spiritual agencies and emotions with which we are most conversant before we can even remotely apprehend

"The spirit that is in the clouds and air,  
That is in the green leaves among the groves."

Certainly, again, we cannot attribute an independent personality to every clod and stone, nor to all the clods and stones in the world put together; and yet without personality how can we conceive of spirit? And what are the relations of our own apparently definite and independent personalities to this vague universal spirit? Where can be the unity among them? These are the questions to which I must give such an answer as my means allow. Let me however say, at starting, that in a subject of such undeniable obscurity the truth and soundness of a thinker's conceptions ought not to be tested purely by his ability to solve every question respecting them.

Consider first the following very familiar fact that the offspring of every animal resembles the parent, not merely in outward form and appearance, but also in habits and faculties. What cause are we to assign for this resemblance of inward character? It is certainly not due to training alone; we might train a dog for ever without giving him the faculties of a man; we could not even train the child of the savage into the full development of the civilized man. Some would say that the material organism determines the inward faculty, that the offspring resembles the parent in faculty because it resembles it in organism. But those who give this account of the matter have to answer two questions: First, why does the material organism of the offspring resemble that of the parent? Secondly, can they define the spiritual state in terms of the organism? can they represent it as a function of the organism? The first of these questions never has been answered. And, as to the second, I am unable to conceive that it can be answered except in the negative; certainly I have never seen any attempt at such a definition or representation. But, if body be the manifestation of spirit, as is here affirmed, and as many considerations lead us to think it, then it is very evident why the similarity of inward faculty should be followed by similarity of the external organism. Beings which resemble each other in reality would make similar impressions on the beholder, that is, their outward phenomena would be similar; and their outward

phenomena are these very external organisms. We are then thrown back upon the original question : why does the inward faculty, the spiritual state, of the offspring resemble that of the parent ?

Before I make my answer, let another fact be considered. There are different degrees in the vividness of our consciousness at different times. Within certain limits we are perfectly aware of this. It is true that there is a height of vividness, and a lowness of stagnation, in our spiritual state, which at ordinary times we are unable to recall or imagine. But this is no reason for denying the reality of these unaccustomed states. Thus, for instance, our spiritual state may exist really during profound sleep, though we entirely forget it when we are awake. Our forgetfulness of it is no argument against its existence ; for we do habitually only recall spiritual states which bear some likeness to our spiritual state of the moment. When happy we can hardly imagine what it is to be in great pain ; when in pain no effort can bring before us the feeling of happiness ; and so likewise we all forget the far-distant feelings of infancy and childhood.

Again, we must beware of considering the mere surface of our spiritual state as identical with the whole. Nothing is more common than for a man to be actuated by motives which he is not aware of himself. Subtle feelings of jealousy, of fear, of suspicion, take hold of a man, and by their unvarying tenor escape his observation. Thus it is not merely passed spiritual states, but even present spiritual states, that may really exist in us, of which yet we may be incognisant.

These three facts—the apparent dependence of the offspring on the parent for its spiritual nature ; the existence of times when, as in deep sleep or trance, our ordinary spiritual state seems wiped away, and when a more simple and primitive spiritual state takes its place, which in our waking hours we are unable to realize ; and lastly, the existence in men, at all times, of spiritual states of which they are unaware—seem, when taken together, to indicate that men are not, as they mostly fancy, a set of isolated, independent spiritual beings, but that they have a fundamental identity, an identity lying in those obscure depths of our being which escape our notice, being put out of sight by the brilliancy of our superficial states.

There is, then, only one conclusion to which the above facts point. Let us leave off doing what is so natural to us, taking each one himself as the centre of all things.

If indeed we could penetrate to our naked personality, and lay bare the pure and simple ego, apart from its acquired feelings and faculties, as some have thought possible, then we might argue that we had got down to an absolute basis in our own being ; and, as there is manifestly no reason why one's-self should be favoured above all other men, it would reasonably be argued that there were as many absolute bases in the universe as there were persons in the world. But in truth we cannot lay bare our absolute personality in this way. When we speak of ourselves, we mean, though we may not think it, ourselves as coloured by impulses, feelings, character. This colouring comes to us before our birth ; and no effort of our maturity can wipe it out.

Each of us, then, is not an independent being ; we are but dependent portions of a greater spiritual whole. And indeed, can anything be more manifest, more apparent even to common sense, than this ? Assuming, as we have already seen grounds for doing, that all reality is fundamentally spiritual, is it not perfectly clear that the spirit through whose impulse and motion it comes that we are born, attain manhood, decay, and die, is not our own spirit ; that these great periods of our earthly existence are not swayed by the volitions of that which each one of us calls himself ? A deeper volition than our own governs our spiritual states—a volition more permanent than ours, and which, having connections (inexplicable but certain) with the spiritual state both of parent and offspring, leaves marks of its permanence in the similar character impressed by it upon both. Not more certain is it that the hand is governed by the brain, that the leaf sprouts and expands through the nourishment imbibed by the roots, than it is that we are governed by a power of wider grasp and deeper foundation than our own. Yet to suppose that we are the mere mechanical instruments of such a power would be an error not less than that which I am here opposing. The hand, even, is not the mere mechanical instrument of the brain. No living thing, or part of any living thing, is purely governed by pre-established law, or is devoid of the originating impulse. But this is said parenthetically.

Into what absurdities do we fall if we maintain that every man is an independent spiritual being. If we hold every man to be such, why should we not hold every dog and horse to be such ? For, however highly we estimate the superiority of man to the lower animals, it is at the very least extremely difficult to attribute to him an absolutely independent spiritual basis which is denied to

them. And if we assign such an independent basis to every dog and horse, why not go lower, and assign it to every polypus and rhizopod? And these are animals which can be propagated by simple scission, by cutting them in two; so that according to this theory the snapping of a pair of scissors could produce an independent spiritual basis.

There is, indeed, great caution necessary when we speak of that spiritual whole which constitutes the real universe. In the first place, we cannot realize it; for to realize it would be to identify ourselves with it. The hand could sooner become the brain than any one of us could become the central spiritual force of the world. And if by perfectly understanding this central force we mean the realization of it, then it is also true that we cannot perfectly understand it. And against those who think that they can perfectly understand it, who try to realize the whole spiritual universe, the argument of Mr. Carlyle and others is irrefutable—that no creature can realize its own genesis. That any creature should do so would be a contradiction in terms. But this does not prove that we cannot understand it symbolically, partially, and by analogy.

And the aim of metaphysics, a perfectly legitimate one, is not to realize, but to symbolize, the great spiritual power which is the life-giving root of the universe. From those spiritual phenomena which can be realized, we may draw principles which apply equally to that central power which cannot be realized by men, but yet exists. Thus it is that if we look to the external world (which is the total breadth of the manifestation to us of this central spiritual power) we find that the forces of which it is most difficult to us to apprehend the spiritual meaning or counterpart are those forces of gravitation and electricity which as outward phenomena are the plainest, most permanent, and most universal. Now this is precisely what we notice in ourselves—that the more permanently any habit has established itself in our nature the greater and more striking is its outward effect, but at the same time the less is it noticed as an inward impulse. Why is it that we do not notice the circulation of the blood through our bodies? Because of the constancy of the internal force which causes it. It is only change of which we are conscious; but it is the habitual impulse, devoid of change, that produces the greatest apparent result. And, as these forces of gravitation and electricity are far more enduring than any in our own nature, it is only what we should expect that it is much more difficult to apprehend what they represent as spiritual motions. Again, by discerning the har-

monization of spiritual forces which exists in ourselves, we may understand the mode in which the central power proceeds in its harmonization of the entire universe. It is in the being of individual men that such harmonization reaches the highest point with which we are acquainted; and yet even here it is not perfect. Every man has conflicting desires, passions, diseases. Much more is it imperfect in the whole society of men, in the whole state of nature. But the tendency is manifest; and, if we recognize this central spiritual power as the true root of our being, we shall know as a truth, what all have heard but few resolutely believe, that right progress lies in identifying ourselves to the utmost of our ability with this central power, and to this end renouncing desire and even life itself when it conflicts with this. Our being more truly lies with this central power than with our material body, well harmonized though that is.

In speaking of this central spiritual power as God, one thing has to be remembered. Our reason demands an absolute unity in the Divine nature. But the manifestation of this nature in the material world involves change, and therefore duality. This is doubtless owing simply to the imperfection of our view, our not seeing the whole; but the fact should be noted.

There are of course an indefinite number of further questions that might be put on the subject of which I have been treating. Into these I cannot now enter. What I have tried to do is to give a clear definition of metaphysics, just as I tried to give a clear definition of philosophy and psychology, to prove the reality of the subject, but not to treat it exhaustively. That can only be done by the combined efforts of many minds. And, as I must confess myself indebted to many previous thinkers, whose ideas, as I conceive, have not here been in any important respect contradicted, but only elucidated, so I do not doubt that what has here been written will appear crude and elementary in the light of the knowledge of later and better instructed ages. J. R. M.

---

#### ART. V.—THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND CLERGY.

It will be long before Russia and Europe learn to understand one another thoroughly, even if the national culture of Russia should attain so high a standard as to induce European nations to become

better acquainted with its idiom than they are at present. It is not the language that constitutes an insurmountable barrier, but that general idea of life which distinguishes the Russian from the ordinary European. It is sometimes said that Russia since the time of Peter I. has only been gradually traversing that period of European progress which is known by the collective name of the middle ages; and that, if her pretensions contrast with her actual achievements, it is because she has sought to be acknowledged as on a level with those European nations which are really the pillars and representatives of modern history, and by their intellectual and material efforts have created and directed the progress of modern times. The remark is plausible and not altogether untrue. But it has no application except to the political side of things. And it is only valid there because, as regards the mutual relations of the European States, the Russian government and the Russian nation have been, since Peter I., two essentially distinct and different things. In all the rest, that is to say, in the relations of the Russian nation to the European world, the suggestion is untenable. For in Europe the middle age found a civilisation already enriched by classical antiquity, and developed it into a Christian form through centuries of conflict, which left the mark of both old and new on every sphere of life. Hence the progress accomplished by the genius of each particular nation was communicated to its neighbours, in the intercourse of peace or war, until at last there emerged a European civilisation the common property of all of them. In this consists that solidarity of European interests which rises high above all transient incidents of political or national rivalry, and is the root-characteristic of the present time. With Russia the conditions are altogether different. She has no pre-Christian history, or no recollection of it; and just as little has she any pre-Christian culture. She has carried on no struggle about Christianity, not even in defence of her former religion against it; Byzantine Christianity ready-made, with settled forms of worship, with a hierarchy, and with definite relations to the state, came over the Russian people like the quiet operation of the powers of nature. With other European nations the gradual development of the modern epoch was an organic progress, a progressive creative effort by which they no less satisfied an internal impulse than obeyed an outward necessity; but with the Russians the change was altogether an addition from without

made accidentally and apart from their co-operation. The perfected results of civilisation they seldom adopted except on compulsion; and its inchoate results they scarcely ever developed into perfection. The external elements have not been assimilated by the national genius. Thus Russia lacks not only the initial but also the final conditions of the European middle age, and with them the motive cause of those intellectual revolutions which, from time to time, have so powerfully stirred and purified and hardened the creative energies of the European nations. And still further, it was no impulse of the national spirit of the time, nor any national feeling of necessity, which prompted the Russian world under Peter I. to rush suddenly in the direction of European culture, or rather to grasp at its results. The movement was like the act of a man who has been struck by the operation of some instrument or machine in his neighbour's hands, and buys one like it to make experiments with, though he knows nothing certain of its adaptation to his own wants, its structure, or the conditions of its usefulness. And from that time to this whatever of European culture has passed into Russia has equally remained external and accidental, destitute of any vital contact with the genius and requirements of the people. It has been accepted for the most part merely at the bidding of the Government, and has had very little power to form the national life, and still less to develop a consciousness that Russian culture can stand in any relation of solidarity with the interests of European civilisation. This is apparent from the fact that even under Nicholas, and still more since Alexander II. made the "national development" the shibboleth of modern Russia, the most popular social and political parties have stigmatized the whole period since Peter I. as a time of denationalization, and exhorted the Russia of the future to fall back on the conditions of the nation in the period preceding Peter.

At that time the mainsprings of Russian culture and national life were on the one hand the Byzantine Church, and on the other communal possession, that is to say, a social organization based on the negation in principle of all personal property. The connection of this social organization with recent popular movements in the country has been a frequent topic of public discussion, and is familiar to every one who is interested in Russian affairs. But with regard to the Russian Church very confused ideas exist in other countries, partly because

it is judged by European standards, and partly because the attitude of the Russian mind with regard to it is not sufficiently considered. Some believe the nation to be deeply religious, because its whole daily life, and one might almost say every profane transaction in it, is interwoven with religious ceremonies, because the fanaticism for "the Orthodox Russian Church" plays so great a part, and because, at the same time, dissent attains to an importance which does not belong to it either in the Catholic countries of the West or amongst those populations which may be classed together under the designation of Protestant. Others believe, on the contrary, that the phenomena of Russian life forbid them to attribute to the religious element any importance whatever, and especially any real spiritual energy; and they insist on the complete indifference of the upper classes towards all religion, and on the blind religious ignorance of the masses. Incompatible with each other as these views appear at first sight, yet each of them contains a partial truth; and they end in contradictory conclusions because they proceed according to analogies derived from European nations, and not from Russia. It has already been pointed out that Byzantine Christianity ready-made, with its worship, its rites, its priestly caste, and its hierarchy, in definite relations towards the state, is inseparably connected with the earliest dawn of the self-consciousness of Russia as a nation;\* and, when this fact is taken in connection with the low stage of popular culture, it is easy to understand how the whole of the national life is interwoven with ritual and religious forms without the existence of a real religious consciousness, how confessional fanaticism reaches the highest pitch of intensity since it coincides with that fanaticism of race which is always powerful with nations of inferior civilisation, and how the upper class, whose culture is not national but West-European, are thoroughly indifferent to religion, and on that account all the readier to use the national confession as a means of acting on the masses for merely secular purposes. Thus the opposition between these two views of the relations between the Russian church and nation disappears. The essential point is to keep firm hold of the radical difference between the conditions of Russia and those

of the civilized nations of Europe. Accordingly, in the following remarks, the dogmatic contents of the orthodox Russian confession need not be considered—they have little in reality to do with the national life. It is enough to sketch the Russian Church with its formal organization. From this its position and action in the national life may easily be inferred, and the necessity of the actual results understood. And with regard to the sects (so far as the question can be touched) it will be seen how extravagant is the hope of those who connect with them the possibility of a Russian religious reform, or the idea of an approximation between the Russian Church and any of the Churches of the West.

Territorially the Orthodox Russian Church consists of twenty-four eparchies, *i.e.*, dioceses or ecclesiastical provinces, which, according to their extent, are officially regarded as of the first or second rank. At the head of each stands a prelate as ecclesiastical ruler, whose consistory is charged with the administration. Besides these there are thirty-one eparchies of the third rank, which are analogous to the Catholic bishoprics in part, and are outside the limits of the present discussion. Whether the rulers of eparchies are called Bishops, Archbishops, or Metropolitans, is essentially an indifferent matter; in the Orthodox Hierarchy such distinctions of rank are purely nominal and are bestowed by Imperial favour. All these prelates together with their eparchies are equally subject to the Most Holy Governing Synod, which is at the head of the whole Russo-Greek Church. This supreme assembly of church dignitaries was, as is well known, substituted by Peter I. (1716-1721) for the Patriarch, whose position had somewhat resembled that of the Pope in the Catholic Church. To this Synod were transferred all the rights of the Patriarch, so that in ecclesiastical affairs it became sovereign ruler and final judge; and its collegiate composition, and the temporary summons to it of every orthodox bishop, would seem to guarantee the utmost freedom of ecclesiastical self-government. But this freedom is sacrificed to the absolute power of the Czar; for without his confirmation no resolution or decision of the Synod has the force of law. He is represented in the Synod by a lay Procurator-general, who according to the precept of Peter I. was to be especially a man of courage. Down to the time of Nicholas I. the office was ordinarily filled by a General; and it is only since the accession of Alexander II. that it has been held by the Under-Secretary for Education, Count Tolstói. Thus in fact the Patriarchate of

\* Even the Russian vernacular, through the medium of the so-called ecclesiastical Slavonic, is a medley of very various Slavonic idioms; and the present Russian alphabet is an artificial system of letters invented under Peter I. because the old Slavonic characters did not suffice for the expression of the vernacular.

the Orthodox Russian Church resides not in the Synod but in the Czar.

It is necessary here to consider the Holy Synod more closely, even at the risk of some anticipation. That the hierarchic element in the Orthodox Russian Church is exclusively represented by the monastic clergy is a fact which will be illustrated at length hereafter, but which must be carefully kept in view in considering the assembly of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Synod. Formally, the Synod reckons twelve life-members, a body almost exclusively composed of monks, with only the two highest secular ecclesiastics of the empire—the protopresbyter of the general staff and of the guard (at present W. Baschanoff), and the arch-priest of the army and navy (at present M. Bogoslovsky), as perpetual assessors. But in fact only about two-thirds of these legal members are ordinarily present at St. Petersburg; and besides them each Eparchy in turn is for a certain period represented by the Bishop or his delegate. The President and the Imperial Confessor exercise great influence; but the position of the Procurator-general mentioned above is altogether exceptional. On the one hand he reports directly to the Emperor, and takes his decision in case of difference of opinion; and on the other hand, he corresponds with the secretaries of the consistories of the eparchies, who, as representatives of the State, occupy in these consistories a position analogous to that which he himself fills in the Holy Synod. He also has jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical seminaries, and the financial government of all non-conventual churches. The Synod holds 180 sittings, of three hours each, in the course of the year; and, as it has to transact an immense mass of business, everything necessarily depends on the judgment and report of its numerous officials. These mostly belong to the ecclesiastical order; and accordingly the decisions of the Synod are apt to be far more influenced by extrajudicial than by strictly legal considerations. In matters of administration especially it is notorious that the officials of the Synod give free play to their discretion. The ecclesiastical censorship, on the other hand, is exercised directly by the monastic members. It consists partly in a sort of superior censorship of theological and religious books and journals which have passed the ordeal of the provincial censors, partly in instituting prosecutions, and partly in giving final decisions in doubtful cases. These last are often delayed for years, so that the persons concerned are dead before they are ready; the prosecutions are conducted on the principle that all ecclesiastical

affairs should be covered with an impenetrable veil which no layman can lift; and the aim of the superior censorship is to stifle all criticism of ecclesiastical regulations, as well as every germ of independent theological research.

This being the governing body, let us now turn to its organs, the clergy.

The clerical body of the Russian Church has always been in fact, though not in theory, an exclusive caste—an essentially hereditary priesthood. It is divided into three main classes—the black, or regular, or monastic clergy, the white or secular clergy, and the church-servers. In contrast to the system of other Churches, the monastic clergy forms the ecclesiastical aristocracy. All bishops, assessors of consistories, high dignitaries, heads and teachers of ecclesiastical seminaries, belong exclusively to this class; and when the vows have once been taken it is impossible to leave it. The Russian monastic clergy, however, so far as their ranks are not recruited from those of the popes, are for the most part drawn from the lower orders. Thus of 4147 men who from 1841 to 1857 (together with 1569 women) entered the cloister, only 33 were nobles, while 750 were drawn from the citizen class, and 580 from the peasant class; 2794 belonged to the clergy. It may be added that amongst the Russian sects monastic vows are even more frequent than within the pale of the Orthodox Church. The white or secular clergy, which constitutes the parochial priesthood and provides the connecting link with the laity, is an hereditary and privileged order, into which no member of the other orders can enter, but which it is possible to leave under certain conditions. To be qualified for a clerical charge, the candidate must have gone through the full course in an ecclesiastical seminary, and must have been married to a spinster. On the death of his wife, both a second marriage and a continuance in his cure as a widower are equally prohibited; and he is accordingly obliged either to relinquish his ecclesiastical condition or to enter a convent. This law would appear very hard if it were not that to enter the ranks of the monastic clergy is to obtain a participation in all their material and hierarchical advantages. The third class, consisting of church-servers, is the most numerous of all; but, though it also is hereditary, it only belongs to the ecclesiastical order in a modified and indirect way. It is chiefly made up of church officials, such as sacristans, choir-men, and attendants of different kinds, who abound in every church and in the train of every ecclesiastical dignity. They are for the most part pupils of the ec-



clesiastical seminaries, who have failed in their obligatory examination, or forfeited their clerical vocation by bad conduct, and so on. They are a useless and idle tribe, lacking even the very slight intellectual culture of their superiors, whose sacerdotal arrogance nevertheless they faithfully copy, and whose privileges they partly share. Again, there is a large number of children of popes and church-servers for whom places cannot be found; and to save them from conscription they are received into the convents. But no one who has not passed his examination in a seminary can legally take monastic vows before he is thirty years old; and, as the novitiate is shortened to three years, these young men, especially when they are ex-seminarists, remain under various pretexts as assistants or servants to the monks, often from ten to fifteen years, till they attain the legal age for the novitiate and ordination. They naturally afterwards form the proletariat of the black clergy. Their number however would be smaller if it were not that the rich convents take pride in having as many as possible of these dependants, who, moreover, to prevent their deserting the convent, are subjected to a very lax discipline. They almost always remain "*patres minorum gentium*," but sometimes, through favour, chance, or seniority, rise to superior positions in the hierarchy. It is obvious what a bad moral effect must be produced by such a class of men, altogether without education or knowledge of the world, weakened in character by their long period of dependence, only just tolerated as monks, and regarded and treated as inferiors by their clerical brethren.

Such, in the general outline, are the three groups of organs through which the Orthodox Church of Russia works. In number they constitute an immense host, as might be expected, considering that, according to official statistics, the orthodox believers of the empire amount to upwards of 57,000,000, that is, to more than 74 per cent. of the whole population. In this calculation, however, the proper deduction is not made for the sectaries, who also are reckoned by millions. It is one of the official illusions of Russia to ignore their existence; and it would be very difficult to estimate their number even approximately, for since their first appearance in the sixteenth century, and especially since the time of Peter I., the intolerance of the dominant State Church, united with the spirit of political persecution which has animated the Government, has obliged them anxiously to conceal from the world their existence and activity. The triple organization, however, of the Orthodox clergy,

and its caste-like separation from the laity, do not suffice to explain the possibility of any action and influence of the Orthodox Church on the nation. For that purpose it is essential to keep in view the difference, which has already been pointed out, between the religious past of Russia, and that of the other European countries. Among the really civilized nations, the religious confession of each one of them is that particular form of Christianity in which it sees the necessities of faith most satisfactorily harmonized with the phenomena and facts presented by the general order of the world. It may reject any other as a heresy; but it does not therefore deny this heresy to be also a form of Christianity. Not so the orthodox Russian. The form of his orthodoxy, the mere petrified framework without its spiritual contents, is to him not only a confessional form of Christianity, but Christianity itself, and the only idea of a religion. So again, in a similar way, he looks upon it as an inborn quality of his nation, and, moreover, as that particular quality which raises it above all other nations of the earth. *Modificatis modificandis*, it is exactly the national-religious self-consciousness of the Israelites, "the people of God," in the Old Testament. And the fact is characteristic, that in the ecclesiastical Slavonic and Russian vernacular the term "heathen" is the only one used to designate foreign nations, non-orthodox Christians, and non-Christians, though the written Russian has a different expression for each of these notions.

But to return. On looking more closely at the aristocracy of the Orthodox Church—the black or monastic clergy—the question necessarily arises, How have the monastic clergy, through the whole history of the Russian Church, been able to assert and maintain their hierarchical supremacy notwithstanding their seclusion from the world? The answer is, By the same means by which the Byzantine form of Christianity penetrated into Russia, possessed itself of the nation, and established an Orthodox Church. It must be remembered that it was by Greek monks, and by them exclusively, that Christianity was introduced through Kiev into Russia, and that it came as a completely organized Church. In a barbarous country, the ecclesiastical government and the chief rank amongst the clergy naturally fell to them; and it was a matter of course that these first monastic apostles should draw other Greek monks after them. Generations may have passed in this way without any of the national Russians entering the priesthood; and other generations again before one of them managed to rise to any eccle-

siastical dignity. Whatever could then be regarded as indicating a higher stage of culture necessarily bore a Byzantine stamp; and the more exclusively this stamp impressed itself on the spirit of the Church, the more completely did the national Russians accommodate themselves to it, when, as time went on and the immigration of Greek monks ceased, they themselves rose to ecclesiastical dignities. Meanwhile it was natural that the inferior secular clergy, owing to their contact with the laity, should be affected by a contrary and more national spirit; but this tendency was never vigorously developed, partly because of their lower culture, and partly because their activity did not extend to the instruction of the people, but was confined to the functions of worship, and the performance of ritual acts, in which the slightest deviation from the appointed form brought them under suspicion of being not mere reformers but Antichrists. Under the Mongol dominion, indeed, when the tolerant secular rulers of the nation did not trouble themselves about the affairs of the Church, the national antagonism of the secular clergy often endeavoured to assert itself against the Byzantine traditions of the hierarchy. But it was in vain. For the power of the monastic clergy was not broken materially; and intellectually it was not to be subdued by a theological culture which, as far as it existed at all, was derived exclusively from the conventual school. These relations have continued to the present day; and it is impossible but that their operation should remain the same though the Czars themselves since Peter I. have made various endeavours, by the elevation of the secular clergy, to diminish the hierarchical omnipotence of the monastic dignitaries and of the black clergy in general. It is not a mere paradox, but a plain matter of fact, that the power and influence of the black clergy rests on their monopoly of theological culture. It was they who long ago founded seminaries in the (formerly very rich) convents, into which seminaries all youths who devote themselves to the secular priesthood have to enter. We know already that these youths must be sons of the secular clergy. Now it was always, as it is now, easy for the monks set over these institutions, as masters and teachers, to ascertain the various capacities of their pupils, and not much more difficult to persuade the most talented amongst them to embrace the monastic life. The youths themselves, moreover, have always been able to see that all bishops and prelates, all assessors of consistories, the whole train of ecclesiastical dignitaries, all directors and teachers of seminaries, are exclusively monks. While

those seminarists who have completed their course and passed their examination for the secular priesthood have no further time for any wider studies, since their marriage is an indispensable condition of their admission to a charge, those on the contrary who devote themselves to the monastic life have full time and opportunity, during a mild novitiate of several years, to enlarge even their non-theological culture. Peter I. indeed, in order to paralyse the spiritual power of the regular clergy, founded ecclesiastical academies of the higher type outside their jurisdiction; and Alexander I. considerably augmented the number of them. They were not made obligatory for theologians, but were strongly recommended by the Government. The monks, prudent and well-organized, did not at once make a hostile attack on these "innovations;" but they have so cleverly possessed themselves of them that, after a lapse of 150 years, secular ecclesiastics can very rarely obtain the office of director of an academy, although Alexander proclaimed the absolute equality of secular and monastic teachers as a principle of the institutions.

It is not, of course, to be supposed that the 6000 monks who make up the contingent of the black clergy are all efficient agents in this system; only a small proportion of them can be so. It has been already explained that the convents contain a large number of the most incapable seminarists; a further number which is without influence on the politics of clerical supremacy is made up of tonsured laymen, and secular ecclesiastics who have been sent to some convent as a punishment; the popes also who have been driven into convents by the death of their wives seldom play any prominent hierarchical part. The monks who actually exercise the supremacy are few in number; and in this fact lies the secret of their power. The close relations which exist between the leading spirits from one eparchy to another secures a uniformity of government; and, as the less influential members of the monastic clergy share in its advantages and prerogatives, they come to be bound up with the interests of the order, and in some cases are found useful instruments. Now the head of each eparchy—a monk himself—has the right of nominating to all ecclesiastical offices in it down to the lowest clerical server; his official council—the consistory—and his staff, consist of monks, who watch over the secular priests and their assistants; and lastly, the rectors and professors of the seminaries and academies are monks, whose good-will determines the better or worse provision for the young clergy when they leave the institution.

Thus the monastic supremacy over the secular clergy is complete in every point; and even the Government has hitherto found no effective means of piercing this close phalanx. The secular clergy are conscious of their indirect alliance with the Government against monastic supremacy, and almost always sympathize with its efforts to carry out reforms in church matters; but their hands are too closely tied, and their material means far too scanty, to admit of their giving any effective co-operation. If a pope attempted to do so he would risk his means of living, against the loss of which not even the Government could guarantee him. Thus in the Russian Church the constant and characteristic relation between the monks and the secular clergy is one of sharp antagonism and mutual animosity.

In spite however of all the resources which have been mentioned, the black clergy would not have been able to preserve their supremacy intact if they had not also possessed great wealth. Russia has still some four hundred convents and monastic prelatic houses, which down to the time of Peter I. owned very extensive landed properties. These properties were taken by the Government, which thereupon pledged itself to an annual payment in proportion to the extent of the respective establishments. As few convents have the number of monks which they are calculated to maintain, this state payment is in most cases relatively ample. Its amount however is dwarfed by comparison with that derived from various other sources. For instance, it is a habit of the higher classes amongst the Russian laity to avoid as far as possible any contact of the secular clergy with their domestic affairs, and for baptisms, weddings, burials, masses, etc., to go to the monks, whose fees always increase in proportion to their hierarchical station. Graves in conventual cemeteries are purchased with many thousands of rubles, and their perpetual possession with capitals which yield a considerable revenue. Another source of income is the "intercessions for the living and the dead," in connection with which monks are sent into fixed districts to collect commissions, which are entered in a register, together with the fees paid for their fulfilment; many convents in which these intercessions are constantly performed are said to derive from them an income often amounting to ten, fifteen, or even twenty thousand rubles a year. Even the railways have contributed to the prosperity of the convents, which have the privilege of putting up boxes for offerings at the different stations; those on the St. Petersburg and Moscow lines are said to bring in 200,000 rubles a year to the Sergiev Convent in Moscow.

All the convents moreover are places of pilgrimage, and add to their revenue by this means; and most of them possess miraculous pictures, which not only receive rich votive offerings, but also are carried to distant places, or to rich private persons, who wish for their intervention and are ready to pay for it. To all this must be added three monopolies enjoyed by the convents, namely, those of baking the Hosts, manufacturing the blessed candles, and laying out burial-grounds in the towns. The thriving industry formerly carried on in the manufacture of religious pictures has succumbed to profane competition; and the convents have now to content themselves with the offerings which they receive when the pictures are blessed. In the Russian mind the sight of such vast wealth inspires the highest veneration, and that the more since those convents which are traditionally regarded as the most sacred have naturally been able, through the liberality of their votaries and their own exertions, to display the greatest ecclesiastical splendour. The annual incomes of the celebrated convent of Kiev, of certain convents in and near Moscow and Novgorod, the Alexander-Nevsky Convent at St. Petersburg, and others, are reckoned by millions of rubles, although their Government pension in no instance exceeds 5000 rubles, and in many cases is as low as 1500 rubles. In the eyes of the people their mysterious affluence brightens the halo of sanctity of these God-favoured monks; and it may be said that the veneration for the convents and their inmates, the convent churches and their shrines, rose in proportion as the Government, by confiscating their landed property and serfs, diminished the everyday business contact between the convent household and the world. It is considered perfectly natural that there should be three or four splendid churches in a single convent, besides numerous chapels in its immediate neighbourhood, while the surrounding district for miles is destitute of simple parish churches. Still less does it seem strange that the convents have done nothing to raise the moral and spiritual condition of the people, and very little to alleviate their material and corporal wretchedness. The Russian convents do not, like those in Catholic countries, provide schools of primary or superior education for the laity; only a few communities of nuns in the larger towns have recently opened expensive boarding-schools, intended solely for the daughters of the higher nobles. The convents of men have only their theological seminaries. In these, it is true, the sons of the secular clergy and the church-servers are received, fed, and taught, gratis; but it must not be forgotten that no other way of education is open to the children of the sacerdo-

tal caste, that from them exclusively the ranks as well as the general staff of the clergy are recruited, and that it is a rare exception even now to see a seminarist who has completed his course betake himself to any secular calling. Besides, as already mentioned, the monks have possessed themselves of the clerical academies, at which the theological masters' and doctors' degrees are acquired, so as to keep these institutions and the scholars who are educated there under the spell of their own influence.

The Government has at various times taken order for making difficult, and so diminishing, the entrance of the laity into convents. The conditions of Russian society do not offer any real grounds for such regulations. It signifies nothing to the principle of hierarchical supremacy to increase the numbers of the monastic contingent from the lay world; but also the Russian character with its nomadic basis is diametrically opposed to conventual seclusion and contemplation. It has been already stated that, during sixteen years, out of a population of about 57 millions, only 1371 lay persons sought the asylum of an Orthodox convent, and that among them were only 33 nobles, or persons distinguished by higher education, wealth, or influential connections. Very probably the Orthodox convents would be still more sparingly recruited from the lay world, and, in spite of hierarchical influences, from the secular clergy itself, if their discipline and rules corresponded to those of the Western Catholic or the Greek or Armenian convents. But in the first place, there are no different orders or vows, as in those Churches, but only graduated distinctions in the rigour of the conventual life. The correctional convents indeed may be to some extent comparable with the ecclesiastical penitentiaries of Western Europe; but they cannot, like them, be reckoned among real convents. The most decided contrast is found in the episcopal residences, which are essentially conventual establishments, enjoying conventual immunities, and peopled by real monks, who however are under no monastic restriction except celibacy. The bishop's considerable revenue and the still more considerable additions to it enable him to live in a princely style. His court, in consequence of the fashionable preference of the nobles for the spiritual administrations of the bishop, are brought into constant communication with the higher classes, and in the profane world not seldom play the part of the French abbés under the old régime. Here, under the episcopal shadow, grow up the future eparchs, consistorial counsellors, rectors of academies, and prelates of

the most influential convents. Of the convents proper some have life in community, some in independence; as all have large incomes, both kinds have ample provision for living. But in the convents with independent life, in which only the necessary elements of dwelling, clothing, and food can be claimed in community, the overplus is simply distributed among the individual monks, who dispose of their share at pleasure, and are bound to the observance of few conventual rules. It need hardly be said that such convents are the most sought after. From them come the greater part of the professors in ecclesiastical academies and seminaries. In convents where there is community of life may be found the devotion and the asceticomystic learning which are characteristic of the middle ages; but they are quite buried, and without external influence. Nevertheless here also the forms of life are generally much freer than in Catholic convents of rigid observance. Thus, for instance, almost all Igumenes or Abbots of single houses, and Archimandrites or provincials with many houses under them, and even some simple monks, possess their summer residences, a fact easily explained by the prevailing custom of the more opulent classes of the provincial population of Russia. But it seems on the other hand strange and hardly explicable, except in connection with the hierarchical principle of the leading circle of the sacerdotal caste, that the most active and most ambitious monks, notwithstanding all their opportunities, strictly avoid any open and unofficial contact with the lay world and the secular clergy. And this affords another reason why the black clergy, notwithstanding their better education, have held fast to the Byzantine petrification of the Russian Church as their first principle, and why they themselves have never been really popular in the nation. Always clinging to Greek traditions, their reforms have never been anything but attempts to re-establish the so-called "pure old doctrine." Hence sprang the schism brought about by the Patriarch Nikon, (1657), under Alexis Michaelowitch, the second Czar of the house of Romanoff. At that time a portion of the people and of the secular clergy separated from the official State Church; and from this schism the secret associations gradually arose as a national reaction, however indistinct and unconscious, against the foreign and unassimilated ecclesiastical régime. In lapse of time other elements joined these sects. The opposition against the monastic hierarchy in later times gave a certain popularity to the secular clergy, and kept them also in a position which was relatively national.

Here we may close our consideration of the monastic clergy and its position in the Russian Church. The secular clergy, among whom must be reckoned the whole tribe of church officials, present no such interesting points. With them it is almost exclusively a question of earning their daily bread, not by the cure of souls, but by the exercise of a spiritual trade. They exhibit the characteristics of a body systematically thrust down. With a scanty and undignified allowance of material means, their mundane cares leave them no moment to forget their dependence on the hierarchy; and their education has been made narrow and incomplete in order to render them incapable of all thought of an emancipation from their compulsory calling. As matters stand with the Orthodox secular clergy, it cannot but happen that its members, unless wonderfully favoured by fortune, must continue to occupy their degraded social position, and to be scarcely ever able to earn the respect of the lower classes either for their office or for their persons. Evidently their personal influence among the higher classes is and must be zero.

To show this more clearly, let us trace the life of the future secular ecclesiastic from its beginning. His birth as a child of the sacerdotal caste exempts him from taxes and from the military conscription, and opens to him the ecclesiastical schools, where he gets gratuitous instruction and maintenance. Henceforth he is severed from his home; and, if at the close of his seminary course he passes a tolerable examination, he becomes a candidate for the priesthood. If however he wishes to obtain a theological degree to qualify him for a position in a great city church, a superior professorship, or a place in a consistory, he must enter some academy, all of which, as has been seen, are in the hands of the monks, on whose favour or dislike all the chances of his future career depend. It must also be remembered that the regular clergy always try to persuade their ablest pupils to remain in the convents. Thus it comes to pass that only mediocrities become popes. Those seminarists, on the other hand, who pass their examination with difficulty are only raised to the diaconate, a subordinate and scantily remunerated position, hardly higher than that of bell-ringer, and far lower than the least of the popes. There remain those who are not able to pass any examination at all. Some of these, as has been explained already, become the proletariat of the convents; others redeem the loss of their sacerdotal privileges by becoming sacristans, singers, copyists, or servants in the ecclesiastical chanceries, and, in short,

by serving the hierarchy in any condition, however menial. When it is remembered that their whole number, according to recent statistics, amounts to over half a million, that, however poorly some of them may be provided for, they must all be maintained by the Church, and that their notorious dissoluteness is only equalled by their want of culture, then it must be granted that if, nevertheless, it is a rare thing for one of them to get into a secular prison, into military service, or into any of the ordinary entanglements of the proletariat, such a result must be owing to the systematic and deliberate principle of the hierarchy never utterly to forsake any member of the clerical caste.

This is the proper place to speak of the ecclesiastical schools, as their character determines the nature and essence of the whole clerical body. Two preliminary facts must be kept clearly in view in estimating its present and future conditions:—first, that all the education of the clergy from the Patriarchs and Metropolitans down to the lowest church-servants must and can be acquired only in these schools; and secondly, that from both teachers and pupils all elements are excluded which do not belong to the clerical body, or do not aim simply at finding their whole vocation within its limits. Hence the Government, which cannot take these institutions out of the hands of the conventual clergy, is under Alexander II. jealously endeavouring to reform the plan of instruction and the schools themselves. Under the circumstances of Russia it might be expected that no positive results of such efforts would be visible. Nevertheless, various symptoms may be remarked among the younger clergy of an awakening consciousness of the contradiction between these forced forms of education and the demands of modern life. The present system is built upon reforms which have been introduced within the last thirty years. Before that time the clergy only passed through a single school, where everything was taught from the alphabet to the pastoral office. Now there are three separate departments—first, the elementary or preparatory schools, next the seminaries, whence the candidate for the secular priesthood proceeds, and lastly the academies, which represent the theological faculties of other countries. These ecclesiastical schools share the radical fault of all Russian educational institutions. They overwhelm the pupils with a chaotic mass of knowledge, transcending the capacity of the human brain, and result at best in a sterile superficiality, but usually in a senseless re-echoing of the *verba magistri*.

and occasionally in brutalizing the powers of thinking and judging. The ordinary pope, after going through the preparatory school and the seminary, is expected to be conversant with forty-seven subjects. These include twenty-six branches of theology, six dead and living languages, a cyclus of philosophical, mathematical, and natural sciences, rural economy, popular medicine, etc. All this is to be learned in compendiums which must have the imprimatur of the Holy Synod, which is guided by the principle that no indication may be given of any conflict between faith and science. The first consequence naturally is that the philosophical teaching is based on the later mediæval scholasticism, which has been exploded in the rest of Europe for a century; and this accounts for the phenomenon that there are teachers of seemingly the most difficult sciences whose stipend hardly exceeds that of sacristans and deacons. Indeed, if a man stands on the top ring of his science—and such men may occasionally be found even in clerical circles—he is still more obliged than his ignorant colleagues to confine himself to the approved compendiums; for his independent knowledge and research is a scandal to his superiors, and can only look to the Government for recognition. Under such circumstances it is impossible that the professors should manifest any inclination for better methods of teaching; they simply teach “what is in the book.” And further, it is only natural that none but dull mediocrities should hold the professors’ chairs in the preparatory schools and seminaries, while the more accomplished and ambitious use them only as preliminary stages either to higher hierarchical positions, or, especially of late, to the abjuration of the ecclesiastical state for the Government service or commerce. For it must be remembered that the clerical school directors in general have small respect for worldly knowledge, and regard its professors who prefer the academical office to that of a pope or a monk as half renegades from the clerical caste. The consequence is a continual change in the professors, which cannot but react disastrously on the teaching and on the pupils.

The conditions of education are in many respects more favourable at the academies, which since 1814 have been independent institutions, and which, as already stated, are not obligatory for either the regular or the secular clergy. They presuppose a complete course in a seminary, and are often used by young divines as a mode of transition to secular study at the universities. Others only take there a theological degree, which is an ex-

cellent recommendation for an ecclesiastical career. For all prelates’ households, consistories, convents, and educational institutions, value highly the possession of a large number of masters’ and doctors’ degrees amongst their members. Nevertheless in the last thirty years only some 5000 degrees have been acquired at the academies.

How does the Alexandrine epoch affect the minds of the youths who frequent all these institutions? It might be supposed that their complete seclusion from the world would not admit of any contact with the spirit of the time; but the fact is otherwise. Nowhere has a more cordial reception been given than amongst the pupils of these ecclesiastical institutions to the revolutionary theories of Western Europe, to German naturalism and French socialism, in bad translations of their standard works, to Herzen’s *Kolokol*, and to the pamphlets of Bakunin and Dolgorukow. The strict prohibition of these publications has made them sacred and mysterious treasures bequeathed by one generation of students to another. Utterly ignorant of the world, the youths have learned to see in their bold sophistry and confident theorizing the gospel of the future of humanity, and in themselves, born and bred in all the pride of caste, its destined apostles in Russia. Years ago the Russian press declared that the source of the most destructive social democracy, and of absolute revolutionary nihilism, must be sought in the Orthodox seminaries. At all events it cannot be denied that among the wildest journalists and pamphleteers of the wildest period of excitement from 1856 to 1866, as well as among the detected members of more recent secret societies and conspiracies, a large proportion were pupils of such institutions. Some of them, by choice or compulsion, have retreated from their advanced standpoint; many are undergoing their punishment in the ice-deserts and mines of Siberia; others, while still students, altered their minds for the sake of their prospects in life, when the institutions were visited by inspectors armed with the power of punishment. There is silence about them now, just as since the change of system after Karakassow’s attempt there has been silence in Russia about everything else connected with her period of “storm and stress.” At present, it is alleged, only well-instructed popes issue from the seminaries, and only quiet scholars from the academies; let us accordingly return to the favoured sons of ecclesiastical discipline and sacerdotal caste.

The candidate who has secured his right to the sacerdotal office, by passing the seminary examinations, has been up to this point under

the exclusive tuition of the monks.<sup>1</sup> All now depends on how he has behaved towards them; for the bishop, with the advice of his consistory, has the absolute disposal of all benefices, and naturally imposes his conditions. As the candidate must be married to a spinster before he can act as a pope, and with the death of his wife must cease to be a pope, marriage becomes the great question of life. Until quite recently the young clergyman could not choose a wife outside the clerical caste; many bishops even insisted that the bride should belong to the eparchy, and should be of equal rank with the candidate, so that the daughter of an urban protopope should be married to a protopope, the daughter of a simple pope to a simple pope, the daughter of a deacon to a deacon, and so on. Now it often happened that a pope retiring on account of age or widowhood resigned with the condition that his successor should marry his daughter—a condition which the authorities usually enforced the more willingly, as it at once released the Church treasury from the cost of maintaining the old pope, paying the salary of his coadjutor or vicar, and pensioning his daughter. This species of investiture of benefices had become quite systematic; and the consistory kept a regular register of all the marriageable popes' daughters in its district, which, when the vacancy occurred, decided the fate of the successful aspirant. It was only in 1867 that the Government resolved to abolish this kind of customary law which made benefices heritable, and to publish a Ukase making it unlawful to impose the marriage with a predecessor's daughter, or the maintenance of his family, as a condition of succession to a benefice. Scores of years may have to pass before this Ukase becomes universally current, and scores more before the practices it condemns are altogether extirpated; but at least it has enunciated a principle which will save the competitor for a pope's office from the double degradation of his honour as a man and his dignity as a priest. Still this abuse was only one of the most ordinary, and by no means one of the most degrading, conditions which the secular priest had to undergo in order to obtain a benefice; and even this is still legal in the case of deacons and church-servers. It would be in vain to attempt even approximately to indicate the indignities of other kinds which, on a thousand and one different occasions, are heaped on the young candidates, not only at their entrance into their offices, but while they are striving to retain them. For the pope's absolute dependence on the eparch does not end with his receiving a benefice, but remains unaltered during his whole life.

It is proclaimed year by year in a most humiliating manner before all the people, when the eparch, with his court of monks, makes his annual visitation of all the parishes of his district. Each inspection ends with an examination of the pope, in the presence of his congregation, wherein he must satisfy the prelates as to his knowledge of ecclesiastical Slavonic and of the Catechism. Moreover, there are provosts delegated by the bishop, whose duty it is to watch over the official and moral conduct of the popes; and within their district these men have at any time an unlimited right of inspection. Although they belong to the secular clergy, still it is self-evident that their personal interests bind them to the eparchs and their consistories. Besides being responsible for the conduct of popes, deacons, and church-servers, they have also to keep the registers of births, marriages, and deaths, to sketch the budget of every parish church, and, in short, to transact business so multifarious that they cannot keep their own places without oppression to those beneath them and complaisance to those above them.

To compare the office of a pope, or the character of his moral and mental status, with what is required of the humblest minister of any of the West-European confessions, is impossible. None of the latter would accept his position. There is no idea of his fulfilling any real cure of souls. It would in many cases really scandalize his regular and secular superiors, and to his congregation it would be simply unintelligible or intrusive, if a pope were to concern himself about his spiritual flock, or interpose with his advice, admonition, or help. His place is only in the church; and even there his duties are exclusively formal. In strictly prescribed formulas of old Slavonic, which he scarcely understands, he says his mass, baptizes, marries, buries, and utters the words of the other rites; and the slightest ceremonial lapse would not merely subject him to embarrassments but make him suspected of revolutionary ideas. Sermons can only be preached from homily-books approved of by the bishops, and in the villages and smaller towns are very rare; even in the great cathedrals they are still the exception, and are regarded by the Church authorities as very serious innovations. Moreover the pope, with an overseer chosen from the laity of the congregation, has to administer the property of his church, and pay over the income to the provost or the consistory. His state-pay in the country and smaller towns is quite insignificant—less than that of the clergy of other confessions tolerated in Russia; in the case of protopopes of cathedrals it amount-

to 4000 or 5000 rubles. Besides his pay he has only his prescribed surplice fees to depend upon. He has however a privilege the use of which is calculated still further to degrade him in the eyes of his congregation. At the Epiphany, both in towns and villages, the pope, in his best vestments and surrounded by deacons and church-servers, goes about from house to house to bless each family, and has a customary right to claim a fee proportionate to its means. The upper classes in the towns generally transact this business at the street-door through their domestic servants, without any mention of the blessing; but in the villages the inhabitants have often to be forcibly prevented from running off, and so evading the payment.

On the intellectual, moral, and material condition of the Orthodox secular clergy of Russia, a gleam of hope was shed by the efforts of the Alexandrine reformers to emancipate them from the despotism of the monks. The Government thought that the fruits which it looked for from the emancipation of the serfs could only be insured by an educational and beneficent influence of the secular clergy on the masses, and that without this the consequences of the measure would be disastrous both for the State and for society. Hence arose the reform of the clerical schools. This was successfully carried out to a certain extent, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the regular hierarchy, but not without heavy concessions to buy off its enmity. The time which has hitherto elapsed is too short to ascertain its working either on the clergy or people. But it is an ominous circumstance, that the present generation of the younger secular clergy was trained in that period of the conventual schools when the social and political fermentation of the "new era" worked most strongly and bewilderingly upon them. After Karakassow's attempt the monastic hierarchy, in their hatred of all liberal tendencies, did not find it difficult, by pointing to the aberrations of a few of the seminary pupils, to inspire the Government with distrust of its own reforming tendencies. Even the fact that the whole Russian press had strengthened and encouraged the Government in its efforts was, in the adversary's hands, a means of making the work suspected. At the same time the nationalist press left off making the Orthodox Church a subject for rational criticism; and its earlier zeal for social and political freedom changed into what was called "national patriotism"—a sterile propaganda against the non-orthodox Christians of the Western provinces, and a fanatical terrorism against their non-Russian populations. Nothing more is heard of the

progress of social democracy and nihilism in the clerical schools; but neither is it known how much of the Government reform is still left standing in them, and whether insensibly the old state of things has not been completely restored. It is the same with the intended amelioration of the material condition of the secular clergy. This also had been undertaken by the Government, in order to check the influence of the monks and to win the popes to its side. The time seems still distant for the barriers to fall which now condemn the secular clergy to an isolation from the world similar to that of the regulars; and till this happens the transformation of the Orthodox Church into a living and fruitful organism is impossible. Hitherto Russo-Greek Orthodoxy has grown nothing but weeds. On the one hand, a ruinous indifference to religion deadens the action of feeling and intelligence, and from time to time, and always in widening circles, is exaggerated into a complete negation of all moral principles of human life; on the other hand, continually increasing multitudes are seeking in a wilderness of sects for that religious peace and elevation which are denied them in the stark and empty formalism of the State Church. These sects are attractive from their secrecy, and gain a halo of sanctity from their persecution by the political and ecclesiastical authorities, while this very persecution necessarily drives them, not only into a dogmatic opposition to the Russo-Greek faith, but also into conspiracies against the State, against society, and against all religious organization. The sects are already a real though secret power in Russia; and, since the "new era" of Alexander II. began, they have risen to much higher importance than before. Their danger lies not in their material or moral forces, but in their seclusion from the formative influence of the elements of ecclesiastical and political civilization, in the half-accidental half-axiomatic abstinence of their adherents from education, and in their hostility to any kind of progress in the world or in humanity. The Orthodox Church has no spiritual weapons wherewith to fight against the schism; her only appeals are to the police and the coercive power of the secular government. Thus she unites sectaries, who have nothing else in common, into a league of mutual defence, and heaps together a colossal mass of inflammable and revolutionary elements, into which the slightest breeze may easily convey a spark. Without the spiritualization of the Church the spiritual conquest of the sects is impossible. But the fact that the dead formalism of the Church is in many respects a necessity for the state-craft of the Czars renders it impos-



sible for the Government to grant religious freedom, or to accept toleration as a principle of politics. Russia will have no solution of this dilemma while she retains her present forms of government and society; nor, under the circumstances, is any organic development of other conditions to be looked for. As heretofore, so hereafter, all kinds of experiments will be made with all kinds of palliatives—those of to-day less scientific in origin and less comprehensive in working than those which preceded the attempt of Karakassow. This is not the place to inquire how long such a vacillating policy may be able to keep things as they are, nor to augur the probable conditions and events of its overthrow. They can hardly imply the approximation of Russian to European culture; and still less will they be due to any national desire for inclusion in the cosmopolitan solidarity of the interests of civilization.

---

ART. VI.—USES AND REQUIREMENTS OF  
ENGLISH DIPLOMACY.

THERE is something suspicious about a violent onslaught in the name of economy upon a small and exceptional item in the national expenditure. The warfare waged in the last session of Parliament upon the estimates for the diplomatic service was marked by this characteristic. Those who carried it on were animated, both in and out of the House of Commons, by an enthusiasm seemingly quite out of proportion to the importance of the issue involved. Mr. Rylands, in particular, handled the subject as one who has dedicated his life and strength to a great and sacred cause. His cross-examination of the witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons was that of an advocate intent upon convicting a criminal out of his own mouth. It reads like a French *acte d'accusation*. The avowed object of this attack was to save the public purse; and certainly there are few more worthy ends that a politician can propose to himself. But when it is found that the whole annual outlay on the diplomatic services of England is considerably under a quarter of a million, the zeal displayed in the attempt to reduce the sum seems hardly accounted for by the amount of the possible saving. Nor can it be explained on the ground of the precedent it affords for other and larger economies. It may be well worth while to effect even a trifling reduction in the expenditure of a great public office, or in a small office the

example of which is likely to be generally followed. But the diplomatic service stands on a different footing from any other. The alleged extravagant salary of the English ambassador at Paris or Vienna can hardly be twisted into a precedent for keeping open superfluous dockyards. Wherever the money paid by the country is shown to be more than the services obtained for it are really worth, there of course is a good case for reduction. The peculiarity of the crusade recently set on foot against the diplomatic estimates is that the alleged excess of payment over value received is very trifling, while the zeal displayed in cutting it down is very ardent.

When the facts of the case are inquired into, it appears that some other considerations besides economy may enter into the question. The diplomatic service has two peculiarities which are calculated to make it disliked. It is to a considerable extent an unpaid service; and it is a service in which appointments are made at the discretion of the Secretary of State. At first sight it may seem strange that economists should be foremost in discrediting a system under which a good deal of work is done for the public without the public having to pay anything in return. Supposing all that has ever been said as to the inferiority of gratuitous work to be literally true, the balance of profit must still, it might be thought, be on the side of the nation. The explanation is that an unpaid service is necessarily recruited from a class which has other means of subsistence than the proceeds of its own labour. A young man cannot begin life as a diplomatist unless he has some hundreds a year either of his own or of his family's providing. So long as this is the case, it can never be a really open service. A large number of the most capable and the most ambitious of the Queen's subjects are necessarily shut out from it. There are obvious arguments which may be urged against this exclusion. Foreign policy is an important element in the general conduct of English affairs; and to confine its management to certain privileged classes has an appearance of running counter to the general tendency of liberal reforms. The service of the State, it may be said, ought to be open to Englishmen of every degree; and it is peculiarly undesirable that a restriction which contradicts this principle should apply to a branch of that service which especially represents the country in the eyes of other powers. To foreign nations, at all events, England should appear as a homogeneous unit. How is she to do so if the real strength of her population is not suffered to have any share in the duty of representing her abroad?

The place that patronage still holds in the

diplomatic service is another cause of its unpopularity. That the introduction of unlimited competition into the public service has been productive of many advantages may be freely admitted, without the popular zeal for universal examination being accepted as evidence of any genuine respect for education. It is found in its highest development among large classes of persons who in every other relation of life disregard or despise the culture which in the public service they profess to think so indispensable. A London merchant or a Lancashire cotton-spinner may be assumed to be as anxious about the proper conduct of his own business as about the proper conduct of public affairs; but it is not found that he insists upon his clerks or his overlookers passing a competitive examination. He is apt to admire knowledge rather as the universal leveller than as the universal enlightener. Competition is the solvent which is to destroy aristocratic influence, and to give all ranks of the community an equal title to employment in its service.

Connected in some degree with this element of dissatisfaction, is the idea that the existing diplomatic organization is unfavourable to a policy of non-intervention. Foreign courts are an object of ill-defined suspicion to many Englishmen; and this vague sentiment is naturally fostered by the fact that the representatives of England abroad are mostly taken from the upper classes. Non-intervention is the especial creation of the middle class; and therefore it is not wonderful that they should feel jealous that the functions in which there is most room for its exercise should be discharged by men who are supposed to view such a policy with indifference, if not with dislike. It is hardly too much to say that the popular English conception of a diplomatist is that of a man constantly endeavouring to mix the country up in the affairs of the Continent, and constantly thwarted in his endeavours by the practical shrewdness of a liberal House of Commons. "Meddle and muddle,"—the phrase invented by a Parliamentary rival to describe the foreign policy of a particular minister,—represents accurately enough a very widely diffused estimate of English diplomacy as a whole. More than one plausible commonplace is enlisted in the support of this theory. Why, it is often asked, should diplomacy be a distinct profession? Of course the routine work of an embassy must be carried on by clerks possessing some acquaintance with the matters which habitually come before them; and a small staff might be maintained at the principal capitals to give advice to British subjects in difficulty, and to protect the interests of British trade. But what is the need of

an ambassador constantly living at Paris or St. Petersburg? Why should not a Cabinet Minister, or a Member of Parliament in the confidence of the Government, be sent out to negotiate important treaties or to remove unlooked-for misunderstandings, and England be left at other times without any special representatives? The most successful treaty of modern times was arranged in this way. Mr. Cobden's labours have been worth more to Great Britain than those of all her regular diplomatists put together. Why then should not the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with France be made the type of all similar transactions, and occasional missions be universally substituted for regular representation? For what, after all, is the business of an ambassador? It is to convey to the Court to which he is accredited the opinion of his own Government upon matters in which the two countries have a common interest, and to report to his own Government the opinion of the Government with which he is in communication. But both these ends might be better answered if each Government would gather the opinion of the other from the debates in Parliament—in countries where Parliamentary institutions exist—and from the information supplied by the newspapers, and give any comments it might think necessary through the medium of a direct despatch from one foreign minister to the other. Those who argue in this way naturally view with peculiar dislike the practice of maintaining representatives at small Courts. Even if it were admitted that there might be some reason for having an ambassador constantly resident at Paris or Berlin, of what possible use, they ask, can a minister be at Darmstadt or Berne? The small states of Europe have now no policy of their own, even when they are still nominally independent; and when they are neutralized by treaty this absence of a policy becomes an essential feature of their position.

This seems to be the outline of the case urged against the continuance of the diplomatic service on its present footing. The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed on the 14th of February 1870 to inquire into the constitution of the English diplomatic and consular services, was not able to bring its labours to an end by the close of the session; but a large number of witnesses were examined; and the evidence, so far as regards the diplomatic branch of the inquiry, may be considered complete. The materials thus collected are useful as a help towards some general conclusions on the uses and requirements of the diplomatic service.

A difficulty occurs on the threshold of

the subject. To ask for proof of the value to a nation of being represented by competent ministers at foreign Courts, is like asking for a proof that sugar is sweet. If it is said, by way of answer, that a government needs to be kept fully acquainted with the politics, at all events the external politics, of foreign countries, and that it should be able, as it sees occasion, to impress its views of European affairs upon foreign governments, the rejoinder will be a direct denial. England, in the opinion of those who wish to see the diplomatic corps disbanded, ought to have no foreign policy strictly so called, and consequently she need employ no one to explain it to foreign statesmen. This position might be overturned by a demonstration of the futility of the formula "non-intervention," except so far as it describes an accidental attitude of the nation under the influence of conflicting sympathies. But it will fall more strictly within the limits of the special question under discussion, to show that, even if the ideal policy of England is properly summed up in this misunderstood phrase, diplomacy has still its use and function in the State. It sometimes takes two to prevent as well as to make a quarrel; and the most peaceably disposed nations cannot look to be always exempt from the danger of having quarrels forced upon them.

Diplomacy serves to ward off this danger in two ways: first, directly, by the influence of the representatives on the Courts to which they are accredited; and secondly, indirectly, by the information they convey to their own Government, and the precautions which the latter are thereby enabled to adopt.

Those who argue that the value of diplomacy has been overstated lay great stress on the alleged change that has come over European policy since the general establishment of constitutional government in greater or less completeness. They admit that when the decision between peace and war rested with an autocratic sovereign, a dexterous or well-timed representation from an ambassador might have a considerable and even a paramount influence in determining the action of a great power. But now that everything is settled by the will of the people as evidenced by the votes of the legislature, the opportunities for personal intervention of this sort are, they maintain, done away with. No envoy can gain the ear of a whole people; and consequently no envoy can do much more than might be done by a despatch addressed directly from the English Foreign Office to the Government whose good-will it is desired to secure, or by a statement of the views and intentions of

the English Cabinet communicated to Parliament, and through Parliament to all who are interested in learning it. This statement of the facts is wrong in both particulars. Constitutional government, in the sense in which the term is usually understood in England, does not exist in any one of the great Continental powers; and even if it did exist, it is only the sphere of diplomatic influence that would have been changed. Englishmen are so accustomed to see the policy of the country determined by the ministry which commands the confidence of the House of Commons, without regard to the personal wishes or feelings of the Sovereign, that they are apt to jump to the conclusion that the same names everywhere imply the same things. Every European ruler has his ministers; and nearly every European ruler appoints and dismisses those ministers with more or less reference to the votes of the legislature. Russia and Turkey are exceptions even to this last rule; and therefore in Russia and Turkey an English envoy has as much importance as ever. But even in countries which have adopted a representative system, the power of the Sovereign, especially in matters of foreign policy, is very little impaired. In France until the other day the Foreign Minister was little more than the Emperor's private secretary. He was changed from time to time according as the Emperor's own policy inclined in this or that direction; but the motive that determined the dismissal of one or the appointment of another was simply their fitness, from their known sentiments or their diplomatic antecedents, to carry out the Emperor's plans. In Prussia, Count Bismarck enjoys an extraordinary ascendancy over the King's mind, and by that means he has shaped the course of Prussian policy pretty much as he liked. But, though he has for the most part been able to direct the Royal will, he has never been able to leave it out of his calculations. In Austria perhaps, since the late reforms, the case is different; and if the Emperor and Count Beust were to find themselves hopelessly opposed upon a question of policy, it may be that the Emperor would give way. But constitutional government in Austria is hardly old enough to allow of much confidence upon this head. To all appearance the Emperor has up to this time been convinced by his minister's arguments, and has consequently consented to carry out his minister's plans. There are as yet too few materials to enable us to prophesy what would happen if this concord between them were to come to an end. Even in Italy, the youngest of constitutional monarchies, the action of the Government in regard to

Rome has been considerably influenced by the personal sentiments of Victor Emanuel.

But supposing every Continental nation were governed after a strictly English fashion, and that its attitude towards other nations were determined by ministers responsible to and virtually appointed by the popular branch of the legislature, the occupation of a skilled diplomatist would not be gone. It would no longer be his business to guide the mind of the sovereign in a direction favourable to the views of the government he represents; but a task of still greater nicety and difficulty would be laid upon him in the guidance of the mind of the minister. For although the latter may in theory be merely a representative of representatives, the executive embodiment of the legislative will, it is obvious that just in proportion to his hold upon Parliament and the country will be his power of acting in anticipation of both, in the assurance of gaining their subsequent assent to what he has done. Lord Palmerston's share in the Chinese war of 1857 is an instance of this; and throughout the greater portion of his long career the guidance of the foreign policy of England was almost as much in his hands as though he had been an autocratic ruler. In the combinations of ministerial and royal government which now exist on the Continent the part played by a minister is still more important. Instead of having to control an assembly he has only to influence his sovereign; and if, as sometimes happens, this latter process has been effected once for all, the minister becomes in effect irresponsible. The diplomatist who could persuade Count Bismarck in any given case might boast not unfairly that he had determined the action of Prussia.

It follows necessarily from the place that personal influence holds in matters of this kind, that diplomacy must in many instances, and those often the most important, be strictly secret. Although open diplomacy commends itself to some unthinking politicians because it is supposed to be peculiarly manly and straightforward, a very little reflection will show that it is almost a contradiction in terms. There is a passage in Lord Clarendon's evidence before the Select Committee of last session which gives the experience upon this point of a statesman who had unusual opportunities of bringing theory to the test of observation:—"With regard to the value of our diplomatic service generally, is it not the case that what may be called the greatest feats of diplomacy are those that are unknown to the world; for instance, where great wars have been quietly prevented, or the commencement of

evil in the relations between countries averted; that in fact, the country frequently, from the very fact of its successes, has not known the greatest successes of its diplomacy?—I think that that is perfectly accurate; things have been done that exactly fulfil the conditions that you have mentioned; evil may be averted, and good may be done, but the causes, the mainsprings of that remain concealed, and very desirable it is that they should be so. Supposing that a particular country exercises moral influence, and makes another government feel that it is wrong, that it interposes quietly and mediates between two other countries, and brings the question between the contending parties to a peaceful solution, it is extremely desirable that that should not be known. It would only be to the advantage or glorification of the person concerned in it; but it might lead to mortification and irritation to the powers that had been brought to that result to have it known that it had been done by means of foreign or external influence that had been exerted. Therefore, I should always consider that, unless there is a public necessity, those things should remain concealed. Of course I think that everything ought to be public that can be, and my notion of proper diplomacy is that everything ought to be known by the public that is useful to your own country to know; but that you ought not to make public in your own country that which would be prejudicial or irritating to others.—Therefore, when a country is considering the cost of its diplomatic service, and whether it is well to keep it up, it ought to take into account that the most valuable diplomatic action it can never be aware of, but it must take on trust very much the beneficial nature of diplomacy, because from the very nature of things its most valuable operations are unseen!—That is perfectly true; I do not mean to say that these sorts of occurrences happen often in which diplomatists, whether an ambassador or the Foreign Secretary, intervene; but to my own knowledge, some of them have done so very successfully indeed, and those cases will never be known."

In the examination of more than one witness before the Select Committee, Mr. Rylands laid great stress upon that change in the conditions under which a diplomatist has to act which has followed upon the introduction of the telegraph. The argument which underlay his questions was to this effect: The importance of having able and carefully-trained representatives at a foreign Court depends upon the demands which the conduct of diplomatic business makes upon the judgment and tact

of the diplomatist. In proportion as the facilities for receiving instructions from his Government are increased these demands become less; in any important emergency, or at any difficult stage of a negotiation, the envoy can now apply to the Foreign Office, and receive precise instructions how to act under the particular circumstances which have arisen. The truth, however, seems to be that there is just as great need for judgment and tact on the part of the minister as there ever was. The utmost that quicker means of communication have done is slightly to modify the way in which these qualities exhibit themselves. The telegraph conveys hints rather than instructions, conclusions rather than premisses. The envoy has to put together these hints, and to supply the reasoning by which these conclusions are to be enforced. Sometimes, no doubt, the question he has asked of his Government admits of a definitive answer. He wants to know whether to consent to a particular clause of a treaty, or to reject a particular basis of arrangement. But, more often the instructions sent out to him require to be acted on with discretion, to be amplified or even modified in their details, to be executed in the spirit at the cost, it may be, of some trifling departure from the letter. It is not possible to convey all this by telegraph; and, even if it were possible, fresh complications might arise several times a day in the course of a negotiation. If the envoy never acted on his own responsibility, but always waited until each fresh step was marked out for him from home, his Government would be driven in sheer weariness to find an agent willing to act on more general instructions. Besides this, the use of the telegraph by the Foreign Secretary implies, if time is to be saved, a previous use of it by the envoy. How this affects the question is very well stated in Mr. Morier's evidence:—"What seems to have been entirely forgotten is that before the Foreign Secretary can convey his orders to the diplomatic agent he must have the telegraphic report of the diplomatic agent upon which to base his orders. Now anybody who has thought upon the subject knows that, of all the responsible and of all the difficult things to do, to convey a completely new political situation, such as can be the result of a day's conference, in a telegram of some 70 or 80 words, and to convey it in such a form that not only the Foreign Minister but perhaps a Cabinet Council may be able to decide upon it, is an intellectual *tour de force* which requires an

exceedingly superior kind of agent. If you take the old conferences at Verona or Aix-la-Chapelle, or any of those places, you had there a number of ambassadors who settled themselves very comfortably for a sojourn of weeks or months. Whenever a conference had taken place, couriers were sent back to the different capitals, and they would wait till the answers came, so that no step was taken by those conferences for which the Ministers had not the most detailed instructions. Instead of that we have now a system of telegraphing; and therefore, though in one sense it relieves the responsibility of the ambassador or minister, in another it enormously adds to it.

The second great function of a diplomatist is the communication of information to his Government. He is placed at the social centre of the State to which he is accredited, and consequently he commands the best opportunities of discerning its policy and intentions. The value of the knowledge derived from this source will vary with circumstances. Where personal government prevails it will be greatest; because the Court takes its tone from the Sovereign, and the will of the Sovereign determines the action of the State. In really constitutional countries it will be least; because in these the action of the State is decided by other influences than the will of the Sovereign, and influences which are not necessarily represented in the Court. Still, even in the latter case, an ambassador may be of very great use to his Government, if he has the power of noting and weighing the various currents of public opinion. For instance, a diplomatist, who had been resident in England during the American war, might have completely misled those who trusted to his information, if, from the very general sympathy with the Southern States which he would have observed in society, he had drawn the natural inference that England would be likely to intervene in their favour. But then a deeper knowledge of the real forces at work in the country would have enabled a diplomatist to assure his Government beforehand that nothing of the kind would be attempted. Probably the false expectations which Napoleon III. built upon the anxiety of the South German populations to be set free from Prussian dictation had their origin in a diplomatic blunder. His envoys said that such sentiments existed; and they were not at the pains to balance them against the influences which would draw all the German States

to the side of Prussia, so soon as Prussia, by having to defend German territory against a foreign enemy, had made their cause and hers one.

The knowledge gained by an envoy will often concern the relations of the State with a power other than his own country. The ministers with whom he is in communication are naturally on their guard when what they say is certain to be conveyed to the very persons from whom they may wish to conceal their intentions. But where the envoys of other powers are concerned, they have not quite the same motive for caution; and the English ambassador at Vienna may know more of the feelings of Austria towards Russia than the Russian ambassador himself. More than this, the best intelligence of the views of one Court may come from an envoy resident at another Court. At St. Petersburg, for example, the views of the Government upon the Pan-Slavonic movement must be learned from the Minister of Foreign Affairs; but at Stockholm they may be in the possession of some less cautious diplomatist, and may be talked of by him to his colleagues with a frankness the injudiciousness of which is not fully seen by him because the question in no way concerns the interests of Sweden. This is one justification for the maintenance of missions at small Courts. At all events they afford abundance of diplomatic gossip; and an envoy who knows how to winnow gossip properly may from time to time come upon facts of real moment for his Government to know. Lord Malmesbury says that the two most important pieces of information he received whilst at the Foreign Office—the intention of the Austrians to cross the Ticino in 1859, and the intention of the Emperor Napoleon to annex Savoy—came, one from the English minister at Hanover, the other from the English minister at Berne. "There is often," as Lord Malmesbury truly says, "great discretion at one Court and very little at another;" and the fact that the small Courts have rarely any foreign interests of their own tends to reduce the mutual intercourse of the various representatives to a conversational level, which an observant diplomatist may sometimes find extremely suggestive. Nor is this the only advantage derivable from these small missions. The conduct, for example, of a State of little intrinsic importance in the hierarchy of European powers may have a beneficial or a disastrous effect on the maintenance of peace. "In the small missions," says Sir Henry Elliot, "there are constantly questions arising, in which, by the personal influence of a British representative, a mis-

understanding is cleared up or a claim is satisfied, which if not taken in time would very likely lead to a serious complication hereafter. The smallest kingdom in Europe is Greece; but a rupture between Greece and Turkey, even if it did not involve us in a war, would produce a disturbance which would certainly cost us a great deal more than any saving you might effect in reducing your legation there." Of course the recent changes in Germany and Italy have necessarily led to the suppression of several of these smaller missions; but, so long as there is even a semblance of independence kept up by a vassal sovereign, there seem to be adequate reasons why England should be represented at his Court.

It is sometimes assumed that the growing importance of the press in every European country, and the weight assigned, at least in every constitutional country, to the discussions which take place in the legislature, have virtually superseded diplomacy as a source of political information. No doubt the debates in a foreign legislature are sometimes of great value as an index to the policy of the Government; but the proportion of important affairs which are submitted to Parliamentary discussion is very much less on the Continent than in England; and even in England there are many matters in which another Government may be interested, which never, or only after a long delay, find their way into the House of Commons. Besides this, as Lord Derby told the Select Committee, "life would not be long enough to read all the proceedings of all the various legislative bodies of Europe;" and unless the Foreign Secretary possessed an unusually intimate knowledge of the public men of every country, and of the nature and value of the several phases of public opinion which they represent, he would miss the significance of much that passes in foreign legislatures if his attention were not called to it by a resident envoy. Much the same thing may be said with regard to the information supplied by newspapers. That which is gained from English journals will usually be found in letters from their correspondents in various countries; in other words, it will be the same in kind as that communicated by an envoy, but greatly inferior in value. In both cases the writer sends home all the intelligence he can lay hold of. But in the case of a diplomatist, the writer has access to the best sources, and those from whom he gains the contents of his despatch knew that what they said will not necessarily be given to the world; whereas, in the case of a newspaper correspondent, the

sources of his information are probably inferior in themselves, and nothing is communicated to him that is not intended for the public ear. As regards foreign newspapers, if the news given in them relates to other countries than those in which they are published, it must be taken with the same distrust; if it relates to their own countries, there are other disadvantages to be contended with. Many of the most influential Continental journals are inspired by the Government, or by a particular minister; and they are largely used for the manufacture of news intended to serve a special purpose. Statements of this kind represent not the fact, not even what a shrewd and practised observer supposes to be the fact, but merely what the Government or the minister wishes the particular readers for whom the paper is primarily intended to suppose to be the fact. It may often be convenient that the English Foreign Secretary should know of this wish, since it may help him, if only by the rule of contrary, to divine the real policy of the Government which invents and circulates the news in question. But this sort of knowledge has at most only a secondary worth. It is useful as serving to correct or give the key to other knowledge; but that is all.

When it is understood what English diplomatists have to do, the next step is to inquire by what process they ought to be chosen and trained. Here however an insurmountable difficulty occurs. There neither is nor can be any thoroughly satisfactory mode of choosing them; and the very best training to which they can be subjected when chosen only covers the least important part of their duties. A diplomatist is in a sense born, not made. Knowledge of character may be cultivated and developed by the study of men; but in the first instance it is to a great extent a matter of instinct. But this instinct can only be tested by actual practice, so that, as regards this qualification, the minister who has to provide the service with recruits has no option but to take them pretty much at random. He can insist of course that they shall have received a fair education, and be in all respects equal to average students in the liberal professions; but he can do no more. He might institute a preliminary examination as severe as that required for the highest university honours; but he would be quite as likely to exclude the most promising candidates by this means as to secure them. No doubt, special training will go some way to make a man a good diplomatist. Besides that knowledge

of languages which is so elementary a requirement in diplomacy that it may be presumed to be always possessed, the two great subjects of history and law should be carefully studied from a diplomatic point of view. Modern history, including the history of treaties and the history of international law, should be mastered in detail, at all events since the formation of the modern State system in Europe. International law is a diplomatist's chief tool; and in an empirical sort of way he is probably fairly familiar with it. But competent authorities testify to the necessity of founding his acquaintance with international law on the study of Roman law. Mr. Morier insists on the importance, "for the purpose of mutual intercourse and negotiation, that the parties holding the intercourse and negotiating should have a body of thought and formulas in common;" and, in confirmation of this, he adduces his own experience how much his action as a diplomatist has been "paralysed by an ignorance of the civil law." To Mr. Grant Duff it appears "quite monstrous, when we consider how enormously the whole modes of thoughts of the statesmen and publicists of continental Europe are coloured by the jurisprudence of Rome, that some security should not be taken that at least the outlines of that magnificent system, and especially its terminology, should be mastered by the young diplomatist." Professor Maine thus explains the double disadvantage under which England labours in consequence of ignorance on this head:—"There cannot be a doubt that our success in negotiation is sometimes perceptibly affected by our neglect of Roman law; for, from this cause, we and the public, or negotiators from other countries, constantly misunderstand each other. It is not rarely that we refuse respect or attention to diplomatic communications, as wide of the point and full of verbiage or conceits, when in fact they owe those imaginary imperfections simply to the juristical point of view from which they have been conceived and written. And, on the other hand, State Papers of English origin, which, to an Englishman's mind, ought, from their strong sense and directness, to carry all before them, will often make but an inconsiderable impression on the recipient, from their not falling in with the course of thought which he insensibly pursues when dealing with a question of public law. In truth the technicalities of Roman law are as really, though not so visibly, mixed up with questions of diplomacy as are the technicalities of special pleading with points of the English common law. So long as they cannot be disentangled,

English influence suffers obvious disadvantage through the imperfect communion of thought."

Inasmuch, however, as neither the appointment nor the training of diplomatists can be reduced to a universal rule, it will be more practically useful to examine whether some incidental advantages are not secured by the present system in both these respects which might be lost or impaired by the adoption of the changes recommended in some quarters. The features of the system to which it is chiefly necessary to refer are the over high pay which is alleged to be given to the ministers at the principal Courts, and what is called not very correctly, the aristocratic character of the service. The English ambassador at Paris receives £10,000; the ambassadors at Vienna and Constantinople receive £8000; and there are in all ten English representatives at foreign Courts whose salaries are not less than £5000. It is objected, amongst other things, that this is much more than is paid to Cabinet Ministers in England, and much more than is found necessary for the United States ministers in Europe. In the latter service the heads of the missions at Paris and London, the only two first-class missions maintained by the American Government, receive only £3591 each. The first of these objections is soon disposed of. The inadequacy of the salaries paid to the principal Cabinet Ministers has long been a subject of just complaint. The only reason why it is not felt far more keenly than it is is that the vicissitudes of party government virtually make it necessary that a leading politician shall have considerable private means. He is in office only for a part of his career; and even if, before taking office the first time, he has supported himself by his own exertions in a profession or in commerce, he is seldom or never able to do so when he is again in opposition. The salaries of the ministers of the Crown may be regarded rather as a means of defraying the additional expenses which their position renders obligatory than as their actual livelihood. This is not the case with the diplomatic body. It is true, as it will be seen presently, that they are obliged to have some private means at starting; but as they advance in the service the salaries are at all events permanent, and may be all that they have to depend on. If they are looked at in this latter aspect, there is a consensus of testimony to the fact that, instead of being too large, they are too small. "I know it for a fact," says Mr. Hammond, "that the necessary expenditure of many of our ministers is so large that they are obliged, not only to appropriate to

it their private income, but also their capital, which they certainly ought to be allowed to set apart for the benefit of their families." Lord Clarendon says: "I am certain they are moderately paid, because I know that the generality of them cannot meet their expenses from their pay." The salaries now given are, in most cases, the same as they were half a century ago, while the cost of living has in every case greatly increased. The old quiet unostentatious life of many foreign capitals has disappeared, or is fast disappearing; and even, says Lord Clarendon, "those countries that used to be economical, and where people used to go with their families for purposes of saving, are entirely altered now in that respect, and are become extremely expensive." The main question therefore is, whether the outlay and general mode of life which has hitherto been held to be necessary for English representatives at foreign Courts is really necessary, whether the public gain by their liberal exercise of hospitality, whether, in short, the function of a diplomatist ought to include a large social element, or could be equally well discharged in the seclusion of an office. There seems to be no room for doubt what answer should be given to this question. Even the instance of the United States, which is usually relied on by those who maintain that the social element may be safely left out of the conception of diplomacy, seems really to tell the other way. At least it is understood that, in appointing a minister at the larger European capitals, the President of the United States is often hampered in his choice by the unwillingness of men who have not large incomes of their own to accept a post in which they will have to choose between living in a different way from that in which the representatives of other countries live, and defraying the larger part of their expenses out of their own pockets. It may be said that in cases where this alternative is frankly faced, and the impossibility of emulating the extravagance of diplomatists generally is accepted, the United States is in no way the worse. Even if this were true—and diplomacy is not usually counted among the fields in which American policy has been conspicuously successful—it proves nothing with regard to Great Britain. Her position towards the Continental powers is altogether different from that of the United States. Because the latter may safely dispense with the influence exercised through social relations, and the knowledge gained by social intercourse, it does not follow that England could afford to do so.

In the first place, the influence exercised



by an English representative, whether on a sovereign or a minister, will in part depend on the opportunities he has for studying both the man himself and the circle by which he is habitually surrounded. Natural acumen may do much, but it cannot do everything; and even what it can do helps a diplomatist rather to turn his opportunities of observation to good account than to dispense with them altogether. But a diplomatist who does not mix habitually with the society of the place at which he is resident does virtually forego these opportunities; and it will be admitted that he cannot go constantly to other people's houses if he is denied the power of opening his own house in return. The same consideration applies with even greater force to the acquisition of knowledge. It is hardly too much to say that this important function of diplomacy would be altogether in abeyance if a minister lived the life of a hermit. The kind of information he becomes possessed of is either such as is floating about in the political society of the capital, or such as can only be properly tested by a man familiar with the modes of thought which prevail in that society. Shut him out from society, and he is reduced to supply the place of this information by means which are equally open to the Secretary of State in London. In fact he becomes little more than a *précis* writer stationed abroad to save the Foreign Secretary the trouble of reading the newspapers of the country. Again, there are some kinds of knowledge which can only be obtained in their best form by the actual exercise of hospitality. "If you want," says Mr. Morier, "to know the feeling of a country in regard to the tenure of land or any question like that, you cannot go to one individual here and another there and submit him to cross-examination, but having them about you, you start the topic and you hear what they say on all sides, and you get to have a perception of the existing state of opinion upon any given subject. You cannot do any work, either in diplomacy or anything else, without taking in the social element."

Hospitality, again, is the most natural and convenient, in many cases the only way of repaying men for the trouble they have been at to afford information. Sir Hamilton Seymour put this view, coarsely perhaps, but truly, when he said, before a Select Committee in 1850: "I ask a man to dinner who is not able to pay me by a dinner, and who therefore is very glad to pay me in another way. He may bring me a piece of intelligence, for example." But there can be no doubt that a great deal of help is gained in various ways from men to whom

an ambassador cannot offer money. This sort of help is not confined to politics. The English Foreign Office is now extending the system of inquiries into various social phenomena in foreign countries; and these inquiries can often only be carried on by extracting knowledge from other people's brains. This process of extraction requires time; and when a minister or a secretary of legation has taken up some hours of his informant's day, he naturally wishes to show him some civility in return. Upon this point Mr. Morier says:—"You must remember that foreign governments have a great advantage over us; they have orders to give away. First of all, there is very much less of inquiry, by foreign governments than by us, but whenever there is this kind of inquiry, it is invariably paid for by an order; that is the received coin. We have got no orders to give away, and there is not the least doubt that there is a great deal that we have to do by social courtesy which other people do very much cheaper by means of orders. I may give an instance: During the Crimean war there was a physician at Vienna who, I knew, had exceptional information with regard to the Principalities, that was of great importance; he had been there for several months, drawing up a report for the Austrian Government. I knew of this, and I at once informed Her Majesty's Government that there was this man with this special information, and they instantly sent out two army surgeons of great eminence, who spent three days sucking this man's brain, and then went off to Bucharest. There was not the slightest kind of official notice taken of this man's giving up three very valuable days, three days of his practice. He was a little hurt at not getting any kind of official acknowledgment sent to him; but this was smoothed over by little attentions of the kind which I have mentioned."

The circumstances from which the exclusive or aristocratic character of the diplomatic service is said to flow are two—the nomination by the Secretary of State without a competitive examination, and the absence of salary during the stage of attachéship. There is obviously a close connection between these two features. Even if the first appointments were thrown open to competition, the number of candidates for them would be greatly limited by the fact that for four years they carry no pay whatever, and for a good many years more very little pay—little, that is, when compared with the expenses which the holder necessarily incurs. The nature of these expenses has already been indicated. The method by which diplomatic learning and knowledge is gain-

ed is the same in its degree in every grade of the service. It is the duty of every member of a mission, from the ambassador down to the junior attaché, to see as much as possible of the society of the place in which he lives. To do this even in London would require more than the £150 a year which is the pay of a third secretary, not to mention that to get even this £150 a man must have served without salary for four years; and some European capitals are far more expensive, at least for young men, than London itself. At St. Petersburg Mr. Hammond reckons that an attaché cannot live upon less than £800 a year. He cannot find inexpensive lodgings; he has no club at which to dine cheaply; he cannot do without a servant, and hardly without a carriage. At Vienna a hired fiacre is not allowed within the court-yard of any of the great houses; and, though a private fiacre will answer all purposes, even this costs at least £20 a month. It follows from this that Lord Clarendon is decidedly under the mark when he says that £400 a year is the very lowest amount of private means which a young man ought to have if he thinks of becoming a diplomatist. Indeed he qualifies his own statement by the addition: "There are one or two Courts to which we have great difficulty in finding any one to go, because £400 a year is really not sufficient for them there." In the interest of the service therefore the Foreign Secretary is bound rather to raise than lower the pecuniary qualification which is now virtually insisted on. The inconvenience of having to consider an attaché's means before determining to which Court he shall be sent is obvious. If this had to be often done it would result in a double favouritism. Poor men would always be kept at the less important missions, thereby losing occasions of distinguishing themselves; and richer men would be denied the opportunities of occasional economy which now come round to them.

If then the diplomatic service is to be thrown really open, the first thing to be done is to revise the salaries of the junior members. The system of unpaid attachéship must be done away with, and the incomes both of the attachés and the second and third secretaries must be calculated on a scale proportionate to the rate of their necessary expenses. The only other course would be to change the manner of living expected from a diplomatist; but, as any such change has been seen to be incompatible with a proper discharge of his duties, this alternative may be dismissed without comment. It is plain that this revision of salaries would involve a considerable increase of expense to the pub-

lic. The junior places in the service would have to be made equal in point of salary to those first-class clerkships in the civil service at home to which a man is seldom promoted till he has been many years in an office. Is it advisable to throw this gratuitous burden upon the national exchequer? That it would be gratuitous hardly admits of doubt. There is no difficulty in filling up the vacancies in the service; indeed the Foreign Secretary receives a larger number of applications for appointment than he finds himself able to attend to. Nor is there ground for supposing that the work would be better done. The diplomatic service is one of the most conspicuous exceptions to the more than doubtful rule that unpaid work is never good. All the official witnesses before the Select Committee of last session are agreed upon this point. Whatever work there is, is done promptly and willingly; and the general standard of the work done will bear comparison with that of any public office that can be named. Lord Clarendon's testimony with regard to the secretaries of legation is; "It does not signify what amount of work is put upon them; I have never heard any complaint, or observed anything but a spirit of willingness to do whatever was required of them." Indeed the reports lately furnished by them on industrial and commercial questions are sufficient evidence of the high average both of zeal and capacity which obtains in the service.

The only plea that can be urged in favour of abolishing the present system of unpaid labour is that it would enable the first appointments to be given to the best candidate in a competitive examination, instead of, as now, to the nominees of the Secretary of State. But the mere fact of coming out first in an examination, however severe, gives no security that the successful candidate will make a good diplomatist. The qualifications needed for distinction in this line are only in part capable of being ascertained by an examiner; or, more accurately, an examiner can only ascertain that certain knowledge has been acquired; he cannot determine whether the qualifications necessary for using this knowledge are there also. It has been said that a diplomatist should be a fair international lawyer, and be something of a civilian; but these subjects need not be mastered by him until after his appointment, and a test examination in them is sufficient to answer every purpose. A man will make an inefficient diplomatist if he knows nothing of either international or Roman law; but supposing two men to know, one the necessary minimum, and the other a good deal more than that, it by no means follows that

the latter will be better than or even so good as the former.

The principal end therefore which would be answered by making appointments according to the results of a competitive examination, instead of, as now, at the discretion of the Foreign Secretary, would be the extension of the social area from which recruits are drawn. By this means, it is said, the diplomatic career would become really open to many who, though they "may have acquired a university education, and be otherwise suited to fill positions in the public service," are now shut out from it because they are the sons of clergymen, or of gentlemen of small means, or even of tradesmen; and in this way the system would cease to be one of "close patronage allowing only the introduction of a particular class of society."

But is it so certain that the abolition of this restriction would be an advantage? In other branches of the public service it is for the most part intellectual, not social, distinction that makes a man useful to the State. In the diplomatic career there is a minimum qualification as regards both. Mr. Hammond bluntly told the Select Committee that, "as a general rule, the son of a small tradesman is not quite the fit person to go into the first society of foreign capitals;" and, when pressed with the objection that "some of the most distinguished persons, archbishops and lord chancellors, have been the sons of barbers and butchers," he answered with great pertinence that "those sons of tradesmen, though they may rise in this country by their talents to the highest rank, are not in that rank when they commence their career as young men of twenty-one." It is childish to ignore class distinctions when to do so involves a collision with facts. In this case the facts are, first, that a certain familiarity with the habits of society is necessary to that freedom and self-possession which can alone enable a man to turn social intercourse to the purposes of diplomacy; and secondly, that even if the want of this familiarity could be soon supplied, foreign governments might be slow to understand its being dispensed with in the first instance. In every country of the Continent, social position is regarded in the appointment of attachés; and if the English missions were to constitute the one exception to this practice, their members might not be admitted to associate on equal terms with the members of other foreign legations, or with the best society of the capital. In other words, they would be subjected to disadvantages alike mortifying to themselves and injurious to their diplomatic usefulness.

It is a further objection to appointment by competitive examination that it tends to lessen the responsibility of the Secretary of State. In most departments of the public service this fact is of no importance; but in the diplomatic service it is of very great importance. Diplomacy is made up of confidential business. Secrets both of the home and the foreign government are intrusted, not merely to the heads of missions, but to all their staff. It is true the Secretary of State cannot absolutely test a man's power of keeping a secret before appointing him; but he has at all events the partial security which is afforded by some knowledge of his antecedents, and of his friends. A foreign government has no hesitation in being perfectly frank with the head of a mission so long as it knows that the staff with whom its confidence will be shared has been appointed by the Foreign Secretary, on his own responsibility, and after the making of all the inquiries he thought it necessary to institute. But if a Continental government is told that nothing more is known of the English attachés than they have done well in a preliminary examination, it may be a good deal more chary of its communications. Nor must it be forgotten that the temptation to disclose diplomatic secrets is often very great. The information to which attachés have access has in many cases a direct money value, sometimes a very high money value. Mr. Morier says:—"Within a fortnight of being named unpaid attaché I was called upon to accompany Lord Westmorland to the camp held at Olmütz, just before the Crimean War. It was one of the most important crises in modern European history. I was the only person with Lord Westmorland. Business of the very greatest importance was being transacted every day: and I had access to information of the greatest money value, I mean knowledge which I could not only have sold for any sum almost, but which would have enabled me to play on the funds with absolute certainty. I was going every day to Count Nesselrode, to Count Buol, or some other minister, with messages of various kinds from Lord Westmorland, having reference to the business being transacted, and I was being treated on the most absolutely confidential terms." No intellectual attainments can be a guarantee that such opportunities as these will not be abused. It may be said, perhaps, that the Secretary of State has no means of testing moral qualifications. But the facts that the appointments are made at his sole pleasure, that he has a large field to choose from, and is absolutely unfettered in his choice, that he can make what inquiries he likes, and from whom he likes, that

he can appoint or not appoint after he has made them without assigning either reason or excuse, do constitute a guarantee for which no number of marks can possibly be a substitute.

England is asked to weaken this security, and with it the presumption that a diplomatist possesses those social qualifications without which he can be of little or no service to the State, and to do this at the cost of a very large increase in the diplomatic estimates. The sole gain which is promised in return is, that the service will no longer be exclusively filled up from those classes who are best fitted to discharge its duties, and who are willing to discharge them for no pay in the first instance, and for pay which is rarely adequate afterwards. But what if the gain itself should prove a loss? The very ideal of a State requires that each class of the community should do the public precisely that service which can be done by it better than by others. There is nothing exclusive in using different tools for different purposes. The area from which public servants are selected should be as extensive as is consistent with getting the right kind of service. If its limits are stretched beyond that point, it can only be from an unworthy deference to a prejudice which assigns a higher value to names than things. Again, it is not desirable that any further inroad should be made without necessity upon the principle of unpaid service. In itself it is based on a far higher conception of public duty than the theory that the State is bound to give to every man the precise money equivalent of whatever he may have done on its behalf. Whenever unpaid labour can be shown to be more costly in the end than paid labour, there is no doubt a good reason for abolishing it; but so long as the community gets what it needs, and has to render nothing in return, it seems a strange economy to insist that it should pay a large sum for the sake of not getting what it wants. D. C. L.

#### ART. VII.—THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

THE intention of Pius IX. to convene a general Council became known in the autumn of 1864, shortly before the appearance of the Syllabus. They were the two principal measures which were designed to restore the spiritual and temporal power of the Holy See. When the idea of the Council was first put forward it met with no favour. The French bishops discouraged it; and the

French bishops, holding the talisman of the occupying army, spoke with authority. Later on, when the position had been altered by the impulse which the Syllabus gave to the ultramontane opinions, they revived the scheme they had first opposed. Those who felt their influence injured by the change persuaded themselves that the Court of Rome was more prudent than some of its partisans, and that the episcopate was less given to extremes than the priesthood and laity. They conceived the hope that an assembly of bishops would curb the intemperance of a zeal which was largely directed against their own order, and would authentically sanction such an exposition of Catholic ideas as would reconcile the animosity that feeds on things spoken in the heat of controversy, and on the errors of incompetent apologists. They had accepted the Syllabus; but they wished to obtain canonicity for their own interpretation of it. If those who had succeeded in assigning an acceptable meaning to its censures could appear in a body to plead their cause before the Pope, the pretensions which compromised the Church might be permanently repressed.

Once, during the struggle for the temporal power, the question was pertinently asked, how it was that men so perspicacious and so enlightened as those who were its most conspicuous champions, could bring themselves to justify a system of government which their own principles condemned. The explanation then given was, that they were making a sacrifice which would be compensated hereafter, that those who succoured the Pope in his utmost need were establishing a claim which would make them irresistible in better times, when they should demand great acts of conciliation and reform. It appeared to these men that the time had come to reap the harvest they had arduously sown.

The Council did not originate in the desire to exalt beyond measure the cause of Rome. It was proposed in the interest of moderation; and the bishop of Orleans was one of those who took the lead in promoting it. The Cardinals were consulted, and pronounced against it. The Pope overruled their resistance. Whatever embarrassments might be in store, and however difficult the enterprise, it was clear that it would evoke a force capable of accomplishing infinite good for religion. It was an instrument of unknown power that inspired little confidence, but awakened vague hopes of relief for the ills of society and the divisions of Christendom. The guardians of immovable tradition, and the leaders of progress in religious knowledge, were not to share in the work. The schism of the East was widened by the

angry quarrel between Russia and the Pope; and the letter to the Protestants, whose orders are not recognised at Rome, could not be more than a ceremonious challenge. There was no promise of sympathy in these invitations, or in the answers they provoked; but the belief spread to many schools of thought, and was held by Dr. Pusey and by Dean Stanley, by Professor Hase and by M. Guizot, that the auspicious issue of the Council was an object of vital care to all denominations of Christian men.

The Council of Trent impressed on the Church the stamp of an intolerant age, and perpetuated by its decrees the spirit of an austere immorality. The ideas embodied in the Roman Inquisition became characteristic of a system which obeyed expediency by submitting to indefinite modification, but underwent no change of principle. Three centuries have so changed the world that the maxims with which the Church resisted the Reformation have become her weakness and her reproach, and that which arrested her decline now arrests her progress. To break effectually with that tradition and eradicate its influence, nothing less is required than an authority equal to that by which it was imposed. The Vatican Council was the first sufficient occasion which Catholicism has enjoyed to reform, remodel, and adapt, the work of Trent. This idea was present among the motives which caused it to be summoned. It was apparent that two systems which cannot be reconciled were about to contend at the Council; but the extent and force of the reforming spirit were unknown.

Seventeen questions submitted by the Holy See to the bishops in 1867 concerned matters of discipline, the regulation of marriage and education, the policy of encouraging new monastic orders, and the means of making the parochial clergy more dependent on the bishops. They gave no indication of the deeper motives of the time. In the midst of many trivial proposals, the leading objects of reform grew more defined as the time approached, and men became conscious of distinct purposes based on a consistent notion of the Church. They received systematic expression from a Bohemian priest, whose work, *The Reform of the Church in its Head and Members*, is founded on practical experience, not only on literary theory, and is the most important manifesto of these ideas. The author exhorts the Council to restrict centralization, to reduce the office of the Holy See to the ancient limits of its primacy, to restore to the Episcopate the prerogatives which have been confiscated by Rome, to abolish the

temporal government, which is the prop of hierarchical despotism, to revise the matrimonial discipline, to suppress many religious orders and the solemn vows for all, to modify the absolute rule of celibacy for the clergy, to admit the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, to allow a larger share to the laity in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, to encourage the education of the clergy at universities, and to renounce the claims of mediæval theocracy, which are fruitful of suspicion between Church and State.

Many Catholics in many countries concurred in great part of this programme; but it was not the symbol of a connected party. Few agreed with the author in all parts of his ideal church, or did not think that he had omitted essential points. Among the inveterate abuses which the Council of Trent failed to extirpate was the very one which gave the first impulse to Lutheranism. The belief is still retained in the superficial Catholicism of Southern Europe that the Pope can release the dead from Purgatory; and money is obtained at Rome on the assurance that every mass said at a particular altar opens heaven to the soul for which it is offered up. On the other hand, the Index of prohibited books is an institution of Tridentine origin, which has become so unwieldy and opprobrious that even men of strong Roman sympathies, like the bishops of Würzburg and St. Polten, recommended its reform. In France it was thought that the Government would surrender the organic articles, if the rights of the bishops and the clergy were made secure under the canon law, if national and diocesan synods were introduced, and if a proportionate share was given to Catholic countries in the Sacred College and the Roman Congregations. The aspiration in which all the advocates of reform seemed to unite was that those customs should be changed which are connected with arbitrary power in the Church. And all the interests threatened by this movement combined in the endeavour to maintain intact the papal prerogative. To proclaim the Pope infallible was their compendious security against hostile States and Churches, against human liberty and authority, against disintegrating tolerance and rationalizing science, against error and sin. It became the common refuge of those who shunned what was called the liberal influence in Catholicism.

Pius ix. constantly asserted that the desire of obtaining the recognition of papal infallibility was not originally his motive in convoking the Council. He did not require that a privilege which was practically undisputed should be further defined. The bishops, especially those of the minority,

were never tired of saying that the Catholic world honoured and obeyed the Pope as it had never done before. Virtually he had exerted all the authority which the dogma could confer on him. In his first important utterance, the Encyclical of November 1846, he announced that he was infallible; and the claim raised no commotion. Later on he applied a more decisive test, and gained a more complete success, when the bishops summoned to Rome, not as a council but as an audience, received from him an additional article of their faith. But apart from the dogma of infallibility he had a strong desire to establish certain cherished opinions of his own on a basis firm enough to outlast his time. They were collected in the *Syllabus*, which contained the essence of what he had written during many years, and was an abridgment of the lessons which his life had taught him. He was anxious that they should not be lost. They were part of a coherent system. The *Syllabus* was not rejected; but its edge was blunted, and its point broken by the zeal which was spent in explaining it away; and the Pope feared that it would be contested if he repudiated the soothing interpretations. In private he said that he wished to have no interpreter but himself. While the Jesuit preachers proclaimed that the *Syllabus* bore the full sanction of infallibility, higher functionaries of the Court pointed out that it was an informal document, without definite official value. Probably the Pope would have been content that these his favourite ideas should be rescued from evasion by being incorporated in the canons of the Council. Papal infallibility was implied rather than included among them. Whilst the authority of his acts was not resisted, he was not eager to disparage his right by exposing the need of a more exact definition.

The opinions which Pius ix. was anxiously promoting were not the mere fruit of his private meditation; they belonged to the doctrines of a great party, which was busily pursuing its own objects, and had not been always the party of the Pope. In the days of his trouble he had employed an advocate; and the advocate had absorbed the client. During his exile a Jesuit had asked his approbation for a Review, to be conducted by the best talents of the Order, and to be devoted to the papal cause; and he had warmly embraced the idea, less, it should seem, as a prince, than as a divine. There were his sovereign rights to maintain; but there was also a doctrinaire interest, there were reminiscences of study as well as practical objects, that recommended the project. In these personal views the Pope was not quite consistent. He had made himself the

idol of Italian patriots, and of the liberal French Catholics; he had set Theiner to vindicate the suppressor of the Jesuits; and Rosmini, the most enlightened priest in Italy, had been his trusted friend. After his restoration he submitted to other influences; and the writers of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which followed him to Rome, and became his acknowledged organ, acquired power over his mind. These men were not identified with their order. Their General, Roothan, had disliked the plan of the Review, foreseeing that the Society would be held responsible for writings which it did not approve, and would forfeit the flexibility in adapting itself to the moods of different countries, which is one of the secrets of its prosperity. The Pope arranged the matter by taking the writers under his own protection, and giving to them a sort of exemption and partial immunity under the rule of their Order. They are set apart from other Jesuits; they are assisted and supplied from the literary resources of the Order, and are animated more than any of its other writers by its genuine and characteristic spirit; but they act on their own judgment under the guidance of the Pope, and are a body-guard, told off from the army, for the personal protection of the sovereign. It is their easy function to fuse into one system the interests and ideas of the Pope and those of their Society. The result has been, not to weaken by compromise and accommodation, but to intensify both. The prudence and sagacity which are sustained in the government of the Jesuits by their complicated checks on power, and their consideration for the interests of the Order under many various conditions, do not always restrain men who are partially emancipated from its rigorous discipline and subject to a more capricious rule. They were chosen in their capacity as Jesuits, for the sake of the peculiar spirit which their system develops. The Pope appointed them on account of that devotion to himself which is a quality of the Order, and relieved them from some of the restraints which it imposes. He wished for something more papal than other Jesuits; and he himself became more subject to the Jesuits than other pontiffs. He made them a channel of his influence, and became an instrument of their own.

The Jesuits had continued to gain ground in Rome ever since the Pope's return. They had suffered more than others in the revolution that dethroned him; and they had their reward in the restoration. They had long been held in check by the Dominicans; but the theology of the Dominicans had been discountenanced and their spirit broken in 1854, when a doctrine which they had con-

tested for centuries was proclaimed a dogma of faith. In the strife for the Pope's temporal dominion the Jesuits were most zealous; and they were busy in the preparation and in the defence of the Syllabus. They were connected with every measure for which the Pope most cared; and their divines became the oracles of the Roman congregations. The papal infallibility had been always their favourite doctrine. Its adoption by the Council promised to give to their theology official warrant, and to their order the supremacy in the Church. They were now in power; and they snatched their opportunity when the Council was convoked.

Efforts to establish this doctrine had been going on for years. The dogmatic decree of 1854 involved it so distinctly that its formal recognition seemed to be only a question of time and zeal. People even said that it was the real object of that decree to create a precedent which should make it impossible afterwards to deny papal infallibility. The catechisms were altered, or new ones were substituted, in which it was taught. After 1852 the doctrine began to show itself in the acts of provincial synods; and it was afterwards supposed that the bishops of those provinces were committed to it. One of these synods was held at Cologne; and three surviving members were in the Council at Rome, of whom two were in the minority, and the third had continued in his writings to oppose the doctrine of infallibility, after it had found its way into the Cologne decree. The suspicion that the acts had been tampered with is suggested by what passed at the synod of Baltimore in 1866. The archbishop of St. Louis signed the acts of that synod under protest, and after obtaining a pledge that his protest would be inserted by the apostolic delegate. The pledge was not kept. "I complain," writes the archbishop, "that the promise which had been given was broken. The Acts ought to have been published in their integrity, or not at all."\* This process was carried on so boldly that men understood what was to come. Protestants foretold that the Catholics would not rest until the Pope was formally declared infallible; and a prelate returning from the meeting of bishops at Rome in 1862 was startled at being asked by a clear-sighted friend whether infallibility had not been brought forward.

It was produced, not then, but at the next great meeting in 1867. The council had been announced; and the bishops wished to present an address to the Pope. Haynald,

archbishop of Colocza, held the pen, assisted by Franchi, one of the clever Roman prelates, and by some bishops, among whom were the archbishop of Westminster and the bishop of Orleans. An attempt was made to get the papal infallibility acknowledged in the address. Several bishops declared that they could not show themselves in their dioceses if they came back without having done anything for that doctrine. They were resisted in a way which made them complain that its very name irritated the French. Haynald refused their demand, but agreed to insert the well-known words of the Council of Florence; and the bishops did not go away empty-handed.

A few days before this attempt was made, the *Civiltà Cattolica* had begun to agitate, by proposing that Catholics should bind themselves to die, if need be, for the truth of the doctrine; and the article was printed on a separate sheet, bearing the papal imprimatur, and distributed widely. The check administered by Haynald and his colleagues brought about a lull in the movement; but the French bishops had taken alarm, and Maret, the most learned of them, set about the preparation of his book.

During the winter of 1868-1869 several commissions were created in Rome to make ready the materials for the Council. The dogmatic commission included the Jesuits Perrone, Schrader, and Franzelin. The question of infallibility was proposed to it by Cardoni, archbishop of Edessa, in a dissertation which, having been revised, was afterwards published, and accepted by the leading Roman divines as an adequate exposition of their case. The dogma was approved unanimously, with the exception of one vote, Alzog of Freiburg being the only dissident. When the other German divines who were in Rome learned the scheme that was on foot in the dogmatic commission, they resolved to protest, but were prevented by some of their colleagues. They gave the alarm in Germany. The intention to proclaim infallibility at the Council was no longer a secret. The first bishop who made the wish public was Fessler of St. Pölten. His language was guarded, and he only prepared his readers for a probable contingency; but he was soon followed by the bishop of Nîmes, who thought the discussion of the dogma superfluous, and foreshadowed a vote by acclamation. The *Civiltà* on the 6th of February gave utterance to the hope that the Council would not hesitate to proclaim the dogma and confirm the Syllabus in less than a month. Five days later the Pope wrote to some Venetians who had taken a vow to uphold his infallibility, encouraging their noble resolution to defend his supreme authority

\* *Fidem mihi datam non servatam fuisse queror. Acta suppressere, aut integra dare oportebat. He says also: Omnia ad nutum delegati Apostolici fiebant.*

and all his rights. Until the month of May Cardinal Antonelli's confidential language to diplomatists was that the dogma was to be proclaimed, and that it would encounter no difficulty.

Cardinal Reisach was to have been the President of the Council. As archbishop of Munich he had allowed himself and his diocese to be governed by the ablest of all the ultra-montane divines. During his long residence in Rome he rose to high estimation, because he was reputed to possess the secret, and to have discovered the vanity, of German science. He had amused himself with Christian antiquities; and his friendship for the great explorer De' Rossi brought him for a time under suspicion of liberality. But later he became unrelenting in his ardour for the objects of the *Civiltà*, and regained the confidence of the Pope. The German bishops complained that he betrayed their interests, and that their Church had suffered mischief from his paramount influence. But in Rome his easy temper and affable manners made him friends; and the Court knew that there was no Cardinal on whom it was so safe to rely.

Fessler, the first bishop who gave the signal of the intended definition, was appointed Secretary. He was esteemed a learned man in Austria; and he was wisely chosen, to dispel the suspicion that the conduct of the Council was to be jealously retained in Roman hands, and to prove that there are qualities by which the confidence of the Court could be won by men of a less favoured nation. Besides the President and Secretary, the most conspicuous of the Pope's theological advisers was a German. At the time when Passaglia's reputation was great in Rome, his companion Clement Schrader shared the fame of his solid erudition. When Passaglia fell into disgrace, his friend smote him with reproaches, and intimated the belief that he would follow the footsteps of Luther and debauch a nun. Schrader is the most candid and consistent asserter of the papal claims. He does not shrink from the consequences of the persecuting theory; and has given the most authentic and unvarnished exposition of the Syllabus. He was the first who spoke out openly what others were variously attempting to compromise or to conceal. While the Paris Jesuits got into trouble for extenuating the Roman doctrine, and had to be kept up to the mark by an abbé who reminded them that the Pope, as a physical person, and without co-operation of the episcopate, is infallible, Schrader proclaimed that his will is supreme even against the joint and several opinions of the bishops.\*

When the proceedings of the dogmatic commission, the acts of the Pope, and the language of French and Austrian bishops, and of the press serving the interests of Rome, announced that the proclamation of infallibility had ceased to be merely the aspiration of a party and was the object of a design deliberately set on foot by those to whom the preparation and management of the Council pertained, men became aware that an extraordinary crisis was impending, and that they needed to make themselves familiar with an unforeseen problem. The sense of its gravity made slow progress. The persuasion was strong among divines that the episcopate would not surrender to a party which was odious to many of them; and politicians were reluctant to believe that schemes were ripening such as Fessler described, schemes intended to alter the relations between Church and State. When the entire plan was made public by the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in March 1869, many refused to be convinced.

It happened that a statesman was in office who had occasion to know that the information was accurate. The Prime Minister of Bavaria, Prince Hohenlohe, was the brother of a cardinal; the University of Munich was represented on the Roman commissions by an illustrious scholar; and the news of the thing that was preparing came through trustworthy channels. On the 9th of April Prince Hohenlohe sent out a diplomatic circular on the subject of the Council. He pointed out that it was not called into existence by any purely theological emergency, and that the one dogma which was to be brought before it involved all those claims which cause collisions between Church and State, and threaten the liberty and the security of governments. Of the five Roman Commissions, one was appointed for the express purpose of dealing with the mixed topics common to religion and to politics. Besides infallibility and politics, the Council was to be occupied with the Syllabus, which is in part directed against maxims of State. The avowed purpose of the Council being so largely political, the governments could not remain indifferent to its action. Lest they should be driven afterwards to adopt measures which would be hostile, it would be better at once to seek an understanding by friendly means, and to obtain assurance that all irritating deliberations should be avoided, and no business touching the State transacted except in presence of its representatives. He proposed that the governments should

ter supra omnium vota pontificis solius declarationi atque sententiæ validam vim atque irrefragabilem adesse potestatem.

\* Citra et contra singulorum suffragia, imo præ-



hold a conference to arrange a plan for the protection of their common interest.

Important measures proposed by small States are subject to suspicion of being prompted by a greater power. Prince Hohenlohe, as a friend of the Prussian alliance, was supposed to be acting in this matter in concert with Berlin. This good understanding was suspected at Vienna; for the Austrian Chancellor was more conspicuous as an enemy of Prussia than Hohenlohe as a friend. Count Beust traced the influence of Count Bismarck in the Bavarian circular. He replied, in behalf of the Catholic empire of Austria, that there were no grounds to impute political objects to the Council, and that repression and not prevention was the only policy compatible with free institutions. After the refusal of Austria, the idea of a conference was dismissed by the other powers; and the first of the storm clouds that darkened the horizon of infallibility passed without breaking.

Although united action was abandoned, the idea of sending ambassadors to the Council still offered the most inoffensive and amicable means of preventing the danger of subsequent conflict. Its policy or impolicy was a question to be decided by France. Several bishops, and Cardinal Bonnechose among the rest, urged the government to resume its ancient privilege, and send a representative. But two powerful parties, united in nothing else, agreed in demanding absolute neutrality. The democracy wished that no impediment should be put in the way of an enterprise which promised to sever the connection of the State with the Church. M. Ollivier set forth this opinion in July 1868, in a speech which was to serve him in his candidature for office; and in the autumn of 1869 it was certain that he would soon be in power. The ministers could not insist on being admitted to the Council, where they were not invited, without making a violent demonstration in a direction they knew would not be followed. The ultramontanes were even more eager than their enemies to exclude an influence that might embarrass their policy. The archbishop of Paris, by giving the same advice, settled the question. He probably reckoned on his own power of mediating between France and Rome. The French Court long imagined that the dogma would be set aside, and that the mass of the French bishops opposed it. At last they perceived that they were mistaken, and the Emperor said to Cardinal Bonnechose, "You are going to give your signature to decrees already made." He ascertained the names of the bishops who would resist; and it was known that he was anxious for their success.

But he was resolved that it should be gained by them, and not by the pressure of his diplomacy at the cost of displeasing the Pope. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and his chief secretary were counted by the Court of Rome among its friends; and the ordinary ambassador started for his post with instructions to conciliate, and to run no risk of a quarrel. He arrived at Rome believing that there would be a speculative conflict between the extremes of Roman and German theology, which would admit of being reconciled by the safer and more sober wisdom of the French bishops backed by an impartial embassy. His credulity was an encumbrance to the cause which it was his mission and his wish to serve.

In Germany the plan of penetrating the Council with lay influence took a strange form. It was proposed that the German Catholics should be represented by King John of Saxony. As a Catholic and a scholar, who had shown, in his Commentary on Dante, that he had read St. Thomas, and as a prince personally esteemed by the Pope, it was conceived that his presence would be a salutary restraint. It was an impracticable idea; but letters which reached Rome during the winter raised an impression that the King regretted that he could not be there. The opinion of Germany would still have some weight if the North and South, which included more than thirteen millions of Catholics, worked together. It was the policy of Hohenlohe to use this united force; and the ultramontanes learned to regard him as a very formidable antagonist. When their first great triumph, in the election of the Commission on Doctrine, was accomplished, the commentary of a Roman prelate was, "*Che colpo per il Principe Hohenlohe!*" The Bavarian envoy in Rome did not share the views of his chief, and he was recalled in November. His successor had capacity to carry out the known policy of the prince; but early in the winter the ultramontanes drove Hohenlohe from office; and their victory, though it was exercised with moderation and was not followed by a total change of policy, neutralized the influence of Bavaria in the Council.

The fall of Hohenlohe and the abstention of France hampered the Federal government of Northern Germany. For its Catholic subjects, and ultimately in view of the rivalry with France, to retain the friendship of the papacy is a fixed maxim at Berlin. Count Bismarck laid down the rule that Prussia should display no definite purpose in a cause which was not her own, but should studiously keep abreast of the North German bishops. Those bishops neither invoked, nor by their

conduct invited, the co-operation of the State; and its influence would have been banished from the Council but for the minister who represented it in Rome. The vicissitudes of a general Council are so far removed from the normal experience of statesmen that they could not well be studied or acted upon from a distance. A government that strictly controlled and dictated the conduct of its envoy was sure to go wrong, and to frustrate action by theory. A government that trusted the advice of its minister present on the spot enjoyed a great advantage. Baron Arnim was favourably situated. A Catholic belonging to any but the Ultramontane school would have been less willingly listened to in Rome than a Protestant who was a conservative in politics, and whose regard for the interests of religion was so undamaged by the sectarian taint that he was known to be sincere in the wish that Catholics should have cause to rejoice in the prosperity of their Church. The apathy of Austria and the vacillation of France contributed to his influence, for he enjoyed the confidence of bishops from both countries; and he was able to guide his own government in its course towards the Council.

The English government was content to learn more and to speak less than the other powers at Rome. The usual distrust of the Roman Court towards a liberal ministry in England was increased at the moment by the measure which the Catholics had desired and applauded. It seemed improbable to men more solicitous for acquired rights than for general political principle, that Protestant statesmen who disestablished their own Church could feel a very sincere interest in the welfare of another. Ministers so utopian as to give up solid goods for an imaginary righteousness seemed, as practical advisers, open to grave suspicion. Mr. Gladstone was feared as the apostle of those doctrines to which Rome owes many losses. Public opinion in England was not prepared to look on papal infallibility as a matter of national concern, more than other dogmas which make enemies to Catholicism. Even if the government could have admitted the Prussian maxim of keeping in line with the bishops, it would have accomplished nothing. The English bishops were divided; but the Irish bishops, who are the natural foes of the Fenian plot, were by an immense majority on the ultramontane side. There was almost an ostentation of care on the part of the government to avoid the appearance of wishing to influence the bishops or the Court of Rome. When at length England publicly concurred in the remonstrances of France, events had happened which showed that the

Council was raising up dangers for both Catholic and liberal interests. It was a result so easy to foresee, that the government had made it clear from the beginning that its extreme reserve was not due to indifference.

The lesser Catholic powers were almost unrepresented in Rome. The government of the Regent of Spain possessed no moral authority over bishops appointed by the Queen; and the revolution had proved so hostile to the clergy that they were forced to depend on the Pope. Diplomatic relations being interrupted, there was nothing to restrain them from seeking favour by unqualified obedience.

Portugal had appointed the Count de Lavradio ambassador to the Council; but when he found that he was alone he retained only the character of envoy to the Holy See. He had weight with the small group of Portuguese bishops; but he died before he could be of use; and they drifted into submission. Belgium was governed by M. Frère Orban, one of the most anxious and laborious enemies of the hierarchy, who had no inducement to interfere with an event which justified his enmity, and was moreover the unanimous wish of the Belgian episcopate. When Protestant and Catholic powers joined in exhorting Rome to moderation, Belgium was left out. Russia was the only power that treated the Church with actual hostility during the Council, and calculated the advantage to be derived from decrees which would intensify the schism.

Italy was more deeply interested in the events at Rome than any other nation. The hostility of the clergy was felt both in the political and financial difficulties of the kingdom; and the prospect of conciliation would suffer equally from decrees confirming the Roman claims, or from an invidious interposition of the State. Public opinion watched the preparations for the Council with frivolous disdain; but the course to be taken was carefully considered by the Menabrea Cabinet. The laws still subsisted which enabled the State to interfere in religious affairs; and the government was legally entitled to prohibit the attendance of the bishops at the Council, or to recall them from it. The confiscated church property was retained by the State, and the claims of the episcopate were not yet settled. More than one hundred votes on which Rome counted belonged to Italian subjects. The means of applying administrative pressure were therefore great, though diplomatic action was impossible. The Piedmontese wished that the resources of their ecclesiastical jurisprudence should be set in motion. But Minghetti, who had

lately joined the ministry, warmly advocated the opinion that the supreme principle of the liberty of the Church ought to override the remains of the older legislation, in a State consistently free; and, with the disposition of the Italians to confound Catholicism with the hierarchy, the policy of abstention was a triumph of liberality. The idea of Prince Hohenlohe, that religion ought to be maintained in its integrity and not only in its independence, that society is interested in protecting the Church even against herself, and that the enemies of her liberty are ecclesiastical as well as political, could find no favour in Italy. During the session of 1869, Menabrea gave no pledge to Parliament as to the Council; and the bishops who inquired whether they would be allowed to attend it were left unanswered until October. Menabrea then explained in a circular that the right of the bishops to go to the Council proceeded from the liberty of conscience, and was not conceded under the old privileges of the crown, or as a favour that could imply responsibility for what was to be done. If the Church was molested in her freedom excuse would be given for resisting the incorporation of Rome. If the Council came to decisions injurious to the safety of States it would be attributed to the unnatural conditions created by the French occupation, and might be left to the enlightened judgment of Catholics.

It was proposed that the fund realized by the sale of the real property of the religious corporations should be administered for religious purposes by local boards of trustees representing the Catholic population, and that the State should abdicate in their favour its ecclesiastical patronage, and proceed to discharge the unsettled claims of the clergy. So great a change in the plans by which Sella and Rattazzi had impoverished the Church in 1866 and 1867 would, if frankly carried into execution, have encouraged an independent spirit among the Italian bishops; and the reports of the prefects represented about thirty of them as being favourable to conciliation. But the ministry fell in November, and was succeeded by an administration whose leading members, Lanza and Sella, were enemies of religion. The Court of Rome was relieved from a serious peril.

The only European country whose influence was felt in the attitude of its bishops was one whose government sent out no diplomatists. While the Austrian Chancellor regarded the issue of the Council with a profane and supercilious eye, and so much indifference prevailed at Vienna that it was said that the ambassador at Rome did not read the decrees, and that Count Beust did not read his despatches, the Catholic states-

men in Hungary were intent on effecting a revolution in the Church. The system which was about to culminate in the proclamation of infallibility, and which tended to absorb all power from the circumference into the centre, and to substitute authority for autonomy, had begun at the lower extremities of the hierarchical scale. The laity, which once had its share in the administration of church property and in the deliberations of the clergy, had been gradually compelled to give up its rights to the priesthood, the priests to the bishops, and the bishops to the Pope. Hungary undertook to redress the process, and to correct centralized absolutism, by self-government. In a memorandum drawn up in April 1848 the bishops imputed the decay of religion to the exclusion of the people from the management of all church affairs, and proposed that whatever is not purely spiritual should be conducted by mixed boards, including lay representatives elected by the congregations. The war of the revolution and the reaction checked this design; and the Concordat threw things more than ever into clerical hands. The triumph of the liberal party after the peace of Prague revived the movement; and Eötvös called on the bishops to devise means of giving to the laity a share and an interest in religious concerns. The bishops agreed unanimously to the proposal of Deak; that the laity should have the majority in the boards of administration; and the new constitution of the Hungarian church was adopted by the Catholic congress on October the 17th, 1869, and approved by the King on the 25th. The ruling idea of this great measure was to make the laity supreme in all that is not liturgy and dogma, in patronage, property, and education, to break down clerical exclusiveness and government control, to deliver the people from the usurpations of the hierarchy, and the Church from the usurpations of the State. It was an attempt to reform the Church by constitutional principles, and to crush ultramontaniam by crushing gallicanism. The government, which had originated the scheme, was ready to surrender its privileges to the newly-constituted authorities; and the bishops acted in harmony with the ministers and with public opinion. Whilst this good understanding lasted, and while the bishops were engaged in applying the impartial principles of self-government at home, there was a strong security that they would not accept decrees that would undo their work. Infallibility would not only condemn their system, but destroy their position. As the winter advanced the influence of these things became apparent. The ascendancy which the Hungarian bishops acquired from the beginning was due to other causes.

The political auspices under which the Council opened were very favourable to the papal cause. The promoters of infallibility were able to coin resources of the enmity which was shown to the Church. The danger which came to them from within was averted. The policy of Hohenlohe, which was afterwards revived by Daru, had been, for a time, completely abandoned by Europe. The battle between the papal and the episcopal principle could come off undisturbed, in closed lists. Political opposition there was none; but the Council had to be governed under the glare of inevitable publicity, with a free press in Europe, and hostile views prevalent in Catholic theology. The causes which made religious science utterly powerless in the strife, and kept it from grappling with the forces arrayed against it, are of deeper import than the issue of the contest itself.

While the voice of the bishops grew louder in praise of the Roman designs, the Bavarian Government consulted the universities, and elicited from the majority of the Munich faculty an opinion that the dogma of infallibility would be attended with serious danger to society. The author of the Bohemian pamphlet affirmed that it had not the conditions which would enable it ever to become the object of a valid definition. Janus compared the Primacy as it was known to the Fathers of the Church with the ultramontane ideal, and traced the process of transformation through a long series of forgeries. Maret published his book some weeks after Janus and the *Reform*. It had been revised by several French bishops and divines, and was to serve as a vindication of the Sorbonne and the Gallicans, and as the manifesto of men who were to be present at the Council. It had not the merit of novelty or the fault of innovation, but renewed with as little offence as possible the language of the old French school.\* While Janus treated infallibility as the critical symptom of an ancient disease, Maret restricted his argument to what

was directly involved in the defence of the gallican position. Janus held that the doctrine was so firmly rooted and so widely supported in the existing constitution of the Church, that much must be modified before a genuine Œcumenical Council could be celebrated. Maret clung to the belief that the real voice of the Church would make itself heard at the Vatican. In direct contradiction with Janus, he kept before him the one practical object, to gain assent by making his views acceptable even to the unlearned.

At the last moment a tract appeared which has been universally attributed to Döllinger, which examined the evidences relied on by the infallibilists, and stated briefly the case against them. It pointed to the inference that their theory is not merely founded on an illogical and uncritical habit, but on unremitting dishonesty in the use of texts. This was coming near the secret of the whole controversy, and the point that made the interference of the Powers appear the only availing resource. For the sentiment on which infallibility is founded could not be reached by argument, the weapon of human reason, but resided in conclusions transcending evidence, and was the inaccessible postulate rather than a demonstrable consequence of a system of religious faith. The two doctrines opposed, but never met each other. It was as much an instinct of the ultramontane theory to elude the texts of science as to resist the control of states. Its opponents, baffled and perplexed by the serene vitality of a view which was impervious to proof, saw want of principle where there was really a consistent principle, and blamed the ultramontane divines for that which was of the essence of ultramontane divinity. How it came that no appeal to revelation or tradition, to reason or conscience, appeared to have any bearing whatever on the issue, is a mystery which Janus and Maret and Döllinger's *Reflections* left unexplained.

The resources of medieval learning were too slender to preserve an authentic record of the growth and settlement of Catholic doctrine. Many writings of the Fathers were interpolated; others were unknown, and spurious matter was accepted in their place. Books bearing venerable names—Clement, Dionysius, Isidore—were forged for the purpose of supplying authorities for opinions that lacked the sanction of antiquity. When detection came, and it was found that fraud had been employed in sustaining doctrines bound up with the peculiar interests of Rome and of the religious orders, there was an inducement to depreciate the

\* Nous restons dans les doctrines de Bossuet parce que nous les croyons généralement vraies; nous les défendons parce qu'elles sont attaquées, et qu'un parti puissant veut les faire condamner. Ces doctrines de l'épiscopat français, de l'école de Paris, de notre vieille Sorbonne, se ramènent pour nous à trois propositions, à trois vérités fondamentales: 1° l'Eglise est une monarchie efficacement tempérée d'aristocratie; 2° la souveraineté spirituelle est essentiellement composée de ces deux éléments, quoique le second soit subordonné au premier; 3° le concours de ces éléments est nécessaire pour établir la règle absolue de la foi, c'est-à-dire, pour constituer l'acte par excellence de la souveraineté spirituelle.

evidences of antiquity, and to silence a voice that bore obnoxious testimony. The notion of tradition underwent a change; it was required to produce what it had not preserved. The Fathers had spoken of the unwritten teaching of the apostles, which was to be sought in the churches they had founded, of esoteric doctrines, and views which must be of apostolic origin because they are universal, of the inspiration of general Councils, and a revelation continued beyond the New Testament. But the Council of Trent resisted the conclusions which this language seemed to countenance; and they were left to be pursued by private speculation. One divine deprecated the vain pretence of arguing from Scripture, by which Luther could not be confuted, and the Catholics were losing ground; \* and at Trent a speaker averred that Christian doctrine had been so completely determined by the Schoolmen that there was no further need to recur to Scripture. This idea is not extinct; and Perrone uses it to explain the inferiority of Catholics as Biblical critics.† If the Bible is inspired, says Peresius, still more must its interpretation be inspired. It must be interpreted variously, says the Cardinal of Cusa, according to necessity; a change in the opinion of the Church implies a change in the will of God.‡ One of the greatest Tridentine divines declares that a doctrine must be true if the Church believes it, without any warrant from Scripture. According to Petavius, the general belief of Catholics at a given time is the work of God, and of higher authority than all antiquity and all the Fathers. Scripture may be silent, and tradition contradictory, but the Church is independent of both. Any doctrine which Catholic divines commonly assert, without proof, to be revealed, must be taken as revealed. The testimony of Rome, as the only remaining apostolic Church, is equivalent to an unbroken chain of tradition.§ In this way, after Scripture

had been subjugated, tradition itself was deposed; and the constant belief of the past yielded to the general conviction of the present. And, as antiquity had given way to universality, universality made way for authority. The word of God and the authority of the Church came to be declared the two sources of religious knowledge. Divines of this school, after preferring the Church to the Bible, preferred the modern Church to the ancient, and ended by sacrificing both to the Pope. We have not the authority of Scripture, wrote Prierias in his defence of Indulgences, but we have the higher authority of the Roman pontiffs.\* A bishop who had been present at Trent confesses that in matters of faith he would believe a single Pope rather than a thousand Fathers, saints, and doctors.† The divine training develops an orthodox instinct in the Church, which shows itself in the lives of devout but ignorant men more than in the researches of the learned, and teaches authority not to need the help of science, and not to heed its opposition. All the arguments by which theology supports a doctrine may prove to be false, without diminishing the certainty of its truth. The Church has not obtained, and is not bound to sustain it, by proof. She is supreme over fact as over doctrine, as Fénelon argues, because she is the supreme expounder of tradition, which is a chain of facts.‡ Accordingly, the organ of one ultramontane bishop lately declared that infallibility could be defined without arguments;

dogma vel unamquamque consuetudinem uno ore ac diserte testantur ex traditione divina haberi, sine dubio certum argumentum est, uti ita esse credamus.—Ex testimonio hujus solius Ecclesie sumi potest certum argumentum ad probandas apostolicas traditiones.—(Bellarmine.)

\* Venie sive indulgentie auctoritate Scriptura nobis non innotuere, sed auctoritate ecclesie Romanæ Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ major est.

† Ego, ut ingenuè fatear, plus uni summo pontifici crederem, in his, quæ fidelis mysteria tangunt, quam mille Augustinis, Hieronymis, Gregoriis.—(Cornelius Mussus.)

‡ The two views contradict each other; but they are equally characteristic of the endeavour to emancipate the Church from the obligation of proof. Fénelon says: "Oseroit-on soutenir que l'Eglise après avoir mal raisonné sur tous les textes, et les avoir pris à contre-sens, est tout à coup saisie par un enthousiasme aveugle, pour juger bien, en raisonnant mal?" And Möhler: "Die ältesten ökumenischen Synoden führten daher für ihre dogmatischen Beschlüsse nicht einmal bestimmte biblische Stellen an; und die katholischen Theologen lehren mit allgemeiner Uebereinstimmung und ganz aus dem Geiste der Kirche heraus, dass selbst die biblische Beweisführung eines für untrüglich gehaltenen Beschlusses nicht untrüglich sei, sondern eben nur das ausgesprochene dogma selbst."

\* Si hujus doctrinæ memores fuissēmus, hæreticos scilicet non esse infirmandos vel convincendos ex Scripturis, meliore sane loco essent res nostræ; sed dum ostentandi ingenii et eruditionis gratia cum Luthero in certamen descenditur Scripturarum, excitatum est hoc, quod, prohi dolor! nunc videmus, incendium.—(Pighius.)

† Catholicis non admodum solliciti sunt de critica et hermeneutica biblica—Ipsi, ut verbo dicam, jam habent ædificium absolutum sane ac perfectum, in cuius possessione firmæ ac secure consistent.

‡ Praxis Ecclesie uno tempore interpretatur Scripturam uno modo et alio tempore alio modo, nam intellectus currit cum praxi.—Mutato judicio Ecclesie mutatum est Dei judicium.

§ Si viri ecclesiastici, sive in concilio œcumenico congregati, sive seorsim scribentes, aliquid

and the bishop of Nîmes thought that the decision need not be preceded by long and careful discussion. The Dogmatic Commission of the Council proclaims that the existence of tradition has nothing to do with evidence, and that objections taken from history are not valid when contradicted by ecclesiastical decrees.\* Authority must conquer history.

This inclination to get rid of evidence was specially associated with the doctrine of papal infallibility, because it is necessary that the Popes themselves should not testify against their own claim. They may be declared superior to all other authorities, but not to that of their own see. Their history is not irrelevant to the question of their rights. It could not be disregarded; and the provocation to alter or to deny its testimony was so urgent that men of piety and learning became a prey to the temptation of deceit. When it was discovered in the manuscript of the *Liber Diurnus* that the Popes had for centuries condemned Honorius in their profession of faith, Cardinal Bona, the most eminent man in Rome, advised that the book should be suppressed if the difficulty could not be got over; and it was suppressed accordingly.† Men guilty of this kind of fraud would justify it by saying that their religion transcends the wisdom of philosophers, and cannot submit to the criticism of historians. If any fact manifestly contradicts a dogma, that is a warning to science to revise the evidence. There must be some defect in the materials or in the method. Pending its discovery, the true believer is constrained humbly but confidently to deny the fact.

The protest of conscience against this fraudulent piety grew loud and strong as the art of criticism became more certain. The use made of it by Catholics in the literature of the present age, and their acceptance of the conditions of scientific controversy, seemed to ecclesiastical authorities a sacrifice of principle. A jealousy arose that ripened into antipathy. Almost every writer who really served Catholicism fell sooner or later under the disgrace or the suspicion of Rome. But its censures had lost efficacy; and it

was found that the progress of literature could only be brought under control by an increase of authority. This could be obtained if a general Council declared the decisions of the Roman congregations absolute, and the Pope infallible.

The division between the Roman and the Catholic elements in the Church made it hopeless to mediate between them; and it is strange that men who must have regarded each other as insincere Christians or as insincere Catholics, should not have perceived that their meeting in Council was an imposture. It may be that a portion, though only a small portion, of those who failed to attend, stayed away from that motive. But the view proscribed at Rome was not largely represented in the episcopate; and it was doubtful whether it would be manifested at all. The opposition did not spring from it, but maintained itself by reducing to the utmost the distance that separated it from the strictly Roman opinions, and striving to prevent the open conflict of principles. It was composed of ultramontanes in the mask of liberals, and of liberals in the mask of ultramontanes. Therefore the victory or defeat of the minority was not the supreme issue of the Council. Besides and above the definition of infallibility arose the question how far the experience of the actual encounter would open the eyes and search the hearts of the reluctant bishops, and how far their language and their attitude would contribute to the impulse of future reform. There was a point of view from which the failure of all attempts to avert the result by false issues and foreign intrusion, and the success of the measures which repelled conciliation and brought on an open struggle and an overwhelming triumph, were means to another and a more important end.

Two events occurred in the autumn which portended trouble for the winter. On the 8th of September nineteen German bishops, assembled at Fulda, published a pastoral letter in which they affirmed that the whole episcopate was perfectly unanimous, that the Council would neither introduce new dogmas nor invade the civil province, and that the Pope intended its deliberations to be free. The patent and direct meaning of this declaration was that the bishops repudiated the design announced by the *Civiltà* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*; and it was received at Rome with indignation. But it soon appeared that it was worded with studied ambiguity, to be signed by men of opposite opinions, and to conceal the truth. The bishop of Mentz read a paper, written by a professor of Würzburg, against the wisdom of raising the question, but express-

\* Cujuscumque ergo scientiæ, etiam historiæ ecclesiasticæ conclusiones, Romanorum Pontificum infallibilitati adversantes, quo manifestius hæc ex revelationis fontibus infertur, eo certius veluti totidem errores habendas esse consequitur.

† Cum in professione fidei electi pontificis damnatur Honorius Papa, ideo quia pravis hæreticorum assertionibus fomentum impendit, si verba delineata sint vere in autographo, nec ex notis apparere possit, quomodo huic vulneri medelam offerat, præstat non divulgari opus.

ed his own belief in the dogma of papal infallibility; and when another bishop stated his disbelief in it, the bishop of Paderborn assured him that Rome would soon strip him of his heretical skin. The majority wished to prevent the definition, if possible, without disputing the doctrine; and they wrote a private letter to the Pope warning him of the danger, and entreating him to desist. Several bishops who had signed the pastoral refused their signatures to the private letter. It caused so much dismay at Rome that its nature was carefully concealed; and a diplomatist was able to report, on the authority of Cardinal Antonelli, that it did not exist.

In the middle of November, the bishop of Orleans took leave of his diocese in a letter which touched lightly on the learned questions connected with papal infallibility, but described the objections to the definition as of such a kind that they could not be removed. Coming from a prelate who was so conspicuous as a champion of the papacy, who had saved the temporal power and justified the Syllabus, this declaration unexpectedly altered the situation at Rome. It was clear that the definition would be opposed, and that the opposition would have the support of illustrious names.

The bishops who began to arrive early in November were received with the assurance that the alarm which had been raised was founded on phantoms. It appeared that nobody had dreamed of defining infallibility, or that, if the idea had been entertained at all, it had been abandoned. Cardinals Antonelli, Berardi, and De Luca, and the Secretary Fessler disavowed the *Civiltà*. The ardent indiscretion that was displayed beyond the Alps contrasted strangely with the moderation, the friendly candour, the majestic and impartial wisdom, which were found to reign in the higher sphere of the hierarchy. A bishop, afterwards noted among the opponents of the dogma, wrote home that the idea that infallibility was to be defined was entirely unfounded. It was represented as a mere fancy, got up in Bavarian newspapers, with evil intent; and the bishop of Sura had been its dupe. The insidious report would have deserved contempt if it had caused a revival of obsolete opinions. It was a challenge to the Council to herald it with such demonstrations, and it unfortunately became difficult to leave it unnoticed. The decision must be left to the bishops. The Holy See could not restrain their legitimate ardour, if they chose to express it; but it would take no initiative. Whatever was done would require to be done with so much moderation as to satisfy everybody, and to avoid the offence of a

party triumph. Some suggested that there should be no anathema for those who questioned the doctrine; and one prelate imagined that a formula could be contrived which even Janus could not dispute, and which yet would be found in reality to signify that the Pope is infallible. There was a general assumption that no materials existed for contention among the bishops, and that they stood united against the world.

Cardinal Antonelli openly refrained from connecting himself with the preparation of the Council, and surrounded himself with divines who were not of the ruling party. He had never learned to doubt the dogma itself; but he was keenly alive to the troubles it would bring upon him, and thought that the Pope was preparing a repetition of the difficulties which followed the beginning of his pontificate. He was not trusted as a divine, or consulted on questions of theology; but he was expected to ward off political complications, and he kept the ground with unflinching skill.

The Pope exhorted the diplomatic corps to aid him in allaying the alarm of the infatuated Germans. He assured one diplomatist that the *Civiltà* did not speak in his name. He told another that he would sanction no proposition that could sow dissension among the bishops. He said to a third, "You come to be present at a scene of pacification." He described his object in summoning the Council to be to obtain a remedy for old abuses and for recent errors. More than once, addressing a group of bishops, he said that he would do nothing to raise disputes among them, and would be content with a declaration in favour of intolerance. He wished of course that Catholicism should have the benefit of toleration in England and Russia, but the principle must be repudiated by a Church holding the doctrine of exclusive salvation. The meaning of this intimation, that persecution would do as a substitute for infallibility, was that the most glaring obstacle to the definition would be removed if the Inquisition was recognized as consistent with Catholicism. Indeed it seemed that infallibility was a means to an end which could be obtained in other wise, and that he would have been satisfied with a decree confirming the twenty-third article of the Syllabus, and declaring that no Pope has ever exceeded the just bounds of his authority in faith, in politics, or in morals.\*

\* That article condemns the following proposition: "Romani Pontifices et Concilia œcumenica a limitibus suæ potestatis recesserunt, jura Principum usurparunt, atque etiam in rebus fidei et morum definiendis errarunt."

Most of the bishops had allowed themselves to be reassured, when the bull *Multiplices inter*, regulating the procedure at the Council, was put into circulation in the first days of December. The Pope assumed to himself the sole initiative in proposing topics, and the exclusive nomination of the officers of the Council. He invited the bishops to bring forward their own proposals, but required that they should submit them first of all to a Commission which was appointed by himself, and consisted half of Italians. If any proposal was allowed to pass by this Commission, it had still to obtain the sanction of the Pope, who could therefore exclude at will any topic, even if the whole Council wished to discuss it. Four elective Commissions were to mediate between the Council and the Pope. When a decree had been discussed and opposed it was to be referred, together with the amendments, to one of these Commissions, where it was to be reconsidered, with the aid of divines. When it came back from the Commission with corrections and remarks, it was to be put to the vote without further debate. What the Council discussed was to be the work of unknown divines; what it voted was to be the work of a majority in a Commission of twenty-four. It was in the election of these Commissions that the episcopate obtained the chance of influencing the formation of its decrees. But the papal theologians retained their predominance; for they might be summoned to defend or alter their work in the Commission, from which the bishops who had spoken or proposed amendments were excluded. Practically, the right of initiative was the deciding point. Even if the first regulation had remained in force, the bishops could never have recovered the surprises, and the difficulty of preparing for unforeseen debates. The regulation ultimately broke down under the mistake of allowing the decree to be debated only once, and that in its crude state, as it came from the hands of the divines. The authors of the measure had not contemplated any real discussion. It was so unlike the way in which business was conducted at Trent, where the right of the episcopate was formally asserted, where the envoys were consulted, and the bishops discussed the questions in several groups before the general congregations, that the printed text of the Tridentine Regulation was rigidly suppressed. It was further provided that the reports of the speeches should not be communicated to the bishops; and the strictest secrecy was enjoined on all concerning the business of the Council. The bishops, being under no obligation to observe this rule, were afterwards informed that it bound them under grievous sin.

This important precept did not succeed in excluding the action of public opinion. It could be applied only to the debates; and many bishops spoke with greater energy and freedom before an assembly of their own order than they would have done if their words had been taken down by Protestants, to be quoted against them at home. But printed documents, distributed in seven hundred copies, could not be kept secret. The rule was subject to exceptions which destroyed its efficacy; and the Roman cause was discredited by systematic concealment, and advocacy that abounded in explanation and colour, but abstained from the substance of fact. Documents couched in the usual official language, being dragged into the forbidden light of day, were supposed to reveal dark mysteries. The secrecy of the debates had a bad effect in exaggerating reports and giving wide scope to fancy. Rome was not vividly interested in the discussions; but its cosmopolitan society was thronged with the several adherents of leading bishops, whose partiality compromised their dignity and envenomed their disputes. Everything that was said was repeated, inflated, and distorted. Whoever had a sharp word for an adversary, which could not be spoken in Council, knew of an audience that would enjoy and carry the matter. The battles of the Aula were fought over again, with anecdote, epigram, and fiction. A distinguished courtesy and nobleness of tone prevailed at the beginning. When the archbishop of Halifax went down to his place on the 28th of December, after delivering the speech which taught the reality of the opposition, the Presidents bowed to him as he passed them. The denunciations of the Roman system by Strossmayer and Darboy were listened to in January without a murmur. Adversaries paid exorbitant compliments to each other, like men whose disagreements were insignificant, and who were one at heart. As the plot thickened, fatigue, excitement, friends who fetched and carried, made the tone more bitter. In February the Bishop of Laval described Dupanloup publicly as the centre of a conspiracy too shameful to be expressed in words, and professed that he would rather die than be associated with such iniquity. One of the minority described his opponents as having disported themselves on a certain occasion like a herd of cattle. By that time the whole temper of the Council had been changed; the Pope himself had gone into the arena; and violence of language and gesture had become an artifice adopted to hasten the end.

When the Council opened many bishops were bewildered and dispirited by the bull *Multiplices*. They feared that a struggle



could not be averted, as, even if no dogmatic question was raised, their rights were cancelled in a way that would make the Pope absolute in dogma. One of the Cardinals caused him to be informed that the Regulation would be resisted. But Pius ix. knew that in all that procession of 750 bishops one idea prevailed. Men whose word is powerful in the centres of civilisation, men who three months before were confronting martyrdom among barbarians, preachers at Notre Dame, professors from Germany, Republicans from Western America, men with every sort of training and every sort of experience, had come together as confident and as eager as the prelates of Rome itself, to hail the Pope infallible. Resistance was improbable, for it was hopeless. It was improbable that bishops who had refused no token of submission for twenty years would now combine to inflict dishonour on the Pope. In their address of 1867 they had confessed that he is the Father and teacher of all Christians; that all the things he has spoken were spoken by St. Peter through him; that they would believe and teach all that he believed and taught. In 1854 they had allowed him to proclaim a dogma, which some of them dreaded and some opposed, but to which all submitted when he had decreed without the intervention of a Council. The recent display of opposition did not justify serious alarm. The Fulda bishops feared the consequences in Germany; but they affirmed that all were united, and that there would be no new dogma. They were perfectly informed of all that was being got ready in Rome. The words of their pastoral meant nothing if they did not mean that infallibility was no new dogma, and that all the bishops believed in it. Even the bishop of Orleans avoided a direct attack on the doctrine, proclaimed his own devotion to the Pope, and promised that the Council would be a scene of concord.\* It was certain that any real attempt that might be made to prevent the definition could be overwhelmed by the preponderance of those bishops whom the modern constitution of the Church places in dependence on Rome.

The only bishops whose position made them capable of resisting were the Germans and the French; and all that Rome would

have to contend with was the modern liberalism and decrepit gallicanism of France, and the science of Germany. The gallican school was nearly extinct; it had no footing in other countries; and it was essentially odious to the liberals. The most serious minds of the liberal party were conscious that Rome was as dangerous to ecclesiastical liberty as Paris. But, since the Syllabus made it impossible to pursue the liberal doctrines consistently without coalition with Rome, they had ceased to be professed with a robust and earnest confidence; and the party was disorganized. They set up the pretence that the real adversary of their opinions was not the Pope, but a French newspaper; and they fought the King's troops in the King's name. When the bishop of Orleans made his declaration, they fell back, and left him to mount the breach alone. Montalembert, the most vigorous spirit among them, became isolated from his former friends, and accused them, with increasing vehemence, of being traitors to their principles. During the last disheartening year of his life, he turned away from the clergy of his country, which was sunk in Romanism, and felt that the real abode of his opinions was on the Rhine.\* It was only lately that the ideas of the Coblenz address which had so deeply touched the sympathies of Montalembert, had spread widely in Germany. They had their seat in the universities; and their transit from the interior of lecture-rooms to the outer world was laborious and slow. The invasion of Roman doctrines had given vigour and popularity to those which opposed them; but the growing influence of the universities brought them into direct antagonism with the episcopate.

\* Vous admirez sans doute beaucoup l'évêque d'Orléans, mais vous l'admireriez bien plus encore, si vous pouviez vous figurer l'abîme d'idolâtrie où est tombé le clergé français. Cela dépasse tout ce que l'on aurait jamais pu imaginer aux jours de ma jeunesse, au temps de Frayssinous et de La Mennais. Le pauvre Mgr. Maret, pour avoir exposé des idées très-modérées dans un langage plein d'urbanité et de charité, est traité publiquement dans les journaux et dans les derniers de nos curés. De tous les mystères que présente en si grand nombre l'histoire de l'Eglise je n'en connais pas qui égale ou dépasse cette transformation si prompte et si complète de la France Catholique en une basse-cour de l'animalerie du Vatican. J'en serais encore plus désespéré qu'humilié, si là, comme partout dans les régions illuminées par la foi, la miséricorde et l'espérance ne se laissaient entrevoir à travers les ténèbres. 'C'est du Rhin aujourd'hui que nous vient la lumière.' L'Allemagne a été choisie pour opposer une digue à ce torrent de fanatisme servile que menaçait de tout engloutir. (Not. 7, 1869.)

\* J'en suis convaincu : à peine aurai-je touché la terre sacrée, à peine aurai-je baisé le tombeau des Apôtres que je me sentirai dans la paix, hors de la bataille, au sein d'une assemblée présidée par un Père et composée de Frères. Là, tous les bruits expireront, toutes les ingérences téméraires cesseront, toutes les imprudences disparaîtront, les flots et les vents seront apaisés.

The Austrian bishops were generally beyond its reach; and the German bishops were generally at war with it. In December, one of the most illustrious of them said: "We bishops are absorbed in our work, and are not scholars. We sadly need the help of those that are. It is to be hoped that the Council will raise only such questions as can be dealt with competently by practical experience and common sense." The force that Germany wields in theology was only partially represented in its episcopate.

At the opening of the Council the known opposition consisted of four men. Cardinal Schwarzenberg had not published his opinion; but he made it known as soon as he came to Rome. He brought with him a printed paper, entitled *Desideria patribus Concilii œcumenici proponenda*, in which he adopted the ideas of the divines and canonists who are the teachers of his Bohemian clergy. He entreated the Council not to multiply unnecessary articles of faith, and in particular to abstain from defining papal infallibility, which was beset with difficulties, and would make the foundations of faith to tremble even in the devoutest souls. He pointed out that the Index could not continue on its present footing, and urged that the Church should seek her strength in the cultivation of liberty and learning, not in privilege and coercion; that she should rely on popular institutions, and obtain popular support. He warmly advocated the system of autonomy that was springing up in Hungary.\* Unlike Schwarzenberg, Dupanloup,

and Maret, the Archbishop of Paris had taken no hostile step in reference to the Council, but he was feared the most of all the men expected at Rome. The Pope had refused to make him a Cardinal, and had written to him a letter of reproof such as has seldom been received by a bishop. It was felt that he was hostile, not episodically, to a single measure, but to the peculiar spirit of this pontificate. He had none of the conventional prejudices and assumed antipathies which are congenial to the hierarchical mind. He was without passion or pathos or affectation; and he had good sense, a perfect temper, and an intolerable wit. It was characteristic of him that he made the Syllabus an occasion to impress moderation on the Pope: "Your blame has power, O Vicar of Jesus Christ; but your blessing is more potent still. God has raised you to the apostolic see between the two halves of this century, that you may absolve the one and inaugurate the other. Be it yours to reconcile reason with faith, liberty with authority, politics with the Church. From the height of that triple majesty with which religion, age, and misfortune adorn you, all that you do and all that you say reaches far, to disconcert or to encourage the nations. Give them from your large priestly heart one word to amnesty the past, to reassure the present, and to open the horizons of the future."

The security into which many unsuspecting bishops had been lulled quickly disappeared; and they understood that they were in presence of a conspiracy which would succeed at once if they did not provide against acclamation, and must succeed at last if they allowed themselves to be caught in the toils of the bull *Multiplices*. It was necessary to make sure that no decree should be passed without reasonable discussion, and to make a stand against the regulation. The first congregation held on the 10th of December, was a scene of confusion; but it appeared that a bishop from the Turkish frontier had risen against the order of proceeding, and that the President had stopped him, saying that this was a matter decided by the Pope, and not submitted to the Council. The bishops perceived that they were in a snare. Some began to think of going home. Others argued that questions of Divine right were affected by the regulation, and that they were bound to stake the existence of the Council upon them. Many were more eager on this point of law than on the point of dogma, and were brought under the influence of the more clear-sighted men, with whom they would not have come in contact

\* Non solum ea quæ ad scholas theologicas pertinent scholis relinquuntur, sed etiam doctrinæ quæ a fidelibus pie tenentur et coluntur, sine gravi causa in codicem dogmatum ne inferantur. In specie ne Concilium declaret vel definiat infallibilitatem Summi Pontificis, a doctissimis et prudentissimis fidelibus Sanctæ Sedi intime addictis, vehementer optatur. Gravia enim mala exinde oritura timent tum fidelibus tum infidelibus. Fideles enim, qui Primum magisterii et jurisdictionis in Summo Pontifice ultro agnoscunt, quorum pietas et obedientia erga Sanctam Sedem nullo certe tempore major fuit, corde turbarentur magis quam erigerentur, ac si nunc demum fundamentum Ecclesiæ et veræ doctrinæ stabilendum sit; infideles vero novam calumniam et derisionum materiam lucrarentur. Neque desunt, qui ejusmodi definitionem logice impossibilem vocant. . . . Nostris diebus defensio veritatis ac religionis tum præsertim efficax et fructuosa est, si sacerdotes a lege cæterorum civium minus recedunt, sed communibus omnium juribus utuntur, ita ut vis defensionis sit in veritate interna non per tutelam externæ exemptionis. . . . Præsertim Ecclesia se scientiarum, quæ hominem ornant perficiuntque, amicam et patronam exhibeat, probe noscens, omne verum a Deo esse, et profunda ac seria literarum studia opitulari fidei.

through any sympathy on the question of infallibility. The desire of protesting against the violation of privileges was an imperfect bond. The bishops had not yet learned to know each other; and they had so strongly impressed upon their flocks at home the idea that Rome ought to be trusted, that they were going to manifest the unity of the Church and to confound the insinuations of her enemies, that they were not quick to admit all the significance of the facts they found. Nothing vigorous was possible in a body of so loose a texture. The softer materials had to be eliminated, the stronger welded together by severe and constant pressure, before an opposition could be made capable of effective action. They signed protests that were of no effect. They petitioned; they did not resist.

It was seen how much Rome had gained by excluding the ambassadors; for this question of forms and regulations would have admitted the action of diplomacy. The idea of being represented at the Council was revived in France; and a weary negotiation began, which lasted several months, and accomplished nothing but delay. It was not till the policy of intervention had ignominiously failed, and till its failure had left the Roman court to cope with the bishops alone, that the real question was brought on for discussion. And as long as the chance remained that political considerations might keep infallibility out of the Council, the opposition abstained from declaring its real sentiments. Its union was precarious and delusive; but it lasted in this state long enough to enable secondary influences to do much towards supplying the place of principles.

While the protesting bishops were not committed against infallibility, it would have been possible to prevent resistance to the bull from becoming resistance to the dogma. The bishop of Grenoble, who was reputed a good divine among his countrymen, was sounded in order to discover how far he would go; and it was ascertained that he admitted the doctrine substantially. At the same time, the friends of the bishop of Orleans were insisting that he had questioned not the dogma but the definition; and Maret, in the defence of his book, declared that he attributed no infallibility to the episcopate apart from the Pope. If the bishops had been consulted separately, without the terror of a decree, it is probable that the number of those who absolutely rejected the doctrine would have been extremely small. There were many who had never thought seriously about it, or imagined that it was true in a pious sense though not capa-

ble of proof in controversy. The possibility of an understanding seemed so near that the archbishop of Westminster, who held the Pope infallible apart from the episcopate, required that the words should be translated into French in the sense of independence, and not of exclusion. An ambiguous formula embodying the view common to both parties, or founded on mutual concession, would have done more for the liberty than the unity of opinion, and would not have strengthened the authority of the Pope. It was resolved to proceed with caution, putting in motion the strong machinery of Rome, and exhausting the advantages of organization and foreknowledge.

The first act of the Council was to elect the Commission on Dogma. A proposal was made on very high authority that the list should be drawn up so as to represent the different opinions fairly, and to include some of the chief opponents. They would have been subjected to other influences than those which sustain party leaders; they would have been separated from their friends and brought into frequent contact with adversaries; they would have felt the strain of official responsibility; and the opposition would have been decapitated. If these sagacious counsels had been followed, the harvest of July might have been gathered in January, and the reaction that was excited in the long struggle that ensued might have been prevented. Cardinal de Angelis, who ostensibly managed the elections, and was advised by Archbishop Manning, preferred the opposite and more prudent course. He caused a lithographed list to be sent to all the bishops open to influence, from which every name was excluded that was not on the side of infallibility. Meantime the bishops of several nations selected those among their countrymen whom they recommended as candidates. The Germans and Hungarians, above forty in number, assembled for this purpose under the presidency of Cardinal Schwarzenberg; and their meetings were continued, and became more and more important, as those who did not sympathize with the opposition dropped away. The French were divided into two groups, and met partly at Cardinal Mathieu's, partly at Cardinal Bonnechose's. A fusion was proposed, but was resisted, in the Roman interest, by Bonnechose. He consulted Cardinal Antonelli, and reported that the Pope disliked large meetings of bishops. Moreover, if all the French had met in one place, the opposition would have had the majority, and would have determined the choice of the candidates. They voted separately; and the Bonnechose list was represented to for-

eign bishops as the united choice of the French episcopate. The Mathieu group believed that this had been done fraudulently, and resolved to make their complaint to the Pope; but Cardinal Mathieu, seeing that a storm was rising, and that he would be called on to be the spokesman of his friends, hurried away to spend Christmas at Besançon. All the votes of his group were thrown away. Even the bishop of Grenoble, who had obtained twenty-nine votes at one meeting, and thirteen at the other, was excluded from the Commission. It was constituted as the managers of the election desired; and the first trial of strength appeared to have annihilated the opposition. The force under entire control of the Court could be estimated from the number of votes cast blindly for candidates not put forward by their own countrymen, and unknown to others, who had therefore no recommendation but that of the official list. According to this test Rome could dispose of 550 votes.

The moment of this triumph was chosen for the production of an act already two months old, by which many ancient censures were revoked, and many were renewed. The legislation of the middle ages and of the sixteenth century appointed nearly two hundred cases by which excommunication was incurred *ipso facto*, without inquiry or sentence. They had generally fallen into oblivion, or were remembered as instances of former extravagance; but they had not been abrogated: and, as they were in part defensible, they were a trouble to timorous consciences. There was reason to expect that this question, which had often occupied the attention of the bishops, would be brought before the Council; and the demand for a reform could not have been withstood. The difficulty was anticipated by sweeping away as many censures as it was thought safe to abandon, and deciding, independently of the bishops, what must be retained. The Pope reserved to himself alone the faculty of absolving from the sin of harbouring or defending the members of any sect, of causing priests to be tried by secular courts, of violating asylum or alienating the real property of the Church. The prohibition of anonymous writing was restricted to works on theology; and the excommunication hitherto incurred by reading books which are on the Index was confined to readers of heretical books. This Constitution had no other immediate effect than to indicate the prevailing spirit, and to increase the difficulties of the partisans of Rome. The organ of the archbishop of Cologne justified the last provision by saying, that it does not forbid the works of Jews for Jews are not heretics,

nor the heretical tracts and newspapers for they are not books, nor listening to heretical books read aloud for hearing is not reading.

At the same time, the serious work of the Council was begun. A long dogmatic decree was distributed, in which the special theological, biblical, and philosophical opinions of the school now dominant in Rome were proposed for ratification. It was so weak a composition, that it was as severely criticised by the Romans as by the foreigners; and there were Germans whose attention was first called to its defects by an Italian Cardinal. The disgust with which the text of the first decree was received had not been foreseen. No real discussion had been expected. The council hall, admirable for occasions of ceremony, was extremely ill adapted for speaking; and nothing would induce the Pope to give it up. A public session was fixed for the 8th of January; and the election of Commissions was to last till Christmas. It was evident that nothing would be ready for the session, unless the decree was accepted without debate, or infallibility adopted by acclamation.

Before the Council had been assembled a fortnight, a store of discontent had accumulated which it would have been easy to avoid. Every act of the Pope, the bull *Multiplices*, the declaration of censures, the text of the proposed decree, even the announcement that the Council should be dissolved in case of his death, had seemed an injury or an insult to the episcopate. These measures undid the favourable effect of the caution with which the bishops had been received. They did what the dislike of infallibility alone would not have done. They broke the spell of veneration for Pius ix. which fascinated the Catholic episcopate. The jealousy with which he guarded his prerogative in the appointment of officers, and of the great Commission, the pressure during the elections, the prohibition of national meetings, the refusal to hold the debates in a hall where they could be heard, irritated and alarmed many bishops. They suspected that they had been summoned for the very purpose they had indignantly denied, to make the papacy more absolute by abdicating in favour of the official prelature of Rome. Confidence gave way to a great despondency: and a state of feeling was aroused which prepared the way for actual opposition when the time should come.

Before Christmas the Germans and the French were grouped nearly as they remained to the end. After the flight of Cardinal Mathieu, and the refusal of Cardinal Bonnehose to coalesce, the friends of the latter gravitated towards the Roman centre, and

the friends of the former held their meetings at the house of the archbishop of Paris. They became, with the Austro-German meeting under Cardinal Schwarzenberg, the strength and substance of the party that opposed the new dogma; but there was little intercourse between the two, and their exclusive nationality made them useless as a nucleus for the few scattered American, English, and Italian bishops whose sympathies were with them. To meet this object, and to centralize the deliberations, about a dozen of the leading men constituted an international meeting, which included the best talents, but also the most discordant views. They were too little united to act with vigour, and too few to exercise control. Some months later they increased their numbers. They were the brain but not the will of the opposition. Cardinal Rauscher presided. Rome honoured him as the author of the Austrian Concordat; but he feared that infallibility would bring destruction on his work; and he was the most constant, the most copious, and the most emphatic of its opponents.

When the debate opened, on the 28th of December, the idea of proclaiming the dogma by acclamation had not been abandoned. The archbishop of Paris exacted a promise that it should not be attempted. But he was warned that the promise held good for the first day only, and there was no engagement for the future. Then he made it known that one hundred bishops were ready, if a surprise was attempted, to depart from Rome, and to carry away the Council, as he said, in the soles of their shoes. The plan of carrying the measure by a sudden resolution was given up; and it was determined to introduce it with a demonstration of overwhelming effect.

The debate on the dogmatic decree was begun by Cardinal Rauscher. The archbishop of St. Louis spoke on the same day so briefly as not to reveal the force and the fire within him. The archbishop of Halifax concluded a long speech by saying that the proposal laid before the Council was only fit to be put decorously under ground. Much praise was lavished on the bishops who had courage, knowledge, and Latin enough to address the assembled Fathers; and the Council rose instantly in dignity and in esteem when it was seen that there was to be real discussion. On the 30th, Rome was excited by the success of two speakers. One was the bishop of Grenoble. The other was Strossmayer, the bishop from the Turkish frontier, who had again assailed the regulation, and had again been stopped by the presiding Cardinal. The fame of his spirit

and eloquence began to spread over the city and over the world. The ideas that animated these men in their attack on the proposed measure were most clearly shown a few days later in the speech of a Swiss prelate. "What boots it," he exclaimed, "to condemn errors that have been long condemned, and tempt no Catholic? The false beliefs of mankind are beyond the reach of your decrees. The best defence of Catholicism is religious science. Give to the pursuit of sound learning every encouragement and the widest field; and prove by deeds as well as words that the progress of nations in liberty and light is the mission of the Church." \*

The tempest of criticism was weakly met; and the opponents established at once a superiority in debate. At the end of the first month nothing had been done; and the Session imprudently fixed for the 6th of January had to be filled up with tedious ceremonies. Everybody saw that there had been a great miscalculation. The Council was slipping out of the grasp of the Court; and the regulation was a manifest hindrance to the despatch of business. New resources were required.

A new President was appointed. Cardinal Reisach had died at the end of December without having been able to take his seat, and Cardinal de Luca had presided in his stead. De Angelis was now put into the place made vacant by the death of Reisach. He had suffered imprisonment at Turin; and the glory of his confessorship was enhanced by his services in the election of the Commissions. He was not suited otherwise to

\* Quid enim expedit damnare quas damnata jam sunt, quidve juvat errores proscribere quos nolumus jam esse proscriptos? . . . Falsa sophistarum dogmata, veluti cineres a turbine venti evanuerunt, corruerunt, fateor, permultos, infecerunt genium sæculi hujus, sed numquid credendum est, corruptionis contaginem non contigisse, si ejusmodi errores decretorum anathemate prostrati fuissent? . . . Pro tuenda et tute servanda religione Catholica præter genitus et preces ad Deum aliud medium prædiumque nobis datum non est nisi Catholica scientia, cum recta fide per omnia concors. Excolitur summopere apud Heterodoxos fidei inimica scientia, excolatur ergo oportet et omni opere augeatur apud Catholicos vera scientia, excolatur ergo oportet et omni opere augeatur apud Catholicos vera scientia, Ecclesie amica. . . . Obmutescere faciamus ora obtrectantium qui falso nobis imputare non desistunt, Catholicam Ecclesiam opprimere scientiam, et quicumque liberum cogitandi modum ita colibere, ut neque scientia, nec ulla alia animi libertas in ea subsistere vel florescere possit. . . . Propterea monstrandum hoc est, et scriptis et factis manifestandum, in Catholica Ecclesia veram populus esse libertatem, verum profectum, verum lumen, veramque prosperitatem.

be the moderator of a great assembly; and the effect of his elevation was to dethrone the accomplished and astute De Luca, who had been found deficient in thoroughness, and to throw the management of the Council into the hands of the junior Presidents, Capalti and Bilio. Bilio was a Barnabite monk, innocent of court intrigues, a friend of the most enlightened scholars in Rome, and a favourite of the Pope. Cardinal Capalti had been distinguished as a canonist. Like Cardinal Bilio, he was not reckoned among men of the extreme party; and they were not always in harmony with their colleagues, De Angelis and Bizarri. But they did not waver when the policy they had to execute was not their own.

The first decree was withdrawn, and referred to the Commission on Doctrine. Another, on the duties of the episcopate, was substituted; and that again was followed by others, of which the most important was on the Catechism. While they were being discussed, a petition was prepared, demanding that the infallibility of the Pope should be made the object of a decree. The majority undertook to put a strain on the prudence or the reluctance of the Vatican. Their zeal in the cause was warmer than that of the official advisers. Among those who had the responsibility of conducting the spiritual and temporal government of the Pope, the belief was strong that his infallibility did not need defining, and that the definition could not be obtained without needless obstruction to other papal interests. Several Cardinals were inopportunist at first, and afterwards promoted intermediate and conciliatory proposals. But the business of the Council was not left to the ordinary advisers of the Pope; and they were visibly compelled and driven by those who represented the majority. At times this pressure was no doubt convenient. But there were also times when there was no collusion, and the majority really led the authorities. The initiative was not taken by the great mass whose zeal was stimulated by personal allegiance to the Pope. They added to the momentum; but the impulse came from men who were as independent as the chiefs of the opposition. The great Petition, supported by others pointing to the same end, was kept back for several weeks, and was presented at the end of January.

At that time the opposition had attained its full strength, and presented a counter petition, praying that the question might not be introduced. It was written by Cardinal Rauscher, and was signed, with variations, by 137 bishops. To obtain that number the address avoided the doctrine

itself, and spoke only of the difficulty and danger in defining it. So that this, their most imposing act, was a confession of inherent weakness, and a signal to the majority that they might force on the dogmatic discussion. The bishops stood on the negative. They showed no sense of their mission to renovate Catholicism; and it seemed that they would compound for the concession they wanted, by yielding in all other matters, even those which would be a practical substitute for infallibility. That this was not to be, that the forces needed for a great revival were really present, was made manifest by the speech of Strossmayer on the 24th of January, when he demanded the reformation of the Court of Rome, decentralization in the government of the Church, and decennial Councils. That earnest spirit did not animate the bulk of the party. They were content to leave things as they were, to gain nothing if they lost nothing, to renounce all premature striving for reform if they could succeed in avoiding a doctrine which they were as unwilling to discuss as to define. The words of Ginoulhiac to Strossmayer, "you terrify me with your pitiless logic," expressed the inmost feelings of many who gloried in the grace and the splendour of his eloquence. No words were too strong for them if they prevented the necessity of action, and spared the bishops the distressing prospect of being brought to bay, and having to resist openly the wishes and the claims of Rome.

Infallibility never ceased to overshadow every step of the Council,\* but it had already given birth to a deeper question. The Church had less to fear from the violence of the majority than from the inertness of their opponents. No proclamation of false doctrines could be so great a disaster as the weakness of faith which would prove that the power of recovery, the vital force of Catholicism, was extinct in the episcopate. It was better to be overcome after openly attesting their belief than to strangle both discussion and definition, and to disperse without having uttered a single word that could reinstate the authorities of the Church in the respect of men. The future depended less on the outward struggle between two parties than on the process by which the stronger spirit within the minority leavened the mass. The opposition were as averse to the actual dogmatic discussion

\* Il n'y a au fond qu'une question devenue urgente et inévitable, dont la décision faciliterait le cours et la décision de toutes les autres, dont le retard paralyse tout. Sans cela rien n'est commencé ni même abordable. (*Univers*, February 9.)

among themselves as in the Council. They feared an inquiry which would divide them. At first the bishops who understood and resolutely contemplated their real mission in the Council were exceedingly few. Their influence was strengthened by the force of events, by the incessant pressure of the majority, and by the action of literary opinion.

Early in December the archbishop of Mechlin brought out a reply to the letter of the bishop of Orleans, who immediately prepared a rejoinder, but could not obtain permission to print it in Rome. It appeared two months later at Naples. Whilst the minority were under the shock of this prohibition, Gratry published at Paris the first of four letters to the archbishop of Mechlin, in which the case of Honorius was discussed with so much perspicuity and effect that the profane public was interested, and the pamphlets were read with avidity in Rome. They contained no new research; but they went deep into the causes which divided Catholics. Gratry showed that the Roman theory is still propped by fables which were innocent once, but have become deliberate untruths since the excuse of mediæval ignorance was dispelled; and he declared that this school of lies was the cause of the weakness of the Church, and called on Catholics to look the scandal in the face, and cast out the religious forgers. His letters did much to clear the ground and to correct the confusion of ideas among the French. The bishop of St. Briec wrote that the exposure was an excellent service to religion, for the evil had gone so far that silence would be complicity.\* Gratry was no sooner approved by one bishop than he was condemned by a great number of others. He had brought home to his countrymen the question whether they could be accomplices of a dishonest system, or would fairly attempt to root it out.

While Gratry's letters were disturbing the French, Döllinger published some observations on the petition for infallibility, directing his attack clearly against the doctrine itself. During the excitement that ensued, he answered demonstrations of sym-

pathy\* by saying that he had only defended the faith which was professed, substantially, by the majority of the episcopate in Germany. These words dropped like an acid on the German bishops. They were writhing to escape the dire necessity of a conflict with the Pope; and it was very painful to them to be called as compurgators by a man who was esteemed the foremost opponent of the Roman system, whose hand was suspected in everything that had been done against it, and who had written many things on the sovereign obligations of truth and faith which seemed an unmerciful satire on the tactics to which they clung. The notion that the bishops were opposing the dogma itself was founded on their address against the regulation; but the petition against the definition of infallibility was so worded as to avoid that inference, and had accordingly obtained nearly twice as many German and Hungarian signatures as the other. The bishop of Mentz vehemently repudiated the supposition for himself and invited his colleagues to do the same. Some followed his example, others refused; and it became apparent that the German opposition was divided, and included men who accepted the doctrines of Rome. The precarious alliance between incompatible elements was prevented from breaking up by the next act of the Papal Government.

The defects in the mode of carrying on the business of the Council were admitted on both sides. Two months had been lost; and the demand for a radical change was publicly made in behalf of the minority by a letter communicated to the *Moniteur*. On the 22d of February a new regulation was introduced with the avowed purpose of quickening progress. It gave the Presidents power to cut short any speech, and provided that debate might be cut short at any moment when the majority pleased. It also declared that the decrees should be carried by majority—*id decernetur quod majori Patrum numero placuerit*. The policy of leaving the decisive power in the hands of the Council itself had this advantage, that its exercise would not raise the question of liberty and coercion in the same way as the interference of authority. By the bull *Multiplices*, no bishop could introduce any matter not approved by the Pope. By the new regulation he could not speak on any question before the Council, if the majority chose to close the discussion, or if the Presidents chose to abridge his speech. He could print nothing in Rome; and what was printed elsewhere was liable to be treated as contraband. His written observations on any measure were submitted to the Commission without any security that they would

\* Gratry had written: "Cette apologétique sans franchise est l'une des causes de notre décadence religieuse depuis des siècles . . . . Sommes nous les prédicateurs du mensonge ou les apôtres de la vérité? Le temps n'est il pas venu de rejeter avec dégoût les fraudes, les interpolations, et les mutilations que les menteurs et les faussaires, nos plus cruels ennemis, ont pu introduire parmi nous?" The bishop wrote: "Jamais parole plus puissante, inspirée par la conscience et le savoir, n'est arrivée plus à propos que la vôtre. . . . Le mal est tel et le danger si effrayant que le silence deviendrait de la complicité."

be made known to the other bishops in their integrity. There was no longer an obstacle to the immediate definition of Papal infallibility. The majority was omnipotent.

The minority could not accept this regulation without admitting that the Pope is infallible. Their thesis was, that his decrees are not free from the risk of error unless they express the universal belief of the episcopate. The idea that particular virtue attaches to a certain number of bishops, or that infallibility depends on a few votes more or less, was defended by nobody. If the act of a majority of bishops in the Council, possibly not representing a majority in the Church, is infallible, it derives its infallibility from the Pope. Nobody held that the Pope was bound to proclaim a dogma carried by a majority.

The minority contested the principle of the new Regulation, and declared that a dogmatic decree required virtual unanimity. The chief protest was drawn up by a French bishop. Some of the Hungarians added a paragraph asserting that the authority and œcumenicity of the Council depended on the settlement of this question; and they proposed to add that they could not continue to act as though it were legitimate unless this point was given up. The author of the address declined this passage, urging that the time for actual menace was not yet come. From that day the minority agreed in rejecting as invalid any doctrine which should not be passed by unanimous consent. On this point the difference between the thorough and the simulated opposition was effaced, for Ginoulhiac and Ketteler were as positive as Kenrick or Hebele. But it was a point which Rome could not surrender without giving up its whole position. To wait for unanimity was to wait for ever; and to admit that a minority could prevent or nullify the dogmatic action of the papacy was to renounce infallibility. No alternative remained to the opposing bishops but to break up the Council. The most eminent among them accepted this conclusion, and stated it in a paper declaring that the absolute and indisputable law of the Church had been violated by the Regulation allowing articles of faith to be decreed on which the episcopate was not morally unanimous; and that the Council, no longer possessing, in the eyes of the bishops and of the world, the indispensable condition of liberty and legality, would be inevitably rejected. To avert a public scandal, and to save the honour of the Holy See, it was proposed that some unopposed decrees should be proclaimed in solemn session, and the Council immediately prorogued.

At the end of March a breach seemed unavoidable. The first part of the dogmatic decree had come back from the Commission so profoundly altered that it was generally accepted by the bishops, but with a crudely expressed sentence in the preamble, which was intended to rebuke the notion of the reunion of Protestant Churches. Several bishops looked upon this passage as an un-called-for insult to Protestants, and wished it changed; but there was danger that if they then joined in voting the decree they would commit themselves to the lawfulness of the Regulation against which they had protested. On the 22d of March Strossmayer raised both questions. He said that it was neither just nor charitable to impute the progress of religious error to the Protestants. The germ of modern unbelief existed among the Catholics before the Reformation, and afterwards bore its worst fruits in Catholic countries. Many of the ablest defenders of Christian truth were Protestants; and the day of reconciliation would have come already but for the violence and uncharitableness of the Catholics. These words were greeted with execrations; and the remainder of the speech was delivered in the midst of a furious tumult. At length when Strossmayer declared that the Council had forfeited its authority by the rule which abolished the necessity of unanimity, the Presidents and the multitude refused to let him go on.\* On

\* *Pace eruditissimorum virorum dictum esto: mihi hæc nec veritati congrua esse videntur, nec caritati. Non veritati; verum quidem est Protestantibus gravissimam commisisse culpam, dum sprete et insuperhabita divina Ecclesiæ auctoritate, æternas et immutabiles fidei veritates subjective rationis iudicio et arbitrio subiecissent. Hoc superbiæ humanæ fomentum gravissimis certe malis, rationalismo, criticismo, etc. occasionem dedit. Ast hoc quoque respectu dici debet, protestantismi ejus qui cum eodem in nexu existit rationalismi germen sæculo XVI. præextitisse in sic dicto humanismo et classicismo, quem in sanctuario ipso quidam summæ auctoritatis viri incauto consilio fovebant et nutriebant; et nisi hoc germen præextitisset concipi non posset quomodo tam parva scintilla tantum in medio Europæ excitare potuisset incendium, ut illud ad hodiernum usque diem restingui non potuerit. Accedit et illud: fidei et religionis, Ecclesiæ et omnis auctoritatis contemptum abque ulla cum Protestantismo cognatione et parentela in medio Catholice gentis sæculo XVIII. temporibus Voltarii et encyclopædistarum enatum fuisse. . . . Quidquid interim sit de rationalismo, puto venerabilem deputationem omnino falli dum texendo genealogiam naturalismi, materialismi, pantheismi, atheismi, etc., omnes omnino hos errores factus Protestantismi esse asserit. . . . Errores superius enumerati non tantum nobis verum et ipsis Protestantibus horrore sunt et abominationi, ut adeo Ecclesiæ et nobis Catholicis in iis oppugnandis et refellendis auxilio sint et adjumento. Ita Leibnitius erat certe vir eruditus et omni sub*



the following day he drew up a protest, declaring that he could not acknowledge the validity of the Council if dogmas were to be decided by a majority,\* and sent it to the

respectu præstans; vir in dijudicandis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ institutis æquus; vir in debellandis sui temporis erroribus strenuus; vir in revehenda inter Christianas communitates concordia optime animatus et meritis. [Loud cries of "Oh! oh!" The President de Angelis rang the bell and said, "Non est hic locus laudandi Protestantæ."]. . . Hos viros quorum magna copia existit in Germania, in Anglia, item et in America septentrionali, magna hominum turba inter Protestantæ sequitur, quibus omnibus applicari potest illud magni Augustini: "Errant, sed bona fide errant; hæretici sunt, sed illi nos hæreticos tenent. Ipsi errorem non invenerunt, sed a perversis et in errorem inductis parentibus hæreditaverunt, parati errorem deponere quamprimum convicti fuerint." [Here there was a long interruption and ringing of the bell, with cries of "Shame! shame!" "Down with the heretic!"] Hi omnes etiam si non spectent ad Ecclesiæ corpus, spectant tamen ad ejus animam, et de muneribus Redemptionis aliquatenus participant. Hi omnes in amore quo erga Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum feruntur, atque in illis positivis veritatibus quas ex fidei naufragio salvarunt, totidem gratiæ divini momenta possident, quibus misericordia Dei utetur, ut eos ad priscam fidem et Ecclesiæ reducat, nisi nos exaggerationibus nostris et improvidis charitatis ipsi debitis læsionibus tempus misericordiæ divini elongaverimus. Quantum autem ad charitatem, ei certe contrarium est vulnera aliena alio fine tangere quam ut ipsa sanentur; puto autem hac enumeratione errorum, quibus Protestantismus occasionem dedisset, id non fieri. . . . Decreto quod in supplementum ordinis interioris nobis nuper communicatum est statuitur res in Concilio hocce suffragiorum majoritate decidendas fore. Contra hoc principium, quod omnem præcedentium Conciliorum praxim funditus evertit, multi episcopi reclamant, quin tamen aliquod responsum obtulerint. Responsum autem in re tanti momenti dari debuisset clarum, perspicuum et omnis ambiguitatis expers. Hoc ad summas Concilii hujus calamitates spectat, nam hoc certe et præsentī generationi et posteris præbebit ansam dicendi: huic concilio libertatem et veritatem defuisse. Ego ipse convictus sum, æternam ac immutabilem fidei et traditionis regulam semper fuisse semperque mansuram communem, adminus moraliter unanimum consensum. Concilium, quod, hac regula insuperhabita, fidei et morum dogmata majoritate numerica definire intenderet, juxta meam intimam convictionem, eo ipso excideret jure conscientiam orbis Catholici sub sanctione vite ac mortis æternæ obligandi.

\* Dum autem ipse die hesterno ex suggestu hanc questionem posuissem et verba de consensu moraliter unanimi in rebus fidei definiendis necessario protulissem, interruptus fui, mihi que inter maximum tumultum et graves comminationes possibilitas sermonis continuandi adempta est. Atque hæc gravissima sane circumstantia magis adhuc comprobavit necessitatem habendi responsi, quod clarum sit omnisque ambiguitatis expers. Peto itaque humillime, ut hujusmodi responsum in proxima congregatione generali detur. Nisi enim hæc fierent anceps hærerem an manere possem in Concilio, ubi libertas Episcoporum ita

Presidents after it had been approved at the meeting of the Germans, and by bishops of other nations.

The preamble was withdrawn; and another was inserted in its place, which had been written in great haste by the German Jesuit Kleutgen, and was received with general applause. Several of the Jesuits obtained credit for the ability and moderation with which the decree was drawn up. It was no less than a victory over extreme counsels. A unanimous vote was insured for the public session of April 24 and harmony was restored. But the text proposed originally in the Pope's name had undergone so many changes as to make it appear that his intentions had been thwarted. There was a supplement to the decree, which the bishops had understood would be withdrawn, in order that the festive concord and good feeling might not be disturbed. They were informed at the last moment that it would be put to the vote, as its withdrawal would be a confession of defeat for Rome. The supplement was an admonition that the constitutions and decrees of the Holy See must be observed even when they proscribe opinions not actually heretical.\* Extraordinary efforts were made in public and in private to prevent any open expression of dissent from this paragraph. The bishop of Brixen assured his brethren, in the name of the Commission, that it did not refer to questions of doctrine; and they could not dispute the general principle that obedience is due to lawful authority. The converse proposition, that the papal acts have no claim to be obeyed, was obviously untenable. The decree was adopted unanimously. There were some who gave their vote with a heavy heart, conscious of the snare.† Strossmayer alone stayed away.

opprimitur, quemadmodum heri in me oppressus fuit, et ubi dogmata fidei definirentur novo et in Ecclesia Dei adusque inaudito modo.

\* Quoniam vero satis non est, hæreticam pravitatem devitare, nisi et quoque errores diligenter fugiantur, qui ad illam plus minusve accedunt, omnes officii monemus, servandi etiam Constitutiones et Decreta quibus pravæ eiusmodi opiniones, quæ isthic diserte non enumerantur, ab hac Sancta Sede proscriptæ et prohibitiæ sunt.

† In the speech on Infallibility which he prepared, but never delivered, Archbishop Kenrick thus expressed himself: "Inter alia quæ mihi stuporem injecerunt dixit Westmonasteriensis, nos additamento facto sub finem Decreti de Fide, tertia Sessione lati, ipsam Pontificiam Infallibilitatem, saltem implicite, jam agnovisse, nec ab ea recedere nunc nobis licere. Si bene intellexerim R<sup>m</sup>. Relatorem, qui in Congregatione generali hoc additamentum, prius oblatum, deinde abstractum, nobis mirantibus quid rei esset, illud iterum inopinato commendavit—dixit, verbis clarioribus, per illud nullam omnino doctrinam

The opposition was at an end. Archbishop Manning afterwards reminded them that by this vote they had implicitly accepted infallibility. They had done even more. They might conceivably contrive to bind and limit dogmatic infallibility with conditions so stringent as to evade many of the objections taken from the examples of history; but, in requiring submission to papal decrees on matters not articles of faith, they were approving that of which they knew the character, they were confirming without let or question a power they saw in daily exercise, they were investing with new authority the existing bulls, and giving unqualified sanction to the Inquisition and the Index, to the murder of heretics and the deposing of kings. They approved what they were called on to reform, and solemnly blessed with their lips what their hearts knew to be accursed. The Court of Rome became thenceforth reckless in its scorn of the opposition, and proceeded in the belief that there was no protest they would not forget, no principle they would not betray, rather than defy the Pope in his wrath. It was at once determined to bring on the discussion of the dogma of infallibility.

At first, when the minority knew that their prayers and their sacrifices had been vain, and that they must rely on their own resources, they took courage in extremity. Rauscher, Schwarzenberg, Hefele,

Ketteler, Kenrick, wrote pamphlets, or caused them to be written, against the dogma, and circulated them in the Council. Several English bishops protested that the denial of infallibility by the Catholic episcopate had been an essential condition of emancipation, and that they could not revoke that assurance after it had served their purpose, without being dishonoured in the eyes of their countrymen.\* The archbishop of St. Louis, admitting the force of the argument derived from the fact that a dogma was promulgated in 1854 which had long been disputed and denied, confessed that he could not prove the Immaculate Conception to be really an article of faith.†

An incident occurred in June which showed that the experience of the Council was working a change in the fundamental convictions of the bishops. Döllinger had written in March that an article of faith required not only to be approved and accepted unanimously by the Council, but that the bishops united with the Pope are not infallible, and that the œcumenicity of their acts must be acknowledged and ratified by the whole Church. Father Hötzel, a Franciscan friar, having published a pamphlet in defence of this proposition, was summoned to Rome, and required to sign a paper declaring that the confirmation of a Council by the Pope alone makes it œcumenical. He put his case into the hands of German bishops who were eminent in the opposition, asking first their opinion on the proposed declaration, and secondly their advice on his own con-

edoceri; sed eam quatuor capitibus ex quibus istud decretum compositum est imponi tanquam eis coronidem convenientem; eamque disciplinam magis quam doctrinalem characterem habere. Aut deceptus est ipse, si vera dixit Westmonasteriensis; aut nos sciens in errorem induxit, quod de viro tam ingenio minime supponere licet. Utinamque fuerit, ejus declarationi fidentes, plures suffragia sua isti decreto haud deneganda censuerunt ob istam clausulam; aliis, inter quos egomet, dolos parari metuentibus, et aliorum voluntati hac in re ægre credentibus. In his omnibus non est mens mea aliquem ex Reverendissimis Patribus malæ fidei incusare; quos omnes, ut par est, veneratione debita prosequor. Sed extra concilium adesse dicuntur viri religiosi—forsan et pii—qui maxime in illud influunt; qui calliditati potius quam bonis artibus confisi, rem Ecclesiæ in maximum ex quo orta sit discrimen adduxerunt; qui ab initio concilio effecerunt ut in Deputationes Conciliares il soli eligerentur qui eorum placitis fovere aut noscerentur aut crederentur; qui nonnullorum ex eorum prædecessoribus vestigia prementes in schematibus nobis propositis, et ex eorum officina produntibus, nihil magis cordi habuisse videntur quam Episcopalem auctoritatem deprimere, Pontificiam autem extollere; et verborum ambagibus incautos decipere velle videntur, dum alia ab aliis in eorum explicationem dicantur. Isti grave hoc incendium in Ecclesia excitarunt, et in illud insuflare non desinunt, scriptis eorum, pietatis speciem præferentibus sed veritate ejus vacuis, in populos spargentibus.

\*The author of the protest afterwards gave the substance of his argument as follows:—“Episcopi et theologi publice a Parlamento interrogati fuerunt, utrum Catholici Angliæ teneant Papam posse definitiones relativas ad fidem et mores populis imponere absque omni consensu expresso vel tacito Ecclesiæ. Omnes Episcopi et theologi responderunt Catholicos hoc non tenere. —Hisce responsionibus confisum Parlamentum Angliæ Catholicos admisit ad participationem iurium civilium. Quis Protestantibus persuadebit Catholicos contra honorem et bonam fidem non agere, qui quando agebatur de iuribus sibi acquirendis publice professi sunt ad fidem Catholicam non pertinere doctrinam infallibilitatis Romani Pontificis, statim autem ac obtinuerint quod volebant, a professione publice facta recedunt et contrarium affirmant?”

† Archbishop Kenrick's remarkable statement is not reproduced accurately in his pamphlet *De Pontificia infallibilitate*. It is given in full in the last pages of the *Observationes*, and is abridged in his *Concio habenda sed non habita*, where he concludes: “Eam fidei doctrinam esse neganti, non video quomodo responderi possit; cum objiceret Ecclesiam errorem contra fidem divinitus revelatam diu tolerare non potuisse, quin, aut quod ad fidei depositum pertineret non scivisse, aut errorem manifestum tolerasse videretur.”

duct. The bishops whom he consulted replied that they believed the declaration to be erroneous; but they added that they had only lately arrived at that conviction, and had been shocked at first by Döllinger's doctrine. They could not require him to suffer the consequences of being condemned at Rome as a rebellious friar and obstinate heretic for a view which they themselves had doubted only three months before. He followed the advice; but he perceived that his advisers had considerably betrayed him.

When the observations on infallibility which the bishops had sent in to the Commission appeared in print, it seemed that the minority had burnt their ships. They affirmed that the dogma would put an end to the conversion of Protestants, that it would drive devout men out of the Church and make Catholicism indefensible in controversy, that it would give governments apparent reason to doubt the fidelity of Catholics, and would give new authority to the theory of persecution and of the deposing power. They testified that it was unknown in many parts of the Church, and was denied by the Fathers, so that neither perpetuity nor universality could be pleaded in its favour; and they declared it an absurd contradiction, founded on ignoble deceit, and incapable of being made an article of faith by Pope or Council.\* One bishop

protested that he would die rather than proclaim it. Another thought it would be an act of suicide for the Church.

What was said, during the two months' debate, by men perpetually liable to be interrupted by a majority acting less from conviction than by command,\* could be of no practical account, and served for protest, not for persuasion. Apart from the immediate purpose of the discussion, two speeches were memorable—that of Archbishop Connolly of Halifax, for the uncompromising clearness with which he appealed to Scripture and repudiated all dogmas extracted from the speculations of divines, and not distinctly founded on the recorded Word of God,† and that of Archbishop Darboy, who foretold that a decree which increased authority without increasing power, and claimed for one man, whose infallibility was only now defined, the obedience which the world refused to the whole episcopate, whose right had been unquestioned in the Church for 1800 years, would raise up new hatred and new suspicion, weaken the influence of religion over society, and wreak swift ruin on the temporal power.‡

rii causa usi sunt, derisui me exponerem. Sophismata adhibere et munere episcopali et natura rei, quæ in timore Domini pertractanda est, indignum mihi videtur.—Plerique textus quibus eam comprobant etiam melioris notæ theologi, quos Ultramontanos vocant, mutilati sunt, falsificati, interpolati, circumtruncati, spurii, in sensum alienum detorti.—Asserere audeo eam sententiam, ut in schemate jacet, non esse fidei doctrinam, nec talem devenire posse per quamcumque definitionem etiam conciliarem.

\* This, at least, was the discouraging impression of Archbishop Kenrick: Semper contigit ut Patres surgendo assensum sententiæ deputationis præbuerint. Primo quidem die suffragiorum, cum quæstio esset de tertia parte primæ emendationis, nondum adhibita indicatione a subsecretario, deinde semper facta, plures surrexerunt adeo ut necesse foret numerum surgentium capere, ut constaret de suffragiis. Magna deinde confusio exorta est, et ista emendatio, quamvis majore forsitan numero sic accepta, in crastinum diem delata est. Postero die R<sup>ms</sup> Relator ex ambone Patres monuit, deputationem emendationem istam admittere nolle. Omnes fere eam rejiciendam surgendo statim dixerunt.

† Quodcumque Dominus Noster non dixerit etiam si metaphysice aut physice certissimum nunquam basis esse poterit dogmatis divine fidei. Fides enim per auditum, auditus autem non per scientiam sed per verba Christi. . . . Non ipsa verba S. Scripture igitur, sed genuinus sensus, sive literalis, sive metaphoricus, prout in mente Dei revelantis fuit, atque ab Ecclesiæ patribus semper atque ubique concorditer expositus, et quem nos omnes juramento sequi obstringimur, hic tantummodo sensus vera Dei revelatio dicendus est. . . . Tota antiquitas silet vel contraria est. . . . Verbum Dei volo et hoc solum, quæso et quidem indubitatum, ut dogma fiat.

‡ Hanc de infallibilitate his conditionibus or-

\* Certissimum ipsi esse fore ut infallibilitate ista dogmaticè definita, in diocesi sua, in qua ne vestigium quidem traditionis de infallibilitate S. P. lucusque inveniat, et in aliis regionibus multi, et quidem non solum minoris, sed etiam optimæ notæ, a fide deficient.—Si edatur, omnis progressus conversionum in Provinciis Federatis Americæ funditus extinguetur. Episcopi et sacerdotes in disputationibus cum Protestantibus quid respondere possent non haberent.—Per eiusmodi definitionem acatholicis, inter quos haud pauci lique optimi hisce præsertim temporibus firmum fidei fundamentum desiderant, ad Ecclesiam reditus redditur difficilis, imo impossibilis.—Qui Concilii decretis obsequi vellent, invenient se maximis in difficultatibus versari. Gubernia civilia eos tanquam subditos minus fidos, haud sine verisimilitudinis specie, habebunt. Hostes Ecclesiæ eos lacessere non verebuntur, nunc eis objicientes errores quos Pontifices aut docuisse, aut sua agendi ratione probasse, dicuntur et risu excipient responsa quæ sola afferri possint.—Eo ipso definitur in globo quidquid per diplomata apostolica huc usque definitum est. . . . Poterit, admissa tali definitione, statuere de dominio temporali, de eius mensura, de potestate deponendi reges, de usu coercendi hæreticos.—Doctrina de infallibilitate Romani Pontificis nec in Scriptura Sacra, nec in traditione ecclesiastica fundata mihi videtur. Immo contrariam, ni fallor, Christiana antiquitas tenuit doctrinam.—Modus dicendi Schematis supponit existere in Ecclesia duplicem infallibilitatem, ipsius Ecclesiæ et Romani Pontificis, quod est absurdum et inauditum.—Subterfugiis quibus theologi non pauci in Hono-

The general debate had lasted three weeks, and forty-nine bishops were still to speak, when it was brought to a close by an abrupt division on the 3d of June. For twenty-four hours the indignation of the minority was strong. It was the last decisive opportunity for them to reject the legitimacy of the Council. There were some who had despaired of it from the beginning, and held that the bull *Multiplices* deprived it of legal validity. But it had not been possible to make a stand at a time when no man knew whether he could trust his neighbour, and when there was fair ground to hope that the worst rules would be relaxed. When the second regulation, interpreted according to the interruptors of Strossmayer, claimed the right of proclaiming dogmas which part of the episcopate did not believe, it became doubtful whether the bishops could continue

to sit without implicit submission. They restricted themselves to a protest, thinking that it was sufficient to meet words with words, and that it would be time to act when the new principle was actually applied. By the vote of the 3d of June the obnoxious regulation was enforced in a way evidently injurious to the minority and their cause. The chiefs of the opposition were now convinced of the invalidity of the Council, and advised that they should all abstain from speaking, and attend at St. Peter's only to negative by their vote the decree which they disapproved. In this way they thought that the claim to œcumenicity would be abolished without breach of violence. The greater number were averse to so vigorous a demonstration; and Hefele threw the great weight of his authority into their scale. He contended that they would be worse than their word if they proceeded to extremities on this occasion. They had announced that they would do it only to prevent the promulgation of a dogma which was opposed. If that were done the Council would be revolutionary and tyrannical; and they ought to keep their strongest measure in reserve for that last contingency. The principle of unanimity was fundamental. It admitted no ambiguity, and was so clear, simple, and decisive, that there was no risk in fixing on it. The archbishops of Paris, Milan, Halifax, the bishops of Djakovar, Orleans, Marseilles, and most of the Hungarians, yielded to these arguments, and accepted the policy of less strenuous colleagues, while retaining the opinion that the Council was of no authority. But there were some who deemed it unworthy and inconsistent to attend an assembly which they had ceased to respect.

The debate on the several paragraphs lasted till the beginning of July; and the decree passed at length with eighty-eight dissentient votes. It was made known that the infallibility of the Pope would be promulgated in solemn session on the 18th, and that all who were present would be required to sign an act of submission. Some bishops of the minority thereupon proposed that they should all attend, repeat their vote, and refuse their signature. They exhorted their brethren to set a conspicuous example of courage and fidelity, as the Catholic world would not remain true to the faith if the bishops were believed to have faltered. But it was certain that there were men amongst them who would renounce their belief rather than incur the penalty of excommunication, who preferred authority to proof, and accepted the Pope's declaration, "La tradizione son' io." It was resolved by a small


tam et isto modo introductam aggredi et definire non possumus, ut arbitror, quin eo ipso tristem viam sternamus tum cavillationibus impiorum, tum etiam objectionibus moralem huius Concilii auctoritatem minuentibus. Et hoc quidem eo magis cavendum est, quod jam prostant et pervulgentur scripta et acta quæ vim ejus et rationem labefactare attentant; ita ut nedum animos sedare queat et quæ pacis sunt afferre, e contra nova dissensionis et discordiarum semina inter Christianos spargere videatur. . . . Porro, quod in tantis Ecclesiæ angustis laboranti mundo remedium affertur? Iis omnibus qui ab humero indocili excutunt onera antiquitus imposita, et consuetudine Patrum veneranda, novam ideoque grave et odiosum onus imponi postulant schematis auctores. Eos omnes qui infirmæ fidei sunt novo et non satis opportuno dogmate quasi obruunt, doctrina scilicet lucusque nondum definita, presentis discussionis vulnere nonnihil sauciata, et a Concilio cuius libertatem minus æquo apparere plurima autumant et dicunt pronuntianda. . . . Mundus aut æger est aut perit, non quod ignorat veritatem vel veritatis doctores, sed quod ab ea refugit eamque sibi non vult imperari. Igitur, si eam respuat, quum a toto decentis Ecclesiæ corpore, id est ab 800 episcopis per totum orbem sparsis et simul cum S. Pontifice infallibilibus prædicatur, quanto magis quum ab unico Doctore infallibili, et quidem ut tali recenter declarato prædicabitur? Ex altera parte, ut valeat et efficaciter agat auctoritas necesse est non tantum eam affirmari, sed insuper admitti. . . . Syllabus totam Europam pervasit at cui malo mædici potuit etiam ubi tanquam oraculum infallibile susceptus est? Duo tantum restabant regna in quibus religio florebat, non de facto tantum, sed et de jure dominans: Austria scilicet et Hispania. Atqui in his duobus regnis ruit iste Catholicus ordo, quamvis ab infallibili auctoritate commendatus, imo forsan saltem in Austria eo præcise quod ab hac commendatus. Audemus igitur res uti sunt considerare. Nedum Sanctissimi Pontificis independens infallibilitas præjudicia et objectiones destruat quæ permultos a fide avertunt, ea potius auget et aggravat. . . . Nemo non videt si politicæ gnarus, quæ semina dissensionum schema nostrum contineat et quibus periculis exponatur ipsa temporalis Sanctæ Sedis potestas.

majority that the opposition should renew its negative vote in writing, and should leave Rome in a body before the session. Some of the most conscientious and resolute adversaries of the dogma advised this course. Looking to the immediate future, they were persuaded that an irresistible reaction was at hand, and that the decrees of the Vatican Council would fade away and be dissolved by a power mightier than the episcopate and a process less perilous than schism. Their disbelief in the validity of its work was so profound that they were convinced that it would perish without violence; and they resolved to spare the Pope and themselves the indignity of a rupture. Their last manifesto, *La dernière Heure*, is an appeal for patience, an exhortation to rely on the guiding, healing hand of God.\* They deemed that they had assigned the course which was to save the Church, by teaching the Catholics to reject a Council which was neither legitimate in constitution, free in action, nor unanimous in doctrine, but to observe moderation in contesting an authority over which great catastrophes impend. They conceived that it would thus be possible to save the peace and unity of the Church without sacrifice of faith and reason.

#### CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan (Khorabad) provenant des fouilles de M. Victor Place, déchiffrées et interprétées.* Par Jules Oppert. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
2. *Essai sur la chronologie des Archontes Athéniens postérieurs à la caxii: Olympiade, et sur la succession des magistrats éphébiques.* Par Albert Dumont. (Paris: Thorin.)
3. *Willelmi Malmebiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum libri quinque.* Edited by N. E. S. A. Hamilton. (London: Longmans.)
4. *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene.* Vol. III. Edited by Professor Stubbs. (London: Longmans.)
5. *Chaucer: Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung, und zur Chronologie seiner Schriften.* Von Bernhard Ten Brink, Erster Theil. (Münster: Russell.)
6. *Breslauer Urkundenbuch.* Bearbeitet von George Korn. Erster Theil. (Breslau: Korn.)
7. *Documenta Magistri Johannis Hus vitæ, doctrinæ, causam in Constantiensi Concilio actam et Controversias de Religione in Bohemia annis 1408-1418 motas illustrantia, quæ, partim adhuc inedita partim mendose vulgata, nunc ex ipsis fontibus hausta edidit Franciscus Palacky.* (Prague: Tempsky.)
8. *Mirabilia Romæ.* E codicibus Vaticanis emendata edidit Gustavus Parthey. Accedit Ichnographia Romæ ab Heinrico Kiepert delineata. (Berlin: Effert und Lindtner.)
9. *Lectures on the History of Ireland, (Second Series) from A. D. 1584 to the date of the Plantation of Ulster.* By Alexander G. Richey. (London: Longmans.)
10. *The Minor Poems of William Loder.* Edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. (London: Trübner.)
11. *The Sonnets of Shakespeare solved, and the Mystery of his Friendship, Love, and Rivalry revealed.* By Henry Brown. (London: J. Russell Smith.)
12. *Benedict de Spinoza; his Life, Correspondence, and Ethics.* By R. Willis, M.D. (London: Trübner.)
13. *Der Krieg des Grossen Kurfürsten gegen Frankreich, 1672-1675.* Von H. Peter. (Halle: Waisenhaus.)
14. *Liber diurnus ou Recueil des Formules usitées par la Chancellerie Pontificale du V au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, publié par Eugène de Rozière. Addenda.* (Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel.)
15. *The History of Scotland.* By John Hill Burton. Vols. v. vi. vii. (Edinburgh: Blackwood.)
16. *Harteneck, Graf der Sächsischen Nation, und die Siebenbürgischen Partaikämpfe seiner Zeit, 1691-1708.* Von F. v. Ziegelaer. (Hermannstadt: Steinhausen.)
17. *Histoire de la Terreur (1792-1794) d'après des Documents authentiques et inédits.* Par M. Mortimer-Ternaux, de l'Institut. Tom. VII. (Paris: Michel Levy.)
18. *Paris en 1794 et en 1795.* Histoire de la rue, du club et de la famine, composée d'après des documents inédits, particulièrement les rapports de police et les registres du Comité du Salut Public, avec une introduction. Par C. A. Dauban. (Paris: Plon.)
19. *Der Feldzug am Mittelrhein; insbesondere die Sprengung der Gebirgspostenlinie der Allirten zwischen Edenkoben und Kaiserslautern am 18 Juli 1794.* Dargestellt von A. L. W. Mit Anhang und fünf Plänen. (Carlsruhe: Braun.)
20. *Die romantische Schule; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes.* Von R. Haym. (Berlin: Gärtner.)
21. *Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen.* II. Band, 1808-20. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)

\* Espérons que l'excès du mal provoquera le retour du bien. Ce Concile n'aura eu qu'un heureux résultat, celui d'en appeler un autre, réuni dans la liberté . . . . Le Concile du Vatican demeurera stérile, comme tout ce qui n'est pas écos sous le souffle de l'Esprit Saint. Cependant il aura révélé non-seulement jusqu'à quel point l'absolutisme peut abuser des meilleures institutions et des meilleurs instincts, mais aussi ce que vaut encore le droit, alors même qu'il n'a plus que le petit nombre pour le défendre . . . Si la multitude passe quand même nous lui prédisons qu'elle n'ira pas loin. Les Spartiates, qui étaient tombés aux Thermopyles pour défendre les terres de la liberté, avaient préparé au flot impitoyable du despotisme la défaite de Salmnie.

2. *Lafayette. Ein Lebensbild.* Von Max Büdinger. (Leipzig: Teubner.)
  23. *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign.* By the late General Cavalie Mercer. (Edinburgh: Blackwood.)
  24. *Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury, his Family, and Friends.* Edited by the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury. (London: Bentley.)
  25. *Geschichte Griechenlands von der Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken bis auf unsere Tage.* Von K. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Erster Theil. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
  26. *Carl Ritter. Ein Lebensbild nach seinem handschriftlichen Nachlass.* Dargestellt von G. Kramer. II. Theil. (Halle: Waisenhaus.)
  27. *Vie de R. P. Lacordaire.* Par M. Foisset. (Paris: Lecoffre.)
  28. *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgang des Wiener October Aufstandes 1848.* Von J. A. Freiherrn von Helfert. II. (Prague: Tempsky.)
  29. *Der Staatstreich von 2 December 1851; und seine Rückwirkung auf Europa.* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
  30. *Lettere di Massimo d'Azeglio a sua moglie Luisa Blondel.* Per cura di Giulio Carcano. (Milan: Rechiedei.)
  31. *Passages from the English Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne.* (London: Strahan.)
  32. *Essays, chiefly on Questions of Church and State from 1850 to 1870.* By A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (London: Murray.)
  33. *Historische und politische Aufsätze.* Von H. von Treischcke. Neue Folge. Thl. I. II. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
  34. *L'Allemagne politique depuis la paix de Prague (1866-1870).* Par Victor Cherbuliez. (Paris: Hachette.)
  35. *Mixed Education in Ireland. The Confessions of a Queen's Collegian.* By F. Hugh O'Donnell, M.A., Vol. I. The Faculty of Arts. (London: Longmans.)
  36. *Ueber die Bildung der Ersten Kammern in Deutschland.* Von A. Winter. (Tübingen: Laupp.)
  37. *Die Naturlehre des Staates als Grundlage aller Staatswissenschaft.* Von Constantin Frantz. (Leipzig: Winter.)
  38. *L'or et l'argent.* Par M. Wolowski, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
  39. *Les tarifs de chemin de fer devant l'Opinion publique.* Par Charles Ropiquet. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
  40. *Textile Fabrics in the South Kensington Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue.* By the Very Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D. (London: Chapman and Hall.)
  41. *Lectures on Art.* Delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1870. By John Ruskin, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
  42. *King Arthur, or the Drama of the Revolution.* By John S. Stuart Glennie, M.A. Vol. II. Play the First, Opera 1. (London: Trübner.)
  43. *The Laws of Verse, or Principles of Versification exemplified in Metrical Translations.* By J. J. Sylvester, LL.D. (London: Longman.)
  44. *The Laws of Discursive Thought.* By James M'Cosh, LL.D. (London: Macmillan.)
  45. *An Examination of the Utilitarian Philosophy.* By the late John Grote, B.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. Edited by J. B. Mayor, M.A. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.)
  46. *Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews.* By T. H. Huxley, LL.D. (London: Macmillan.)
  47. *Trees and Shrubs for English Plantations.* By Augustus Mongredien. With Illustrations. (London: Murray.)
  48. *How Crops Feed.* By Samuel Johnson, M.A., Professor of Agricultural and Analytical Chemistry in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College. (New York: Orange Judd and Co.)
  49. *Flora Analytique de la Suisse.* Par P. Morthier. (Neuchâtel: Sandoz.)
  50. *Flora Caucasi.* Pars I. Auctore F. J. Ruprecht. (St Petersburg: Eggers.)
1. M. Oppert's new book professes to give texts and translations of inscriptions discovered at Khorsabad by M. Place, who succeeded M. Botta in charge of the French excavations. On comparing it with M. Botta's *Monuments de Ninive*, which is the most magnificent collection of Assyrian texts yet published, it appears that the work accomplished by M. Place is small compared with that of his predecessor. The first text given by M. Oppert is the inscription on the winged bulls at the entrances of the Khorsabad palaces. Many copies of this inscription were published by M. Botta in the *Monuments de Ninive*; and a comparison of all these affords a very good text. In this and other inscriptions given in the present work, Dr. Oppert has altered, and in some cases improved, his former geographical names. The city which he formerly identified with Calno, he now admits to be Ur. He does not, however, appear to be aware of the phonetic reading of  Assur, which was published in *The North British Review*, Vol. LI. p. 110. Larsa is not the Larancha of Berossus, as Dr. Oppert supposes. Larancha, or Laracha, was supposed by the Babylonians to be one of the most ancient cities in the world, and was said to have been the birthplace of some of the kings who reigned before the flood; its name was La-rak. The name Mi-luh-ha, has hitherto been identified with Meroe; Dr. Oppert now gives it as the equivalent of Lybia; but there does not appear to be any good ground for the alteration.
- The Bull Inscription is followed by the text of the Memorial Cylinders, one of which is in the British Museum. The version published by Dr. Oppert has ten lines of cuneiform in the middle of the inscription, which are omitted on the Museum copy; and they form the most difficult part of the text. The whole of this inscription needs further work. After the cylinders, Dr. Oppert has translated three small tablet texts, one of which is the celebrated Gold Tablet. In the following pages translations are

given of some small Babylonian inscriptions, which appear to have been among the spoil carried off on the conquest of Babylon by the Assyrians, in B.C. 710. First come some small oval objects of baked clay, pierced like beads, for hanging round the neck; they are inscribed generally with the name of a woman, and the name of her husband or master, together with the date at which he acquired her. Four of these inscriptions are given by Dr. Oppert, and are dated in the 9th, 10th, and 11th years of Merodach Baladan (B.C. 713-711). One out of the four is given as a masculine name; but it is doubtful whether this one is correctly copied, as in all other known cases the wearers were females. Besides those in Dr. Oppert's work there is an unpublished one in the British Museum which affords a good idea of these inscriptions: Sa (sal) Hi-pa-a sa - su sa Sin - esses

*Of the female Hipa slave of Sineses*  
 arah sabatu sanat 11 Maruduk - bal -  
 month Sebat 11th year of Merodach  
 iddina sar Babilu.  
*Baladan king of Babylon.*

The women who wore these objects were evidently taken captive to Assyria; and hence the presence of these inscriptions in the Assyrian ruins. Another trophy from Babylon is the cone of Vul-bal-idinav, an ancient king of Babylon. Dr. Oppert then gives a reading of the longest inscription of Sargon, the "Inscription des Annales;" but this part of his work is not nearly so satisfactory as the earlier portion. At the beginning of the inscription he has translated a considerable portion of a different text—the whole of the translation from "Palais de Sargon," p. 29, down to 'Elu des rois,' p. 30, belonging to an independent inscription, part of the remainder of which is given in Bott's *Monuments de Ninive*. As regards the body of the inscription, he has neglected to make any distinction between what is found in the mutilated portions of the text and what is added by way of restoration. He has taken as the basis of his division of the years the plan proposed in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, for July and August, 1869; but the commencement of the reign, the 1st, 13th, 14th, and 15th years, although probably occupying the proposed positions, are by no means certain, and when given without any mark of doubt, or any indication that they are restorations, would mislead a student unacquainted with the text. This, the longest inscription in the book, is not accompanied by the cuneiform text, and is not well translated.

2. THE Athenians reckoned their years by their eponymous archons; and it is by the series of these archons that the chronology of their history is established from the 71st to the 122d Olympiad. So far, the chronology has long been fixed. But two great gaps remain—from the 7th to the 71st Olympiad, and from the 122d Olympiad to the end of the Roman empire. The first is almost hopeless; with the second, research is actively engaged, and the slightest success obtained in the effort is important. Certain marbles which were found some ten years ago, and have been called

the Ephebic marbles, have furnished new material for this critical investigation. It is known that the youths of Athens, the *ἐφηβοί*, received a common education designed to fit them for public life. Forming by anticipation a sort of image of the society which they were about to enter, they had their own archons, etc.; and their studies and exercises were carried on under a director (*κοσμητής*) and vice-director (*ἀντικοσμητής*), and a tutor (*παιδοτρέτης*). The public college of the Ephebi commemorated its acts and the names of its prizemen by inscriptions, in which, together with the Ephebi themselves, their directors and masters were mentioned; and the eponymous archon under whom the inscription had been cut was also indicated. It is obvious what assistance is thus afforded to chronological investigation. A comparison of the inscriptions with one another may exhibit the same men holding different college offices, of which the higher would naturally be the later; and it may thus establish a sequence in the marbles, and consequently in the archons mentioned in them. Then, on the discovery of a historical indication fixing the epoch of one of them, the others, which possessed only a relative date, would acquire an absolute one. This is the end towards which M. Dumont has worked in his *Essai sur la Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens*. He is far enough from filling up the gap of six centuries; but his labour has not been without results; he has cleared the way and pointed out the method. The specimens of these marbles which we at present possess were found in an old wall that was cut away to make a road; and there must be many more of them in what remains of it. As fresh ones are brought to light, it will become possible to multiply the necessary comparisons, and determine new dates in the history of Athens.

3. MR. HAMILTON's edition of Malmesbury's *Acts of the English Bishops* wants the interest that attaches to the first publication of a manuscript. Few books have been on the whole better known. Still the need for a critical edition, if not absolutely overwhelming, was very great. The editions of Saville and Gale abound in clerical errors, and it is not always easy for the student to understand that "Abrimas" should be "Abrincas" (Avranches), that "Bribebus" is a mistake for "Brihtegus," or that "*Furbracteam*," italicized and given as one word, belongs to an account of a thief stealing a plate of gold. Besides this, Mr. Hamilton believes that he has discovered Malmesbury's autograph manuscript, containing some passages that were omitted in later editions, as too severe, or as likely to give offence. One of these is the story which Knighton reproduces, that Ranulf Flambard, Bishop of Durham, tempted his monks with forbidden food and the ministrations of wanton women; and it must accordingly be assumed that Knighton worked from an unmutilated edition, or at least copied a predecessor who had used one. Mr. Hamilton's arguments in support of his theory seem little



short of demonstrative. One of them turns on the fact that constant corrections are inserted in a way which no scribe would venture on down to 1140. Now the *Historia Novella* breaks off abruptly at the end of 1142; and it seems natural to assume, therefore, that Malmesbury's labours and life ended about that time.

In many respects Mr. Hamilton's editorial work comes up to the level of the best that has been done for the Record Commission. His life of Malmesbury is sound and thorough, and adds some noteworthy facts to Mr. Wright's biography—an approximate determination of the author's age, and an identification of a manuscript supposed to be lost. The notes are mostly careful and full; and the index is of exemplary completeness. The text is given as the author wrote it, not in the artificial Latin of modern schoolbooks; and it may perhaps be hoped that this point, for which editors have long been contending, is at last finally conceded. Naturally, however, there are some shortcomings. At p. 401, a charter occurs in which Æthelstan is made to give certain lands to Malmesbury Monastery, and to recite an attempt against himself by the Ætheling Ælfred. Nothing can be more certain than that this charter is forged. Its very date of 937 does not agree with the year of the indiction; and among the bishops who sign it are Wulfelm of Wells, who was instituted in 938, Sexhelm of Chester le Street and Kinsig of Lichfield, whose dates are 947 and 949, Alfrith of Winchester, probably confounded with Afsin, who was made bishop in 951, and Eadhelm of Selsey, who dates from 963. It is not too much to demand that the spuriousness of such a document should be exposed; but Mr. Hamilton only refers the reader in a note to another copy of the deed which is given in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, and which, though at least more possible, Mr. Kemble also regards as unauthentic. Lastly, Dornacester, where the charter was signed, is explained in a side-note as Doncaster. It was almost certainly Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, because it was customary for charters to be signed in the neighbourhood of the places they dealt with, because signatures in Yorkshire are most unusual, and because there is no authority or reason for supposing that Doncaster, the Roman Danum, was ever spelled with an *r* in the first syllable. Generally, Mr. Hamilton is a little loose about topography. At p. 174, he turns Werwell into Warewell, correcting the mistake, however, in his index; and p. 385 he conjectures that Biscepestruwe, the Biscepestrev of Domesday, and now Bishopstrow, near Warminster in Wiltshire, was Stoke Orchard in Gloucestershire, a county with which Aldelm, from whom it took its name, had no connection. Another curious mistake of a different kind occurs at p. 156. Malmesbury says that he knows nothing about St. Germin; and Mr. Hamilton comments on this as strange, "since he has himself recorded some particulars of St. Germanus, in the *Gesta Regum*." But St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and St. Germin or Jurmin, confessor,

were two very different persons, and both, as well as St. German of Paris, have a place in the Calendar. The oversight is the more remarkable as Malmesbury goes on to say that St. Germin was brother to St. Etheldred, who lived in the seventh century, and was daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles. The relationship is also mentioned in Thomas of Ely's history of Ely. But if Mr. Hamilton's book is not absolutely faultless, it must be added that its defects, as far as we can judge, are unimportant and rare.

4. THE third volume of Hoveden's *Chronicles* takes us out of the years for which he is more or less a mere transcriber into those for which he is an authority at first-hand. But the interest of the history does not increase proportionately. Henry II.'s reign was one of the highest constitutional importance, and one which had never been dealt with adequately. Professor Stubbs was fortunate enough, in examining it, to clear up much that had not been properly understood, and to contribute much new material. In his preface to the third volume he in no way falls below the standard of his first labours; but the subject matter is less promising; and the history of Longchamp's regency had already been admirably treated by Sir Francis Palgrave. It is no slight praise to say that Professor Stubbs, following such a predecessor, has found it possible to bring the actors and scenes of the period more completely, though not perhaps more vividly, before the eye.

Like Palgrave, Professor Stubbs undertakes the apology of Richard I.'s character; and he does it even more unreservedly. For instance, he discredits the charge which Hugh de Nunant and Giraldus Cambrensis brought, that Longchamp's grandfather was a runaway serf. The point is of more importance than it seems; for it directly affects the question how far it was possible for men of the lowest rank to rise into a higher station in society. Gerard of Athy, "servus et a servis oriundus utroque parente," who rose to such importance as to be mentioned in *Magna Charta*, is of course a familiar instance of such elevations. It may be thought, indeed, that Richard I., who forcedly divorced his father's employé, Stephen "de Turonis," because he was not well-born enough to deserve his wife, would have been less likely than John to employ a parvenu. But even this argument disappears if Stephen de Turonis was, as Professor Stubbs and Mr. Foss think, the Stephen of Turnham, whom Richard soon afterwards intrusted with the government of Cyprus. If we regard Longchamp's father as one of the numerous foreigners who served Henry in the war with Stephen—a conjecture which seems probable from the date and place with which he is first connected—it will not be difficult to understand why his son, a churchman and man of rare ability, rose some thirty years later to be the first of English officials. Most critics will agree that Giraldus's charges against his moral-



ity, being as they are unsupported (for it is doubtful whether Hugh de Nunant intended any insinuation), prove absolutely nothing. But it is going too far when Professor Stubbs argues: "It is impossible, if there were any truth in such charges, that John should have charged him, as his most offensive crime, with introducing into England the foreign custom of serving on the knee." It is certainly curious that John should have fixed on that particular charge as the most palpably damning in public estimation; but it must be remembered that an angry man does not always manage his case ably, and that John's own moral character was such as might induce him to think silence about carnal vices discretion. The causes of the outbreak, in which Longchamp was driven from England, are admirably explained by Professor Stubbs in his summing up, but are a little lost sight of in his narrative. The chancellor, as he puts it, fell "under the accumulation of hatred not because of it," and might have continued to misgovern England if it had not been John's direct interest to oppose him. In fact, by a not uncommon combination, the official who served his master with thorough singleness of purpose, seemed quite unconscious that he had any duty to the country. In promoting Arthur's succession, in restraining John's acquisition of power, in trying to obtain an oath of fealty from Geoffrey Plantagenet, Longchamp undoubtedly acted as a loyal servant of the absent king. But he could not resist the vulgar temptation of enriching and aggrandizing his family, or keep the Frenchman's contempt for what seemed English barbarism under control. Such a man, compelled by his master's orders to raise money in whatever way, and leaning, from inclination and necessity, upon the support of foreign officials and troops, was certain sooner or later to provoke rebellion. But John's prominence in the quarrel appears to have been more matter of accident than Longchamp's fall. The people of England clung to the cause of their absent hero and crusader with a pathetic loyalty which Richard never appreciated or repaid; and the Earl of Moretain, though very powerful to embarrass English domestic policy, was absolutely without hold on the country. But whatever judicial estimate may be formed of the actors in these transactions, the value of Professor Stubbs's narrative is in fact unimpaired; and it is a real page in the history of Richard I., giving the first good estimate of such men as Hugh de Nunant and Hugh de Puiset, and many important details of family history. It is only necessary to add one slight criticism. In a note, p. lxx., Professor Stubbs speaks as if it were possible that Geoffrey Plantagenet was the son of Rosamond Clifford. He has himself done something towards disproving this tradition; but, if he still hesitates, he will probably find a slight collateral proof in the Fines of King John's reign, which show that a Walter Clifford, senior, almost certainly Rosamond's

father, was alive in 1207. Consequently, there is a further presumption that she was not Henry II.'s mistress in 1150. It seems probable that a link has been dropped in the Clifford pedigree.

5. CHAUCER is a household word with his own countrymen; but while there lacks neither love nor reverence for him in England, the fact is significant, that the most complete book of studies on his writings is the work of a German scholar. Herr Ten Brink's *Studien* is far more valuable and trustworthy than the work of M. Sandras, both because his analysis of facts is more minute and searching, and also because M. Sandras subordinates Chaucer, during the whole period of his poetic activity, to the influence of the French troubadours. Herr Ten Brink on the contrary, following the lead of English Chaucer students, divides the master's poetic life into three periods. To the first—that of French influence—belongs his translation of the *Roman de la rose*, and the "Boke of the Duchesse;" it ranges from 1366 to 1372-3—the date of his first visit to Italy. In the second period, from 1373 to 1384, Italian influences predominate; it includes the "Life of St. Cecil," the "Assembly of Fowles," the translation of Boethius *de Consolatione*, with "Troilus and Cryseyde," the "Hous of Fame," and "Palemon and Arcite," which last Herr Ten Brink takes to have been a complete version of the Theseide, from which the "Knights Tale" was afterwards recast. The list from 1384 to 1400, the year of Chaucer's death, comprises the "Complaynt of Mars and Venus," the "Legende of Gode Women," the "Astrolabe," "Anelida and Arcite," the "Canterbury Tales," and sundry small poems. This third period, marked by the author as that of Chaucer's full power and independence, will be analysed in the second part of his *Studien*.

He regards the development of Chaucer's genius as typical of the development of English culture from the 14th to the 16th century, and considers that a thorough knowledge of his works, involving at least a general idea of their chronology, is indispensable to the historical study of English literature. Under his hands, therefore, each poem forms the theme of a dissertation which discusses the chronology of the work, its sources, the forms in which it appears, and its æsthetical excellences or defects. The method employed is strictly critical; and though, in respect of some questions, the extreme minuteness and subtilty of the reasoning may bar an acceptance of the hypotheses until proofs of a more direct kind can be produced, yet, on other points, arguments are brought forward of sufficient weight and number to satisfy any one who can appreciate sound reasoning in the discussion of literary questions. A good specimen of the book is the essay on the "Hous of Fame," which comprises all the best known criticisms on the subject, together with much original matter. The patient care with which Herr Ten Brink has traced to widely different sources the wealth of classical and mediæval influences and reminiscences which that wonderful poem exhibits, supplemented

by his able comparison of its merits with those of the "Boke of the Duchesse," will afford the student the clearest idea possible of Chaucer's poetic development from 1870 to 1884, the proximate dates of the two productions. In 1870, the poet of the Elegy, not yet loose from French leading-strings, labours with little power or originality through his appointed task. But in 1884, after years of grave study and unwearied exercise of his high faculty, the former disciple of Guillaume de Machault has ripened into the master, free in thought and bold of utterance, working after a fashion essentially his own, yet—to borrow Goethe's figure—with all the air about him vibrating to grand melodies with which his native powers had been set in unison.

On points of metre and assonance Chaucer is known to have taken unusual pains; and the general canons of his rhyme are deduced from his works and laid down by Herr Ten Brink as follow:—First, *ie, ye*, nominal terminations, also Present and Preterite of verbs; these rhyme either with each other, or with other terminations in *eye, aye*. Second, *y=Fr. y, i, A.S. ig, iqa, ice*; these rhyme with each other; with Latin forms *i*, and with the pronoun *I*. Third, *e, ee=Fr. é, ee*, original English words in *e, ee*; these endings rhyme among each other. Now it is admitted that all the poems exhibit instances of departure from the above rules, while the "Romaunt of the Rose" sets the second completely at defiance. On this point some may incline to grant Chaucer the royal prerogative of dispensing with his own laws; but Herr Ten Brink insists that in the former instance the mss. are at fault, not the poet, while the difficulty presented by the false rhymes of the "Romaunt" is met by assigning to that translation chronological precedence over the strict code of assonances which the poet afterwards imposed upon himself. Despite these irregularities Herr Ten Brink proposes these laws of rhyme as an unfailing touchstone for the genuineness of Chaucer poems. All pieces enumerated in the "Legende of Gode Women," all later poems specified by Lydgate in the "Fall of Princes," he argues, stand this test; all others attributed to Chaucer fail on its application, and consequently must be spurious. Three of these, the "Lamentacion of Mary Magdaleine," the "Assemblee of Ladies," and the "Remedie of Love," which have been already rejected by the best judges, are not discussed; the remaining four—the "Flower and the Leaf," "Chauceres Dreame," the "Court of Love," the "Complaynt of the Black Knight,"—are treated at length. Now the test proposed by Herr Ten Brink is important; and Mr. Bradshaw considers not only the four poems last named, but the "Romaunt of the Rose" also, to be apocryphal. Until, however, his arguments and proofs have been published and thoroughly examined, the question must remain open. Some obvious difficulties are presented by Herr Ten Brink's views. First, the touchstone furnished by laws of rhyme cannot possibly be applied to these poems. They are not extant in manuscript; and everybody knows them to have been un-

scrupulously adapted, both in language and orthography, by the Elizabethan editors to the fashion of their own time—an act which also removes all secondary objections on the score of certain words and forms. Add to this, that at first sight, both on æsthetical and psychological grounds, these compositions would pass as Chaucer's, and that a close comparison with his uncontested poems brings out numerous strong though less obvious points of contact. Indeed some characteristics adduced in proof of spuriousness might bear a very different construction. Take, for instance, in the "Flower and the Leaf," its peculiarity of carrying on the closing sentence of one stanza to the beginning of the next, which not only marks, in a greater or less degree, all Chaucer's poems written in the same metre—his favourite rhyme royal—but is actually identical with the graceful art whereby he constantly welds his couplets one with another. And another objection raised against the "Flower and the Leaf," namely its want of classical recollections, would equally apply to the "Prioresses Tale" and the "Second Nonnes Tale." For here, as there, the poet, speaking in the person of a lady, flits puts into her mouth little of the raw material of culture, but much of its subtlest essence, in the form of lofty morality and exquisite sentiment. Secondly, the hypothesis that the compositions specified in the "Legende of Gode Women," with those enumerated by Lydgate, make up the whole body of Chaucer's works, while it hardly justifies his well-established reputation as a prolific writer, is in direct contradiction to evidence furnished by the "Preces de Chauceres," to which Herr Ten Brink makes no reference whatever. And lastly, if these pieces in question do not belong to the writer to whom they have been always attributed, whose are they? Their merits are unequal; but, as a whole, they bear not merely the mark, as Herr Ten Brink insists, of a great poet's influence, and clever mimicry of his style, but the stamp of inimitable genius. Could a man capable of such work have lived and died a nameless shadow among his contemporaries? And, on the other hand, was there any poet other than Chaucer in that period, to whom, for instance, we can ascribe the "Flower and the Leaf"—a poem so perfect that it could but suffer even under Dryden's hand?

It appears from the notes to the present work that Herr Wilhelm Hertzberg, well known as the German Translator of the "Canterbury Tales," was the first critic who in print pronounced the "Testament of Love" spurious. His reasons were published a twelvemonth prior to the date of Mr. Payne Collier's Essay in 1867. Herr Ten Brink fully indorses his judgment. The appendix contains Machault's "Dit de la Fontaine amoureuse," in some respects the prototype of the "Boke of the Duchesse," and Froissart's "Dit du bleu chevalier," erroneously stated by M. Sandras to be the original of the "Complaynt of the Black Knight."

6. In Germany there is a large number of societies which devote themselves to the inves-

tigation of local history, and, wisely keeping within these limits, prepare the materials for works of wider range and a higher point of view. There has been a growing conviction amongst them that the mediæval sources especially should be published, in order to enable historians to work upon this, the safest foundation; and the increase of wealth has afforded means for carrying out the plan to a considerable extent. Amongst this mass of publications an exceptional importance belongs to the *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, edited by Dr. Korn, an officer of the Archives at Breslau, who published some years ago a collection of records for a history of the trades and guilds in Silesia. The history of Breslau is of singular interest. Discord in the Ducal House of Poland, and family alliances with the German Emperors, had led to a separation of Silesia from Poland as early as the twelfth century. The Silesian Dukes, divided from the beginning into several families with separate dominions, relied for support upon their German allies, and greatly favoured German immigration. Monasteries were founded by German monks, who brought German peasants into the country to cultivate the lands bestowed on them, which for the most part were thinly peopled and little cultivated. German merchants also settled in the Slavonic territories, under the protection of the Dukes, chiefly near the ducal castle at Breslau, in which neighbourhood also a bishopric was founded in the year 1000. This colony, which rapidly increased, was under the rule of administrators elected by its own members; it was exempt from the jurisdiction of the Polish officials, and subject only to the authority of the Duke himself. Of this earliest time few records are extant. From such as do remain, Professor Stenzel, and more recently Professor Grünhagen, have extracted with much acuteness an account of the social relations of that period. In the invasion of the Mongols the colony was destroyed; but immediately after the departure of this terrible enemy it was re-established, endowed with new privileges, and developed so as to form a town. The plan shows a spacious market-place in the centre, with the large town-house and the two principal churches, from which radiate long broad streets, intersected again by others at a right angle, the whole well fortified by walls and moats. To this new town the Duke gave the laws of Magdeburg, which were adopted throughout the eastern part of Germany and spread far into the Slavonic lands. It was not merely that the regulations and usages of Magdeburg were introduced, but Magdeburg itself was also regarded as the Supreme Court of law; that is to say, in all law-suits, the two parties, or the judges, whenever in doubt, appealed for information to the judges of Magdeburg. The political autonomy of Breslau became gradually more and more developed, until, as far as ordinary affairs were concerned, the town nearly assumed the attitude of an independent republic towards its princes, who however derived from it far the greatest portion of their revenue. Money assistance given at the right moment often obtained for it new privileges and immunities.

After the death of the last Duke of Breslau the sovereign power passed into the hands of King John of Bohemia, and his son Charles iv., the Roman Emperor, who, though he left a bad reputation behind him in Germany, bestowed a zealous and intelligent care on his own dominions. Breslau owes to him the completion of her prosperity and happiness; under him her free self-government was fully developed, and the civic constitution administered with great judgment by an elected magistracy. The first volume of the *Urkundenbuch* comes down to this point, exhibiting the development of a young commonwealth till it attains the full vigour of manhood. To those who understand how to read historical sources, and possess the requisite knowledge for using them, the book will be of great value; and the editor deserves praise for making the product of his toil at once accessible to scholars, instead of keeping it back till he could extract its results himself.

7. THE condemnation and execution of John Hus at the Council of Constance was an act which produced the gravest results. The whole of Bohemia, though in sore need of ecclesiastical reform, and teeming with reformatory energy, had hitherto remained attached to the Church; but it now withdrew from her communion, and by the success of its resistance soon roused the fears of the Roman court and the German empire. Herr Palacky has for many years devoted himself to the history of his country; and in investigating its sources he has discovered a great many documents which throw new light on the history of the middle-ages. Under the old Austrian régime it was impossible for him to publish the documents which he had collected for the history of Hus; and he therefore gladly placed them at Professor Hoefler's disposal, when the latter undertook the publication of these sources for the Academy of Vienna. It was thus that the three volumes of Hoefler's *Geschichtsschreiber der husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* appeared. The editor of that work, however, not only allowed free scope in the introduction to his feeling against Hus and his disciples, but, what is of more importance, he gave exceedingly bad and almost worthless versions of the documents. Herr Palacky has exposed this extraordinary failure, and has now published his collection for himself. It is a work of sober and careful criticism. Some of the documents are entirely new; all of them are accurate, well arranged, and selected with a thorough knowledge of the subject; and those in the Bohemian language are accompanied by a careful Latin translation. The work begins with the letters of Hus himself, here for the first time critically edited. Then follows Peter von Mladenovich's account of the proceedings in the council, which hitherto has only been printed in a very confused and imperfect form. It is accompanied by the proper documents, and by a selection from the annals of the time. It is a matter for congratulation that Herr Palacky has not allowed his political labours to divert him from the completion of this important literary work. Scholars are now for the first time enabled to

form an independent judgment on every important passage of the history, and to know with certainty the real views and opinions of the great party leader.

8. HERR PARTHEY, of the Academy of Berlin, has long enjoyed a high reputation amongst students of antiquity for his careful and sober works on the ancient geography of Sicily and on Egypt. A short time ago he issued, in the publications of the Berlin Academy, two Greek papyri which bear witness to a curious mixture of Pagan and Christian superstition in Egypt, and afford a valuable example of the later Greek uncial writing. But he has given perhaps a still greater aid to the advance of learning by his careful critical editions of obscure or neglected works, such as the *Itinerarium Antonini*, which he published some time ago in conjunction with Herr Pinder. To this he has recently added the *Mirabilia Romæ*. This mediæval description of Rome is full of legendary matter; but even such matter has a worth of its own; and, for purposes of topographical research, it is of great importance to know what monuments of antiquity existed in Rome in the Middle Age, and what traditions were preserved of their ancient appellations and uses. An edition of the work was published by Montfaucon; but the manuscripts are numerous, and differ widely from one another, some of them containing important additions. A critical edition has long been in preparation by the Cavaliere de' Rossi. Meanwhile, Herr Parthey has taken the opportunity of a winter sojourn at Rome to consult the important manuscripts of the Vatican library; and his text is founded on the best of them, and gives the variations of the others. At the end, a passage of considerable length is printed for the first time. Herr Parthey regards his edition as simply a precursor of de' Rossi's. It will greatly lighten the hard critical labour of students who devote their attention to the history and topography of the Eternal City. It contains an excellent index; and a valuable plan of the city is annexed, in which the eminent geographer, Herr Kiepert, has indicated all the sites according to the account of them given in the work itself.

9. THE fact that Mr. Richey's *Lectures on the History of Ireland* were delivered by a Protestant before Protestant audiences in Trinity College, Dublin, is a tide-mark of the progress of toleration and enlightenment in Ireland. It does not appear, indeed, that the author is a member of the teaching body of the College whose students he addressed. But it gave him a hall to lecture in; and his frank dissection of the policy of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth was listened to and sanctioned. In a brief introduction he lays down certain judicious principles of evidence by which he desires to be guided. One error, in particular, he wishes to avoid—that of “citing against the Celtic population the statements contained in English and Irish State Papers, or of citing against the English the unsupported allegations of Irish writers.” He is of course obliged to make most

use of State Papers; but still he has hardly employed Celtic sources of information as thoroughly as they should be and will be employed. This is not altogether his fault. It arises naturally from the prominence which has been given to the translation and publication of succinct annals, rather than of works which reveal another and more intellectual side of Celtic life.

When Mr. Richey, however, does appeal to the native historians, he does not always do justice to their narrative. Thus he refers to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and gives an analysis of the events chronicled from 1500 to 1584, to show that in this period there was an excessive number of intestine wars and disorders. “And during this period, on the other hand,” he adds, “there is no allusion to the enactment of any law, the judicial decision of any controversy, the founding of any town, monastery, or church; and all this is recorded by the annalist without the slightest expression of regret or astonishment, and as if such were the ordinary course of life in a Christian nation.” It would be hardly fair to censure the compilers of any chronology for not giving expression to their feelings in recording the facts which took place a century before. But the Four Masters do occasionally speak of Providential punishments as occurring within this period. That they had a better ideal of the ordinary course of life in a Christian nation, and that some trace of it was then discoverable, is manifest from their eulogy on the O'Donnell who died in 1505. He is called the Augustus of the north-west of Europe, and is praised for being most hospitable, jovial, valiant, prudent, “and of the best jurisdiction, law, and rule, . . . for there was no defence made [of the houses] in Tircconnell during his time, except to close the door against the wind only; the best protector of the Church and the learned; a man who had given great alms in honour of the Lord of the Elements; the man by whom a castle was first raised and erected at Donegal, . . . and a monastery for Friars de Observantiâ in Tircconnell, namely, the Monastery of Donegal.” There are other ‘allusions’ of a like nature to be found, and a distinct statement that in 1508 the monastery of Carrickpatrick was commenced by O'Rourke and Margaret his wife. Several castles were erected; and around castles and monasteries towns grew up. A wooden bridge was even built over the Shannon where it is almost at its widest. There are references to controversies appeased and frays stayed by arbitration, as in A.D. 1525 between O'Neill and O'Donnell; and if no church was founded it is possible that, as monasteries abounded and churches were respected, no such foundation was required. Nothing is said by Mr. Richey of the effect produced on the chiefs and clergy by intercourse with foreign lands; but pilgrimages to Rome and to Spain are mentioned in the Annals. An Archbishop of Tuam, who had been a Professor of the liberal arts at Padua, dies in 1518. In 1516, a French knight who had been a pilgrim to St. Patrick's Purgatory sends O'Donnell, in return for his courtesy

and gifts, "a ship with great guns," which enabled him to capture the castle of Sligo. It is strange that Mr. Richey should have contented himself with a simple denial of Mr. Brewer's statement that the "Neals" and other Celtic chiefs were "careless of art and literature," living altogether a rude, savage life, whilst the English squirearchy, in their Tudor halls, were conning the lessons of chivalry in the pages of Froissart and Malory. For almost every year from 1500 to 1534 there is mention made of some man of learning. One, in 1508, was "qualified by his knowledge of Latin and Poetry to become chief Professor of History for Ireland and Scotland." Another is styled a "Professor of Poetry;" another, "Chief Preceptor of Ireland;" others are distinguished in medicine or law. All are professors; and some keep "houses of hospitality." Several of the chiefs, even in this stormy period, are mentioned as knowing "the sciences;" and in 1512 Niall O'Neill (one of Mr. Brewer's uncultured "Neals") is declared to have been "a man well skilled in the sciences of history, poetry, and music." An investigation into the worth of these words, and a research instituted to discover what kind of literature and lays (Ossianic and other) occupied a position answering to that of Froissart's chronicle in England, would have resulted in a more vivid as well as a more accurate picture of Celtic life.

In his description of the Pale Mr. Richey is more at home. He justly censures the failure of two classes of historians, the pro-Irish and pro-English, to describe the wretched condition of the oppressed husbandmen, or "earth-workers," as he calls them. While the pro-Irish authors have reserved their sympathy for the Celts, such writers as Mr. Froude ignore the fact that the "poore erthe-tillers" were worse off in the Pale than in the Celtic districts. But Mr. Richey should have observed that this is a modern English fault, and given due credit to Sir John Davis for having plainly and emphatically exposed the facts. What he has stated required little in addition to give it point; but Mr. Richey adduces evidence in profusion which will serve, at least, to impress the reality of the case upon the minds of his readers. To illustrate the weakness of the central government, he says that "in 1524, the [English] cities of Cork and Limerick, like independent imperial cities of the Continent, carried on a war against each other by sea and by land, sent ambassadors, and concluded a treaty of peace." Doubtless Galway and Limerick are the cities meant, the war having been occasioned by the seizure of Ambrose Lynch Fitzjames of Galway by a citizen of Limerick. In his chapters on the Church of Ireland before the Reformation, the author rightly declares that there was no difference of faith or discipline between English Catholicism and Irish, and characterizes Dr. Todd's hypothesis as "merely an ingenious theory of a learned divine who would protect his Church from the imputation of being intrusive and schismatic." At the same time, he does not neglect to point out that the English and Irish clergy were politically hostile to one another. The moral state of the country was

not affected; but the condition of the places of worship left much to be desired. Whilst filling in his sketch with the evidences of disorder, Mr. Richey should have interspersed some brighter traits. He might easily have done so; for, if in one church the priest suffered violence, in another he was revered, and the same authority which furnished instances of the former would also have furnished instances of the latter. Had both been fully used, the general impression given by the book would have been more faithful. But Mr. Richey prefers a severe treatment of his subject generally; and, in his case, it is not from religious prejudice that the alleviations are ignored. It cannot be said to him, as Sir Anthony St. Leger said to the new Protestant Archbishop of Dublin: "Go to—go to—your matters of religion will mar all." He discusses the circumstances of the planting of Protestantism in Ireland with vigour; and his exposition of its agencies and fortunes is marked by much fairness and care. He is more familiar with this part of the history, for the documentary evidence has been made more accessible. In a mere artistic sense, his work perhaps suffers from the abundance of extracts. But this is at least excusable where new ground is broken. If it somewhat mars the grace of the composition, it shows that the author has preferred truth to effect.

10. WILLIAM LAUDER, an obscure Scottish poet, who has been rescued from oblivion by the zeal of the Early English Text Society, was a native of Lothian, and born about 1590. He received a liberal education and was probably intended for the Church. It does not appear, however, that he took orders; and he seems to have gained his bread as a playwright and versifier. Of his various plays or pageants no trace remains beyond some curious entries of payments in the treasurer's accounts, which show that one of these, with seven Planets and a Cupid as principal personages, was furnished on the occasion of Queen Mary's first marriage with the Dauphin. In 1856 he published—as an advertisement, Mr. Furnivall considers, to Mary of Guise and her counsellors—the *Compendious Tractate*, reprinted by the Early English Text Society in 1864. He was evidently of the old faith when he wrote this poem, and most likely changed his religion at the establishment of Protestantism in 1560. Eight years later, when he wrote his *Minor Poems*, he was minister of the group of parishes in Perthshire, with a stipend of £100 (Scottish money), where he died in 1572.

Lauder's poetical merits fall far short of those of his contemporaries Maitland and Alexander Scott. His rhymes are bad, his metre slovenly, and the verse often mere doggerel. And he lacked the eye to see and the pen to describe what was passing about him. Of the great political disasters in Scotland he does not say a word; a single allusion is made to the plague of 1563; and the famine only serves as an occasion to accuse the rich of causing it by buying up and holding corn. Langland, also writing in a rural district during a dearth, could see in his *Vision*, hunger seize

on the poor with a giant's gripe, hardly to be beaten off by the bean-and-bran loaf, peascods, leeks and cherries, the best weapons the poor man had against his enemy, "while the drouth lasted." For any vivid impersonation like this, it would be in vain to search through Lauder's stock pulpit denunciations and jeremiads over the oppression of the rich and the wrongs and miseries of the poor. The reformer's deep discontent at the social and moral condition of his country is highly pathetic. "The Kirk papist-kall" with all its falsehoods is banished; never was there a time when God's word was so truly preached, so eagerly listened to; and yet "the world is war nor ever it was." The idol of the Mass has been thrown down; but a worse idol of avarice is set up instead. Sorcery and the worst vices are practised; rich protestants hate poor ones; justice is sold, trust gone; no man lends a penny but for two-pence back; old kindness is vanished; old good deeds are forgotten; old household laws are trodden under foot. These complaints, as Mr. Furnivall points out, have their parallel in English contemporary writers. Lauder's indignant sympathy with the poor, ground down by the land owners, is not wholly disinterested. For the latter were the nobles who, having adopted the Reformation mainly for the sake of appropriating Church property, held fast their rich booty, and threw from it but a scanty dole to the clerical militia whose aid they had used to inflame the Lowland burghers and peasantry against the old faith. And the natural restiveness of the clergy under this serious grievance was heightened by the contrast between their own condition and the affluence in which the reformation had left the Anglican Church. Lauder writes like a man who broods perpetually over some personal wrong; and his poems are chiefly valuable as illustrating the bitter disappointment and strong sense of injustice felt by the half-starved clergy, to which he gives expression with all the vehemence of Knox's school.

Philologically, the volume exhibits some interesting peculiarities; and the editor's preface, with its set of illustrative extracts, throws a strong light on the text. But more pains might have been bestowed with advantage on the glossary. A few passages also required more complete elucidation in the sidenotes; e.g., at p. 17, l. 460, the reader should have been referred to Ray or Jamieson for the coarse strong Scottish proverb which gives the invective all its force.

11. MR. HENRY BROWN has written a commentary on Shakespeare's Sonnets which has the merit of much research; and if he shows too much confidence in an untenable theory, at least he has had able pioneers in his bootless track. With Hallam and many others he considers that William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, is the Mr. W. H., the "only begetter" of the sonnets. It follows from this that the date of the earliest of them, in spite of

all internal evidence, has to be thrown forward to 1597 or 1598, probably ten years too late. Moreover, the internal evidence of the condition of W. H. is not compatible with that of William Herbert, the continuance of whose house did not rest solely on his marriage.

The fundamental mistake is the viewing of these sonnets as biographical or historical, when they are only poetical and fanciful. They form a continuous poem, illustrating all the stages of the love philosophy common to most of the poets and sonnetteers of Shakespeare's day. It would of course be absurd to say that none of the feelings which they express so transcendently were real, or had real objects. But historical reality was not the aim of the poet; and realities and fancies are so hopelessly mixed, the cases of his love casuistry are so often imaginary, that no history whatever can be extracted from them, and no real solution of "the mystery of the poet's friendship, love, and rivalry." This fact has been worked out in some detail in Mr. Simpson's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Drayton, when he wrote a similar series of sonnets, called his mistress "Idea," to show probably how much of the ideal element was mixed up with his philosophy. Watson in his *Century of Passions* is careful to show how he gleans all his ideas from Petrarch or other love poets. Both Constable and Raleigh present many parallelisms to Shakespeare, such as they must either have copied one from the other or have drawn from a common source. It is well known that several of Shakespeare's sonnets are directly imitated from Sidney. The common system, the common phraseology, the common imagery of this poetical love philosophy was its substance, and its only reality. The rest was merely the phrenzy of fancy, which invents a substantial basis for every shadowy joy that is borne in upon it. It is quite inadmissible, to give this fanciful fabric a hieroglyphic value, and to invent a real foundation for every supposed allusion. Mr. Brown's work, by its manifest failure to carry out the assumption upon which it is based, tends to prove the inadequacy of the personal theory of the sonnets. As the sonnets are the only known sources for enlarging our biographical knowledge of Shakespeare, it is hard to accept the conviction that nothing can be got out of them. Mr. Brown's book does the same kind of service with regard to William Herbert, that Mr. Gerald Massey's work of *Shakespeare's Sonnets and his Private Friends* did with regard to Henry Wriothesley. Whoever was the "sole begetter" of these sonnets, there is no proof whatever that it was either Southampton or Pembroke. The theories which undertake to prove either affirmative break down under the stress of interpretations and unnatural glosses which nothing but the overwhelming tyranny of an a priori master-thought prevents the authors themselves from perceiving to be ridiculous. Such authors, however, are continually adding to the wealth of illustration and paral-

telisms which a complete criticism of Shakespeare's sonnets requires.

12. DR. WILLIS's *Life of Spinoza* is a compilation from published sources, to which the author has appended an English version of the philosopher's correspondence and of his treatise on ethics. But though the work adds nothing to what was already before the world, it will be serviceable to philosophy among Dr. Willis's countrymen. Of all the chiefs of modern speculation Spinoza is the one who has been least known and most misapprehended in England. Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz, not to speak of later thinkers, have been great names, regarded even by their opponents with admiration. Spinoza up to the end of the last century was rarely mentioned: and when he was mentioned it was as a vulgar atheist. His first admirer in England was Coleridge; and from Coleridge's time onwards a few have bestowed on him some measure of the honour which he deserves. Even in Germany it was not till the latter part of the last century that the true character of his philosophy was discovered, at which time Lessing, Jacobi, and Goethe strongly expressed their admiration of him. And it is gradually more and more admitted now that Spinoza is worthy of being set by the side of those three men.

His treatise on ethics is the whole view of the nature of things, in its widest sense, which presented itself to his mind. It is the exhibition of the moral order of the universe; and the exposition of its several topics, as is so remarkably the case with Bacon and Descartes likewise, is in the highest degree direct and searching. The moral element is prominent; and, as is the case with all genuine works on ethics, the morality of the book corresponds with the life of its author. It is high, fearless, magnanimous, patient, but somewhat hard, somewhat removed from ordinary humanity, and bestowing on the weaknesses of ordinary humanity, if not contempt, at all events much less than sympathy. In this it resembles the morality of the Stoics; but it differs from that in the severity of intellectual deduction by which it is characterized. The lofty ideal which by the Stoics was presented (as far as can be judged by their extant works) simply in itself, by Spinoza is traced out in a series of technical propositions. In this the influence upon him of the great mathematicians of the age is apparent. There is however another striking likeness between Spinoza and the Stoics, which indicates an inherent fundamental similarity between them in spite of the difference of form. This is that in both, notwithstanding the elevation of their spiritual tone, there is a far greater tendency to dwell on matter as the essence of the universe than is common among philosophers. How the best thinkers among the Stoics put the relation between matter and mind is but imperfectly known. But Spinoza, it is clear, while utterly averse to natural dualism, or the setting down of matter and mind as different entities mixed up by pure chance, and while equally removed from scientific materialism, which ignores the transcen-

dental, was yet no idealist. He by no means makes matter, as Berkeley does, a simple function of mind. More than any thinker, he amalgamates the two together; and he amalgamates them by means of the divine nature. Thus his first definition in his second part, "Of the soul," is the definition of body; "By body I understand a mode which in a certain definite way expresses the essence of God, so far considered as God is an extended entity." There is something transcendental and difficult to be understood in this part of his system; but this is unavoidable; and it escapes the inadequacy of Berkeley and the superficiality of Locke.

The high place which the love of God, the contemplation of God, occupies in his ethics is remarkable. It is not difficult to see why Schleiermacher should have called him a "God-intoxicated man." It was not understood, however, either in his own age or long afterwards, what he meant by styling God the "immanent" cause of the universe, as opposed to the "external" cause; and, being not understood, his doctrine was at once set down as atheism. In part too he offended men by refusing to attribute any admixture of human feeling to God, urging that love or understanding when attributed to Him must mean something entirely different from what they mean when applied to men. Indeed, in one place he goes so far as to say that God's love and man's love have nothing in common but the word. Such a position is clearly untenable; for if they have nothing in common but the word, why then is the same word used to represent them? This is the weak point of Spinoza. Generally, he avoids any account of that relation of God to man, which must be reciprocal to the relation of man to God; when he does touch on it, he shows a wavering very uncommon in so stringent a thinker, as in the following corollary (Part v. prop. xvii.): "Properly speaking, God loves no one, neither does he hate any one; for God, as we have just seen, is affected by neither joy nor sorrow, and consequently can neither love nor hate any one; *Q. E. D.*" The words "properly speaking" modify the whole sentence to an indefinite degree. It is indeed much easier to understand Spinoza's position on the subject than to admit it to be adequate. The following corollary (Part v. prop. xxxvi.) expresses the essence of it; "Hence it follows that God, in so far as He loves Himself, loves mankind, and consequently that the love of God for man, and the intellectual love of the mind of man for God, are one and the same." The Scholium on this corollary is worth quoting; "From this we clearly understand wherein our salvation, our true felicity, our liberty consists. It is in this; unswerving and eternal love of God, or the eternal love of God for us. This love in the sacred Scriptures is spoken of as glory; and with justice; for whether it be referred to the mind of man or to God it is rightly designated peace of mind, which is not in fact to be distinguished from the glory of Scripture. For in so far as it is referred to God, it is joy or happiness—if I may be permitted still to use the



words—associated with the idea of Himself; and referred to the mind of man it is still the same." There is great beauty, great depth, but not entire intelligibility, in such sentiments as these. But no philosopher was ever more averse to the mystical and obscure, more intelligible where it was in his power to reach intelligibility than Spinoza. Take the following passage (Part v. prop. xviii.) on the love of man for God—the converse of that love on which he has been speaking before: "Love towards God cannot be turned into hate. Here, however, it may be objected to me that as we know God to be the cause of all things, so must we also regard Him as the cause of our sorrows. But to this I reply that, in so far as we understand the cause of sorrow, to the same extent does sorrow cease to be a passion, *i. e.*, it ceases to be sorrow, so that in so far as God were conceived to be the cause of our sorrows, in so far should we be gladdened."

Next to the emphasis which Spinoza lays on the love of God, is the importance which he assigns to the intellect as a part of the moral nature of man. "Intellectual love" is the ideal which he prescribes; "God loves Himself with an infinite intellectual love;" "the intellectual love of God which arises from the third kind of intellection is eternal." And in his own practice he endeavoured to supply an unassailable proof of the supremacy of the intellect over the emotions. "I shall discuss," he says, "human actions, appetites, emotions, precisely as if the question were of lines, planes, and solids." Yet both his life and writings show him to have been the reverse of a dull or insensitive person. There is great acuteness and profundity in many of his sayings on the affections, as, for instance, in Part iii. prop. lii., the remark that contempt arises from a previous disposition to admire; that we do not despise anything from its absolute meanness, but because it falls below the standard we had previously expected it to attain. Or take the following, the last proposition in the treatise: "Beatitude is not the reward of virtue, but virtue itself; nor do we enjoy true happiness because we restrain our lusts; on the contrary, it is because we enjoy true happiness that we are able to restrain our lusts."

13. THE year 1672 witnessed the invasion of the Dutch Republic by Lewis XIV. The French troops, speedily victorious, advanced towards Amsterdam, whilst the combined French and English fleets at the same time threatened the coast; and the Republic, with this tremendous superiority of strength arrayed against her, seemed on the verge of destruction. At this crisis the Great Elector of Brandenburg came to her aid. His bold intervention, which gained him a European name, was the main cause of the deliverance of the Dutch. For his example roused others; he was joined by the Emperor and several States of the German empire, and soon after by Spain and by the Duke of Lorraine, whom the French had driven from his dominions. In this manner a considerable army was collected, which at once marched towards the Rhine.

France was obliged to divide her strength, in order to oppose this coalition effectually; and the invasion of the Netherlands had to be given up. The ultimate success of the allied forces, however, by no means answered the expectations that had been raised. They proposed the re-conquest of Alsace and Lorraine, and did actually penetrate into the former; but they were soon obliged to withdraw again; and the final result was the peace of Nimeguen, which confirmed the ascendancy of France. Herr Peter explains in his *Krieg des Grossen Kurfürsten gegen Frankreich* the causes of this failure, as far as Brandenburg is concerned. They are mainly to be traced to the Emperor's jealousy of the rising power of the Elector, and to the absence of one supreme command over the combined forces. As every step had to be determined by the majority of votes in a council of war, there was of necessity a continual fluctuation of views; and no fixed or matured plan could be carried out. The book is a monograph founded on careful research, and gives a clear insight into military operations as well as political combinations. Its thoroughly objective tone is in favourable contrast with the party spirit of Professor Droysen's history, in which the author repeatedly points out errors and misstatements.

14. THE modern history of the Roman *Liber Diurnus* is scarcely less interesting than the work itself. Lucas Holstenius discovered the manuscript and prepared an edition; but the Roman Court took offence at its contents, especially at the confession of faith of the Pope elect, in which the condemnation of Pope Honorius by the sixth Council is mentioned and assented to. Though this fact had long been known from the acts of the Synod and many other sources, the edition was suppressed. But French scholars had already become aware of its existence; and Launoy in particular availed himself of the occasion for a vehement polemic. It was obvious that the suppressed book contained matter seriously affecting the Roman Church. Then, suddenly, there appeared at Paris in 1680 an edition by the Jesuit Garnier, from a manuscript in the College of Clermont; and almost at the same time Father Marchesi, of the Oratory, published a work at Rome, under the title *Clypeus fortium sive Vindicia Honorii papa*, directed against the authority of the *Liber Diurnus*. M. de Rozière has now discovered a reply from Garnier, and printed it as Addenda to his own edition of the *Liber Diurnus*, together with some new notes of Garnier's, and several other additions and corrections. From these interesting documents it appears that Garnier's undertaking was not unknown at Rome, and that the workmen had been bribed to supply proof-sheets—a fact which explains the contemporaneous publication of the reply. It further appears that Garnier did not, as M. de Rozière formerly thought, simply ignore the circumstances under which the edition of Holstenius had been prepared and suppressed, but that he really knew very little of the matter. He controverts his adversary's assertions, point



by point, and maintains the position that, though Honorius was certainly condemned, he was not condemned for heresy, but for culpable weakness with regard to the Monothelites. On this question Garnier's work is not of much importance. But it nevertheless has a certain interest. It is so masterly a composition, and combats Marchesi with such superior learning and triumphant logic, that it is entitled to be preserved as a standard controversial work; and it throws new light on the attitude of the French Clergy, and also of the Jesuits, towards the Holy See.

15. THE three concluding volumes of Mr. Burton's *History of Scotland* cover the years between Queen Mary's abdication and the Revolution of 1688. At first sight it will perhaps seem that the period of James VI.'s minority, which occupies nearly the whole of the fifth volume, has been treated at disproportionate length; and the period of the Rebellion in England has perhaps been unduly foreshortened. It must be borne in mind, however, that Scotland lost the interest of a foreign policy when her king was called to sit on the English throne; and, slight as the change may seem, considering the small weight that Scotland could throw into the balance of nations, it had the effect of drawing away her most energetic sons to England or to the Continent. The descendants of the men who had stemmed English conquest in France during the fifteenth century now threw themselves heart and soul into the war of rival faiths. Accordingly, the history of Scotland, from the time when the change was seen to be certain, is eminently that of the Scottish Kirk; and, as the interests of the aristocracy were on the whole opposed to those of the clergy, the triumph of Presbyterianism involved a change in the whole social conditions of the country. Naturally this revolution was not easily effected. In 1572 the Synod of Leith was obliged to consent to the restoration of a modified Episcopacy. But in 1597, the Earls of Huntly and Errol formally recanted Catholicism, as a condition of obtaining the King's peace; and from that day it was only a question of time how soon the Genevan discipline should be established in its integrity. The fight of the Scottish Church against successive Stuart kings was not merely a struggle for the faith most congenial to the Scottish people, though, no doubt, the religious element was what mainly determined its success: it was also the spirit of local independence, of men wishing to manage their own affairs without the interference of sovereign or court, against monarchs who held, with some reason, that the bishop was the most trustworthy of Crown officials.

Naturally where the struggle was religious, the chief interest centres round those actors who had religion at heart, or who of necessity represented the religious policy. Queen Mary on the one hand, Knox, Melville, and Buchanan on the other, are the really heroic forms in the Scottish history of their period; while the Murrays and Mortons, Huntlys and Ruthvens,

have only the secondary prestige that is derived from high position and connection with great events. The Cameronians of a later time acquire a disproportionate significance, as the forlorn hope of the national cause. But Mr. Burton is probably right in devoting only a few pages to those campaigns of Montrose which have been treated of at length by Scott and Napier. Divested of the false halo with which his skill as a partisan leader, his poetry, and his untimely death, have invested him, Montrose was not only dishonoured by a political apostasy, but the representative of a statesmanship that was an anachronism. Finding the game of Lowland feudalism played out, he deliberately appealed to the military barbarism that was perpetuated in the Highlands, and endeavoured to force absolute government on his countrymen, by the aid of allies who were scarcely more conversant with the usages of civilized war than the North-American savages whose arms Great Britain turned against her colonists in one of the darkest moments of her history. Mr. Burton, though he writes less epigrammatically, is not perhaps more flattering than Macaulay to the primitive condition of the Highland clans. He regards them essentially as a race who lived by plunder, and who dwindled away for generations, when they were first constrained to respect the law. His *History of Scotland* is therefore essentially a history of its middle class holding the Protestant religion in the Lowlands. King, nobles, and Gaelic clans, have been among the conditions or hindrances to the development of this class; but it has outlasted and outgrown them.

As a historian, Mr. Burton's great excellence may be said to lie in the habit of judicial candour and a never-varying good sense. His style, always simple and clear, and generally interesting, flags a little in the last volume, as if the author had grown weary of his task. But taken altogether, the book is a very admirable résumé of the present state of knowledge. Scotland is not as rich as England in State papers and official records; and the tortuous policy of her statesmen, which has constantly led them through labyrinths of intrigue and crime, is not often to be proved out of evidence under their own hand and seal. Sometimes, as in the case of Mary Stuart, we get richer material; but even there we read it by cross lights, and a skilful special pleader may state a case either way with plausibility. Sometimes again, as with the Gowrie plot, we are startled by what seems an inexplicable act, and would indeed be inexplicable under ordinary conditions of society. Then, again, in the history of a remote province, we are often baffled by dearth of materials, because the actors in some tragedy were too obscure, like John Brown the Cameronian, to figure in any more exalted history than the martyrology of a sect. What it is necessary above all things to understand is that peculiar set of historical conditions which have made Scotland so different from England and Ireland. Its Norman baronage so much more powerful comparatively than the English, its small walled towns with their warlike burghers, its half-savage Highland clans,

the superficial French culture and French proclivities of the upper classes, in strange contrast with the ferocity engendered by the possession of power and by life in remote districts, the fervid yet patient energy developed by the perpetual struggle with nature, which has made the people at once passionate and tenacious in all they undertake, be it the establishment of a creed or a commercial adventure—these features of a society which has been at once so like that of England in its elements and so different in its circumstances are what no one can understand so well as a native. The famous Lord Lovat who suffered in 1746, and who had been "true to no king, to no religion true," as Johnson put it, who had been a courtier at Versailles, and was the most lawless of Highland chiefs, would have been the fitting contemporary of Bothwell, Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. He simply excited disgust and contempt in the London of George II.'s time. It is evident that when the motives and acts of such men have to be investigated, the psychological power to conceive the type, and the judicial faculty of sifting the evidence, come alike into requisition. Scott was probably without an equal for the sympathetic understanding of his own countrymen: Mr. Burton has less poetical insight, but surpasses him as an impartial critic.

Take now some points of detail. Mr. Burton's view of the condemnation and execution of Mary Queen of Scots is substantially moderate, though he goes so far as to justify the stratagem by which evidence was obtained. "Here there was no question about falling from rectitude. What Mary was about was what she was determined to do if she could. Far from being a sin overtaking her in a moment of temptation, it was a grand duty to which she was urged by the highest sanctions of policy and religion. Nor was she the unsophisticated political enthusiast lured by the deeper traitor to go beyond the bounds of fair political warfare and dip in treason. There was no seduction into Walsingham's trap. It was skilfully laid, but no one could have fallen into it who had not determined to tread the path that led across it." This is no doubt true; but it may still be thought that

in this Sir Godfrey should decide,  
Who sent the thief that stole the cash away,  
And punished him who put it in his way.

Grant that Mary deserved imprisonment and death when she first went into England, still it did not lie with the English Government to inflict them. She might justly have been sent back to certain death in Scotland; but it did not suit Elizabeth's policy to send her. In detaining her a prisoner, the English Queen somewhat transgressed the bounds of strict legality for a great advantage to herself and her nation. She was surely bound to take care that the captive suffered nothing worse at her hands; and it is certain she felt the obligation. Had it suited the English policy to give Mary an opportunity of love intrigue, the chances are great that she would have profited by it. It was certainly not more moral to give her an

opportunity of plotting murder. And, different as the two heroines are, the transaction seems essentially as immoral as the trick by which Joan of Arc was tempted to resume man's dress. Mr. Burton is more satisfactory when he comes to the question of the part played by Elizabeth, though he scarcely makes due allowance for her perpetual fluctuations of feeling. The woman who sometimes gave way to panic or jealousy, and dropped hints of assassination, on which her servants, to their high credit, absolutely refused to act, was honestly capable of regretting the deed when it was beyond recall, and could perhaps persuade herself that she had never designed it. Neither must it be forgotten that the certainty that they would afterwards be disowned may have been among the reasons which kept Walsingham and Paulet from compromising themselves. Mr. Burton abstains from describing the execution at length. The omission is unfortunate. There are other versions of its incidents besides the highly-coloured one which Mr. Froude has adopted; and the last moments of one who had played so great a part in Scottish history deserved to be told simply. In denying altogether that the execution aroused public sentiment in Scotland, Mr. Burton seems to travel beyond his evidence. That the ministers of the kirk still regarded their late Queen as the modern Jezebel, cannot be considered conclusive. Robert Carey, Lord Hunsdon's son, who was in Scotland at the time, would have been lynched by the people if the King had not sent him a guard. Mr. Burton quotes, only to doubt it, a letter from Robert Carvell, captain at Berwick, who describes an impressive scene in the Scottish estates, when all the lords vowed revenge on their knees. But Robert Carvell was probably an eye-witness. He seems to have travelled with despatches between Edinburgh and Berwick, and writes on the 6th of March to say that there was great excitement in Scotland, "for there is daily libels set up in open street, and cast into the pulpit, both against the King himself, the Master of Grey, Mr. Archibald Douglas, and the Preachers." One of these, which was fastened upon his own lodgings, he encloses; and it is sufficiently truculent, calling Elizabeth by the foulest of names, and threatening her with the halter. Mr. Burton himself admits that the Master of Grey lost his life because he was secretly believed to have furthered the execution. The fact seems to be that the feeling for some time was intense; but it cooled when the people called to mind how little they cared for the dead woman, and was gradually absorbed by the overpowering excitement with which the Armada was watched.

In relating the rise and development of the League and Covenant, Mr. Burton says: "England could not be got to join France and the Northern Powers against Austria and Spain, and the reason of this was said to be that Charles was persuaded that he had more to hope for the Palatinate from these two powers than from France." Is this quite consistent with the auxiliary treaty of July 1637, which Professor Ranke has discovered,

and by which England bound herself to declare war in conjunction with France against Spain and Austria? It is quite possible that Charles's plans for the Palatinate, and dread of French aggrandizement in the Netherlands, were among the reasons why that treaty was never carried out. But it is certain that Richelieu also was only anxious to secure England's neutrality, and did not desire the assistance of a power that was disposed to settle Europe on the principle of universal restitutions. It was not so much annoyance at England's withholding co-operation, as fear of England's opposition to French schemes of conquest, and partly, perhaps, annoyance at Queen Henrietta's complicity in intrigues at the French Court, that decided Richelieu to occupy Charles at home. A similar consideration determined the Swedish policy at a later date. No enemy was so dangerous to Sweden as Denmark, the one power which could assail her at home, and threaten her communications with the Continent. It was known that Charles steadily preferred dynastic considerations to public interests, and never forgot his connection with Danish royalty, to which he had sacrificed German Protestantism in the alliance of 1625. Accordingly, when war broke out in 1643 between Sweden and Denmark, "Sweden," says Fryxell, referring to State archives, "fanned the flame, and urged on the already insurgent Scots in order to occupy England within her own confines." It would be interesting to know if any trace of this diplomacy can be found in Scottish correspondence of the period.

Readers of Macaulay's History will remember his dramatic account of the killing of John Brown, the Christian carrier, by Claverhouse. It provoked a vigorous attack from Mr. Paget, who declared that Wodrow's history was a collection of "lies and groundless stories," and that even Walker's more simple account was disproved by Claverhouse's own despatch relating the matter to the Duke of Queensberry. Practically, the matter stands thus:—Wodrow says that John Brown was sentenced to death for suspicion of Nonconformity, that the soldiers were touched by his prayers and would not fire, and Claverhouse accordingly shot him through the head. Walker gives much the same account, but represents the soldiers as firing according to order. Claverhouse justifies the execution, by refusal of the Abjuration oath, and the finding of bullets and treasonable papers in the house. Mr. Paget thinks that Claverhouse—"generous, brave, and gentle"—was as much justified in ordering John Brown's death as the government of George IV. in allowing Thistlewood's execution, and that he is clearly innocent of executing his own sentence. Mr. Burton notices the discrepancies between Walker's and Wodrow's versions of the execution, "each decorating it with his own impressive and picturesque incidents," and apparently inclines to accept the shooting by Claverhouse, and sums up:—"We have the account of the affair by Claverhouse himself. It seems to be natural as a practical exemplification of the orders of the Council, and to be on the whole as bad a business as Walker and

Wodrow make it." Probably most impartial readers will agree with this estimate. Macaulay took rather the less credible of two narratives, and curiously enough, the less picturesque. He did not know, at the time when he wrote, of Claverhouse's letter, which was still unpublished; and possibly, had he known it, he would have thought that an officer describing the execution of an 'unarmed peasant was as likely to put a good colour on his proceedings as an enthusiast was to misrepresent them. But, substantially, the testimony on which Macaulay relied has not been shaken.

16. THOUGH a monograph which deals only with an episode of the history of Transylvania may not be of very wide interest, yet the careful, original researches contained in Herr Ziegelaer's biography of Harteneck form a valuable contribution to history. The country whose peculiar relations he has illustrated presents a series of contrasts which it would be difficult to find elsewhere in equal variety and vividness. Here, side by side with Hungarians and Szeklers, is a German colony which immigrated in the twelfth century, and derives its origin from the Rhineland though it is called Saxon. It only numbers some 200,000 souls; but they constitute by far the most enlightened and opulent part of the population. These three nationalities, each of which had a separate constitution, were till 1848 in exclusive possession of political rights, which were denied to the Wallachs, who constituted almost half the population, as well as to the various branches of the Slavonians, and to the Armenians, Greeks, and Gipsies—altogether some dozen different nationalities. The varieties of religion in the country are scarcely less striking than those of race. The Hungarians and Szeklers are partly Catholic and partly Calvinist or Socinian; the Saxons are Lutheran; and the remainder belong to the Greek Church, half to the united and half to the nonunited. After the battle of Mohacz the country formed for 150 years an independent principality under Turkish suzerainty; but when the Turks had been defeated before Vienna in 1683, and the Imperial forces had reconquered Hungary, Transylvania was again, together with that country, subjected to the rule of the Habsburgs. Nominally, however, the princely house of Transylvania continued to govern the country under imperial suzerainty, till it died out in 1718. The life of Harteneck falls in this transitional period. His original name was Zabanus. He was born in 1664, and was the son of a pastor of Hermannstadt, the capital of the Saxons. As a youth, his desire was to devote himself to the ministry; and with this view he studied at Tübingen. But on returning home he was introduced into political life; and being a man of various culture, able, resolute, and indefatigable, he soon rose to offices of high trust. In 1697 he was chosen Count of the Saxon nation—the title of the highest functionary, and almost equivalent to that of governor. In this position he laboured zealously for the interests of his nation, as well as for the strengthening of the Habs-

burg power, in which the Saxons saw a guarantee for their nationality. The ecclesiastical interests of the Catholics agreed with this policy, while the Calvinists on the contrary wished to preserve the princely house of Transylvania. The Habsburgian sympathies of Zabanius were fully acknowledged at Vienna; and he was ennobled by the Emperor, under the name of Sachs von Harteneck. This roused the susceptibilities of the Hungarians and Szeklers, who endeavoured to keep the Saxons down as much as possible; and it made him especially odious to the nobles, who were all-powerful amongst the Hungarians, and kept their peasants in hard bondage, while the Saxons on the other hand had no serfs under them. At the head of the nobles stood at that time the Transylvanian Chancellor, Count Nicholas Bethlen, a man not less gifted than Harteneck, but on that account all the more his bitter antagonist, and, in fact, the main author of his downfall. Bethlen was a Calvinist; but he enjoyed at this time the confidence of the Court, though later on he was committed to prison for high treason, and kept there for eight years, being only pardoned in 1718. Between these two men there was a violent antagonism in the Landtag; and the conflict reached the extremest point of bitterness in 1702, when Harteneck proposed a reform by which the immunity of the nobles from taxation was to cease, and taxes were to be proportioned to income. This scheme was perfectly reasonable, and in accordance with ideas which have been realized a century and a half later; but at that time it only served to prepare the ruin of its author. The party of the nobles, whose influence was in the ascendant also at Vienna, conspired against Harteneck, and he was suddenly arrested and impeached for high treason. The trial was carried on before the Landtag with many violations of the forms of justice, and ended in a sentence of death. The facts alleged against him were either inventions or distortions, for Harteneck notoriously had always laboured in the interests of the Imperial Government; and the sentence was a mere judicial assassination. But there were other imputations against him which unfortunately were better founded. His private life was deeply stained. His wife was a dissolute woman; and he himself was accused of a murder in which he was without doubt an accomplice. For his private crimes he was summoned before the magistracy of Hermannstadt, and by that tribunal also sentenced to death. Appeal being excluded in both cases, the sentence was immediately carried out. Harteneck submitted with great calmness and resignation, and went to the scaffold singing hymns which he had composed in prison. As a private man he undoubtedly deserved his fate; but his real guilt was not the cause of his fall; and the political conduct that actually ruined him constitutes rather a title to high honour and to a lasting remembrance amongst his countrymen. His story has thus a tragic character; and in this aspect it has been the theme of both a German and a Hungarian novelist.

17. MORTIMER-TERNAUX is advancing steadily in the great work he has undertaken on the most tragical epoch of the French Revolution. The seventh volume of his *Histoire de la Terreur*, which has recently appeared, begins with the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety, after Dumouriez's treachery, and ends with the downfall of the Girondists. The author has thus in reality reached only the threshold of his subject; for, in strictness, the period of the Revolution which is known as the Terror begins with the fall of the Girondists and ends with that of Robespierre. His narrative however goes further back. He is fairly entitled to include in his subject the days of September—days as hideous as ever disgraced the annals of a civilized nation—when the policy of the Commune was “faire peur aux royalistes,” and when bands of murderers worked out their purpose undisturbed before the face of the silent Assembly and the terrified population of Paris. But if we go back to the 2d of September we may also go back to the 10th of August and to the 20th of June, to the first invasion of the Tuileries by the mob. Malouet, looking at the history of the Revolution as a continuous development, chose to date from the taking of the Bastille on the 14th of July 1789. M. Mortimer-Ternaux has not gone so far back as this. He takes as his starting-point the first violation of the palace by the triumphant insurrection; and the subject of each of his volumes may be designated by a particular date. The first volume is concerned with the 20th of June 1792, or the insurrection at the Tuileries; the second, with the 10th of August, or the overthrow of royalty; the third, with the days of September, or the massacres in the prisons; the fourth, with the 21st of September, or the opening of the Convention and the advent of the Republic; the fifth, with the 21st of January 1793, or the death of the king; the sixth, with the consequences of that event—the European coalition and the insurrection of La Vendée; and the seventh, with the 31st of May, or the fall of the Girondists. This volume carries us back to the supreme struggle, which decided the choice of the revolution between the opposing tendencies of liberty and despotism. Despotism first of all asserted itself by the transformation of the Committee of General Defence into the Committee of Public Safety—a measure supported by Barère and Marat, and carried against the Girondists. The Dictatorship thus, by the agency of the Convention, gained the fortress from which it was to overawe and decimate the Convention itself.

The last effort of the Gironde appears in the decree for the trial of Marat. But it was before the Revolutionary Tribunal that the cause was brought; and there Marat was at home. He was acquitted, and carried back in triumph to his seat in the Convention. The two parties in the assembly continued to debate the plan of constitution proposed by the Girondists; but from this time the real action passes into the streets. Supported by the public opinion of the provinces, the Girondists vainly endeavoured, by the establishment of the Commission

of Twelve, to defend themselves against the plots of which they were the object in Paris. The result was only to precipitate events. A central revolutionary committee established itself at the Archbishop's palace, and assumed authority over the Hotel de Ville. A petition, which was the programme or rather the ultimatum of the insurrection, was carried to the Convention; and the mob pressed on the steps of the petitioners to the Tuileries, where sat the successors of the ancient royalty. It was in vain that Vergniaud, in order to win back the waverers to the side of the Convention, endeavoured as it were to appropriate the movement in its name, by proposing a resolution that the sections of Paris had deserved well of the country for their zeal in re-establishing order. Barère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, proposed another resolution, which adopted the main points of petition from the Hotel de Ville—that the Committee of Public Safety should be charged with the duty of investigating the plots denounced, *i.e.*, of impeaching the twenty-two deputies, and that the Commission of Twelve should be suppressed. The next day, while the Girondists still hesitated as to their course, Hanriot prepared everything for the investment of the assembly. On the 2d of June the Convention was besieged by the army of the Mountain. The majority, which up to that time had desired to support the Girondists, began to lose courage. The report of the Committee was hastened; and the twenty-two deputies were invited to resign their functions voluntarily. Lajoinais protested with energy, but in vain. The assembly was no longer free. To its usher, who summoned Hanriot in the name of its president to withdraw the armed force, he answered: "Dis à ton . . . président que . . . si dans une heure elle ne me livre pas les vingt-deux, je la fais foudroyer;" and the Convention had evidence that he would keep his word, when, with the president at its head, it went out and presented itself on the Place du Carrousel. The guns were already in position; the shot furnaces were ready for the bullets; and the conversation between Heraut the president and General Hanriot ended with Hanriot's order: "Cannoniers, à vos pièces!" The humiliated assembly re-entered amid cries of "Vive la Montagne! Vive Marat!"—and it surrendered the victims; twenty-two Girondists and ten members of the Commission of Twelve. Ribaud St. Etienne, by virtue of his double title, appeared twice on the list. M. Mortimer-Ternaux concludes his volume by pointing out the consequences of this coup d'état of the 2d of June, which has been called, from the day of the outbreak of the insurrection, the revolution of the 31st of May. He will have greater scope for the exhibition of these consequences in his further volumes. An author who has collected so many interesting and unpublished documents for a period which is only preliminary to his subject may be expected to do no less for that which is the very heart of the subject itself; and it is from the 2d of June that the reign of Terror really begins.

18. M. DAUBAN's book on Paris in 1794 and 1795 exhibits the Terror at its height under Robespierre. It might be supposed from the title of the work that the author had used his materials to compose a picture of Paris as it then was, painting the agitation of its streets, the ferment of its clubs, and the famine which sprang from and aggravated that reign of violence. In point of fact, the picture has not been drawn. But all the materials for drawing it are given; and perhaps the interest is not lessened by the reader's being left to seize for himself the original features of the history in the accounts of police agents who, as their spelling shows, had no pretension to write for posterity. At this time hunger reigned supreme in Paris. Its authority compelled recognition from the men of the Terror themselves. It was a force before which they were powerless; and the measures they adopted against it seldom had any other effect than to increase its strength. Under the influence of hunger women set at defiance even the great instrument of the new régime—the instrumentum regni, the guillotine: "Les propos que tiennent les femmes rassemblées ne tendent pas moins qu'à la revolte et à l'insurrection; s'approcher d'elles pour leur parler c'était s'exposer aux outrages les plus sanglants. J'ai cherché à en remuer quelques unes qui disaient tout haut: '*Vive l'ancien régime!* nous avions de tout en abondance.' Après m'avoir ri au nez, elles m'ont dit que je n'étais qu'un aristocrate" (pp. 201-202). What was the Government to do? It made the law of the maximum more stringent, and the want of food more certain. It fulminated against the monopolizers; but where were they? It appointed "commissaires aux accaparements" to find them out; and it was a matter of course that these men should justify their appointment by arresting some culprits. A citizen who had brought a little pig from a place six leagues distant from Paris, and had killed it, was found out and convicted of "accaparement;" and the pig was cut in pieces, and sold to the neighbours without his receiving a morsel of it. In this state of universal suspicion, those who had been most active in denouncing monopoly came to be themselves regarded as monopolists. This was the case with Hébert, the author of *Père Duchesne*. When his ruin was resolved on, it was not merely as conspiring with the foreigner, as an accomplice of Pitt or Coburg, that he was held up to the reprobation of the people, but as a monopolist. It was this imputation which gave popularity to his arrest. When he was taken it was said in the market, according to a police report, that it was "pour avoir accaparé un compagnon de St. Antoine tout entier, et un pot de 25 livres de beurre de Bretagne. On repandait aussi le bruit que Chaumette avait été arrêté pour la même raison; mais on n'en vouait pas moins le Père Duchesne à la guillotine d'un consentement unanime" (p. 253).

The police reports examined by M. Dauban furnish a thousand curious traits of street history. They show the revolutionary movement,

in a certain sense, in action ; and their perfect sincerity gives them a special value in the eyes of the historian. The police agents are not indifferent to what passes before them ; but they tell whatever they see, and repeat whatever they hear, without respect of persons, whether the matter concerns a minister, or a high functionary, or any one else. If the Minister of the Interior or the Minister of War gives occasion for popular complaint, it is at once written down and reported. And it must be observed that it is not the complainant who is denounced : the complaint remains anonymous : it is the minister who is pointed out ; and the "loi des suspects" is of universal application. Even the commandant of the National Militia, the absurd demagogue Hanriot, figures in these reports as obnoxious amongst the people for "ses repas superflus." He narrowly escaped being involved in the trial of Hébert.

The materials collected in M. Dauban's book for the history of the clubs are not of equal interest with those for the history of the street. But the history of the clubs is closely connected with that of the assemblies, with general history ; and this goes beyond the limits of the author's plan. It must also be said that the year 1795, which figures with 1794 in the title, does not in the book itself occupy the place that might have been expected. Nevertheless the work, as it stands, is one of considerable value. It draws largely from unpublished sources, and thus furnishes new material, and suggests new paths for historical research.

19. ONE of the most conspicuous gaps in the military history of the revolutionary war has been filled up by the author who, under the initials A. L. W., has recently published *Der Feldzug am Mittelrhein*. The taking of the Prussian mountain-post on the Schänzle near Edenkoben by the French on the 18th of July 1794 has hitherto been shrouded in mystery. The place was generally believed to be impregnable. On the highest peak of the Triefenberg, where a monument to the old Prussian hero, General von Pfau, who fell there, still remains, it formed the key to the whole line of the allies from Spire to Trèves ; and its capture was followed by the speedy retreat of their force numbering some 90,000 men. That the veterans of Frederick the Great should give way before the youthful soldiers of the Republic seemed so strange that men naturally looked about for an explanation, and, not being satisfied with the simple military facts, betook themselves to all kinds of subtle conjecture. Secret political influences were alleged, and even treachery on the part of Prussia, just as the evacuation of Belgium by the Austrians about the same time was attributed to motives of policy instead of to mere military necessity. In both cases alike the view was one-sided and erroneous. The author of *Der Feldzug am Mittelrhein* has made use of documents not before known, and possesses a thorough knowledge of the locality ; and he shows that the event of the 18th of July 1794 is to be explained by purely military causes. His account corrects a whole series

of gross topographical blunders and contradictions, which are found in the Prussian *Militärwochenblatt* of 1825 and 1841, in the *Mémoires* of Marshal Saint-Cyr, and in Jomini's *Histoire critique et militaire des Guerres de la Révolution*. These authorities betray an extraordinary ignorance of the locality ; and it is perfectly intelligible that historians who were limited to them should have tried to find a way out of their chaos of blunders and contradictions by admitting the hypothesis of a sham defence, and of Prussian perfidy towards Austria. This is the conclusion arrived at by Vivenot in the first volume of his work on Albert of Saxe Teschen (p. 96). A. L. W., however, who not only knows the locality himself, but has supplied his readers with five accurate maps of the district between Neustadt and Landau, points out that the Prussians had never imagined the possibility of being surrounded by an active, brave, and enthusiastic army, advancing by forced marches over mountain and valley, but assumed that the enemy, according to the traditional rules of war, would only make a direct attack on their front. From Paris, the eagle eye of Carnot had discerned how easily the line of the allies from Spire to Trèves might be broken by a simultaneous attack on the whole line, combined with special efforts against certain chosen points. Reinforcements were sent accordingly ; troops that could be spared from the army of the Alps, and battalions levied in the interior of France, hastened to the Rhine. The blind obedience of the generals was guaranteed by the guillotine, which, during the council of war held at Landau, had been erected in the public square. The Prussians were fully aware of the strategic importance of the Schänzle, and had erected four forts on the top of the mountain, towards the south and west ; but the garrison consisted of only 4500 men—an insufficient force to oppose to the superior numbers of the Republican troops who were accustomed to that kind of mountain-warfare. There had also been a serious omission in neglecting to fortify the northern slope of the Aspen Kopf, so as to protect the right flank of the Schänzle. To have perceived and taken advantage of the weak point in the Prussian position is a merit which belongs to Colonel Lufft, a native of Alsace, whose name was suppressed in the despatches at the time, and has not received the honour due to it until the publication of the present work. After the first attack of the French had been repulsed by the Prussians, he proposed, in a council of war held at Ramberg, to lead half of the French attacking columns, the 186th demi-brigade, by steep mountain paths to the right flank and rear of the Prussian position, in such a way as not to excite the observation or even the suspicion of the Prussians on the Schänzle. The proposal was accepted by the incompetent French Generals Desgranges and Siscé, who hoped in case of failure to throw the responsibility on Lufft, and in case of success to reap the honour for themselves. While the brigade of Desgranges was engaging the Prussians in front, Lufft, guided by a hunter, marched the 186th demi-brigade through the

Schlotterthal and Klienthal, out of reach of observation from the Schänzle, into the rear of the Prussians. His sudden appearance, while they were still fighting against Desgranges's force, threw them into hopeless confusion. The Prussian commander was killed; the forts were taken; and the routed Prussians were pursued down the mountain to St. Martin and Neustadt. Lufft, who with his 186th demi-brigade spent the night on the battle-field, was fairly entitled to consider the victory his own. But Desgranges and Siscé, neither of whom had been seen on the Schänzle, at once laid claim to the captured riding-horses of General von Pfau, and endeavoured also to appropriate to themselves the official honour of the victory. In this endeavour they succeeded so well that no other name than theirs was mentioned in the despatch of the French commander-in-chief; and thus Lufft, who had proposed and directed the movement, was thrown into the shade, till at last, more than fifty years after his death, the author of the present valuable monograph has brought him to light. The consequence of the taking of the Schänzle was the retreat of the allied army, and the evacuation of the left bank of the Rhine. Among the Prussian officers taken prisoners by Lufft, there was a certain Colonel von Uttenhoven, who, after the fashion of one of Molière's characters, complained indignantly that the Republicans had taken the place in a manner perfectly unheard of; it was not a fair proceeding, he maintained, to win the Schänzle in that way.

20. TOWARDS the close of the eighteenth century, when German literature had obtained its most splendid representatives in Goethe and Schiller, a series of poets and writers were emerging, who originally adhered to the previous development, but afterwards seceded from it, and in several respects opposed it. Professor Haym's *Romantische Schule* is an account of this movement, which during a decade attracted considerable attention, and provoked in Germany a wide-spread and important fermentation of ideas.

Tieck, who was born in 1773 in Berlin, gave the first impulse to the new movement, by his stories from ancient German popular lore, and their fanciful adaptation to new poetical forms. He was a prolific writer and a versatile genius, with great power of assimilating external and novel matter, witty and sarcastic, but without earnestness, one who merely sported with his own talent, and a dreamer. His poetical works, of which *Blue Beard* and *Puss in Boots* are the best known, are put together without form, and written with negligence. His friend Wackenroder, who died early, stimulated him to a deeper view of things. Wackenroder himself had no artistic talent, but was gifted with tender and deep feelings, which attached themselves with veneration to art, and found expression in his *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*. It is a work full of ingenious thoughts on the connection between art and religion, which he regarded as the only source of true beauty, and abounds with enthu-

siasm for mediæval art, wherein he saw this connection realized. This preference for the middle ages soon became an essential characteristic of the Romantic school. Tieck ardently adopted his friend's ideas, and wrote in accordance with them; but in him they were artificial, without inward truth. The youthful Hardenberg, known as a writer under the name of Novalis, was a spirit congenial with Wackenroder. After the untimely death of his bride he had given himself up to hopeless despondency, and, setting his thoughts on the supernatural world, longed for death. "To die," he says in his philosophical aphorisms, "is a truly philosophical act." In this key he wrote his *Hymnen an die nacht*. Conversant with natural science, he brought nature and mind into mystic connection, whence arose his fragment *die Lehrlinge von Sais*; and as nature resolved itself into mind, so did both nature and mind resolve themselves into poetry. This apotheosis of poetry is the groundwork of his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, which remained a fragment in consequence of his premature death at the age of twenty-nine. He also wrote religious hymns. A purely ideal figure, he was unquestionably a true poet in posse; and poetically he takes the first place among the Romantics, who, for the rest, were rather men of letters than poets.

That this new tendency took the character of an independent school was the work of the brothers William and Frederick Schlegel, who were born in Hanover in 1767 and 1772. They were both rich in knowledge and talent, of great activity, always ready to fight, and constantly engaged on a transformation of their ideas. Hence they seemed, as it were, created to advance themselves before the rest in the time of revolution in ideas. With all his profound classical scholarship, William Schlegel was not less conversant with modern literature; he was a master in the art of verse and technical poetry, and possessed an extraordinary talent for translation, as is shown by his masterly version of Shakespeare, which has in a manner nationalized Shakespeare in Germany. He afterwards made an excellent translation of Calderon, while Tieck did the same for Cervantes; and these translations are amongst the most meritorious achievements of the two men. From 1796 he lived in Jena, where, besides delivering his lectures, he developed an astonishing activity in literary criticism; at first connecting himself with Schiller, but afterwards inclining more to Goethe. He was soon joined by his brother Frederick, who had already made a name by his philological works, and who also at first linked himself with Schiller, but soon deeply wounded him by his cavilling criticism. Schiller avenged himself in his *Xenien*. Schlegel wrote a new and biting review, and the friendship was ended. Schiller also broke with William Schlegel. Goethe, on the other hand, remained on friendly terms with both brothers, who accordingly extolled him as the only true poet, and either ignored Schiller, or took occasion to show how little they prized him. Frederick next went to Berlin, where he entered into connection with Tieck and Schleiermacher, and displayed a many-



sided but fragmentary activity. And now came the revolution of ideas, whereby the Romanticists were to appear as a new school whose official organ was to be the *Athenäum*, founded by the two Schlegels. Frederick had begun, in his history of Greek poetry, as an enthusiastic admirer of the Greek antique, which he regarded as the sole true model; a short time afterwards he was still hotter in his praise of Goethe's romance *Wilhelm Meister*, which he calls "a unique book and godlike growth." He upheld the Romance as the ideal form of all art, since Romance alone made it possible to embrace all the circumstances of life, and to set to work all the factors of the human mind. This was to be the precise aim of Romanticism, which binds all things together—art, philosophy and religion, nature and spirit, prose and poetry. The unifying bond was to reside in poetry itself; and poetry was to be simply the outpouring of the creative subject. A chaos was proclaimed in which there was nothing real except the omnipotence of the subjective mind.

This was nothing more than a consequence and an exaggeration of Fichte's principle, that the ego out of itself creates the world; for all the Romanticist school were deeply implicated in philosophy. And it was only natural that men in constant intercourse with Fichte and Schelling should yield to the influence of these two master-spirits. After Goethe, Fichte was the centre round which the thoughts of the Romanticists revolved. Frederick Schlegel makes a parallel between the *Wilhelm Meister* of Goethe and the *Wissenschaftslehre* of Fichte, and the French Revolution, and calls them "the three greatest phenomena of the times." To these influences there was added that of Schleiermacher at Berlin, who was then preaching his famous *Sermons on religion addressed to the educated who despise it*, and publishing his *Monologen*. The important and new view which they maintained was, that religion, which Kant and Fichte wholly sacrificed to morality, was something independent, through which the human mind is enabled to transcend the boundary-line of purely theoretic truth (which, according to Kant, does not reach the sphere of theology), and to gain its own view of the universe. The idea, however, was purely subjective, and dispensed with the whole positive contents of Christianity, although Schleiermacher professed to be a Christian theologian. Professor Haym has made it one of his chief objects to show the confluence and co-operation of these various elements in the Romantic school; and this is the greatest merit of his book. But he proceeds too far, especially in the case of Schelling, whom he regards, not as an independent philosopher, but only as a factor of the Romantic school. This may probably be a result of his own training in the Hegelian school, on which he some time ago wrote a book, although he has since separated himself from it. Among Hegelians there prevails a general disregard for Schelling. The truth is, that Schelling materially aided the Romantic school, while, on the other hand, his intimacy

with the Schlegels reacted on his own mind. In his *Natur-Philosophie* nature is made a reflex mirror of the mind:—"She is the invisible spirit, as spirit is the invisible nature." It was this idea that struck the Romantic school, to which birds possess a speech, and trees a voice, and all nature is only an enchanted region. Schelling, in his transcendental idealism, had also declared art to be the highest emanation of the spirit, which combines theory with practice. This put a philosophical stamp on the art-fanaticism of the Romantic school.

Both the Schlegels also tried their hands at independent poetry; but here they made only a slight impression, and are nearly forgotten. Their real sphere lay in translation, criticism, the history of literature, and æsthetics. Frederick Schlegel returned to Jena in 1802; and his brother went to Berlin, where he gave his celebrated lectures, several times repeated afterwards, with modifications, in Vienna, on dramatic art and literature. Side by side with extravagant paradoxes, these lectures exhibited great wealth of deep and subtle thoughts, grounded on a vast store of knowledge. They founded a new epoch in the history of literature and æsthetics. It was the last important work of the Romantic school, which soon afterwards lost its inner cohesion by the dispersion of its chief representatives, who by degrees turned in quite other directions. Novalis was dead; Schleiermacher had been transplanted to Pomerania; William Schlegel, in 1804, had gone with Madame de Stael to Italy; and Tieck had left for Rome. Frederick Schlegel went to Paris, where he earnestly devoted himself to oriental studies. Steffens, who for a time had been a member of their circle, had been called to Copenhagen; and Schelling had gone to Bavaria. Then came the battle of Jena; and amidst the din of arms and the burdens which crushed Germany for so many years, all poetical interest for a while retired to the background. With this the author's work closes. It is the result of careful studies, and is rich in materials; but there is too little dominant concentration; and the excess of Hegelian dialectic interferes with the flow of the narrative.

21. THE second volume of Schelling's life, as told by his correspondence, embraces the period from 1803 to 1820. He had then been summoned from Jena by the Bavarian Government to the newly founded University of Würzburg, where he soon took a prominent part, and, as at Jena, brought round him a numerous auditory. Here also the philosophy of nature, which he had founded, was the main subject of his lectures. It was treated, however, not, as at first, from the physical and chemical points of view, but from the more advanced line of organic life, from which he passed to medicine. For this object he published his *Jahrbücher der Medicin*, where he gave a new exposition of the philosophy of nature, in the form of aphorisms, often verging on mysticism, but still of marvellous beauty. He also published an essay on *Phi-*



*osophy and Religion*, of no essential significance.

In this position he remained till 1806, when the political changes drove him to Munich. For though Bavaria, after the peace of Pressburg, had added considerably to her territory, she had nevertheless given up Würzburg to the Archduke Ferdinand, ex-Grand Duke of Tuscany, who ruled the little State as an independent sovereign, and preserved his independence until the Congress of Vienna, when Würzburg was again allotted to Bavaria. The royal title, which was bestowed together with increased territory on the Bavarian Elector, excited his desire to resuscitate the decayed schools, and to encourage arts and sciences, so as to add a new lustre to his city of Munich. Artists and scholars were invited thither from all quarters; and amongst them was Schelling, who at that time was the most famous of them all. The present University of Munich was then at Landshut, whence it was not transferred till 1827; but the city had an academy of sciences and a newly-founded academy of arts. Schelling became a member of the former, and secretary-general to the latter. These new duties brought a long interruption to his activity as a public teacher; his position indeed was almost that of an official, as the Government, in scientific and artistic matters, constantly availed itself of his advice and assistance. At the same time he had a liberal grant of leisure, and means for his own private studies. This however did not result in any publication of consequence: he remained absorbed in his own thoughts. And while his scientific researches were daily gaining a still wider range, and completely changing their direction, his whole method of thought also underwent a thorough transmutation, which resulted in his later positive philosophy.

The youthful enthusiasm and revolutionary impulse from which his philosophy of identity had arisen had at last reached their inevitable limits. He could go no further in that direction; but his teeming mind could not allow him to rest; and he felt the necessity of opening out new paths. He was also urged by the vicissitudes of the times. His purely speculative mind had taken no such active share in the politics of the day as Fichte had; but he had lived to see the French Revolution, the complete overthrow of the old order, and the subjugation of his country. It was inevitable that his whole soul should be deeply moved. But as a philosopher his business was to determine the real causes of the catastrophe, and the ultimate aim of the projected new order. As in all his past speculation, so also here, he embraced the widest possible historical horizon. A little after the battle of Jena he wrote to Windischmann:—"The times ought to make every man a seer or a prophet. Yet I feel deeply the unhealthiness of the times, and go so far as to rejoice in the destruction. The stupidity from top to bottom, the profound commonplace of the governments which we see falling, surpassed our powers of imagination. Now we see with our own eyes. And I cannot be sorry for them, but rather give all the

help I can to make the old order pass away. But the time is not come for preaching and setting up the new order, which probably transcends all our ideas. I expect a full reconciliation of all European peoples, and again a popular reform in the East. Unconsciously or consciously, the Scourge [Napoleon] is working for this, and is already past the limits wherein he has hitherto been held. This unity of relation with the East I hold to be the greatest problem at the solution of which the world-spirit is now working." The words are memorable as showing how to the philosopher's mind the gigantic events of the day were only the husks of human development. The real impelling force he beheld in the minds of the nations, themselves, and he expected a new epoch only from a moral and religious regeneration. To this end, as he expressly states in his letters, his whole subsequent philosophy was to be devoted. His former system, in which nature was the central point, no longer answered his purpose; he wanted a system whose central point should be God and his relations to man. His problem accordingly was to set forth the relation of humanity to God, not, after the manner of what are called the Theistic systems, as merely subjective, but as a real relation. Hence he does not regard Christianity as a simple doctrinal system, but as a real fact. In his philosophy of revelation he endeavours to comprehend revelation as a divine deed. His position in Munich forced him into multifarious relations with art-history and archaeology, with which mythology had a near connection; and the last results of his philosophy of nature had already induced him to believe that there were secrets in nature itself, evidently pointing to the existence of supernatural forces. Hence he was led to study magic and mysticism, and to read the works of mystics and theosophists like Jacob Böhm.

All this combined to produce a decisive sally of his mind in this new direction. The first token of it was exhibited in the publication of his short but very important *Philosophical Inquiry into the Nature of Human Liberty* (1809). The philosophy of identity had admitted neither a creation nor a God, but had only acknowledged the infinite evolution of the absolute. But in this book there is the prevailing idea that the will is the innermost kernel of all being; and by this means a transition is made to the belief in a personal God, and in a creation by a spontaneous act of a Godhead. This caused Schelling's rupture with Hegel, with whom he had hitherto felt that he was in some sympathy. Henceforth he speaks of him reproachfully or even contemptuously. In a letter to Schubert, he calls him "ein reines Exemplar innerlicher und äusserlicher Prosa," a "negative spirit," which when it once oversteps the boundaries of pure negation becomes ridiculous. Besides the essay on liberty, Schelling also published two passionate and effective polemical pamphlets against Fichte and Jakobi; they had no direct bearing on the development of his new philosophy. A few smaller dissertations also appeared, such as that on the Samo-

thracious deities (1815), which may be considered the forerunner of his philosophy of mythology. Meanwhile he was engaged on a great work, which under the title of *Die Weltalter* was to exhibit the essence of his new doctrine; but this work, though repeatedly advertised and even partly printed, was never published. The chief reason probably was that Schelling had not yet satisfied himself, and did not choose to print what he considered imperfect. Ill-health and political disturbance conspired to paralyse his activity. The raw climate of Munich affected him very unfavourably, and compelled him frequently to seek recovery elsewhere. Thus in 1810 he stayed for several months at Stuttgart, where he lectured on philosophical subjects. In 1820, with the permission of the Bavarian Government, he went, with indefinite leave of absence, to Erlangen, where he intended to give university lectures.

The present volume of his correspondence closes with this period. The letters which it contains are partly literary and partly domestic and personal. In the latter class the correspondence with Pauline Gotter is worthy of special note. She was a young and highly accomplished woman, connected in various ways with Goethe; and Schelling married her after the death of his first wife. His letters to her give an interesting glimpse of his character. Bitter, proud, and reckless as he may have shown himself in his literary polemics, he was amiable and yielding in his family relations. The biographical notices which the editor, Professor Plitt, has added to the volume, are extremely poor; and a still greater defect is the want of explanatory notes on the allusions contained in the different letters. The work thus remains only a collection of letters, and does not supply the want of a real biography.

22. HERR BÜDINGER shares the desire, so common amongst young and unpractised historians, to rehabilitate men on whom posterity has passed a dubious or unfavourable judgment, or even those who have left behind them the reputation of a Tiberius or a Robespierre. From a moral point of view, Lafayette is no doubt more attractive than Robespierre, though as to force of character and steadfastness of will the comparison is not in his favour. But Herr Büdinger overlooks the spots on Lafayette's personal reputation, just as he overlooked the revelations of Wellington's correspondence with Lord Liverpool when he represented the Duke as an ideal of disinterested virtue, who never asked favours for himself or others. In his present essay he says (p. 27) that, as a politician, Wellington can only be compared with Washington; and in the same spirit he has allowed himself to be dazzled by the brilliance which surrounds the name of Lafayette in France and America, and, instead of the man whom Napoleon could reasonably call the "sport of men and things," he has sketched a political hero and martyr. For the historical Lafayette he has substituted the ideal sung by Béranger and Heine. Nor has he been successful in the mode of setting forth this con-

ception. His exposition is confused, and runs on without chronological order or connection. He starts from the end, from Lafayette's death, and his latest public actions during the July revolution, and moves backwards, like a crab, to the scenes in the Chamber of 1815 and the events of 1791 and 1781. He does not make use of any new materials, and has only partially availed himself of what is already published. He lays stress on the part taken by Lafayette at the fall of Napoleon, as though it required the highest courage to stand up against a power which no longer inspired awe. He might have learned from M. Vieil Castel's *Histoire de la Restauration*, or even from the less trustworthy memoirs of Fouché, or Vaubelle's *Histoire des deux Restaurations*, that, whatever may be the merit of Lafayette's opposition to the fallen Emperor, it was simply due to the fact that he was a puppet in the hands of Fouché. It was by Fouché that Lafayette was induced to undertake the infelicitous mission to Hagenau, where he did not even gain admittance to the presence of the allied sovereigns, and had to submit to Lord Charles Stewart's rudeness. To a deputy who was anxious about the dynastic future of France, Lafayette had exclaimed, "Never fear; only let us get rid of Napoleon, and everything will come right of itself." After his return from Hagenau he had to see the Chambers, whose illusions he had fostered, closed, on Fouché's order, by a Prussian officer, and to learn by experience how dangerous it is to overturn the Government at home, however bad or despotic it may be, at a time when an enemy is on the national soil. Of all this Herr Büdinger's book says little or nothing. It is equally defective, as to the part played by Lafayette in the Revolution of 1789, and his relations with Mirabeau, who is known to have had no high opinion of him, and with the Royal Family; and above all, it fails to explain why power and popularity so suddenly forsook the commandant of the National Guard. On the other hand, Herr Büdinger recognizes the fact that his hero's participation in the American War of Independence—the greatest fact of his life—was due not so much to a real love of freedom as to the cravings of youthful ambition and hatred of England. Nor did Lafayette's cosmopolitic day-dreams prevent his regarding the spoliation of Germany and the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine as a matter of course. Utterly without strength of character, and trying to serve and please all parties and persons, his conduct in the presence of concrete facts invariably belied his sounding phrases on the rights of man and American freedom. His gaoler Thugut was the greater man of the two. Herr Büdinger concludes by saying that Lafayette carried back with him from North America to France the Germanic ideas of self-government and individual equality of rights. The subsequent history of France is the best comment on such a theory.

23. THE chief military interest of General Cavalié Mercer's *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* turns upon a happy act of disobe-

dience to orders. His troop—he was then only a second captain in the Royal Artillery—was sent in the afternoon of the 18th of June to take ground immediately in front of an enormous mass of French cavalry; and the Duke of Wellington's positive command was that, in the event of their charging home, Captain Mercer was not to "expose his men, but to retire with them into the adjacent squares of infantry." The guns were scarcely brought into position when the French cavalry were seen advancing at a brisk trot, their leading squadrons being already not more than a hundred yards distant. Captain Mercer opened fire; but the cavalry still came on. The infantry behind him—Brunswickers—had been greatly cut up; and he felt sure that nothing but the sense that they had British artillery in front of them kept them from falling into utter disorder. He "resolved to say nothing about the Duke's order, and to go on firing." Three times the cavalry charged; but each time they were driven back with immense loss. Captain Mercer's disobedience saved the Brunswickers, and prevented what might have been a very damaging attack on an exhausted line of British infantry in the rear. To this fact he probably owed his escape from a reprimand, if not from something worse; but it is not unlikely that the "malice" which, as he says afterwards with some surprise, the Duke of Wellington seemed to bear him, had its origin in this incident. "The Duke of Wellington's ideas of discipline," he observes, "are rigid, his mode of administering it summary; but he is frequently led into acts of the grossest injustice." The Duke's determination not to allow his troops to oppress or pillage the French during their occupation of the country seems at times to have led him into something like indiscriminate harshness towards his own officers. As the Prussians were under no restrictions of this kind, it was the interest of those who suffered by their acts of plunder to lay the blame at the door of British soldiers, if circumstances made this at all practicable; and General Mercer's narrative certainly goes to show that Wellington was not always sufficiently careful to ascertain that the charge was well founded before ordering compensation to be awarded. His endeavour was to bring the people to regard the allied armies in the light of friends and deliverers. The Prussians were quite willing to be regarded as enemies, and did their best to make good their claim to that character. In the course of his march to Paris, General Mercer came continually upon villages and country-houses which they had sacked in pure wantonness. They burned the trees by making fires round them of doors, windows, and furniture of every kind, turned mirrors into targets, and strewed the roads in all directions with the charred fragments of beds, curtains, and carpets. In one place they were found searching the gardens and shrubberies for plunder. "Armed with watering-pots, they proceeded regularly over the ground, watering as they went, and whenever the moisture was quickly absorbed dug." If the Duke's anger did not always fall on the

right head, the fear of it at least saved the English army from being disgraced in a similar way.

The interest of the book lies more in the glimpse it gives of the writer's own mind than in its contributions to the history of the campaign. In the midst of battle and preparation for battle, General Mercer seems to have been singularly open to the pleasure derivable from the scenery and architecture of the country through which he passed. The admiration to which he again and again gives expression, as he marches by easy stages from Ostend to Brussels, will seem strange to those who have been accustomed to regard Western Belgium as one of the dullest of European countries. This admiration is in part explained by the fact that in 1815 Englishmen had not yet been trained to that enthusiasm for grander scenery which has since led them unduly to depreciate comparatively flat countries. "Every one," says General Mercer, "does not understand the beauty of a landscape the principal feature of which is a dead level. Yet these like others have their beauties, which consist principally in the effect under which they are seen, and the delicious tones of the aerial perspective gradually melting into the purply tints of the extreme distance. . . . Whether from the richness of the soil or some peculiar quality of the atmosphere I know not, but I always fancied the colouring here [in Flanders] much more vivid than in England." Another noticeable feature in General Mercer's journal is the impression made on him by the splendours of Catholic ceremonial—an impression which, though he resists as being unworthy of a man of sense, he is too candid not to admit.

24. *The Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury, his Family, and Friends*, make up a volume of some interest, but on the whole of little value. The general impression left is of mediocrity in the writers—a mediocrity which is cultivated and amiable, but none the less unprofitable for continued study. An exception may be made for the letters of General Bowles, which are those of a clever man, who can write as a soldier, simply and vividly; but they cover ground which is already familiar in histories of the Peninsular war and Waterloo campaign, and cannot be said to add much to our knowledge. The letters of the first Lord Malmesbury are comparatively few, and had better not have been printed. As a resident at the courts of Madrid, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and the Hague, between 1768 and 1794, he had opportunities such as few men, even diplomats, have enjoyed for studying the society of the foremost men of his times. But he writes as if his correspondence had been revised by the official censor of the court to which he was accredited. In reality, as Lord Malmesbury explains, the English "Foreign Office had a department through which all letters brought by official messengers passed an ordeal. Our public servants could write freely to one another at their respective missions by their couriers, but were very shy of the *Cabinet Noir* at home, and corresponded in England chiefly

through chance travellers." Unfortunately, the unguarded effusions of Sir James Harris do not seem to have been preserved; and the boldest remark we have noticed in his correspondence is a criticism on the society of Berlin, that "the men are entirely military, uninformed on every other subject, and totally absorbed in that one." His grandson pronounces in a note that "they are much the same now."

A book which is largely made up of colourless letters by able or highly placed men, and home gossip from the women and country cousins of their family, does not, of course, offer much material for history. Some of the early letters relate to the Jacobite rising of 1745; and, though the writers were too far from the scene of action to give any intelligence at first-hand, they no doubt reflect the feelings of the loyal and Protestant gentry in the southern counties. But as the Harris family rise in importance, and become connected with Ministries, its members manifestly cease to have any opinions of their own. They regard the American war of Independence as unnatural and wanton, and believe, to a very late period, that the rebels will certainly be reduced to submission. Any attempts at internal reform they of course repudiate. "Sir C. Jennings," says Mr. Harris (vol. i. pp. 459, 460), in 1780, "has brought in a bill which in less mad times would have been condemned, namely, a bill to exclude all revenue officers, of any denomination or rank, from voting at elections. He had the hardness to assert in the House, when this bill was first proposed, every voter of mine was a revenue officer: out of twenty-seven or twenty-eight, Mr. Hooper included, I have but four. This bill is now pending, and I hope, in common justice, will be thrown out either by Lords or Commons." Captain (afterwards General) Bowles writes in the same vein, but more strongly, a few years later, in 1816 (vol. ii. p. 467): "I am by no means inclined to croak, but I cannot help shuddering at what a few years' peace may do in England. The rapid growth of Methodism, the encouragement of which is now interwoven with the Opposition system, by making the lower classes conceive themselves, in point of religion at least, superior to the upper, must have a decidedly bad political effect, and taxation and Parliamentary reform are such never-failing weapons in the hands of those who stick at nothing to gain their object, that I cannot but rejoice that we have here [i.e. in Cambrai] a force which may, though God forbid it should, be first wanted in its own country." Books like Lord Colchester's *Diary* and Raikes's *Journal* have pretty well familiarized men with this style of opinion and prophecy; and the world has made up its mind as to the intellectual calibre of those who indulged in it. But of course many of the letters are filled with lighter and more interesting matter. Some from Lord Palmerston, though not very important, give a very pleasant impression of his character as a young man.

A word must be said as to the editing, which has been rather careless. There are frequent clerical errors, as when Fox makes a motion against "the minority" instead of "the minis-

try" (vol. i. p. 404), and when the French roads are described as ruinous because the people will not "dig in the huts [ruts] made by the armies." Two gross mistakes in dates have been exposed by the press, and are now corrected in errata. In one, Nelson was taken to Vienna a year after his death at Trafalgar; in the other, Canning, who died in 1827, was represented as offering the editor an attachéship in 1828. But the later error is reproduced in a passage (vol. ii. p. 241) which makes Lord Liverpool retain office "until 1828, when a paralytic seizure closed his career." It needs scarcely be said that Lord Liverpool's paralytic seizure was in February 1827, though his death did not take place till December in the next year. Perhaps it is only a peculiar view of international relations that leads Lord Malmesbury to describe England as "saving the Danish fleet by force from the grip of Napoleon" in 1807 (vol. ii. p. 25). Danes are apt to view the matter differently.

25. THE title of Professor Mendelssohn's *History of Greece from the taking of Constantinople* seems to promise a systematic investigation of the affairs of Greece since 1453, including that obscure and confused period which preceded the national insurrection of the present century, an account of the conflicts between the Turks on one side and the Venetians, Austrians, and Russians on the other, the battles at Tschesmé, and the sieges of Corfú, Candia, and Athens. Of all this, however, the work either says nothing or only speaks incidentally. The author begins with a general description of the condition of the Rajah under Turkish sway in his first book; and in his second he passes on to the movements which prepared the way for the revolution of 1820. The work therefore is essentially a history of the Greek revolution, or of Greece in the nineteenth century. The author's views are strongly philhellenic. He does not however disguise the vices or defects of the modern Greeks; but he partly ascribes them to the dominion of the Turks, and partly regards them as characteristics inherited from the ancient Greeks, whose reputation he proportionately diminishes. "Contentious and avaricious," he says, "restless, variable, envious, and unscrupulous, the present population is like the old Demos, as it constituted the laughing-stock of Comedy and the despair of all earnest patriots. To realize the true type of the Greek nation we must think of Ulysses, not of Achilles. If that versatile wanderer were to come back now to the Athenians of Æolus Street he would in all likelihood find himself quite at home, and recognise his genuine representatives in that calculating and cunning generation. They too love themselves above everything; they too love the property of others. Their idols are power and gold. They reject no means for their own advancement. To the proud Barbarians of the north they leave it to do good for the good's own sake; and if they themselves learn and work it, is for the sake of drachms and darics. That Ulysses who, on his return to Ithaca, first of all counts the gifts of the Phæacians to see that nothing is missing, and before he kills his

wife's suitors advises them to give her rich presents, who lies to friend and foe, to his son and his wife, and is ready to lie even to God himself, exhibits the same characteristics that distinguish the modern Greek. We remember them too little when we think of antiquity. We see for ever the olive-groves of the Academy, and forgot the Agora and the Piræus."

Of modern Greek literature Professor Mendelssohn shows a wide and accurate knowledge. He convicts the Greek historian Tricoupi of a series of errors, including statements which are impossible on geographical and military grounds, and are disproved by the evidence of eye-witnesses such as the adjutants and sons of Kolokotronis. He considers the Greek insurrection to have begun, not, according to the view hitherto received, on the 4th of April 1821 at Patras, but in December 1820, with the rising of the Suliots; and thus he brings it into connection with the revolt of Ali Pasha of Joannina. The diplomatic negotiations which led to the intervention of the protecting powers and to the "untoward event" of Navarino had been already elucidated by Gervinus and Prokesch Osten; but Professor Mendelssohn has been enabled, by consulting the Vienna archives, to furnish some new matter with regard to the relations between Russia and Austria. He shows that Metternich and Gentz in 1825 already regarded the independence of Greece as a trump-card to play against the cabinet of St. Petersburg, that the Prussian cabinet was entirely controlled by Vienna, that Austrian policy also long prevailed at the Tuileries, and that Downing Street was more accessible to the influence of Esterhazy than has hitherto been supposed. It was Canning's intelligence and courage that tore asunder the web of Metternich's cunning. Without at all underrating the value of these new documents, of which the author has published a portion, in an abridged form, in his appendix, it may be expected that others of a more striking importance will appear with the second volume of the work. The present volume extends to the year 1828; and trustworthy diplomatic documents are as scarce for the period from that date to 1862, as they are abundant between 1821 and 1828. In relation to the later period the author announces his intention of using the Russian works of Paleolog and Civinis, which will furnish interesting details of the conduct of Russian agents in the East—Ricord, Rukmann, Catacazy, and others. Among the notes and despatches now given in the appendix is the Prussian circular to the small German courts, of September 1821 (p. 510 ff.), in which the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg are severely lectured for their philhellenic proclivities, and are told that they will not be permitted, under cover of "religious and humane sentiments," to establish a focus of revolution in Germany.

26. From the turmoil of battles and political revolutions the mind turns with relief to contemplate the picture of a scientific inquirer, whose life was passed quietly and peacefully,

but who served the real progress of mankind better than many great statesmen and generals. Such an inquirer, having few equals, was the geographer Carl Ritter, who was born at Quedlinburg in the year 1779, and died at Berlin in 1859. Of his biography by Herr Kramer the second and concluding volume has just been published. This volume begins with the year 1820, when Ritter was called to Berlin, an event which coincides with the commencement of that wider activity and fame for which his earlier life was only a preparation. Berlin was at that time a centre of intellectual energy, represented by a host of illustrious names which she has not been able to parallel either before or since, and in comparison with which her present intellectual life appears pale and feeble. Rest was needed after the great efforts and sufferings of a long period of war; and, satisfied with an enlightened and well-intentioned government, under a king who had grown popular in the school of misfortune, society took little interest in the politics of the moment. All the more ardent, however, was its interest in art, literature, and science. The war of liberation having stirred men's minds, the effect was still deeply felt; but the impulse now took a peaceful direction towards that ideal world where all aspirations were pointed to the highest object. It was in this temper that Ritter approached geography. He found it a collection of dry incoherent facts, and raised it to the dignity of a real science, a science which is not occupied merely with the physical structure of the globe, but whose chief care it is to investigate the connections of these material elements with human life. The trade and industry of nations, their political institutions, their customs, their arts and religions,—all these were included in his immense erudition; and he connected them closely with the physical basis of human development. Having from an early age been accustomed to the work of teaching, he possessed an extraordinary talent for it, and exercised an animating and inspiring influence over his hearers. This personal influence stimulated his pupils, many of whom afterwards became eminent geographers; and it may be said to have done as much as his printed books for the progress of science. In Berlin he taught at the University, but more at the Allgemeine Kriegsschule. This latter institution is a sort of military University, where young and energetic officers are ordered for three years, to complete their scientific education. Here the teaching of geography—a knowledge of which is of great practical use to officers—found a congenial soil; and, as Ritter connected geography with the whole life of nations, his lectures naturally awakened a desire for many other studies besides. The scientific spirit which has since penetrated the whole body of Prussian officers, and of which the fruits have been seen on the battlefields in Bohemia and France, is to a great extent Ritter's work. The present Prussian War Minister, General Von Roon, himself a writer on geography, was one of his pupils, as were also several of the Prussian Princes. Ritter also gave lectures at the Court, where

he was held in great esteem by the then Crown-Prince, afterwards Frederick William IV. It is only his iron industry, and the bodily activity which he retained to his old age, that explain how, in spite of all this teaching and much other business, he was able to produce, besides several smaller publications, his colossal *Allgemeine Erdkunde*, in nineteen large volumes. His object in this work was to describe the whole earth, so that Europe would be the middle point; but he did not live to advance as far as Europe, so enormously did his matter accumulate during the progress of the work. The first volume contains Africa; the following eighteen volumes are taken up with Asia; and the account of this part of the world even wants Caucasia to complete it. The work accordingly remains a torso. Probably no one will ever complete it; but even in its actual state it is of extreme value.

The author of the present biography was related to Ritter, and lived for a long time in his house. He has made it his chief aim to exhibit the personal character and development of the man, which were intimately connected with his scientific method. The groundwork of all Ritter's researches was a sincere and kindly observation of nature and of human life; and this again may be further traced to the depth of his religious belief. "The earth," he says, "is the temporary dwelling-place of the immortal spirit; and all science, whatever limits or object may be assigned to it, can only be a hymn of praise from the creature to the Creator. The contemplation of God is to me the only absolute science." This is the same sentiment which presided over the discoveries of Columbus, Kepler, and Newton. In Ritter's many scientific journeys he always carried a Bible with him; and the religious tone of his mind stands out clearly in the confidential letters he wrote to his wife and brother during his travels, some of which are printed in the present work. There was singular appropriateness in the text on which his funeral sermon was preached: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." Ritter's inheritance in it was certainly greater than any conqueror's. A monument has been raised to him in his native town, by the side of Klopstock, who likewise was born in Quedlinburg.

27. M. FOISSET was two years older than Lacordaire, and knew him well from his seventeenth year to his death. He made a study of his works and letters; and he has now probably in his *Vie de R. P. Lacordaire* done all that can be done to exhibit the character of the man. Whether he has justly estimated him in relation to his times, and given as true a judgment on those times as he has given on the man, is more than doubtful. "Scribantur hæc in generatione altera" is his motto; and he seems to translate it "for another generation." The more obvious sense is, "another generation must come before these things can be satisfactorily written." But then in another generation Lacordaire will only be visible through a distant perspective, and will not be so especially the man of his day, as to occupy men's minds

to the extent of two large volumes. A work of such size must be written now if at all. M. Foisset has many of the qualities necessary for writing such a history as he has undertaken. He is quite aware of the strength of the party which demands of the historian, not truth, but what it fancies ought to be truth; but he says, "history is history, and is nothing if not true." He acts upon his principle to this extent, that he relates faithfully all details, however painful to his feelings, however glad he would be if they were not true. His weakness as a historian consists in the determined *a priori* view which he takes, and of the general explanation which this view gives him of European history since 1789. Thus the whole work becomes a kind of apology for the special view taken by the French liberal Catholics of about 1850 of the action of the Roman Court in matters of religion during the final decay of its temporal power, when questions of politics were translated into questions of religion, and assent was challenged to a creed which was only a party-manifesto disguised under ecclesiastical language. He goes through all this with painful and unnecessary minuteness, and shows that his legal education and long experience of the processes of law has had the usual effect of marring his powers of following all the subtle changes which accompany the growth of a philosophical school.

Lacordaire himself had the legal training, but he lacked the long practice which is necessary to hammer the legal mind into its typical immobility. For him the law was but a single phase of a multifarious and singularly varied education. First with a mother in the country, with all a child's faith, then at school in Dijon, with all the scepticism of a young Frenchman of 1812, then at the school of law and the debating society, then at Paris, as the unemployed advocate in his solitary chambers, then in the seminary, with all his difficulties about reconciling his liberalism with the old-fashioned views of the clergy around him, and his idea of cutting the knot by joining the Jesuits—thus began an education which only ended with his life. After his ordination he refused a place at Rome, and wished to emigrate to the United States, from inability to sympathize with the clergy of the restoration. Then followed his slow attraction to Lamennais, and the whole history of the rise and fall of that remarkable friendship, which ended in his public submission to the encyclicals of 1832 and 1834. During this time he attained fame in conjunction with Montalembert by his assertion of the freedom of religious education against the prescriptive privileges of the University of France. Then came a period of solitary study, resulting in his first appearance as a great preacher at the Collège Stanislas, and afterwards on the wider stage of Notre Dame. Then came his rupture with Archbishop de Quelen, who represented the "ancient Church of France with its maxims and its methods." Against this estimable Gallican's wishes Lacordaire wrote and published his *Letter on the Holy See*, in which he (and Montalembert) formulated the views of the new school. This was in

1836. Then came his preaching at Metz, and his resolution to become a Dominican. A period of retirement in Italy followed, before he returned to the pulpit of Notre Dame in 1843 and 1844. From this time he was chiefly busied in laying the foundations of the Dominican order in France. In 1848 he made his first and last entrance into political life. The coup d'état of 1851 put a final close to his public courses of conferences in Paris. He now devoted himself entirely to organizing his order for a means of education. From this time his life bears a more private stamp; his influence flowed from him not directly upon the public, but through his friends. His biography is a record rather of opinions than of acts. In January 1861 he became a member of the French Academy; and on the 20th of November in the same year he died. Such are the meagre outlines of the life which M. Foisset fills up with the fullest details, and to which he appends a final chapter of "general appreciation," carefully put together and worthy of thoughtful study.

28. THE authorship of the new History of Austria from the year 1848 has been avowed with the publication of the second volume. The author is Baron Helfert, a German Austrian, formerly in the army, and now Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior. His present position has enabled him to use a series of important sources which are not generally accessible, and to reproduce the tradition preserved in Government circles with regard to the events of 1848. This often leads him to represent things in a light which is too conservative and too favourable to the Government; but nevertheless his work, written with great intelligence and full knowledge of the facts, far surpasses in merit all that have preceded it on the subject, particularly Springer's Austrian History. Nor can similar works on former periods of Austrian history, such as those of Lorentz, Gindely, and Hurter, compete with it either in the method or completeness of its exposition. The present volume is chiefly occupied by an account of the dangers with which Austria was menaced by the nationalist agitation of 1848. There is an old satirical sketch of the troubled time of King Lewis of Hungary and Bohemia, which represents the Bohemian State Coach with horses fastened to it both before and behind, and urged in opposite directions by their respective drivers; inside the carriage are people pulling one another's hair, fighting, and drawing their swords, and others weeping and wailing. In like manner, the condition of Austria in 1848, as the present author observes, may be imaged by that of a man whose arms and legs are dragged in four different directions at the same time. The Polish agitation on the north, the Italian on the south, that of the Magyars on the east, and that of the Frankfurt party on the west, were all alike occupied in the dissolution and destruction of Austria.

The danger of the Polish movement, as Baron Helfert well remarks, lay not so much in the unconcealed longing of the Poles for a re-establishment of their ancient kingdom, as

in their endeavour to oppress the Ruthenians, a nationality which remained faithful to the collective State and the Austrian monarchy. The Poles contended for an exclusive dominion in Galicia, and denied the right of the Ruthenians to be recognised at all. A Ruthenian nationality was to them nothing but the child of certain reactionary necessities of the Austrian Government. They accused the cabinet of Vienna and Count Stadion of having called the Ruthenians into existence, of having "invented" them. The puerility of such fancies is evident; there was no need to invent a nationality which numbered two millions in Galicia and twelve millions in Russia. But the Poles were not prepared to mete out equal measure to themselves and others; and, while they were always ready with bitter complaints of the wrongs inflicted on Poland by the northern powers, they thought it perfectly becoming that the sons of Polish nobles should turn their dogs into the lecture-rooms of the Ruthenians, "whose language was only fit for dogs to learn" (p. 188).

While the territorial integrity of Austria was threatened on one side by the Poles, it had to encounter on the other the dangers connected with the Italian movement; and the negligence and apathy of the Government, which permitted the German elements of Southern Tyrol to die out, played directly into the hands of the Italianissimi. The hankering of the Italians, however, after Southern Tyrol has a show of legitimacy compared with their claims to Goritz, Istria, and Dalmatia, where they are a mere handful in the presence of a compact Slavonic population; and the climax of absurdity was reached when they, κατ' ἐξοχήν the enemies of Austria, took upon themselves to denounce the popular manifestations of the Slavonians to the Vienna Government as "revolutionary movements."

The third and most formidable danger came from Hungary. The mad haste of Joseph II., the recklessness with which he applied his theories to the entire monarchy, counteracted the quiet but effectual efforts which Maria Theresa had made to incorporate Hungary into the political unity of the State. Before his death he was compelled to loosen the bonds which united the kingdom with Austria, and to give new life to the dualism, which had before been gradually expiring. The Magyars followed up their success with energy. They endeavoured to establish the supremacy of the Magyar language throughout the dominions of the Hungarian crown. The laws they carried through the Reichstag down to 1848 recall the foolish decree of Philip II., by which the Moors were to learn Spanish within three years, and thenceforth to discontinue their own language. Baron Helfert describes how, step by step, the opposition to this exclusive Magyarism arose on the part of Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbs, and Croats. Unlike Herr Horvath, he does justice to the subject nationalities; and he shows that the opposition to Magyarism which sprang up within the dominions of the crown of St. Stephen was not a mere result of Austrian and Russian intrigues, but a spontaneous movement



provoked by the tyranny of the Magyars. In the summer of 1848 the Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, and Slovaks rose in order to destroy the Magyar commonwealth, which had been forced upon them. It was a genuine popular insurrection, with all the bitterness of a race conflict, and characterized by extraordinary ferocity and inhumanity. The final issue of this struggle depended on the course of affairs in western Austria, and on the attitude of the Germans; and here comes in the fourth of the dangers indicated by Baron Helfert.

This he calls "Frankfurtism." The parliament of Frankfurt had undertaken to determine the relations of the single States to the collective body politic. The second and third paragraphs of the proposed constitution were of critical import for Austria. They declared that no part of the German empire could be united with non-German territories so as to form a State. On this proposal the Austrian members were divided. With the majority, in which occur the names of Arneth, Schmerling, and Mühlfeld, the patriotic sentiment was preponderant; and they rejected the application of the new constitution to Austria. With others, as Giskra and Berger, the desire for an independent centralized German constitution prevailed. When the Parliament by a large majority accepted the second and third paragraphs, it became clear that the Austrian population and the Austrian army sided with Arneth and Schmerling; and the greater became the danger by which the monarchy was threatened, the more decidedly was this spirit displayed. The Slavonic populations also, with the exception of the Poles, showed their concern for the stability of the Austrian State. They claimed the complete equality of all Austrian nationalities, the abolition of the preponderance of Germans and Magyars; but they all agreed in desiring to maintain the integrity of Austria, and in advocating a central parliament.

The author's sympathies appear also to be in this direction. He holds fast to the idea of unity, and desires to see the more important affairs of the commonwealth decided in a general assembly. According to the programme which he has recently defended in a vigorous pamphlet directed against General Fadujew, his model Austria is a monarchical transformation of Switzerland or the United States. To Austria is thus assigned the grand and elevating task of mediating between the three great races of Europe—the German, the Neo-Latin, and the Slavonic. The failure of previous efforts Baron Helfert explains by the lack of statesmanship; and he holds that the obstacles to the present re-organization of the Empire come from the Germans and Magyars rather than from the Slavonians.

29. A NORTH-GERMAN diplomatist has endeavoured to give an impartial and dispassionate judgment on the French coup d'état of the 2d of December 1851. As far as the occurrence itself is concerned his work contains little that is new; but it embodies both new and interesting matter with regard to the impression made by it on the different courts of Europe.

The author lays stress on the contradiction between a National Assembly supreme in theory, but in fact deprived of all real power, and a President, who in theory was only the executive organ of the Assembly, but really held in his hands the whole power of a centralized administration. He is perhaps too much disposed to side with the President against the Assembly; and he goes too far in pleading that the state of things left the President no alternative, but forced him into antagonism to the Assembly. In this sense he quotes the letter from Count Royer du Nord to the Duchess of Orleans, in which she is invited to re-enter France, and M. Thiers and General Changarnier are represented as determined to send the President to Vincennes. He refers to the fact that the two most conspicuous liberal statesmen in Europe, Palmerston and Cavour, accepted the coup d'état, and acknowledged the impracticable nature of the situation to which the President's act put an end. He cites documents, despatches, and letters of Baron Brunow, Lord Russell, Prince Schwarzenberg, Prince Metternich, Lord Malmesbury, and others, which abundantly prove how agreeably the diplomatists of Europe were surprised at the salvation of society effected by the President's act. Palmerston endeavoured to be beforehand with the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg, and to create a claim on the gratitude of the new ruler of France. He expressed his assent to the English ambassador in Paris, and sent his congratulations to the French ambassador in London. Soon after his dismissal from the Foreign Secretaryship, the Russell Ministry was overthrown; and the advent of the first Derby Administration, with Lord Malmesbury, a personal friend of the President, for Foreign Secretary, was a fresh security for the intimate and cordial relations of England with the new French Government. The Cabinet of Vienna through Prince Schwarzenberg expressed its satisfaction at what had taken place. It saw in the success of the President a firm guarantee for the peace of Europe, and declared that it constrained itself "de subordonner à des intérêts majeurs et à l'amour de la paix le sentiment apparent de dignité, qui pourrait le faire hésiter à accorder l'égalité de rang à un individu tel que Louis Napoléon." The Cabinet of St. Petersburg entertained some legitimist scruples, but still rejoiced at the event; and the Emperor Nicholas was persuaded that the President, a man "d'un caractère si noble, de sentiments si élevés," would only make use of his power to put down the revolutionary party, and would dispense with the title of Emperor, or, at worst, only accept the crown for ten years. When the coup d'état developed into the plebiscite and the revival of the empire, Nicholas went so far as to declare that the cipher III. was in contradiction with history and with the policy of Russia. But M. Drouyn de Lhuys declined any discussion with the Russian ambassador on what he termed an accomplished fact, and observed that he had no remark to make on the Russian despatch, beyond expressing his admiration of the elegance of its style. Thereupon Russia and the other powers that had overcome



Napoleon I. considered the question, whether the Napoleon who had assumed the title of "the third" would in consequence lay claim to the frontier which Napoleon I. had never renounced. In order to insure themselves against this result, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia signed in London, on the 3d of December 1852, a protocol, by which they acknowledged Napoleon as Emperor, declaring at the same time that they held the new Emperor bound by his promises with regard to the peace of Europe, and that they would watch over the maintenance of the existing territorial arrangement.

80. MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO's letters to his wife stretch over a period of twenty-seven years, from January 1838 to October 1865, and are interesting as a study of character, though they add no political facts of any importance to the known history of his life. They are graceful and gossiping effusions, and not being intended for publication are clear from any suspicion of stage-effect. Azeglio appears in them as an affectionate son, husband, and father, a sensitive artist, an ardent patriot, a brave soldier, a truthful, honourable, and high-minded man. Even when political failure and military defeat might well excuse some extravagance of expression, there is nothing indicated but a chivalrous faith and a resignation free from fanaticism or morbidness. With all his truthfulness and simplicity of character, he had both the art and the habit of irony, and never gave way to the temptation of converting frankness into brutality. When he met two Jesuits in his mother's boudoir, he was so courteous that "mamma mi guardava tra lo stupito e il contento, con quei due occhi che apre in simili occasioni:" the clerical side, however, "m'ha subito conosciuto non per roba sua." An amusing instance of his patriotism is his objecting to his wife's driving in a drag belonging to an Italian Anglomaniac: "Per quanto sia curioso, amabile, un anglomano è sempre per me l'apice dell'antipatia, perchè mi ricorda l'inferiorità e l'abbiezione della patria." When the minister La Margherita opened letters at the Post-office, he wrote as a postscript to one of his notes to his wife: "As it is very probable that this letter, before reaching your hands, will pass through those of Margherita, I avail myself of the fortunate coincidence to congratulate him on the means he employs, equally honourable to his character and to the cause," etc. He afterwards asked his wife if she had received the letter from which he quotes this passage. As it does not appear in the correspondence, it probably went to the address it was really destined for.

The little notes to "dear Rina," his daughter by his first wife, and his only child, are among the gems of the book:—"Cosa bambina mia, voglio che preghi mamma, quando passerai da Genova, di condurti alla chiesa dei cappuccini: alla balausta dell'altar maggiore, in terra, a sinistra, vedrai una lapide, sulla quale leggerai il nome di mio padre e mia madre che vi sono sepolti, e che hanno fatto tanto bene quando erano vivi, e ne hanno voluto tanto

a me. Domanderai loro che, in cielo, preghino Dio che ti dia salute, e ti faccia buona e felice, e che preghino anche per me: la tua preghiera sarà certamente ascoltata, e Dio ti benedica." It is the same man who writes, during the disastrous campaign of 1848: "I have reached head-quarters and have seen the reeking battle-field of Goito. The dash, the spirit of the army during this action were marvellous. This is what I call to live! I feel as if I were twenty, and am insensible to hunger, thirst, or weariness. Per Dio! We are at the war of independence at last!"

The part of his career of which he was most proud was his journey through the Papal States, to observe the wants of the people and estimate the validity of their complaints, so as to make them known to the Roman court. At first he does not think much of Pius ix., of the carnival per l'amnistia—"il Papa chiamato fuori, gettati i bouquets e le corone, come alla Cerrito" or of the encyclical of 1846, which so disappointed the liberals of Piedmont, but which he considered a simple platitude, not intolerant, but only unseasonable. The notion of the Church being persecuted at that time he found ridiculous; it was a mere formula of the secretary not written by the Pope, who must have been astonished when he read it, and who, if he had spoken at all, would have found something to say more elevated, true, and important. After his first audience of the Pope in February 1847, he writes:—"E uomo distinto per intelletto, cuore e maniere, che sono del miglior tuono. Ti dico io, che *el gh'ha tornur* nel suo genere." "Speaking of my book, he remarked that I had been a little hard on his predecessor. I answered that I was sorry if he was displeased, but thought I had acted conscientiously and in a good cause; besides which, I had been moved by a sense of indignation at the things I had seen. He answered, with a half sigh, 'Things certainly could not have gone on as they were; and, moreover, I know you to be a man of upright intentions.' He spoke of many things, and said he intended to go on doing all he could, but that it was a difficult and arduous task." Then came Azeglio's moderate course. He received the Pope's blessing for amicably stopping a liberal journal secretly printed in Rome; and he tried to set up a public and universal Italian association called the Concordia, to ameliorate the moral, social, and political state of the nation, by means of legality, moderation, absolute publicity, and entire absence of secrecy and mystery. The excesses of both parties were to be tombated; the game of lotto and drink were to be discouraged; education, employment of time, schools, etc., were to be encouraged; and agents were to be sent into the provinces to arouse the people, and convert them to liberal doctrines.

It is easy to see why Azeglio, with a character which raised him far above Cavour as a man, had to yield to him as a politician. He was a pioneer, who organized the impulse to Italian unity, purified it from many of its extreme elements, and prepared it as the basis of the action of a strong statesman. This he probably could not have effected without that high scale of

morality which he demanded in politics, and which made him so desponding when he examined the materials he had to work upon. "To have a good dinner," he says, in allusion to this subject, "it is not enough to have the best cook in the world, if you only provide him with dead cats as *materia prima*, and, above all, if you refuse him a single grain of salt." His conception of the radical nature of the reforms required helped him to escape superficiality in the measures he proposed. At the same time, his opinion of the treachery and imbecility of public men prevented his taking the requisite trouble to make them act as he wished. It is not that he was too pure-souled for a politician, or too conscientious about his means; that would be impossible. But he was too fastidious about the character of those he had to act with, and made too great requisitions on their manner and tone.

81. THE publication of *Passages from the English Note Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne* is described by the editor as the best answer that can be made to the demand for a life of that author. With the omission of the passages afterwards worked up into *Our Old Home*, the journals are published as they were written; and, though they throw less light on the literary method of the writer than the American notes belonging to the time of his greatest fertility in composition, they perhaps do more to illustrate his personal character. But their chief merit is that of reflecting without disguise the prepossessions of an average American travelling in Europe. In his own country, Hawthorne's appetite for strange emotions led him to treasure up notes of the external oddities of the persons he met with, such oddities being, on the whole, more numerous in America than in England, and also to record the slightest fancy, suggested by external objects, which gave promise of producing, when sufficiently laboured, the quaint weird effect in which he excelled. What he seems to have sought in England is sensations, or, as he phrased it, "impressions" of a general character, which he looked forward to converting subsequently into so much eloquent or picturesque writing for his countrymen. Like most ordinary travellers, he was not in search of any particular pleasure or advantage; one piece of knowledge is much the same to him as another. But he had a true traveller's sense of duty. Without caring for architecture, he gazed at cathedrals till he thought he admired York Minster; without any taste for art, he haunted the National Gallery and the British Museum till he had persuaded himself that there might be beauty in Italian painting and the Elgin Marbles; though sincerely convinced that the present fashion for the picturesque in scenery is an ephemeral one, he rambled about the English and Scottish lakes till he was fairly tired of admiring. And as he recorded with impartial candour both disappointment and delight, and was seized by both alternately on nearly every occasion, it is not easy to say what conclusions he had arrived at by the end of his stay.

In some respects there is not much difference between these notes and the ordinary books which half-educated travellers often publish on their return from a short visit to some foreign land. Hawthorne makes the mistake common to tourists, of looking upon the country he was visiting as one large show-room. He suspects every public character who is pointed out to him of being conscious of his observation; and he has a comical sense of injury when any famous sight falls short, as he thinks, of what the new world has a right to expect from the old. He had formed beforehand a general notion of what the ideal English village or town or country-house ought to be like, and also of the emotions which the sight of them ought to call up in the breast of an imaginative author; if the result answers to his expectations, he extols the spectacle in terms which no mere spectacle can exactly deserve, whilst in the more common case of disenchantment he thinks it necessary to find a reason deep in the nature of things. The Zoological Gardens in London he condemns as not coming up to the utopian idea of "a garden of Eden, where all the animal kingdom had regained a happy home." The Crystal Palace fares still worse, as "uncongenial with the English character, without privacy, destitute of mass, weight, and shadow, unsusceptible of ivy, lichens, or any mellowness from age." The notion that a nation shows its historical antiquity by some visible equivalent for wrinkles and grey hair is prominent throughout; and the author avows that Conway Castle and the other Welsh ruins "quite fill up one's idea." He does not seem to suspect that the "idea" in question is not only purely subjective but also a little mechanical; and when he goes the length of complaining that the Douglas whose body was thrown out of the window at Stirling Castle only fell fifteen or twenty feet, instead of "tumbling headlong from a great height," he recalls Goethe's sentimental prince, who wanted rocks, ruins, moonlight, and history, all made to order. But ancient castles and abbeys are on the whole fair game for the imagination: he attempts a more arduous task when he endeavours to seize the "general effect" of the Exhibition of Pictures at Manchester or the Natural History Collections at the British Museum. From the streets of London to the first barefooted beggar he saw in Liverpool, he was bent upon studying everything, entering into the spirit of everything, and lastly, and principally, describing everything in terms worthy of his literary reputation. He would have thought it treason to his imaginative faculties to suspect that miles of glass-cases or painted canvas really have no dominant idea, and that they were simply put together for the convenience of classes to which he did not belong—the students, that is, of science and art.

The social impressions of a tolerably candid stranger are always instructive; and Hawthorne, who never forgets that he is a stranger, may probably be trusted when, in spite of his prepossessions, the only national characteristics that strike him as strange are such trifles as the arrangement of butchers' shops, the

dress of women of the working classes, easier intercourse between rich and poor, and such traveller's wonders as a labouring man eating oysters in a ferry-boat. He regards England as constantly posing to herself and her colonies as a model of dignified and venerable old age; and, in the main, he misrepresents her as little as is compatible with this idea. The notes are the work of a good-tempered, impressionable man, who succeeded in one narrow field of literature; but they show little real ability, and none of that artificial mastery of men and things which a liberal education seldom fails to give, at least in appearance.

32. DEAN STANLEY'S *Essays on Questions of Church and State* show a remarkable consistency of view through an eventful and changeful period of twenty years. The author, if he holds the concrete dogmatic results of religious controversy in no estimation, yet looks upon controversy itself as a healthful exercise which prepares the ground, and upon the dogmas as a volcanic product which by its decomposition becomes the soil out of which culture produces its harvest. He does not however regard dogma in artificial resurrection with the same philosophical tolerance as he displays to dogma in its natural genesis. Perhaps this accounts for the solitary point in which he can be charged with want of equity, namely his attitude towards the ritualists. The valuable point, he considers, in ecclesiastical organizations is not the dogma which hitherto has given their formative impulse, but the organizations themselves. In this he is one of those whom Mr. Matthew Arnold attacks, though Mr. Arnold is himself a notable sinner against the rule which he enforces. And in truth it is hard to swim against the current of the age. All the world over, people who reject that which has been hitherto the work of institutions are apologizing for and attempting to preserve the institutions themselves, on the ground that as mere organizations they are too valuable to be destroyed, and that they may be put to a better use. Everywhere the spirits of theorists are wandering over the battle-field, striving to enter into the bodies of the slain, that they may use their limbs and their arms for a new purpose. Comte, whose insight into social movements was greater than into the progress of science, laid down as a radical proposition of his sociology: "que ce que devait nécessairement périr ainsi, dans le catholicisme, c'était la doctrine, et non l'organisation." And what Comte thought of the national establishment of France many in England think of the different establishments there. Among these are men like Dean Stanley, whose aim is "to maintain the advantages which flow from the Church as a national institution, comprehending the largest variety of religious life which it is possible practically to comprehend, and claiming the utmost elasticity which 'the will of our Lord Jesus Christ and the order of this realm' will permit."

From this point of view Dean Stanley discussed, as they arose, the successive controversies on the Gorham case, on *Essays and*

*Reviews*, on Subscription to the Articles in the Church and Universities, on Ritualism, on Dr. Colenso, and on the Irish Establishment. Ten essays are occupied with these special points. The eleventh is a more general one, on "the theology of the nineteenth century," in its relations to the Bible, to history and philosophy, and to doctrines. A great part of the paper is devoted to a forecast of the future of this theology. Of the five concluding essays one is upon the Ammergau Mystery as acted in 1860. The four others are personal—Recollections of Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, and biographies of Archdeacon Hare, Dean Milman, and Mr. Keble. These essays are judged by their author to be more congenial to quiet spirits, and to be of more general interest; and it is to topics akin to these that he promises in future to address himself. All the persons whom he commemorates have their appropriate lesson to teach. The gentle and enthusiastic ritualist Philaret, he points out, had incurred the anathemas of the Athanasians by his avowed rejection of the double procession; whence his readers may draw the conclusion that a man may be a good ritualist and yet reject dogma. On the other hand, Julius Hare is an example of a man who was able "in a time when the panic of Germany mounted almost to a monomania in many excellent persons, to prove in his own person that a man might be deeply versed in German theology without being an infidel," and might "take an active and beneficial share in all ecclesiastical movements without being a partisan." Milman was one of the earliest liberal theologians in the Anglican Church, who by mere patience and silence lived down the storm which was raised against him, and at last found himself an oracle in the very Church which had once abominated him. Keble might seem to be a difficulty; and indeed Dean Stanley has to admit and disown the dogmatic narrowness of his ecclesiastical position. But he claims the poet for his own. "Keble, in the best sense of the word, was not a sacred, but a secular poet." Much of his most religious poetry "might have been written by the least theological of men." "As a poet he not only touched the great world of literature, but he was also a free-minded, free-speaking thinker." And the Dean proceeds to give "instances of this broad and philosophic vein in the poet, the more striking from their contrast with his opposite tendencies in connection with his ecclesiastical party." It is certainly a triumph of advocacy to put Keble into the witness-box as an advocate of liberalism, and to make him confess by a skilful cross-examination. Such arguments, however, tend to refute themselves by their very cleverness. Those who claim Keble for a liberal are bound to be contented with a liberalism of Keble's stamp.

33. HERR VON TREISCHCKE belongs to that class of German historians who advocate the formation of a national German State under Prussia, and to the exclusion of Austria. Though a Saxon by birth and education, he

has come forward as a determined champion of Prussia, *ipsis Borussia Borussia*, and has acquired a certain reputation among the so-called national-liberal party, by the recklessness with which he declares war against all the minor States of Germany. He has written no historical works in the proper sense of the word, but only essays, the object of which is not so much to investigate or narrate facts as to offer reflections on them. These essays always have strong party colour; but they are clever, and pleasant in style; and a marked feature in them is the great boldness and assurance with which they judge men and things. They have accordingly met with great success amongst the author's fellow-partisans, and also amongst that semi-educated public which is fond of light reading, and does not understand that his boldness and assurance spring from the superficial character of a mind which eschews profound questions altogether. Two new volumes of these essays have just appeared. They begin with a long dissertation on the recent history of France, in which the author accounts for the failure of all the attempts hitherto made on behalf of a Parliamentary constitution in that country, by pointing to the total want of local and corporate self-government—an explanation which is no doubt quite true, but has long been familiar. The next essay is on Cavour, to whom the author assigns a very high position among statesmen, and naturally so from his point of view, since the Italian annexations were a precedent for those in Germany. Then follow essays on the Netherlands, and on several German dramatists, and finally, reflections on the constitutional monarchy in Germany in which the writer's whole tendency is summed up. By Germany he really means only Prussia, which is to absorb all the other German States, either by persuasion or violence. He explicitly declares the present Northern confederation to be only a state of transition to complete unity. So strong is the party spirit in which he writes that he actually extols the Prussian monarchy for the continuity of its development, in which he sees the sequel of German development; whereas it is notorious that the Prussian State resulted from the dissolution of the old German empire, and that the modern Prussian kingdom has nothing whatever in common with the empire of the Hohenstaufen. The author's partisanship has made him absolutely reverse historical facts; for the great characteristic feature of the Prussian State is its artificial formation, which is the exact contradictory of historical continuity.

84. M. VICTOR CHERBULIEZ, hitherto chiefly known by some remarkable serial novels in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has now put forward his claim to be considered an historian or political writer. For this purpose he has chosen a subject of great present interest, *L'Allemagne politique depuis la paix de Prague*, and he treats it with considerable skill and success. It is however a purely national success. He considers German affairs

exclusively through a French medium, and thus presents them under a point of view calculated to please his countrymen. He has the advantage of knowing Germany. He appears to appreciate its literature, to have conversed with its leading spirits, and to have studied its history; but he has not lived its life or sounded the depth of its thought. The aspiration of Germany for unity is hardly touched in his book; and in this respect he typifies the general mind of France. The French habit of ignoring this German tendency does not proceed from a colour-blindness for the special hue, which is clearly enough seen in other cases, but from voluntary ignorance. Neither the past nor the present triumphs of Prussia can be explained without recognizing the force of this aspiration; and if Frenchmen have obstinately shut their eyes to the fact, the reason is that it contradicts the chauvinism of a portion of the population, because it condemns by anticipation every kind of enterprise against the Rhine provinces.

M. Cherbuliez divides his book into five main divisions, to which he gives somewhat sensational titles; but their contents are real contents, and three-fourths of them are true, and made attractive by a graphic and nervous style, happy expressions, and thoughts sometimes original, often paradoxical. He considers the natural consequences of the Peace of Prague to have been on the one hand the isolation of Prussia, and on the other a Franco-Austrian alliance. These are things which the author was by no means alone in prophesying; but facts have fooled the prophets. Prussia has not been isolated, at least from Southern Germany; and Austria has not joined her legions with those of France. It must however be remembered that Prussia had the good fortune to be attacked by France on grounds which were almost universally thought futile; and to be thus assailed was worth a large additional army. The second chapter of the book—on the Prussian character and constitutional and absolute monarchy—is one of the best; but here also there are many allowances to be made. The author is too fond of antitheses and contrasts; and to render them more effective he contrasts absolute opinions and well-defined situations, forgetting what he has before said of the half-tones which in Germany soften and modify the transitions. There are also errors which do not proceed from ignorance, for the author knows his subject well, but from his one-sided nationalism. Thus he says, "Enfin au mépris d'une disposition constitutionnelle, la gratuité de l'enseignement est abolié." This reads as if the "gratuité" had always existed in Prussia. But this was not the case. It had been written in the constitution of 1850, but had never been realized, because it had never been claimed; the measure of 1869 simply proposed to bring the letter of the law into accordance with existing facts. The chapter on the constitution of the North German Confederation is by no means a friendly one; but it is not the less clear-sighted. And friends and foes can hardly help agreeing that the King of

Prussia is omnipotent in the Confederation, and that the Federal Parliament is often, against its will, an instrument for checkmating the Prussian Parliament. M. Cherbuliez does not know South Germany and its parties as well as he does the Northern Confederation; but on that subject also he has given some important details with precision. His last chapter, on the ambition and dangers of Prussian policy, though unreasonably hostile, is worth more attention. But he scarcely writes like a serious politician when he first says that France ought not to oppose the organization of a federal and constitutional Germany, and then adds, on the same page, that she ought to impose the condition that this developed Germany shall pledge herself not to quarrel causelessly with other nations. He admits the formation of a great power on condition that it will give a bond for its good behaviour.

35. THE record of Mr. O'Donnell's experience of the educational training afforded in the Arts Faculty of the Queen's University in Ireland is interesting, and, with certain qualifications, valuable. The author is a young man who obtained three senior scholarships and the University gold medal. He has been a distinguished student; and the University might be tempted to quote his work against his argument, for he gives evidence of a trained intellect and a well-stored mind. On the other hand, the fact that such a graduate condemns the system adopted by the Queen's Colleges is one of significance and importance. His conclusions are however of very unequal weight. As a reformer, or rather as an eradicator, he is induced to dwell altogether on the defects of the institutions he arraigns. As a young man with a high ideal of what a university should be, his criticism of institutions where the ideal is low is proportionately severe. And having had no experience of the working of other universities, and having never made a study of their internal life, he condemns as exceptional faults many defects which are common to most universities. He does well to discriminate sharply between the Faculty of Arts and the professional schools. The official reports do not do this; if they did, the proper teaching of a university would be shown to have had no success. Numerically, the students in Arts are known to be comparatively few. Catholic parents are as likely to send their sons to a College where the Professors are theoretically all Protestant as to a College on the mixed system where they are almost exclusive in fact, though not in theory. The partisans of the Colleges complain that the lack of numerical success is due to the absence or scarcity of intermediate schools. It was hoped that the establishment of the Colleges would tend to develop such schools. Has it done so? The State system of primary schools eradicated almost all the minor schools where classics, as well as the rudiments of an English education, were taught. Have the Queen's Colleges encouraged and helped to develop the existence of larger schools of the same kind? It is here that Mr. O'Donnell's personal experience is of especial value. He was first a pupil

of one of those minor schools which succumbed. He next had to enter one of Erasmus Smith's Protestant Endowed Schools, which had been opened to Catholics. When the Jesuits opened a Catholic College at Galway, he, with the other Catholic pupils, left the Endowed School to enter it. From the Jesuit College he passed to the Queen's College. His experience goes to prove that the influence of the Queen's College has been not to foster but to interfere with and to injure the schools. Now Mr. Berwick, President of the Queen's College, Galway, in his Report in 1867, described that College as "placed in the centre of a province notoriously behind the rest of the kingdom in wealth, and almost destitute of classical schools." It is therefore peculiarly interesting to mark its influence on the schools. The Galway Endowed School of Erasmus Smith had enjoyed a fair reputation as a preparatory school for Trinity College. It declined, however, and became "one of the most depressed and backward schools in the kingdom," according to the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the Endowed Schools in Ireland. The testimony of the second master before the Commissioners is adduced to prove that the principal reason for its scholars falling off was that they were admitted to College before they knew their grammar at school. The professors in consequence had to teach them grammar. "They got scholarships when they ought to have remained two or three years longer at school." The scholarships are worth about £20, and are profusely offered to students in Arts; so that the school could not stand against the College in what had become a competition for school-boys. The latter, with its prizes, robbed its feeder of its supplies, and injured it. The case with regard to the Jesuit College was much the same. The teachers here however are able to contend a little. But "the very repugnance of the Fathers to countenance anything like recruiting for such a university, their strenuous endeavours to retain their pupils until they are something like properly educated, only partially retard the inevitable departures." The more pupils obtained prizes at the Queen's College, the more was the school whence they proceeded lowered; or, as Mr. O'Donnell says, "the more clearly we showed ourselves up to the standard of the University, the more clearly was it evident that we were being thrust down and degraded in the scale of schools." The Colleges have in fact degenerated, so far as their Faculties of Arts are concerned, into a kind of High-Schools or Grammar-Schools. They accordingly lowered their entrance-examination to obtain pupils; and when they got them they found them so uninstructed that the standard of the degree was too high for them, and had likewise to be lowered. This has been done against the formal protests of former graduates. As a result, the table of the "First University Examination in Arts for the Session 1869-70" shows students classed in the honour division who obtained 15 marks out of the 124 obtainable. The highest numbers obtained were secured by two Galway students, who got 75 and 62 respectively. The ultimate

causes of the unsuccess of the Arts teaching of the Queen's University in Ireland are two: first, the appearance of Protestant ascendancy in the teaching body, which aroused popular distrust and censure; secondly, their direct dependence upon the Government. As they lay open to criticism, their advocates have felt bound to exhibit, annually, what would seem to be a numerical success in students and graduates. They could not wait during any one or two years to allow schoolboys to mature at school; they had to shake down the green fruit, even at the risk of setting the teeth on edge, and of injuring the tree.

86. In his *Bildung der Ersten Kammern in Deutschland*, Herr Winter starts from the idea that the right form of representative bodies is intimately connected with the whole political and social constitution, and can never be regarded as a separate problem without producing such barren and feeble results as the Continental Chambers almost everywhere exhibit at the present day. From the same point of view he published, many years ago, *Die Volkvertretung in Deutschland's Zukunft*, in which he advocated a total re-organization of Germany. All the German States were to be dissolved, all the hereditary governments to disappear, in order to form a new empire, which was to be divided into provinces and circles according to natural boundaries—every large town being a separate circle—and to be ruled over by elected chiefs throughout, up to the King or Emperor himself, so as to leave no trace of hereditary power. It is in every way a remarkable book, deeply thought out and well written. The author discards all customary doctrines, and opposes all notions of political parties; and his tendency might with equal right be called conservative or revolutionary. Indeed it fits into no category. Though according to his theory all power emanates from the people, and every person in authority must be elected, which has a very democratic look, yet on the other hand there is also a large aristocratic element, since the elected chiefs of each town, circle, and province, and finally the ruler of the whole empire, are all to hold office without any emoluments or revenues from the State, and simply as a post of honour, so that only rich men could be elected. It is moreover proposed to call the chief of a circle or large town a Count, that of a province a Prince, and the head of this whole political fabric the King. And as each chief is to hold, concentrated in himself, the power necessary for his position, and the election is to be for life, the constitution may also be called monarchical. Thus all the three elements would be equally balanced. Europe, says the author, has been in a ferment for the last eighty years from an internal antagonism. The old monarchy and the old aristocracy are both broken down; and democracy, continually pressing forward, is unable by herself to create anything durable. She must transform herself, and relinquish all her old hostility towards aristocracy and monarchy; and in the same way the old aristocracy and monarchy must both

transform themselves, in order to be able to work in harmony with democracy. The large States are further to accept a federative organization, a suggestion already made by Rousseau. Everywhere there is to be decentralization and self-government; bureaucracy is to be entirely abolished. The manner in which the author supports and develops his views is highly original, and shows him to be an extremely well informed and independent thinker.

The same ideas form the groundwork of the present book. It is especially occupied with the formation of an Upper House. Though intended specially for Germany, it contains much general argument, and a long section on the English constitution. In the author's opinion the true function of the Upper House is to be the focus of statesmanlike knowledge and judgment. He names it accordingly the Chamber of Statesmen, in contradistinction to the Lower House, which he calls the Chamber of the People's men, as representing the interests of all classes of the population. But statesmanlike judgment he says is to be expected only of those who have already taken an active part in the government, having been at the head of a circle, a large town, or a province; and he accordingly forms his Upper House of the chiefs of these circles, towns, and provinces. Such elements are obviously of a totally different character from that of peers, whom he rejects altogether. The present English House of Lords he regards as obsolete, no longer answering its purpose, and destined to be thrust aside before long by the advance of democracy. For the age, he thinks, is impatient of hereditary power, and no longer recognizes the right of born lawgivers.

87. DR. CONSTANTIN FRANTZ has rewritten and greatly enlarged the treatise on *The Physiology of the State* which established his reputation in 1857. He afterwards published many works which won him the first place among political writers in his country; and his new book contains the substance of what he has produced in thirteen years, and is dense with extreme compression, and an extraordinary fulness of thought. His science is political diagnosis. He studies the evils and failures of the age, and traces them all to errors of theory—first, to the fundamental errors of divine right and the sovereignty of the people, and then to all the vain generalities of popular politics. Other political writers treat their subject in the light of a party doctrine, or of their own particular occupation. Guizot and Tocqueville write as statesmen or historians, Stahl and Maine as jurists, Mill and Stein as economists, Comte and Trendelenburg as metaphysicians. Frantz has no corresponding speciality. He is trained in abstract thought, but is very averse to all abstractions; he keeps close to real fact, but is suspicious of utilitarianism in economists; he uses history only to illustrate present politics, and shows more knowledge and observation than practical experience in the art of government. He has no political attachment or sympathy with a party. In one of his best works he analysed the severe

ral party systems, and attributed impartially to each of them a share in causing all that Europe suffers from centralization, poverty, and war. Supreme impartiality and perfect disinterestedness have hindered his popularity. Whoever indulges popular cries, or takes maxims for reasons, and habit or tradition for actual thought, finds in him an unsparing and formidable critic. He is indefatigable in tracing errors to their source, and in bringing theories to the hard tests of reality; and he has very little mercy for ordinary liberals, legitimists, and utilitarians, for Montesquieu, Stahl, and Mill. He is not appreciative of the men with whose methods and views his own have most affinity, such as Charles Comte, Calhoun, Cournot, and Leo; and he probably owes nobody any one of his ideas. He is perhaps the most original and the most instructive of political reasoners; for he serves no interest and pleads no cause. But the habit of detecting faults gives him a tendency to judge opinions by their weakest side, and to distribute scanty justice. He is impatient of appeals to general principles, and can hardly sympathize with movements prompted by the universal rights of man. The Italian revolution appears to him as a passing paroxysm of ambition; and he sees as clearly as the Italians themselves the dangers and the defects of their work. Yet, even if all their statesmen were as superficial as Garibaldi or as unscrupulous as Cavour, justice would still require the admission that unity was the necessary and natural process for the overthrow of despotism and foreign domination. Dr. Frantz despises the practice of non-intervention, as a mere token of selfishness and avarice, and will not admit that it is also based on the most spiritual motives, on the desire that the forms of European polity should be determined by the fair, natural play of forces, and that nations should work out their own fortunes by their own energies. His zeal against the emancipation of women makes him disregard the fact that female suffrage is rooted deep in the system of the British parish. His judgments on the English constitution are singularly acute; but he unduly depreciates English policy, out of scorn for the arguments which catch the public ear, but are not the real motives of statesmanship.

38. M. WOLOWSKI is the best-known champion of the concurrent legal tender, and tilts at every one who demands the single standard, whether in gold or in silver. He is certainly a formidable antagonist, and gives his numerous adversaries enough to do. But notwithstanding his ardour and cleverness, and the auxiliaries who have grouped themselves round him, he seems destined to fail both theoretically and practically. The doctrine of the single standard gains adherents, while that of the two metallic tenders does not. M. Wolowski ingeniously compares the two compensating metals, iron and copper, whose behaviour under heat furnishes a method for keeping the pendulum always the same length, with the simultaneous employment of gold and silver in the commercial market, where the fluctuations in the value

of the one serve to counterbalance the fluctuations of the other. But this idea is too complex and refined for the mechanical simplicity of the money-market. The single standard appears at once to the majority of men the most logical, most simple, and most convenient. Still, in practical matters, theoretical arguments settle no controversy; and facts are generally the result of many concurring principles and laws. This is so far in favour of M. Wolowski's doctrine. But practical considerations seem to tell against it; and they have been reinforced by late events. The existence of the double standard conspired with other causes to bring about, at least prematurely, the forced currency of bank-notes in France. Since the 1st of September the French have already had the 25-franc note, and voices have for some time been raised in favour of the 10-franc note. The want of such notes of small value was felt merely because, in the first moment of the panic, all persons, including the Bank of France, hid their gold, and so forced up gold to a premium relatively to silver. When the public crowded to the Bank they were paid in silver, which only served to frighten people and to aggravate the panic. And then, as there was no longer a sufficient number of five-franc pieces in circulation, great embarrassment supervened in everyday transactions, which would not have happened if gold alone had been the legal tender, (1.) because the gold pieces were in great part of the value of 20 francs, and (2.) because there was at least three or four times more gold than silver. Gold alone, but not silver alone, serves the purposes of commerce. If silver disappears the evil is imperceptible; but if gold disappears a paper currency almost certainly takes its place.

M. Wolowski's book is in five parts. The first contains a discussion of the monetary question, addressed to the Political Economy Society of Paris, on the 1st of June 1867, a letter to the editor of the *Journal des Débats* of the 6th of May, 1867, and a letter to Mr. Alfred Latham, one of the directors of the Bank of England, on gold and silver regarded as monetary instruments. The second part contains a memoir on gold and silver, read at a public meeting of the five academies of the Institut. The third, which is described as "some testimonies in support of the memoir on gold and silver," contains a series of letters and pieces in accordance with M. Wolowski's views. The fourth gives the history of the French monetary system; the fifth, the "debates on the monetary question since the year xi." And lastly, in an appendix, there is the evidence of M. Wolowski in the monetary inquiries of 1870 and 1865. The book accordingly is not a systematic work, but the reproduction of a considerable number of pieces, some of which are certainly of great interest. It is, in fact, a collection of the best things that have been written in France, Germany, and England, in favour of the double legal tender. M. Wolowski's own essays are the most complete that have appeared on the subject; but they cannot be called conclusive. He is often compelled to rely on half or quarter reasons; and two half-



reasons seldom form a whole one. He quotes Ricardo as saying that "gold and silver have been selected as agents," and thereupon concludes that Ricardo held two legal tenders to be necessary. So, again, Turgot having stated the fact that gold and silver are the universal coin, M. Wolowski observes in a note that "Turgot places gold and silver on the same level, and attributes to them an equal aptitude for fulfilling the function of money. Such is the opinion of all economists of authority." And, he might have added, of all economists without exception. But no conclusion can be drawn from the fact that economists have declared gold and silver (and copper too) to serve for money. The question is simply whether it is better to have one legal tender or two. M. Wolowski and his allies prefer two, whilst others think unity preferable. And the argument which M. Wolowski thinks most cogent in favour of the double tender is precisely that which others use to combat it. They do not think it right that men should pay their debts alternately in the specie which is at a discount. They think that these fluctuations are an evil, and that, far from compensating one another, they may even cumulatively aggravate the evil, and expose the commercial world to depreciations in value, extremely injurious to the interests concerned.

39. RAILWAYS in France have long been in an unenviable position. They have two great enemies contradicting each other in their demands—the Government and the Public. The Government does not precisely wish to damage the railways; it is even in some degree inclined to protect them; but as it desires to extend the lines, and to complete the meshes of the network by creating new lines that cannot be productive, it has a tendency to impose heavy charges on the companies. It grants subsidies indeed; but these cover only a small part of the charges, while the rest has to be borne by the companies. The public, on the other hand, asks for the extension of lines without much regard to their productiveness, and at the same time demands a reduction of fares. Thus a greater amount of service is required at a less price. M. Ropiquet in his *Tarif de chemins de fer* has undertaken to show how far such requisitions are contradictory and impracticable; and he has done it with much force, and sufficient clearness to make the complicated organization intelligible.

There is in France a legal fare, that is to say a maximum granted by the law. It is 10 centimes the kilometre for the 1st class,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  for the 2d class, and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  for the 3rd class; which becomes for every English mile 1.6d., 1.2d., and 0.87d. The charge for goods at "grande vitesse" is 36 centimes a kilometre, or 5.7d. a mile; at "petite vitesse" the charge varies according to the kind of goods and the distance from 16 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  centimes. The common tariff is founded on the legal tariff, of which it is the development. It enters into details and into the necessary subdivisions, and, moreover, collects the impost of the tenth centime for the Exchequer. This impost in 1869 produced

33 millions of francs. There are many conditions which reduce the general fare, such as return tickets, pleasure trains, excursion tickets valid for a certain number of days, season tickets, and others which need not be specified, as they exist in all countries. The general tariff for goods is much more complicated. One of the complications uncontested in England is known in France under the name of "differential rates." It consists in carrying goods a longer distance for a comparatively smaller sum. Thus a ton of goods carried 100 kilometres would pay 10 centimes a kilometre; carried 200 kilometres it would pay only 8 centimes a kilometre; and carried 300 kilometres would pay only 7 centimes, and so on. In France the jealousies of competitors have raised powerful attacks against this system; but M. Ropiquet has no difficulty in showing that the differential rate, useful as it is to the consumer, is not injurious to the producer. Another modification has been equally contested—that of special tariffs. Of these an instance may be found in the "season ticket for tonnage," in which a reduction is made to those who transport periodically and at once a certain number of tons; reduction for delay also is granted in favour of those who allow a prolongation of the legal time established for delivery. Several of these modifications have been forbidden by the Government; for in France no change in charges, whether raising or lowering fares, is legal without the sanction of Government, which only sanctions them after a trial. The tariffs of transit and of exportation form also a special class, which M. Ropiquet minutely discusses; nor does he forget the through rates common to several lines.

All these points are dealt with in the first part of his work. In the second part he gives a comparative view of French, German, English, and Belgian fares, which is of great interest. He devotes one essay to the reform of the Belgian tariff, and another to the power of the State to regulate fares, which shows that he is favourable to this power. The book contains all that is necessary for understanding the organization of the French railway tariff, and for learning the direction of public opinion in France on this important matter.

40. THE art collections at South Kensington embrace specimens of all classes of mediæval art. Many of these collections are very incomplete in themselves; while some have not specimens numerous or good enough to justify a descriptive catalogue at present. The textile fabrics form a large and tolerably full collection. Many of the pieces are of great rarity and value; and the department has done well to bring them under public notice by publishing Dr. Rock's descriptive catalogue of *Textile fabrics in the South Kensington Museum*. It is a learned and complete work, and is preceded by an elaborate treatise on the whole matter. The writer has made a careful division of the subject both as regards the different materials and the various producing countries, giving the history of the rise and development of the manufactures from the earliest periods, and noticing



the several localities where the manufacture can be traced. The most interesting inquiries having a special bearing on the South Kensington collection relate to the time when silk fabrics came into use for courtly, and especially for ecclesiastical, ceremonies, and found their way from Italy and the East to Spain, France, and England. The Council of Cloveshoo in 747 warned nuns against the vanity of vestments or dresses "*vario colore inanis gloriæ*." These were probably of silk; but it is only in the 12th century that there is positive information of its general use as a material. From that time the royal and ecclesiastical wardrobes were filled with the costly and artistic dresses of which many complete specimens and still more fragments survive, and are described in the present catalogue. Dr. Rock is specially learned on the religious ornaments of the middle ages. He describes their symbolical meaning with evident sympathy, and points out the genuine artistic merits which raise many of these fabrics to a far higher rank than belongs to merely symbolic art. He also makes it possible to form an exact notion of the kind of splendour which dazzled men in the marriage ceremonies of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon, the coronation and frequent marriages of Henry VIII., the Westminster tournaments, pageants like the field of Cloth of Gold, and the curious ceremony of the Vow to the Peacock. The larger portion of the South Kensington collection was formed by Dr. Franz Bock, canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. The best pieces, chasubles, copes, and other church dresses, are German. But there is also a fair collection of specimens of other countries. One magnificent representative piece from England is the Syon Cope, a complete or nearly complete specimen of the old *Opus Anglicum* (Cat. p. 275). It was long in the Syon monastery, and dates from the 13th century. It is of a kind of needlework called *plumarium* or feather stitch, from the overlapping of the long stitches. It is covered with figure subjects in panels, square, with cusps or semicircles on each of their sides, and worked throughout, ground and all, with the needle. The ground has faded from crimson to tawny red; and green and gold are the predominant colours of the decoration. The orfrey is of later date, and has displaced portions, ragged probably, of the outer circumference. But this addition is of great antiquarian value, being completely covered with heraldic shields, representing the armorial bearings of a number of families of the midland counties. This curious vestment followed the fortunes of the exiled nuns, and has at length found its way back from Lisbon to its present resting-place. Of the four parts into which the Catalogue is divided, the first refers to church vestments, silk-stuffs, needle-work, and dresses; the second to tapestry; the third to a collection, chiefly of objects of dress of the last century, given by Mr. Brooke; and the fourth to a small collection of tapestry lent by the Board of Works and the Queen. The objects described are arranged in the Catalogue, as in the Museum, without any special order; but a full index enables the student to seek out the various

scattered specimens of similar kinds of work. The book, however, affords scanty help to the student of the development of the art, as it leaves the chronology of the specimens to be ascertained by a painful examination of each entry in the list, and much that is given must be considered as conjectural. Dr. Rock gives the geographical data; but it does not seem to have occurred to him that the chronological data would have been just as valuable. Perhaps when he says that "in woven stuffs there are styles nicely defined, and epochs easily discernible," he does not mean to insist on any but the widest chronological divisions. It would be useful to have another index, in which the numbers of the Catalogue should be arranged in their chronological sequence. As it now stands, the first entry is a modern Chinese mandarin's tunic, the second a Florentine chasuble of the 15th century, and so on. The collection consists of a tolerably perfect mediæval nucleus of ecclesiastical dresses, with an irregular fringe of more modern specimens. There is a want of any but fragments of mediæval lay costume. The multifarious learning displayed in the introduction is somewhat marred by a fancifulness of interpretation which will scarcely bear rigid scrutiny. But if derivations are not always a strong point with Dr. Rock, he has a knowledge quite unrivalled in England of the various implements of the symbolic ecclesiastical functions of the mediæval Church; and, as the collection consists mainly of these things, he was evidently the proper person to write its descriptive catalogue.

41. MR. RUSKIN has published the first series of lectures which he has delivered at Oxford in his capacity of Slade Professor of Fine Art at the University. They are devoted partly to the philosophy of æsthetics, partly to the technical details of drawing and painting. After three lectures on the several relationships of art to religion, morals, and use, come three more on line, light, and colour. Although the book contains nothing positively new, yet, amidst much that is fantastical, it affords abundant proof of the progress of the author's mind, and conveys technical information in a form easy to be remembered.

Mr. Ruskin has just those faculties and sensibilities of the artist, which most seriously detract from a man's powers as a critic of art. Not but that his lectures teem on the one hand with philosophical generalizations, and on the other hand with practical and technical precepts; but all this is marred by the fanciful and unreal direction which he would give to the aspirations of the artist. It is perhaps a necessary consequence of the artist's idealism that he should always attach his sympathies to a state which only exists either in memory or hope; that he should disparage the present, and live in the past or the future, the holy antique hours when all was simplicity, or the times to come when nature shall be again supreme. But great artists, though indulging this feeling to the utmost, have always been men of their own day. They struggled with their own times; their own times impressed

their seal upon the athletes. The protest against the present corruption was a mere protest, the sparks from the anvil of thought, not the work which was being forged upon it. The great artist represents his own era, though he may fancy that he abjures and detests it. Mr. Ruskin's fault as a teacher of art is precisely that he lays so much stress upon this abjuration of the present, this entire incompatibility of the times as they are with high art, that the tendency of his teaching is to make the artist break with the present, and place his whole merit in becoming as complete a stranger as possible to his epoch. Art, he tells his pupils, will be impossible in England till she has "lovely cities, crystallized not coagulated into form," limited in size, each with its sacred pomærium, or garland of gardens. All manufactories needing the help of fire must, he says, be first banished from England, or planted only on her otherwise unservicable wilds; iron must yield to wood as material, steam to water and wind as force. "Agriculture by the hand, and absolute refusal or banishment of unnecessary igneous force, are the first conditions of a school of art in any country." He seems to suppose that whirling manufactories first introduced squalor and starvation into the land, and forgets that the times in which he places his ideal were characterized by bad housing and filth. It was an epoch when the peasants, poisoned by marsh exhalations, wasted by ague and skin diseases, huddled together in cabins of sticks and mud, smoke-dried, gross eaters and drinkers, and uncleanly livers, suffered terribly in every epidemic. Why unconquered nature, ruthlessly devouring men, and only here and there chequered with the symbolic spell of a Gothic minster, should be a more suitable subject for high art than nature subdued to the use of man, is a question which it would tax Mr. Ruskin's powers to answer. Some of Turner's most striking sketches are studies of the furnaces and engine-beams of the black country. To exclude the cyclopean force of fire, or the terrible darkness of the seething atmosphere of Wolverhampton or Swansea, from the region of art, seems absurd. Nowhere is human labour more dignified than in the grimy forgeries of the smithery; nowhere is muscle better developed, or ingenuity and foresight more exercised, or attitude more varied, or light and obscurity more subtly distributed. The true artist, though he may fancy his ideal to lie far behind or far in front, will in fact linger among such realities of the present, though his thought may clothe them in terms of the past. And the true artistic teacher will rather strengthen and encourage his pupils to look for their inspiration in the present than to seek it in the imitation of the past or the lawless imagination of the future.

It is in happy inconsistency with this whimsical idealism, that Mr. Ruskin declares the highest exercise of the painter's art to consist not in ideal and imaginary combinations, but in the portraiture of great men. The great works of an epoch have an interest analogous to that of the great men; and however unpicturesque the innovations which they make may appear to contemporaries, succeeding generations will probably look upon them with the

same interest which men of the nineteenth century bestow upon the Roman aqueduct or the feudal castle. The true artist is one who transfigures the symbols of the power of his age into the symbols of beauty; and to do this he should not quarrel with the inexorable march of events, but study it for the purpose of extracting whatever element of order and beauty may be involved in it. To banish art from the nations which manifest most capacity to tame the rude forces of nature, and to appropriate it to those who lazily keep in the rear of progress, is in direct contradiction with the aspirations which should guide the professor of practical art.

42. MR. GLENNIE is a minor poet over-full with an idea which his poetical rage disables him from expressing in verse, except in inarticulate cries which are more animal than human. He has admitted into his mind the vast idea of the Revolution, as a new policy and a new religion. He has logically thought out what it implies, and has taken his side with his eyes open. It is, he declares, definitely anti-Christian. It and Christianity cannot coexist for long. And in what he calls the infinite pathos of their deadly struggle he sees the sublimest materials for a new dramatic art. He has also profoundly studied (somewhat in the spirit of Higgins, it is true) the Celtic mythology of south-west Scotland. He has published an essay on Arthurian localities; and he finds in the legend of Arthur and Merlin the whole machinery for a symbolic and operatic drama representing the advent of the new revolutionary religion, and the departure of the old Christianity. He has worked out this vast design into minute details, and has put together a whole encyclopædia of symbols to illustrate it. The shrubs, the flowers, and "our elder brothers" the animals, all have a place in his vast scheme of representative meaning and expression. And with all this machinery in his head, and, when not overwhelmed by his own impetuosity, with considerable powers of versification and diction at his disposal, he has produced a specimen of his *King Arthur, or the Drama of the Revolution*. It is the first opera of the five which are to compose the first play of the trilogy of the "great geste of Arthur." It exhibits so little judgment that the author might have written it in his sleep and published it in a state of somnambulism. The contrast between the measured and sensible form of his prose and the senseless flow of his verse is similar to that between a dream and a perception. Even his ear fails him. His long opening lyric has for every other line the refrain

"He hath come back again, back again."

The muse which suggested this melody could only have been hatched from the egg of a guinea-fowl.

It is seldom that so deep-laid and comprehensive a scheme ends in such utter failure as this drama of Mr. Glennie's. How much of the failure is the fault of his theme and his principles, and how much of it arises from personal insufficiency and want of poetical temperament, it is not worth while to in-

quire. His "general advertisement," in which he gives the plan of his projected work, and describes in luminous prose, the meanings which he intends to inculcate in his verse, is worthy of observation; for it shows the kind of impression which the personified idea of "the Revolution" makes on an educated man with an imagination little under control. This essay might be a leaf torn out of Prudhon's *De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise*.

43. PROFESSOR SYLVESTER had occasion at some penny readings to recite his translation of the 29th ode of the third book of Horace. The recitation was decidedly successful; and the translator was inclined to attribute his success to the due observance of the laws of anastomosis, symptosis, and phonetic syzygy. His work on *The Laws of Verse* has grown out of a republication of the translation, with annotations intended to bring out the advantage of observing the three laws, which, however, are nowhere distinctly stated. He seems to be of opinion that Edgar Poe has sufficiently established the principles which determine what metres are possible and legitimate, and his own endeavour has been to illustrate the principles upon which a given metre can be written effectively. Undoubtedly the question is a perfectly legitimate one. There is what may be called a grammar of musical composition, a grammar of pictorial composition; and it is certainly strange that there should be no grammar of metrical composition. Nor is it by any means hopeless to supply the deficiency. The present volume scarcely professes to do more than demonstrate its existence: for it is not to be supposed that in the course of a fine though stiff translation of one ode of Horace Professor Sylvester undertook to illustrate all the laws of verse, or even to give an adequate series of examples of the three laws named above. His exposition, considering its incompleteness, is unnecessarily technical; but the gist of it appears to be that the law of anastomosis governs the combinations of sound between the end of one word and the beginning of another, that the law of symptosis governs all the forms of alliteration and assonance which mark the pauses of versification, and that the law of phonetic syzygy governs the use of alliteration and assonance to produce a continuous stream of sound. The writer has thus suggested interesting questions; and by a copious induction from acknowledged masterpieces he might do much to answer them. He is less successful in a half-mathematical half-musical analysis of the Alcaic stanza, where he commits the curious mistake of confounding the bacchius with the epitritus.

The volume also contains some poems which the writer has thought it worth while to disavow—an unnecessary caution, since they are always spirited, and not always empty or confused, an address on the method of the higher mathematics, and a reprint of perplexed discussion which arose out of it on the

question whether Kant can be said to have considered space and time as forms of thought.

44. DR. M'COSH'S *Laws of Discursive Thought* is a short and convenient treatise upon logic, as the word is commonly understood; that is, syllogistic, combined with a preliminary psychology. The psychology is regarded by the author as the most important part of the work. "I believe that errors spring far more frequently from obscure, inadequate, indistinct, and confused notions, and from not placing the notions in their proper relation in judgment, than from ratiocination" (p. ix.) And since "the science of logic is to be constructed only by a careful inductive investigation of the operations of the human mind as it is employed in reasoning" (p. viii.), it is almost incredible that a mere analysis of psychological phenomena should have been the nidus of so much confusion.

The difficulties which beset logic, like those which beset psychology, spring in great part from ignoring the completeness of the state of things to which the analysis is to be applied. The first logician must be so practices a reasoner that the logic which he evolves cannot be expected to import any reflex improvement into his reasoning; nor will the propositions of the 'psychologist add to his own knowledge, of which they are merely a tabulated account. To the ignorant they will only be a blank form; and each must fill this up for himself. This explains why a meagre analysis might seem complete to Aristotle, because he would interpret it by his own knowledge, while it would make mere hair-splitters of those who should trust to it without acquiring the previous culture out of which it grew. Logic, then, is necessarily incomplete, though of late years efforts have been made in many directions to complete the formal statement by bringing it up to the level of concrete reasoning. Among these attempts is to be placed Hamilton's quantification of the predicate. Dr. M'Cosh contends, with much reason (p. 104), that this has been carried too far. Some of Hamilton's new quantified types spring rather from the desire to complete a system than from observation of the requirements of thought and language.

Had Dr. M'Cosh been either less or more "thrown back on the old logic," his classification of notions might perhaps have been neater and clearer. Apprehension is logically of things, (1.) as being, (2.) as acting. From things as being, which, in thought and logic, are particular concrete notions, spring particular abstract notions, as this red, this roughness (in the sense of Hamilton's objective-subjective). From them come also the two classes of general concepts, (1.) concrete, as horse, animal; (2.) abstract, as red, colour; and these both admit of degrees of abstraction, or differ by intension and extension. From things as acting come those judgments, like "this horse gallops," which look so absurd when forced into the form "this horse is one galloping things." And these last propo-

sitions may be generalized, (1.) by the subject being made a general concept; (2.) by the evolution from the predicate of a new series of generals, which rather belong to grammar than to logic.

Dr. McCosh certainly uses the words "abstract" and "abstraction" in several strange senses at the same time. "Number of every kind is an abstract notion, as one, ten, a hundred, or a thousand. . . . From these notions we may frame higher abstractions, as a, b, c, standing for known quantities, and x, y, z, for unknown" (p. 11). His next words are yet more mysterious: "A still higher process of abstraction is involved in the fluxionary and [sic] differential calculus and in quaternions." And so it appears, "we come to the *τὸ ὅν*, the Ens or Being of which metaphysicians, beginning with the ancient Eleatics, have made so much, and yet to so little profit, because they have mistaken its nature." Here Dr. McCosh seems to display something less than clearness and good sense.

45. The utilitarian philosophy professes to apply the positive method to a sphere of inquiry which had hitherto been pursued on another plan; and yet it presents this preliminary difficulty that, whereas the gist of positivism is the previous dismissal from the mind of all notions of final causes and ideals, the very name "utility" implies that the final cause of moral acts is the one measure of their morality. But the notion of this philosophy is subject to another preliminary difficulty. It may be asked whether the utility by which actions are appraised is a subjective or an objective one; whether the moral value of an action depends on the actor's conscious aim at some definite good, or whether it comes from the event, altogether independent of his volition, that his act conspires towards the general utility, and fits into its proper place in the great frame of universal activity. In this latter sense it is difficult to see by what differences the utilitarian philosophy can be shown as far as it goes, to contradict the usual systems of theistic morals. Such systems always promise that good deeds, however obscure or even seemingly mischievous in their immediate results, shall in the long-run each contribute its own appropriate share to the happiness of the doer and of the universe. And theistic moralists will even annex its own specific worth to each kind of deed, and will come in the long-run to declare that the deed which is apparently the consummation of physical misery, the patient endurance of torments and death, if the person suffers in a good cause, is the consummation of human happiness, because it deserves the highest reward. Thus objective utility becomes in these systems something quite independent of the personal judgment and feelings; it may lead men either to endure or to inflict the most grievous sufferings for a good set before them by the promises of a religious or philosophical system to which they have given their allegiance. Thus it becomes only a new name for the subject of an old controversy; and the questions which it

legitimately stirs are the same which have always occupied the minds of theological disputants. It is a mere assumption to bar the consideration of any happiness which cannot be subjected to material tests, or to attempt to lay down the rule that the utility which this philosophy seeks shall be only that utility which affects man on this side the grave. In effect, this is only to say that atheism or secularism is the only religion which utilitarianism admits; and such an avowal at once places the philosophy in the category of those religious systems and religious controversies from which it professes to keep itself clear. It is nothing novel for a code for the guidance of conduct to profess that obedience and conformity to its rules is in the long-run good both for humanity and for the individual. The profession is a common one; and the common profession does not help to decide between the rival pretensions.

Again, subjective utility, which makes the character of each act depend upon the persuasion of the agent that it is for his own or for the common good, although it is philosophically distinct from objective utility, yet ultimately and in practice comes to the same thing. For a man's persuasion or judgment of the worth of an act must be made in the light of his general views of good and evil—his whole religious and moral system. And here of course the same door is opened to theological controversy as in the case of objective utility. Utility then is a mere name made use of to mask a totally different idea. The utilitarian really refuses to argue with the man who thinks that slavery is for the good of the inferior and enslaved races, and that religious persecution is good for the salvation of the greatest possible number. He can only hold controversy with those who admit his fundamental principle, that in the calculation of utility nothing can be admitted but that which may be tested by direct experiment, and may be rendered positively perceptible to the senses.

Thus, as Mr. Grote often says, utilitarianism becomes not a philosophy, but an unphilosophy—a fine name given to confused and partial thought, in order that men who think in this manner may slur over their deficiencies, and persuade themselves that they are thinking exactly, methodically, and completely. Perhaps it might be objected that his *Examination of the Utilitarian Philosophy* wants the exactness, method, and completeness which he finds wanting in the system which he attacks. But it is to be remembered that the attack must follow the positions of the defence, and must mould itself, not on its own centre, but on points in the circumference of the enemy. The looser the order of the party on the defensive, the more sporadic and unconnected must the attack be. Mr. Grote was however better adapted for such efforts than for making a compact and centralized system which could defy the assaults of others. He was so observant of the infinite varieties of motives and springs of action that he was rather desirous of admitting the good and rejecting the evil of all known systems, than of founding any system of his own. He doubt-

ed not the necessity of systematic thought, but the adequacy of any single system. All systems furnished segments for the circumference of his great circle, for which, however, he had as yet found no centre. Moral philosophy, he held, should aim less at system than at largeness of view. He compared the utilitarian attempt to solve all moral questions by the single principle of happiness to the infantine attempts of the Ionic philosophers: "the resolving all action into effort after happiness is no more true than the resolving the whole universe into fire and water." And even after the statement of the thesis the question remains, What is happiness? A question just as little answerable by utilitarians as the question "What is water?" would have been by Thales. But Mr. Grote's discussion is by no means devoid of plan. In him Mr. Mill's neo-utilitarianism has probably found its most formidable opponent. There is scarcely one aspect of it which he does not discuss; and he generally finds that what is new in it is not true, or at least is inconsistent with other parts of the system, and that what is true in it is not new, but is common to all systems of moral philosophy.

46. PROFESSOR HUXLEY is a leader in physical science who, in his *Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews*, surveys the field of his speculation from the higher ground of metaphysics. As a metaphysician he follows Descartes, Hume, and Kant. With the last, he is a dogmatic idealist: with the two former he is a methodical sceptic. His idealism enables him to proclaim himself at once a spiritualist and a materialist. Our knowledge of what we know and feel can, he says, be nothing more than a knowledge of states of consciousness, some of which we refer to "self" and others to "not-self;" but both of these are hypothetical assumptions, that is, both self and not-self are equally doubtful as existences, the "only absolute certainty" being "the existence of mind," or, as he ought to say, thinking. Matter and spirit are merely the symbols by which we represent the forces which are supposed either to excite or to bear up the thought. Matter must be reduced in thought to force, and spirit is likewise force, and so far they are identical. Hence, "In itself it is of little moment whether we express the phenomena of matter in terms of spirit, or the phenomena of spirit in terms of matter; matter may be regarded as a form of thought, thought may be regarded as a property of matter—each statement has a certain relative truth." For the sake of the uniformity and progress of science he prefers the materialistic terminology. But he abjures materialism, or the doctrine which would reduce all volition to a necessary evolution of material laws. Nay, he dogmatically sets up volition as an ultimate somewhat which men ought to believe in: "It is necessary to be fully possessed of only two beliefs; the first that the order of nature is ascertainable by our faculties to an extent which is practically unlimited: the second, that our volition counts for something as a condition of the course of events. Each of these beliefs can be verified

experimentally, as often as we like to try." Elsewhere he says: "Philosophers gird themselves for battle upon the last and greatest of all speculative problems. Does human nature possess any free, volitional, or truly anthropomorphic element, or is it only the cunningest of all nature's clocks? Some, among whom I count myself, think that the battle will for ever remain a drawn one, and that, for all practical purposes, this result is as good as anthropomorphism winning the day." He thus confesses the impossibility of disproving the propositions of spiritualist and religious philosophy, and the power of these propositions to maintain themselves on a basis indestructible by the criticism of the physical philosopher. "Science and philosophy," he says, "within the range of which lie all the topics on which I could venture to speak, are neither christian nor unchristian, but are extra-christian, and have a world of their own, which is not only 'unsectarian' but is altogether 'secular.'"

But though his dogmatic idealism is in itself not incompatible with a religious philosophy, his scepticism, in which he is equally dogmatic, seems to overstep that limit. If religious propositions appear to him incapable of disproof, they must also appear equally incapable of proof, and, in that respect, if not obnoxious to the first maxim of his philosophy, which is "that the sole ground on which any statement has a right to be believed is the impossibility of refuting it," at least obnoxious to the first commandment of his code—"give unqualified assent to no propositions but those the truth of which is so clear and distinct that they cannot be doubted." On this he says: "The enunciation of this great first commandment of science consecrated doubt. It removed doubt from the seat of penance among the grievous sins, to which it had long been condemned, and enthroned it in that high place among the primary duties which is assigned to it by the scientific conscience of these latter days. Descartes was the first among the moderns to obey this commandment deliberately, and as a matter of religious duty to strip off all his belief"—not to entertain doubt for doubting's sake in order to remain always undecided, but to arrive through doubt at certainty, by "the active scepticism whose whole aim is to conquer itself." Whether it is because in the great division of labour Professor Huxley can only choose one sphere, or because he feels exclusive interest in that one, it seems that, while he maintains this active scepticism in the questions of physical science, in the questions of religious philosophy he acquiesces in a passive scepticism which prefers to remain undecided. If this is so, it is the fault of the man not of the philosophy. The man seems to have been somewhat ruffled in temper. In common with many scientific men, he has a bitter feeling against those who for so many ages obstructed the growth of knowledge in the assumed interests of religion, and often involves the religion itself and its documents in the condemnation which he justly awards to its advocates and interpreters. Thus he

writes: "The myths of Paganism are as dead as Osiris or Zeus, and the man who should attempt to revive them in opposition to the knowledge of our time would be justly laughed to scorn; but the coeval imaginations current among the inhabitants of Palestine, recorded by writers whose very name and age are admitted by every scholar to be unknown, have unfortunately not yet shared their fate, but even at this day are regarded by nine-tenths of the civilized world as the authoritative standard of fact and the criterion of the justice of scientific conclusions in all that relates to the origin of things. . . . It is true that if philosophers have suffered, their cause has been amply avenged. Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science, as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed, if not annihilated, scotched if not slain. But orthodoxy is the Bourbon of the world of thought. It learns not, neither can it forget." Such impassioned and dithyrambic phrases show that Professor Huxley's scepticism is not without its dislikes and partialities in the two-fold sphere of thought. In other words, his scepticism is dogmatic.

But however this may be—and the very title of his volume shows a consciousness of a preacher-like dogmatism—his philosophy exhibits that largeness and equity in which, if anywhere, the future reconciliation of scientific with religious thought must be looked for. There is a certain jovial, even rollicking, positiveness about his style which is not really necessary to his thought. There is also a carelessness of statement, and a contentment with imperfect developments, and with wide gulfs over which the argument leaps, that are parts of the fervid idiosyncrasy of the writer. But, on the whole, the accomplished master of physical science grasps the metaphysical problems of the world with no uncertain hold, and surveys both spheres with a completeness and justice which are rare with men of his standing. The metaphysics which he admits are not merely those generalized metaphysics which the imagination tacks on to the limit of ascertainable physics—metaphysics which at last resolve all things into a vast unconscious force, containing in itself the possibilities of all conceivable developments. On the contrary, he recognizes two starting points of equal validity:—(1.) the personal consciousness, which reproduces itself externally and gives an anthropomorphic aspect, as he calls it, to the world; and (2.) the sensible experience from which all physical science is derived. The first of these gives the "person" as the ultimate basis of all reality: the second gives a generalized force, which is at the same time matter. The two views are necessary to complete one another. In their absolute forms, one results in a unitarian pantheism (confounding matter and spirit), and the other reduces nature to a theurgic display of unaccountable, because arbitrary, changes. Imperfectly as Professor Huxley seems to realize

the consequences of his admission of the two principles, the mere fact that he does so serves at once to raise him to an elevation far above the generality of his brother physical philosophers.

47. THE aim of Mr. Mongredien's work is to introduce to notice a number of the most ornamental trees and shrubs which would flourish in England in the open air, and diversify the tame plantations. The object is laudable; and, if it is necessary to censure some defects in execution, the work nevertheless is one which contains much useful information not otherwise easily reached. Its worth would have been enhanced if the author had appended to each description of tree or shrub some practical hints as to its culture. Take, for instance, the first case that comes. Of *Abies alba*, or the white spruce, there is a general description; the length of its leaves and cones is minutely given; but as to the method of rearing it nothing is said, except that "it grows very slowly when young, and is very impatient of transplantation, for which reason fine specimens are not often met with." It would have been well to mention its dislike to a dry peaty soil. Mention is made of the Canadians obtaining spruce-beer from *Abies nigra*, or the black spruce, but none of its preference in Britain for a moist moorish position before a dry, warm, exposed one. *Abies Smithiana* is justly praised for its beauty. It is stated to grow "pretty rapidly," whilst of the Norway spruce the author writes that "the growth is rapid." Now it has been made one of the distinctions between these trees that the former, which is more luxuriant in appearance, is also more rapid in growth; and though it is "somewhat impatient of transplantation" it has been grafted with success on the common spruce. The name of a variety of the latter which is written "*Clansbrasiliana*," should be *Clanbrassiliana*—a name which it owes to Lord Clanbrassil's introducing it into Great Britain, from Lord Moira's estate in Ireland. The method of propagating it ought to have been mentioned, as it is somewhat peculiar. The omission of suggestions as to culture in such cases is not accounted for by the plan of the work; for directions are occasionally given, as in the instance of *Abies picea*. Again, in a work the professed object of which is to introduce variety among plantations now generally formed of well-known trees, it seems needless to mention and describe such acknowledged veterans as *Acer campestre*, *Acer pseudoplatanus*, *Æsculus hippocastanum*, *Alnus glutinosa*, and so forth. These are usually cultivated; and in the volume they occupy space which might have been devoted to newer if not to handsomer forms. Of the alders, for instance, there are but four described; and one is the common alder; whilst there are several curious and a few beautiful varieties which might have been included. In classifying species into groups which bear "edible" and which bear "ornamental" fruit, the author points out that several of the latter are unwholesome and poisonous. From both cate-

gories he appears to exclude the *Amelanchier botryapium*—the fruit of which, however, is sweet and edible. And whilst he enumerates this among ornamental plants, he ignores *A. vulgaris*, which yields a profusion of flowers, and in England has sometimes attained a height of twenty feet. He makes a distinction almost as invidious between *Ampelopsis hederacea* and *A. Veitchii*: he declares the climbing disks of the latter to be of especial interest, whilst he says nothing of the tendrils suckers of the former. In the matter of height, the phrase "Evergreen tree, 20–30 feet," in his description of *Arbutus unedo*, might lead to disappointment. Although in the Killarney district, where it flourishes as if indigenous, the strawberry-tree reaches these dimensions, figures indicating half the size would more nearly give its altitude in English gardens. In his list of climbers he might readily add some others that could be cultivated with good effect. Among these the *Hodgensii* variety of ivy, with leaves resembling those of the Passion-flower plant, should not be forgotten. In the group of species remarkable for the size and beauty of their leaves, *Paulownia imperialis* is properly placed; but its flowers can hardly be described as "very showy." They are not bright in colour, but of a somewhat dusky hue. A tree in flower no doubt presents a fine spectacle; but its regular flowering cannot be counted on in the English climate. Some specimens have attained a respectable height, and only flowered once. The preliminary remarks to the group distinguished by variegated foliage leave much to be desired. The author has not examined Sageret's work. Precise physiological explanations ought not perhaps to be expected in the references made to the cause of variegation in leaves; but a classification of variegation forms might have been looked for. Morren gives twelve classes; and with a knowledge of these some fine contrasts in the grouping of variegated plants themselves might be obtained. Again, in the enumeration of plants distinguished for their autumnal tints, the characteristic hue of each is not given; and the effect might not be the most happy if the cultivator followed the author's sweeping direction:—"Were the best out of the following list freely interspersed with other trees in our forests and plantations, the autumnal tints, which we so much admire, would acquire additional splendour." The autumnal tints of some of those named may be found described elsewhere in the book; but the list is imperfect, even in the enumeration of finely coloured species. The floral calendar and the colour-table of flowers are more nearly complete. In spite of the shortcomings which have been mentioned, the volume contains much that will render it serviceable and welcome to those for whom it is intended.

48. The author of *How Crops Grow* has been encouraged by the reception given to his work in England and Germany to publish another entitled *How Crops Feed*. This volume is intended to serve as a companion and complement to the former one. It is an exposi-

tion of the results of researches made on the atmosphere and soil, with an especial view to the nutrition they furnish to agricultural plants. Many valuable observations have been made on the subject in recent years; but, being written in different languages and published in various scientific journals, they are not very accessible to students. To collect and collate them is the labour which Professor Johnson has undertaken, and which he has conducted with much diligence and acumen.

Occasionally he yields to the temptation of giving undue space to investigations which are rather curious than important; and sometimes whilst a fair general idea of the result of a research is obtained from his pages, they fail in fully giving the qualificatory particulars. Thus in describing oxygen and its functions, he says: "De Saussure found that flowers consume in 24 hours several or many times their bulk of oxygen gas. This absorption proceeds most energetically in the pistils and stamens." But it might have been added that the consumption does not increase with the size of different flowers or of their essential organs, whilst the stamens absorb much more than the styles and stigma. The male flower of *Cucurbita Pepo* consumes 12 times its volume of oxygen: the female flower only 3.5 times. On the other hand, the hermaphrodite "*Lilium Candidum*," a much larger flower than the former, consumes only 5 times its own volume. Having said that "flowers of very rapid growth experience in this process a considerable rise of temperature," the author adds: "Garreau, observing the spadix of *Arum italicum*, which absorbed 28½ its bulk of oxygen in one hour, found it 15° F. warmer than the surrounding air." It is an error to cite a spadix where a flower is referred to; and it is inexact to suppose that this experiment indicated a relationship between rapidity of growth and heat evolved. The amount consumed was not constant, but varied remarkably during successive hours from half-past two to half-past eight; the spadix absorbing in each hour its bulk multiplied by 16.5, 21.1, 27.7, 18.9, 12.2, and 5.5 respectively. During the first of these hours the spadix was only from 5° to 10° F. warmer than the air; during the third it was from 15.8° to 19.4°; and during the sixth from 6.4° to 8.2°. The experiments of Brongniart, confirmed by Vrolik and De Vriese, on the spadix of *Colocasia odora*, show that with the development of stamens the heat increased, and on the shedding of the pollen it reached its maximum of almost 20° above that of the air. At this period the vegetative growth had ceased. The spathe and bare part of spadix in aroids grow with a rapidity as great as, if not greater than the flower-covered portion. Yet Saussure found that, whilst the first consumed only five times, and the second only thirty times, the last consumed one hundred and thirty-two times its bulk of oxygen. It would have been well also to quote, as illustrating the effect of oxygen, Vrolik and De Vriese's observation made on comparing a spadix placed in oxygen gas with one growing in the open air. They found that the former developed so much



more heat than its temperature rose above that of the other from 5° to 12° F.

Professor Johnson devotes several pages to the Boussingault-Ville controversy respecting nitrogen, and rather needlessly, as the views of the first-named chemist have been so well corroborated. On the other hand, he gives insufficient space to those who have controverted the idea that little or no water is absorbed by the leaves. Hoffman's argument should have been met. The author says: "Sachs has found that even the roots of plants appear incapable of taking up watery vapour." The assertion is too sweeping; and the experiment cited gives it feeble support. Dr. Sachs, having uprooted a young camellia, enclosed its roots in a glass cylinder which contained a little water. The leaves were left free in the air. After four days it was found to have lost weight. This is given as a proof that the roots were unable to absorb watery vapour, whilst it is not shown, 1st, that there was an ample supply of vapour, or 2nd, that the roots did not take up some, but in quantity insufficient to supply the transpiration from the foliage. Excess of expenditure over supply occasionally occurs in the plant-world, and would be most like to occur where roots were interfered with whilst the leaves suffered no change of medium. The final result is thus stated: "After four days had expired, the entire apparatus (plant included) had lost 1·823 grm. Thereupon the plant was removed from the vessel and weighed by itself: it had lost 2·138 grm." If, as this would seem to show, there was sweating of the roots, the plant was in a non-healthy state, and the experiment valueless. Roots vary in their capacities and in their power of adaptability. Some will surround themselves with a wreath of delicate fibrils in a moist atmosphere. Epiphytes must obtain moisture by roots or leaves, sometimes depending on both, occasionally on one or other. For no useless object does *Laurus Canariensis* emit annually, as Schlacht relates, a mass of root-lets from its trunk during the autumn rains.

The vexed question of respiration, in so far as regards carbonic dioxide, is scarcely dealt with as its importance demands. The objections of Pepys to some details of the experiments quoted should have been given, together with the observations of Cloez and Gratiolet. Neither does the question of putrefaction get sufficient notice. In the part where the exhalation of ammonia by plants is treated, the following passage occurs: "The *Chenopodium vulvaria* exhales from its foliage a body chemically related to ammonia, and that has been mistaken for it. This substance, known to the chemist as trimethylamine, is also contained in the flowers of *Cratogeomys oxyacantha* [rectè, *oxyacantha*], and is the cause of the detestable odour of these plants, which is that of putrid salt fish (Wicke, *Liebig's Ann.*)" This energetic denunciation of the scent of the hawthorn bloom or "may" suggests that it cannot have been familiar to its censor. With certain defects, the book has the great merit of reducing to a convenient and accessible form

a vast mass of evidence of great value to the student.

49. VISITORS to Switzerland, who desire to become acquainted with the strange flowers around them, will appreciate M. Morthier's *Flore Analytique de la Suisse*. The genera are arranged in accordance with the system adopted by Koch in his *Synopsis Floræ germanicæ et helveticæ*. But the work itself is modelled on Gremli's *Excursions-Flora für die Schweiz*. Its merit is that it presents in a portable and very convenient form the means of readily determining the species, genus, and family of any given plant. To secure these advantages it was necessary to omit everything that could be dispensed with. Thus the descriptive enumeration of the general characters of orders and genera is left out, its place being supplied by an analytical key. This is based on the Linnæan system, a thing to be regretted by the student, although the Linnæan system has many claims to serve as an index. But its sin of severing close kindred cannot so be expiated; and to employ it now that the natural system has possession of the field is calculated to confuse. Besides, Bentham has shown how a clear and simple key can be adapted to the natural system. Nothing seems to be gained by having to take with the key an explanation of the classes and orders of Linnæus. On the other hand, M. Morthier is justified in his reluctance to admit as species various forms which Jordan Boreau would call species. Taxological botanists have been over fond of such discoveries; at the same time a rigid conservatism is not to be admired. A number of species, generally found in Swiss Floras, though not on Swiss Territory, have been excluded by M. Morthier. They were peculiar to Savoy, the Val d'Aosta, and the vicinity of Como, and in consequence were conveniently classed with Swiss groups. Hybrids M. Morthier has not described, because, whilst their forms are not constant, they are of rare occurrence. The index is imperfect.

50. WHILST several adventurous botanists, during the past hundred years, have endeavoured to investigate the natural wealth of the Caucasian Flora, the published results of their labours have not been comparable with the magnitude of the attempt. Not only have the collections and the manuscript records sometimes lain almost neglected in museums and libraries, but even if all had been published in full the result would necessarily have been most imperfect. A great part of the Caucasus was until lately inaccessible to strangers. Ten years ago, when the eastern region, after a long struggle, had been made subject to the Russian empire, the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg seized the opportunity and despatched Dr. Ruprecht on a botanical mission. He journeyed through various parts of Daghestan, and returned by the westward valleys, having traversed great regions which had never before been visited by a botanist. Fortunately he returned not only safe and sound himself



but with his collection of specimens and written notes intact; and it was thought desirable to take advantage of the occasion to form and publish a complete work. He was consequently induced to make a search through the records and results of former investigations, in order that, by collating them and incorporating what was pertinent with his own discoveries, a perfect picture of the whole flora of the lofty region, known to the ancients as ὁ Καύκασος καὶ ἔξωθεν, might be produced. To achieve this he determined, in the first place, to limit and condense the record of his own researches. Putting aside what related to the fertile lower levels on either side of the Caucasus, he concentrated his forces on the alpine and sub-alpine vegetation of the upper region of mountain and wood. Next he had to make a study of the labours of his predecessors, and to select what was suitable. The work was not a light one, nor was the assistance obtained little. A century ago, Güldenstädt made his journey; and his manuscript journal, together with his plant-specimens, was preserved in the Academy. Whatever portions of his observations were published could not be relied on, as they were given in a mutilated form. The investigations of Adam, Bieberstein, and Steven, conducted in the early part of the present century, followed. Adam's manuscript and Bieberstein's collection were found preserved in the museum of the Academy. With these Dr. Ruprecht collated the observations of Parrot (1811), unduly neglected by almost every one. He subjected to a fresh scrutiny the numerous specimens which Meyer had collected some forty years ago, and which also were preserved in the Academy; and he found himself enabled to add a great number of new habitats and of special notes, derived from four unpublished manuscript volumes. Besides all this, he collected a quantity of miscellaneous observations, and intercalated them in their proper places, from the works and reports of Eich-

wald, Szovits, Nordmann, Koch, Kolenati, Henacker, Fricke, Abich, and Bayern, his predecessors. Singularly enough Dr. Ruprecht has been enabled to add to these certain information obtained from his successors in the field, Owerin and Rade. They have made collections in various parts of the Caucasus, especially in the west, which at the date of his journey were difficult of access.

The first part of his *Flora Caucasica* is devoted to the Thalamifloræ. What chiefly distinguishes it is the great care bestowed on settling and authenticating the habitats, and giving, whenever possible, the range and altitude of plants. Convinced, with every thoughtful botanist, that most important general questions connected with the distribution of plant life on the earth cannot be solved without further and accurate systematic research, the author has taken exceeding pains with this part of the work. By so doing he has impressed upon it a character of peculiar value for the student who desires to make a comparison of the alpine and sub-alpine floras of Europe and Asia. Taken in connection with the question of climatic influence also, this matter is obviously important, and, in its extension, it assumes an interest for ethnologists. The author has described many new and some curious species. In his plates he gives illustrations of *Thalictrum triternatum*, *Ranunculus subtilis*, *R. suaneticus*, *R. Baidara*, *R. acutidentatus*, *Capnites pallidiflora*, *C. Bayerniana*, *Helianthemum dagestanicum*, *Alsine imbricata Steveni*, *Dentaria bipinnata*, *D. b. salata*, *Stellaria Meyeriana*, *Thlaspi pumilum*, *Viola minuta*, *V. Meyeriana*, *Eremogone Holostea*. Some of his new species may be reduced, perhaps, to varieties; but at least his view serves well to emphasize the distinctive forms of the Caucasian flora. Several of these alpine and sub-alpine plants, varieties as well as species, would make very ornamental additions to European gardens.

# THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CVI.

JANUARY, 1871.

## ART. I.—PROVENÇAL VERSIFICATION.

THE foundation of poetry, that is to say, of the expression of human feelings in verse, is rhythm. According to Aristoxenus, the greatest Greek metrical scholar, rhythm is the division of time into equally recurring shorter and longer parts; but it becomes audible only by being applied to certain movements performed in this time (τὸ ρυθμιζόμενον). This object of rhythm is, of course, different in the different arts. In music, it is the notes of a melody (μέλος); in dance, the movements of hands and feet (σωματικὴ κίνησις); and in poetry, the words (λέξις). In the ancient, and especially in the Greek, poetry, rhythm was the first and chief principle of all verse; and Greek poets followed this principle with the greatest consistency, measuring their verses only according to the length or shortness of the syllables, without taking any notice of the rhetorical accent of each word, which depends, of course, greatly on its meaning. This metrical system, founded entirely on the beauty of sound, agrees very well with what we know of the plastic art of the Greeks, where also the graceful and harmonious form predominates over the sentimental expression of the features. There is something analogous in the primitive poetry of the Teutonic nations. The aim of their poets was to strike the audience by the strong and heroic sound of their verses; and in consequence the principle of their metrical system was merely rhythmical. In the *Béowulf*, as well as in the *Hildebrandliet*, or the *Wessobrunner Gebet*, each line contains a certain number of long and highly accented (hochbetont) syllables, which were strengthened even more by alliteration. The rhetorical importance of these syllables did not at all influence their metrical value.

The original Latin poetry was in this respect not so strict as the Greek. The elder Roman poets always tried to make the rhetorical and the metrical accent fall together. This was the more easy for them, because their rules of quantity were not yet clearly defined. Only the later Roman poets, and among them especially Horace, who were under the influence of Greek literature, introduced the accurate rules of Hellenic prosody into their own language, and at the same time made the metrical accent quite independent of the rhetorical. A remarkable sign of the difference between the Roman and Greek metrical systems is the way in which these two nations used the most important expressions of rhythmical art, arsis and thesis. Aristoxenus, founding his metrical system entirely on the rhythms of dance and music, called arsis the weak part of the metre, because there the dancer raised his foot (*αἶψα*), and thesis the strong part, when the dancer trod the ground (*τίθῃμι*)—exactly contrary to the modern use of these words which was introduced by Bentley. The best Roman metrical scholars, as for instance Atilius Fortunatianus and Terentianus Maurus, on the other hand, according to the rhetorical accent of their language, called arsis the first, and thesis the second part of the metre, whether weak or strong, following, however, in this the metrical *ἐγχειρίδιον* of an unknown later Greek author.\* The only exception is Martianns Capella, the author of *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, which was considered, during the middle ages, as a standard authority for all the branches of human knowledge. In his translation of Aristides Quintilianus, he adopted from him the

\* Westphal, *Fragmente und Lehrsäule der Griechischen Rhythmiker*, p. 14, 101.

use of arsis and thesis, although it was in direct contradiction to his own definition: "Arsis est elevatio, thesis depositio vocis ac remissio." The introduction of Greek prosody into the Latin language was simply a matter of art; and its reign could last only so long as the great poets of the classic period kept down the influence of popular poetry. As soon as the unlimited sway of these grand traditions ceased, the original tendencies of the Roman language began to attack the Greek-Augustan orthodoxy; and this struggle, which lasted for many centuries, ended in the complete overthrow of the ancient prosody. It would lead too far to follow the traces of this process through its different phases; it is enough to say that, at the beginning of the middle ages, the rhetorical as against the metrical accent had more than reconquered its original rights in Latin poetry. In the finest religious songs of mediæval monkish poetry, like "Dies iræ, dies illa" or "Stabat mater dolorosa," the verses are measured entirely according to the modern principle of rhetorical accent. Even where the mediæval poets tried to keep up the appearance of ancient versification, they could not abstain from introducing the powerful elements of rising mediæval art. The best example of this fact is the favourite metre of monkish scholars, the leonine hexameter. The examples of this metre—such as the following two lines from the poem "De contemptu mundi," of the eleventh century,

"Cumque laborum | cumque dolorum | sit  
sitabundus,  
Nos irritans | nos invitans | ad mala mundus—"

utterly neglect the fundamental rules of ancient poetry. The same might be said, even in a higher degree, of Godfrid of Viterbo. He goes so far as to join two leonine hexameters and one pentameter in a stanza; for example:

"Imperii sidus | plaudunt tibi mensis et idus,  
Metra tibi fidus | regalia dat Goteфридus  
Quæ tibi sæpe legas | ut bene regna regas."

The principle of dividing the stanza into three parts, which is the basis of Italian and German strophes, can be easily recognised here; and the mediæval poet might have written his sham hexameters much more properly in this way:—

Pedes	{ Imperii sidus Plaudunt tibi mensis et idus. Metra tibi fidus Regalia dat Goteфридus.
Cauda	{ Quæ tibi sæpe legas Ut bene regna regas.

One of the most striking features of this rising poetry is the rhyme—an element which is quite independent of the metrical principle, and founded entirely on the sound and rhetorical accent of the words; and this rhyme is not used only as an occasional effect, in different places of the verse, but defined by the strictest rule of art. It has been a favourite subject of investigation for literary scholars, who first used the rhyme. Monkish mediæval poets and Provençal troubadours have found enthusiastic defenders of their claims to this great invention. It appears now that the question itself was a mistake. Nobody invented the rhyme; it has existed as long as poetry itself. Horace and Homer knew it as well as Byron and Goethe: but the rhythmical principle prevailed too much in the Latin and Greek languages to allow the rhyme, as a rhetorical element, to attain that influence which it gained by a natural process when verses began to be measured according to the modern principle of rhetorical accent. Wilhelm Grimm, in his monograph *Zur Geschichte des Reims* has collected with great care many instances of rhyme in the classic Roman period. The rule is, as Grimm shows, that the chief cæsura in the third foot of the hexameter rhymes with the end of the verse; but also in other places the rhyming words may be found. Grimm however decidedly goes too far when he sees an intentional rhyme in all these cases. The Latin language, by its long final syllables in declensions and conjugations, possessed an immense quantity of rhyming material; moreover each adjective had to agree with its noun, if it followed the same declension. It is therefore difficult to see how the poet could have avoided bringing into the same verse very often two or even more words ending in the same way. In a verse, for instance, like that quoted by Grimm from Virgil's *Bucolics*,

Vare tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella,

no Roman poet could have intended, nor any Roman ear have noticed, a rhyme between tristia and bella; and this was the more impossible since the different metrical value of both syllables influenced the sound of the two a's. Grimm seems not to have been able to free himself altogether from the propensity of biographers to overrate the importance of their heroes. However, in innumerable other cases rhyme decidedly was used of set purpose by the Roman poets, especially where the corresponding words stand either in the chief cæsura and the end of the same verse, or at the end of two verses following each other. Of both cases an example may be cited from Horace, whose

fine ear and ability to avail himself of all possible beauties of rhythm and sound make him of the highest importance for the history of rhyme.

"Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro," \* gives an excellent instance of the rhyme in the chief cæsura; while the lines

"Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunt  
Et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto," †

show even the existence of a sort of feminine rhyme in Latin poetry. Horace also shows how the Roman poets used the rhyme for onomatopoeic purposes. In the line,

"Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus," ‡

the quick jumping movement of the little animal could not have been better illustrated than by the rhyme of the two words immediately following each other—"Schlagreim," as the German meistersinger used to call it. Though there can be no doubt that the Latin poets of the classic period knew and occasionally used rhyme, it never was for them of the same vital importance that it is in modern poetry; and in fact it never could be, so long as the rhythmical accent kept its unlimited power; for this is decidedly unfavourable to rhyme. In all those cases, for instance, where the chief cæsura of the hexameter rhymes with the end of the same verse, which, as we have seen, was the usual way, the two corresponding syllables had different metrical accents. In the line,

"Illē grāvēm dūrō tērrām quī vērtit ārātrō,"

the *o* of *duro* stands in the arsis, and therefore has quite a different sound from the *o* in *aratro*, which stands in the thesis. This becomes the more evident in those very rare cases where the rhyme in this position contains two syllables, or is, as it would now be called, feminine. In Horace there is only one instance of this; and indeed what could be the use of a rhyme which, if the verse were read according to rhythmical principles, would be scarcely audible?—

"Frātrēm mōerēnās rāptō dē frātrē dōlēs-  
tis." §

But by this very fact the destructive influence of rhyme on the rhythmical principle becomes evident. The line, for instance, already quoted from Godfrid of Viterbo, would, if properly scanned, have sounded like this:

"Mētrā tibi fidūs' rēgālā dāt Gōtāfrīdūs."

But this way of destroying the feminine rhyme by the rhythmical accent certainly did not agree with the feeling of the mediæval poet; and so it may be assumed that he accentuated *fidus* exactly like *Gotefridus*, just as if it were a trochee, which also agreed very well with the rhetorical accent of the word. Reading the whole verse according to the same principle, the first part of it,

"Mētra tibi fidūs,"

became quite trochaic in character; and the idea of the hexameter was utterly destroyed. This destruction of the rhythmical principle in the mediæval Latin poetry was almost contemporary with the same phenomenon in German literature. Here also the dominion of purely rhythmical measurement and alliteration was victoriously contested by rhyme and rhetorical accent. In the beginning of the middle high German period, alliteration as a principle of art had disappeared; and by the great minnesingers of the twelfth and thirteenth century it was used only occasionally, and without any strict rule, just as rhyme was by the old Roman poets. It was chiefly preserved in old alliterative formulae, like "Haus und Hof," "Stock und Stein;" a charming example of which is found in the last stanza but one of the "Nibelunge Nôt":

"Mit leide was verendet des küniges hochgezit  
als ie diu ūbe leide z'aller jungeste git."

However, the rhythmical accent remained side by side with the rhetorical accent much longer in German; and traces of its influence may be found almost till the beginning of the modern high German epoch.

In the Romance languages the decline of the rhythmical principle was even more complete than in the mediæval Latin or in any of the Teutonic idioms. The feeling for rhythm in those languages was so entirely lost that they were not able even to keep the rhetorical accent strong enough to make it of any avail for metrical purposes. Although in most of the poems written in the Romance languages there is a certain resemblance to the iambic or trochaic fall, yet the scanning of a whole stanza according to these metres would in most cases prove impossible. In the French language, which has gone the farthest of all in neglecting the rhythmical difference between the syllables of the same word, there is scarcely a single line of the most finished poets which could be read metrically without altering even that little of rhetorical accent

\* Sat. I. i. 28. † Ars Poet. 99. ‡ Ars Poet. 139.  
§ Epist. I. xiv. 7.

which has been left. In the following verse, which is taken from Boileau's sixth Satire,

"Câr à peîne lês còqs còmmençant leûr  
râmâge,"

there are two striking examples of this fact; for the accent of the (if anything) iambic metre in the word *peine* is on a syllable which in prose is scarcely pronounced at all, and in *commençant* the last syllable has properly a fuller sound than the last but one. Where the modern French poets try to introduce something like rhythm, they generally do so less by means of the rhetorical accent in words of several syllables than by putting the more or less important parts of the sentence, like article and noun or personal pronoun and verb, correspondingly in thesis and arsis. In the main it may fairly be said that in Romance poetry metre is entirely founded on counting the syllables of the verse, and rhythm, properly speaking, has entirely disappeared, except so far as it shows its influence by joining together verses of different lengths in a stanza.

This leads to another consideration, which is of the highest importance in studying Provençal versification. Rhythm showed its influence on the ancient poetry, not only in the single verses, but also in the composition of several verses of a different size and fall into an organic whole—the strophe. The harmonious beauty and impulsive lyrical pathos of Pindar's odes excites the same admiration as the steady epical flow of Homer's hexameters; and to the inheritance of the strophe, and its development into the stanza, mediæval poems, and especially the canzos of the troubadours, owe their greatest charm. To the relics of ancient literature already mentioned was added the rhyme, defined by strict rules and made obligatory; and this new principle contributed not a little to give variety and harmonious beauty to the highest development of mediæval poetry, the stanza. In investigating Provençal versification, it will therefore be necessary to consider (1.) rhythm, as shown by the manifold measures of verse, (2.) rhyme, and (3.) how of these two elements combined was formed the stanza of the troubadours.

In no other language of Western Europe has the artistic development of poetical forms ever reached so high a degree of perfection, as that to which it was raised by the troubadours. The craftsmanship of the poets and singers, the refinement of the audiences in appreciating beauties of rhyme and metre which even the modern ear can scarcely appreciate, are the more astonishing since the period of their greatest poetry is

comparatively a very early one, and even their civilization in all other respects showed the barbarous characteristics of the early middle ages. Through various favourable circumstances, the langue d'oc succeeded, first of all Romance idioms, in forming itself into a distinct and regular language, with strictly defined grammatical rules. The great number of final syllables of the same sound, which existed in the comparatively well preserved forms of declensions and conjugations, offered an immense quantity of rhymes; and this easiness of rhyming, combined with the liveliness and sanguine temperament of these southern Frenchmen, naturally gave rise to an early poetry. The earlier stages of this poetry are quite unknown to us; and we have lost in these popular songs, which undoubtedly existed, the most valuable material for the history of Provençal poetry. As things stand, the first troubadour, Count Guillem ix. of Poitou (1071–1127), appears as a finished poet, in full possession of all the refinements of Provençal art, without any predecessor or previous document of lyrical poetry to account for his great accomplishments and experience. In fact, after him there is no important progress of metrical art; and, although several troubadours formed new stanzas and used difficult rhymes of their own, it may be said that, in the main, the first troubadour knew as much about the harmonious beauties of stanza and rhymes as the last—Guiraut Riquier, who died about 200 years after the birth of Guillem.

This great stability of the metrical rules led soon to a wish to fix them by a theoretical system; and, in consequence, there were several attempts to perform this difficult task. The most important and voluminous work of this kind must be our guide in the maze of Provençal subtlety; though in many cases it is more difficult to follow the mediæval scholar through his confused definitions than to abstract the rules from the poems themselves. The author of *Las Leys d'Amors*, as he calls his compilation, considered, according to the notions of his time, that it was a sign of the highest scholarship to accumulate the greatest possible amount of undigested knowledge, without taking the trouble of grouping his heterogeneous materials. He desires to show his familiarity with almost all the branches of human knowledge. Grammar and rhetoric, prosody and dialectic, trivium and quadrivium, had been objects of his study; and his work is undoubtedly one of the most valuable exponents of mediæval scholarship. In fact, it may be called the expression of all the literary ideas of his

time and country, the more so as it can scarcely be said to have been written by one author only. In the middle of the fourteenth century (1356 is the exact date of the work), the time of the great troubadours had long passed away; and their pure language was yielding more and more to the influences of southern patois and the northern langue d'oïl. To oppose the further decline of the language and poetry, several institutions were founded by patriotic and cultivated men, who, however, being more scholars than poets, could not revive the spirit of the troubadours. One of the most renowned of these societies, which were very much like modern academies, the "seven poets of Toulouse," commissioned their chancellor for the time being, Guillaume Molinier, to write, or rather to compile from the works of other scholars, and under their own supervision, a compendium of the rules of poetry. The result of this was *Las Leys d'Amors*; and, as it was founded entirely on the traditions of the troubadours, it is, although written after their time, of the greatest importance for the metrical analysis of their works. M. Gatién-Arnoult, keeper of the manuscripts of the Académie des Jeux Floraux at Toulouse, has published an accurate edition of the work from the manuscript belonging to that academy.

Another mediæval work, which it will often be necessary to refer to, is Dante's treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. His remarks on the measurement of verse and the construction of stanzas were, indeed, originally meant to apply to poems written in his own language. But the near connection between the poets of the lingua d'ist and those of the langue d'oc, and especially the great influence of the troubadours on Dante's own metrical system,\* makes it congruous to apply the rules given by the great Italian to the works of the Provençal poets.

In the fifth chapter of his treatise Dante defines the limits of the length of a verse in this way: "Nullum adhuc invenimus carmen in syllabicando endecasylabum transcendisse nec a trisyllabo descendisse."† By trisyllabus and endecasylabus he means lines, or carmina, as he calls them, which in reality may consist of even two and ten syllables. For in Italian poetry the feminine rhymes are so predominant in number that Dante does not think it worth while to take into

consideration the small minority of masculine rhymes, and counts the last short syllable of the feminine rhyme even in those few cases where in reality it does not exist. The *Leys d'Amors*, according to its national view, follows a totally different principle in measuring verse. It first states the difference between masculine and feminine rhyme, calling the former accen agut, and the latter accen greu. Then it counts the syllables of each verse really existing, neglecting, however, the last short syllable if the verse ends with a feminine rhyme. An example will best show the difference of the two systems. Of the two following lines, for instance,

"anz li mal trag mi son joi e plazer  
sol per aiso, car sai q'amors autreja,"

the first consists actually of ten syllables, the last of which has the metrical accent, so that the *Leys d'Amors* would call it a "bordo de x. syllabas con accen agut." The second one, though actually containing eleven syllables, it would call a "bordo de x. syllabas con accen greu." Dante on the other hand, would call both verses endecasyllabi, not taking any notice of the rime tronco in the first one. The *Leys d'Amors*, therefore, differs widely, and even more than might at first appear, from Dante, in saying that the shortest verse possible is that of four, and the longest possible that of twelve, syllables. For what Dante calls a trisyllabus may be, as we have seen, in reality a line of two syllables; and the "bordo de quatro syllabas" of the *Leys d'Amors* may consist actually of five syllables. Verses shorter than four syllables, according to the *Leys d'Amors*, are allowed to be only bordos empeutatz or biocat. By bordos empeutatz are meant the different parts of a verse divided by a middle rhyme, like

"Perdut ai—e cobrarai."

Bordos biocat are little verses which are mixed with others of greater length, and form, if rhyming, a sort of echo; for instance:

"El contrari far vol  
E col."

These limits, however, are too narrow, at least in one direction. In one of the poems of Guillem ix. of Poitiers is a line consisting of no less than fifteen syllables, and therefore by far exceeding the number allowed by Dante or the *Leys d'Amors*. This verse has, notwithstanding its great length, a certain rhythmical beauty about it which, considering the rarity of effects of that sort, makes it the more remarkable. In the first stanza of the poem it runs thus:

\* The stanza of the Sestina, for instance, Dante took from Arnaut Daniel, whom he calls—

† Fra tutti il primo Arnaldo Daniello  
Gran maestro d'amor.

† *Opere Minori*, ed. Fraticelli, ii. 212.

"q'una domna se's clamada de sos gardadors  
a mei."\*

The extreme in the other direction is reached by the troubadour Marcabrun, who has verses of one syllable only, like Ay, and Oc.

Between the two, verses of all lengths may be found now and then in the poetry of the troubadours; but nevertheless a preference for certain forms is visible. Dante's views on the subject, which, on the whole, may fairly be applied to Provençal verse, are contained in the following sentence: "Pentasyllabum [viz., carmen — line] et eptasyllabum et endecasyllabum in usu frequentiori habentur, et post hæc trisyllabum ante alia: quorum omnium endecasyllabum videtur esse superbius tam temporis occupatione quam capacitate sententiæ, constructionis et vocabulorum." This, rendered by Provençal terms, means that verses of four, six, and ten syllables (con accen agut), and next to them those of two syllables, are most in use, but that the finest of all is the decasyllable. It may be useful to illustrate this rule by a few examples. The bordo of two syllables, as already shown, is allowed only in bordos biocatx or empeutatx, and cannot form an independent foundation for a stanza. Of much greater importance is the verse of four syllables. The troubadours liked it for its graceful and easy fall, and used it with predilection. The beautiful stanza of Guillem de Cabestanh's, "Li douz cossire," the finest of his, perhaps of all, Provençal canzos, is founded on this verse. Here it occurs with feminine rhyme only, in connection with the verse of six syllables, e.g.:

"En sovinença  
tenc la car'el dous ris  
vestra valença  
et bel cors blance lis."

The *Leys d'Amors* quotes a poem, very likely made for the occasion, where the stanza consists entirely of this verse. Here it occurs in both forms, with accen agut and accen greu. Notwithstanding a certain monotony, it is impossible to deny the merits of harmonious beauty and lyrical pathos to a stanza like this:

"Que ferra de lansa  
mays no m'acora,  
que m' transfora  
lo cor el cors  
l'enveios mors  
e verenos  
coma poyzos  
dels vilas motz

\* In this, as in all other cases, the expression of the *Leys d'Amors* has been used in measuring verses, which, besides its being more appropriate for the langue d'oc, seems also the more logical.

quem fan jos votz  
per maestria."

The verse of six syllables has been used by Bernard de Ventadorn for the stanza of one of his best canzos, where it occurs alternately with accen greu and agut:

"De domnas m'es vejaire  
que gran falhimen fan  
per so quar no son gaire  
amat li fin aman."

However well suited in this case to the sentimental purposes of the troubadour, this verse is hardly fit to be used by itself in longer stanzas. There is a certain "entre deux" about it, which deprives it of the graceful ease of shorter metres, without giving as an equivalent the grandeur of, for instance, the decasyllable. Its effect is much finer where it occurs combined with other verses in a stanza, as, for instance, in another poem of Bernard de Ventadorn, where it is found in connection with the verse of eight syllables, both with accen greu:

"Tant ai mon cor plan de joia  
tot me desnatura;  
fiors blanca vermeh'e bloja  
m sembla la freidura."

This is at the same time one of the few examples where the octosyllable is used in lyrical Provençal poetry. Dante, in consequence of its rarity, does not even mention it. But it is nevertheless of great importance, because it was the favourite metre of the romance. The two most important Provençal romances, *Flamenca* and the *Roman de Giaufre*, are both written in it, as well as a novelette by Raimon Vidal, the author of a Provençal grammar. The first lines exhibit him, like many of the later troubadours, as a "laudator temporis acti":

"En aquel temps c'om era jais  
e per amor fis e verais  
cuendes e d'avinen escuelh."

The octosyllable with accen agut is more often found in lyrics than that with accen greu. In epic poetry both occur indifferently.

Of all the different verses the most important both in lyric and in epic poetry, in Italian, French, and Provençal, is the endecasyllabum, or the verse of ten syllables. The variety of different forms in which it occurs, and of purposes for which it is used, make a short account of its origin and development almost necessary. This variety is effected by the manifold ways in which the cæsura, one of the few relics of ancient metrical art, is used. The *Leys d'Amors* says: "E devetz saber que en aitals bordos la pauza es la pauza en la quarta syllaba; e ges no deu

hom transmutar lo compas del bordo, so es que la pausa sia de vi. syllabas el remanen de quatre, quar non ha bella cazensa." The pausa here spoken of is this *cæsura*, consisting in a stronger accent given to a certain syllable of the verse, and a little rest which the voice naturally takes afterwards. This rest or pause might also be filled up by a short unaccentuated syllable which was not counted. In this case the pausa was feminine, or with accen greu: it was otherwise with accen agut. As has been seen, the *Leys d'Amors* lays down that the *cæsura* must be after the fourth syllable; and this indeed is the rule in lyric poetry, from which that work takes all its examples. But the decasyllable occurs in much older documents in the langue d'oc and langue d'oïl, namely, in the old popular epos; and to this it is necessary to go back in order to give a full account of its development. The oldest poetic monument in the Provençal language is a fragment of what seems a long didactic poem, and is commonly called "*Boethius*," because those parts of it which are left treat an episode from the life of this author. Boethius, according to the poet, a Coms de Roma, and one of the wisest and most religious men of his age, has been thrown into prison, on a false pretence, by his enemy the Pagan emperor Teirix. In his misery, Philosophy herself, the heroine of his work *De Consolatione Philosophia*, comes to comfort him. She appears to him under the form of a beautiful maiden, the daughter of a mighty king. In the hem of her raiment are wrought the Greek characters  $\Pi$  and  $\Theta$  as symbols of "*la vita qui enter'es*" and "*la dreita lei*." In the middle of this description the manuscript breaks off, and leaves no indication of what was to come. The time of this interesting document is, as Diez has shown by linguistic reasons, not later than about 960; and its great age makes it the more valuable for metrical purposes. The metre is the same as in all French poems of the Charlemagne cyclus, the chansons de geste, viz., the decasyllabic; and it is used in very nearly the same way. In both languages it was the rule to give the fourth syllable of each verse the strongest metrical accent, and thus to effect after this syllable that sort of *cæsura* or "*pausa de bordo*" which has been explained above. "*Boethius*" has only verses con accen agut; and therefore to avoid monotony most of the pausas are with accen greu, so that generally each line has eleven syllables, e.g.:

"Nos jove òmne | quandiu que nos estam  
de gran follia | per folledat parllam."

The following lines afford examples of the masculine *cæsura*:

"E qui nos pais | que no murem de fam,  
cui tan amèt | Torquator Mallios."

In a few cases, also, the second part of the verse contained one syllable less than usual, chiefly after a feminine pausa, which, as it were, covered this want, for instance:

"donz fo Boécis | corps ag bo e pro."

In these cases it might almost be supposed that the *cæsura* had been left out by neglect. But this supposition is disproved by the fact that also after a pausa con accen agut the second half of the verse is shortened in the same manner, which can only be explained by the interval after the accent on the fourth syllable. An instance of this is the line:

"Qu'el era cóms | molt onraz e rix."

Here the verse consists of only nine syllables; and accordingly the metre in "*Boethius*" could vary between nine, ten, and eleven syllables. This variety was even greater in other poems, where the feminine rhyme occurs together with the feminine pausa so as to bring the length of the verse to twelve syllables, e.g.:

"En outra térra | irai penre linhatge."

The hiatus in the *cæsura*, as is evident from this and many other examples, was not considered a fault; and the first vowel was certainly pronounced. This seems to lead to the more modern French heroic verse, the Alexandrine, which was not used in the old chanson de geste. Also in epic poetry the position of the *cæsura* after the fourth syllable is almost universal. But there are some exceptions to this rule. In *Girart de Rossillon*, the most important popular epos of the langue d'oc, the pausa del bordo occurs always after the sixth syllable, e.g.:

"Vecvòs per miei l'estorn | lo vilh Draugo  
lo paire don Girart | l'oncle Folco,"

or with the feminine pausa and masculine end of the verse:

"Tan vos vei entrels vòstres | queus an cobrit,"

or with both feminine:

"E fan lor cavals córrre | per la varena."

The same form of the decasyllable is also found in some northern French epics, as in *Audigier*, a later parody on the old heroic chansons de geste. The equal flow of the decasyllable did not make it very apt for the formation of stanzas; and there was the less occasion for them in the older epic poetry, since the rhyme or assonance remained unchanged through a great number of verses. This explains the tirade monorime which is



the characteristic of the popular in contrast to the artificial epos. To interrupt the monotony of this metre, however, many of the popular jongleurs introduced after a certain number of decasyllables a shorter line, a *bordo biocatz* according to the expression of the *Leys d'Amors*, which at the same time by its rhyme formed a transition to the following tirade. An instance occurs in the first part of the chronicle of the Albigeois, while in the second the shorter line is without any rhyme—one reason more for believing that the two parts were not both written by the same author, Guillem de Tudela. Moreover, lyric poets used a sort of tirade monorime intermixed with shorter verses, as in the song by which Richard Cœur de Lion beguiled the hours of his imprisonment in Germany. The first stanza of this chanson may be quoted as an example of this form:

“Ja nus hons pris ne dirat sa raison  
adroitement s'ansi com dolans non  
mais par confort puet il faire chanson.  
moult ai d'amins, mais povre sont li don,  
honte en avront se por ma reancon  
suix ces deus yvers pris.”

The word *pris* returns at the end of each of the shorter verses, and forms a sort of burden. The same song also exists in Provençal; but the French seems the original version.

It would lead too far to follow the traces of the decasyllable through the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages. In Italy the position of the *cæsura* was not fixed by strict rules as in the langue d'oc and langue d'oïl; sometimes there are two accents and corresponding *pauzas* on the four and seventh or eighth syllables, and sometimes only one on the sixth. The *cæsura* in the decasyllable which is prominent in the lyric poetry of the langue d'oc, in the canzos and sirventes of the troubadours, is different from that in the tirade monorime of the popular epos. It has been seen that here in case of a *pauza con accen greu* the first part of the verse, and therefore the whole verse, became one syllable too long. The stricter metrical rules of lyric poetry were inconsistent with such liberties. Hence, if the lyrical *cæsura* is masculine the chief accent is on the fourth syllable: if it is feminine the chief metrical accent goes back to the third syllable, and the fourth, which in epic poetry is always strongly accentuated, becomes weak. The masculine lyrical *cæsura*, which shows no difference from the epical, is found, for instance, in the beginning of *Bertrand de Born's* sirventes:

“Pos als barós | enoja e lor peza  
d'aquesta pátz | qu'an feita li dui rei;”

while the lyrical *pauza con accen greu* occurs in the third stanza of the same poem:

“Cum aqüesta | ni outra c'om li grei.”

The epical *cæsura* in its feminine form is found very seldom in the poetry of the troubadours. Two of the rare instances occur in a canzo of Guillem de Cabestanh; and there it is the more remarkable because it is intermixed with the lyrical *pauza*. The two verses are:

“Don mi remembra | douza terra el pais,”  
and

“En outra térra | irai penre lenhatge.”

In both cases the epical *pauza* might be got rid of by a slight alteration, which, however, is not confirmed by the authority of any manuscript. In the first case, *membra* might easily be written instead of *remembra*, by which means the epical *cæsura* would become lyrical; and in the second case, the *a* of *terra* might be apostrophized, though the *pauza* would then altogether disappear. In the last stanza of this same poem, as preserved in several manuscripts, is the only example in lyrical poetry of the second hemistich being shortened after the feminine *pauza*, which, as has been seen above, occurs several times in “*Boethius*.” The line is this:

“Q'ieu non vólgra | qe fos ma cusina.”

But the difficulty is not serious; for this and other reasons, metrical and philological, prove that the stanza is a spurious addition of a later ignorant scribe. This instance shows how important a knowledge of metrical rules is for the critical editing of a Provençal author.

The immense number of rhyming words in the Provençal language has been already mentioned. Of the fifty-four forms of the verb of the first conjugation, only nine have the accent on the root, while forty-five have it on one of the final syllables; hence all the verbs of this conjugation rhyme with each other in these forms. Again, all the derivative syllables of the adjectives and nouns, like *at-ada*, *ut-uda*, or *atge*, *ansa*, *ensa*, and many others, have the accent on these syllables, and offer great choice of material to the poet in search of rhymes. Consequently, in all Provençal poetry, the rhyme plays a chief part, and metrical scholars considered it their greatest task to introduce the student into the minutest subtleties of its beauty. Dante intended to speak of rhyme “*secundum se*” in one of the later parts of his book, which he never wrote; but in the existing parts he speaks of it only

in connection with the stanza. Following, however, the *Leys d'Amors*, it will now be necessary to consider first of all the essence of rhyme in itself, before proceeding to its influence on the combination of verses in a stanza, and of stanzas in a poem.

The *Leys d'Amors* uses the word rim or rima in a perfectly different sense from the modern rhyme. Its definition is this: "Rims es certz nombres de syllabas, ajustat a lui autre bordo per pario d'aquela meteysha acordansa e paritat de syllabas o de diversas am bela cazensa." Rim exists therefore not only if the acordansa is the same, which is very nearly what is now called rhyme, but also though the ends of the two verses concerned sound quite differently, provided that a certain harmony or cazensa is effected simply by their length or metrical accents. This must be borne in mind in considering the division of rims into four classes as given by the *Leys d'Amors*, viz., rims estramps, accordans, ordinal, and dictional. The division is not very logical; for the last divisions have nothing to do with the essence of rhyme. Rim estramp in its exact meaning is nothing but the absence of rhyme, or even assonance, between two verses. In the poetry of the troubadours there is scarcely a line which has not its corresponding rhyme, either in its own or in another stanza, so that the rims estramps are of no importance for the present purpose. Everything that is now called rhyme and was used by the troubadours is contained under the second head, rims accordans. This acordansa may be sonan, consonan, or leonisme; and the rims sonans and consonans must be again subdivided into bords (French, bâlard) and lejals. Rim sonan bord is what is now called assonance: it is the most striking feature of Spanish poetry. The *Leys d'Amors* gives examples of it con accen agut, as

"Encarcerat tenetz mon cor amors,  
E delivrar nol pot altra mas vos;"

and con accen greu, as

"La mors queiu port a mi dans es tan granda,  
Quieu lo thezaur del realme de Fransa," etc.

In the poems of the troubadours this assonance was not allowed. Accordingly, the *Leys d'Amors* does not approve it, though admitting that it was daily used in the mandelas, a sort of popular chanson. "For these," says the author, with all the scholar's contempt for popular poetry, "I do not care, because I do not see nor can I find a known author for them." Rim sonan lejál, which exists only with accen agut, is what is now called simple masculine rhyme; that is to say, the last syllable in the rhyming lines

must contain the same vowel with identical consonants (if any) after, but different ones before, it. The examples of this are of course innumerable. The second kind of rims accordans is called consonan. This also is subdivided into bord and lejál. The rim consonan bord is always con accen greu, so that only the second and unaccentuated syllable agrees with the corresponding one in the other verse, e.g.:

"Sino de liei que del sieu foc m'abrandá  
Quar ela sab la maniera quos tuda."

The modern ear would not at all discern this kind of rhyme; and the troubadours also never used it. Perhaps the author of the *Leys d'Amors* introduced it only in order to give completeness to his system. Rim consonan lejál has only accen agut, and is found where the last and accentuated syllable in both verses is exactly the same in spelling, but different in meaning. Examples of this class are numerous in the poetry of the troubadours: the following is from a canzo of Serveri de Gironne:

"E costumatz tanh que sia tan gen (adj.  
gentilis)  
Que governar se pueca tota gen" (noun  
gentem).

The same thing is also found in mediæval and modern German poetry, where it is called "männlicher ruhrender Reim." The chief characteristic of an acordansa consonan is the identity of vowels and consonants in the last syllable, but in the last syllable only. On the other hand, in the third division of acordansa, the leonisme, also the last syllable but one, must to a certain extent agree in the corresponding verses. The leonismetat is again subdivided into rims leonismes simples, and parfaits. In the former the consonants before the vowel in the last syllable but one must differ: in the latter they must be identical. Rim leonisme simple con accen greu is what is now called simple feminine rhyme, as in

"tot altra dona d'esser bella  
lai on es cesta damaisella."

Con accen agut, it is again one of those cases like the rim consonan bord, where the rhyme is extended to an unaccentuated syllable before the rhyming syllables. The *Leys d'Amors* gives the following example:

"Tan prozemens feric Gástós  
De lansa massas e bástós."

The following is rim leonisme parfait con accen greu:

"l'autrui beutat tein es effassa.  
li viva colors de sa fassa;"

con accen agut :

" Al arma dona sanètât  
Qui fug a tota vanètât."

The former would be called in German, " weiblicher rührender Reim ;" and of the latter the same may be said as of the leonisme simple con accen agut. In this case the rhyme is extended backwards as far as the last syllable but two ; sometimes even the last four or five syllables are included in the accordansa leonisme. The *Leys d'Amors* gives an instance of what it calls rim may parfait leonisme, in which the last four, perhaps five, syllables are intended to rhyme in two different verses :

" So don le cors pren noyridura  
Lo fai tornar en poyridura."

In case the leonismetat is effected by two independent words, these words of course must always differ in their meaning. It may also be mentioned that rims consonans as well as leonismes are called contrafaitz, if the syllables or letters forming the rhyme are divided by the end of a word ; as, for instance :

" a celz que la vezo ni l'auzon  
quan las donas sa beutat lauzon."

Such is the division which the *Leys d'Amors* makes of rhymes in general. The system shows a certain scholastic consistency ; but the real essence and origin of rhyme are entirely overlooked, or even mistaken. Under the same head come entirely different things, as, for instance, assonance and masculine rhyme (rim sonan) ; while, on the other hand, things which decidedly belong together are separated. So the simple rhyme is called rim lejal sonan, while the simple feminine rhyme, which decidedly is derived from it, is put together with the rim leonisme, from which it differs essentially. So also with the rim consonan lejal and leonisme parfait con accen greu. In the succeeding chapters the work gives a complete list of the different artificial rhymes. They are too numerous to be discussed here ; besides which, many of them are only subtleties of the author, and are scarcely used by the better troubadours. It is only necessary to consider those which are of real importance in studying the relics of Provençal poetry. The order also in which the different kinds are enumerated need not be followed : it is sometimes arbitrary, and sometimes utterly confused.

After expounding what rhyme is, the *Leys d'Amors* very properly proceeds to ask where rhyme is to be found. All the possible combinations in this respect are brought under

a new head, viz., rims ordinals. This expression is exceedingly ill chosen ; for the words rims ordinals suggest some new kind of rhyme essentially different from rims consonans or sonans, while in reality they indicate only the different positions which these same rhymes can have in verse or stanza. The author avoids giving a definition of rims ordinals, but begins at once to explain how " aytals ordes se fai."

Rhyme then, it is explained, can take place first between the different parts of one and the same line among each other, or with the end of this line. The middle rhyme is called, in correspondence with the bordos empentatz, rim empentat or multiplicatiu. An example of the former mode occurs in one of Peire Cardinal's sirventes :

" Car los—garzos—vezon en patz sezer."

In the following line both kinds are combined, the rhyme being the same in the middle parts of the verse and in the end of it :

" Mon port—conort—e mon cofort."

In some cases, as for instance between the cæsura of the decasyllable and its end, the middle rhyme was strictly prohibited. But this middle rhyme is also found very often between the same parts of different verses, as for instance in the above-mentioned sirventes of Peire Cardinal :

" que fan—l'efan—d'aquela gent engleza  
qu'avan—no van—guerrejar ab Frances  
mal an—talan—de la terr' engolmeza  
tiran—iran—conquistar Gastines."

To display his art, the poet made each pair of rhymes in the same line a rim consonan lejal. This sort of rhyme was sometimes carried to such an extent that each syllable of a whole verse agreed with the corresponding syllable of another ; this was called a rim serpenti. Of such exaggeration there is probably no instance in the good troubadours ; the *Leys d'Amors* gives the following :

" Bos—dieus—clarratz\*—cara  
Los—mieus—gardatz—ara."

Next come the rhymes between the ends of the verses of one and the same stanza. The simplest form possible in this case was that all the verses of a stanza should have but one rhyme, which suggests the tirade monarime in the popular epics. The *Leys d'Amors* calls this rim continuat. Although very simple, this rhyme was used by the most finished troubadours, such as Marcabrun and Aimeric de Peguilhan. Sordello bewailed in it the

\* Clarratz is evidently a mistake ; very likely it should be read clartatz—clarté.

death of his friend Blacatz; and there, combined with the long verse of twelve syllables, it has an excellent effect from its dreary monotonous sound.

When there are two or more rhymes in a stanza, the order of them is varied in many different ways. The most simple mode is what the *Leys d'Amors* calls rims encadenatz; and next come the rims crozatz. Rims encadenatz are crossed rhymes, viz., *a b : a b*. This position of the rhymes, continued through a whole stanza, is not often to be found in the better, or at least more artistic, troubadours. Johan de Pena, one of the less celebrated, has used it in a stanza of charming simplicity:

"Un guerrier per alegrar  
vuelh comensar, car m'agensa  
que non lo dey plus celar,  
trop l'auray tengut en pensa;  
e guerrearay d'amor  
endomens que ma guerrieira  
a trobat guerrejador  
que guerreja volontieira."

Rims crozatz are found, for instance, in the two quatrains of a sonnet.

These are the principal divisions of rhyme in its relations to a single stanza. But the troubadours used it also to keep up a certain connection between several, sometimes all, the different stanzas of a poem, and in this respect it must now be considered.

A change of rhyme from strophe to strophe—rims singulars—is rare, and, as a rule, found only where the stanza is very long and most artificially formed. There is an example of this in Peire Cardinal, in a song in which each stanza consists of no less than fifteen verses. Gauselm Faidit and the Monk of Montaudon have used the rims singulars also with shorter and simpler stanzas. The *Leys d'Amors* gives no rule about their use, but confirms indirectly what has here been said, giving as an example a very long and complicated stanza. Directly opposed to the rims singulars are the rims or coblas unisonans, where all the stanzas of a poem have the same rhyme in the corresponding verses. Sometimes poems of this kind are very long, so that the poet had to find a great number of like-sounding words, which, however, in the langue d'oc, was not so difficult as it would have been in one of the Teutonic languages. It would lead too far from the immediate subject to inquire how, nevertheless, some of the German minnesingers, like Count Rudolf of Neuenburg and Friedrich von Hausen, who were under the influence of the troubadours, tried to compete with them in the richness of their rhymes and the variety of their stanzas. Of

Friedrich von Hausen a song remains, which is an exact imitation, in one stanza even a translation, of one of Folquet de Marseille's canzos, which the German poet probably learned during the crusade of 1190, in which he accompanied the Emperor Barbarossa. Sometimes the stanzas of a poem are grouped together in twos, threes, or fours, by means of equal rhymes. These cases are called by the *Leys d'Amors* coblas, doblas, triblas, etc. The better to display their skill, the greatest artists among the troubadours liked to choose for their rhymes rare and unusual words, whose meaning, at the same time, was not easy to make out. The greatest master in these "rims cars," and in the "motz obscurs," was Arnaut Daniel, whom Dante, very likely for that reason, calls the first of all troubadours. But also Peire d'Alvernhe, one of the vainest troubadours, says of his poems, as a proof of their high art, "qu'apenas nulhs hom las enten." To give an idea of this obscurity, which, however did not increase by any means the beauty of a canzo, a stanza will suffice from one of Arnaut Daniel's poems, which was entirely written in rims cars:

"En breu brizarel temps braus  
el bizel brunel e brancs  
qui s'entresenhon trastug  
desobre claus rams de folha  
car no chant' auzels ni piula  
m'ensenh amors, que fassa donc  
tal chan qui n'er segons ni tertz  
ans prims d'afrancar cor agre."

It is remarkable that in the first lines the troubadour has used alliteration to increase the strange sound of his words. The lines serve at the same time as an example of another way of connecting stanzas with each other. All the different verses are without a rhyme in their own stanza, but find it in the corresponding verse of another, or of all the other stanzas. A rhyme of this kind is called by the *Leys d'Amors* rim espar, while Dante uses the expression clavis. When the clavis runs through all the verses of each stanza, the case is described as rimas dissolutas. Arnaut Daniel seems to have been particularly fond of this form; for the sestina also, which he invented, and which Dante praised and imitated, is founded on the same principle. Other poets preferred generally to introduce only one clavis or two, interrupting in this way, sometimes with great effect, the equal flow of the rhymes. A modification of the rims espars is the rims capcaudatz. This takes place if the clavis is the last verse of the first stanza, and is introduced into the following, not in its corresponding place, but as its first

rhyme. Of the two stanzas, for instance, quoted by the *Leys d'Amors*, the former ends with the line, "Li fizel de mortal pena," and the first line of the latter therefore shows the same rhyme in "verges eratz e vergena," and continues it exactly in the same way as the first stanza. The various combinations of stanzas by means of the rhyme are one of the most interesting parts of Provençal versification, and show a great refinement of taste in the mediæval poets. To give an idea of the skill manifested in this way, it may be useful to give a short sketch of a canzo which, in this as in all other respects, may be considered as the standard piece of all Provençal poetry. This is Guillem de Cabestanh's celebrated canzo, "Li dous cossire," by which, if the old stories may be believed, the poet lost his life, while making his name immortal. The poem consists of six stanzas, which are divided by means of corresponding rhymes into three groups of coblas doblas. But these three groups are again connected with each other; for the third stanza takes up the last feminine rhyme of the second, and uses it as first rhyme, introducing, however, besides this, new rhymes. The fifth stanza stands in exactly the same relation to the fourth. The four last lines of the second stanza show the following rhyming words—parvensa, temensa; fei, vei. The first rhyme of the third stanza must be feminine; and therefore the penultimate couple of rhymes is used, with some irregularity, as a sort of rims capcaudatz, and the beginning is

"En sovინensa  
tenc la car'el dous ris  
vostra valensa  
el bel cors blanc e lis," etc.

The highest principle of art, variety in unity, seems to be here attained. In many cases this principle of connecting the different stanzas led to the most childish and trifling artificialities, as, for instance, in what the *Leys d'Amors* calls rims retrogradatz, where the second stanza begins with the last rhyme of the first, and reproduces all its rhymes in the opposite order.

This becomes yet more absurd if applied, as it sometimes is, to a single stanza or even a single verse. In this case the stanza or verse has to be so constructed that, without altering their meaning, the lines or words can change their places. The following lines, for instance,

"Vengutz es le senhor d'amon  
Salutz grans portar en lo mon,"

could just as well be read the last first; or

even the words could change their position, in this way:

"Le senhor d'amon es vengutz  
portar en lo mon grans salutz."

The *Leys d'Amors* adds, that he who likes to "despendre son temps" in such things, may even find words like papa, tafata, in which the different syllables can be changed ad libitum. The fourth and last class of rhymes, as given by the *Leys d'Amors*, the rims dictionals, contains, for the greater part, unimportant trifles of this kind. Rim dictional itself means the combination of two words in the rhyming syllables, which can be derived from each other, by either taking away or adding a syllable. Thus, for instance, the feminine and masculine forms of the adjective and past participle, at-ada, ut-uda, stand in the relation of rims dictionals. An example of another kind of derivation is given in the following lines:

"Mayres de Dieu prega to filh humil  
quem denhe dar, sil platz humilitat  
per miels tener lo dreg sendier util  
que menals bos al port d'utilitat."

This is an arbitrary invention, without any intrinsic value for the uses of genuine poetry. But some of the subdivisions given show how much the decline of the poetry of the troubadours was the consequence of their caring too much for the formal side of their art. Some of them seem to have particularly delighted in introducing rims leonismes par-faitz, or, as they are also called, rims equivoca, which, besides being different in the meaning of the words, showed also a slight difference in sound of the vowels. In the following lines, for instance,

"Sias tempratz e gent apres  
En tas paraulas et apres,"

the first apres, being the participle of apprendre, has its e a little more open than the second apres—afterwards. It was considered a great proof of poetical finish to introduce the different vowels with the same consonants into a stanza. Gavaudan le Vieux seems to have written the following verses entirely for this purpose:

"Mos sens es clars  
als bos entendedors  
trop es obscurs  
A selh que no sap gaire  
per que cujars  
lui on no val valors  
non es sabers  
ni sens a mo vejaire."

In a poem which is attributed by different manuscripts to Bernard de Ventadorn and

Daude de Pradas, the poet has introduced all the five vowels in this way. This seems not to have been known to the author of the *Leys d'Amors*: he would probably otherwise have mentioned a practice so decidedly to his liking.

We now come to the third part of the subject—the formation of the stanza. A consideration of metre and rhyme has shown the skill of the troubadours, but also the danger into which this curious finish led them, chiefly as far as rhyme is concerned, viz., to forget the real poetical value of their work in the outer beauty of form. This danger was not so imminent in forming the stanza, because its rules were too well founded on the national sense of harmony, and too difficult to comply with, to give occasion to easy trifling. In the stanza, accordingly, we have to consider the highest development of art as reached by the troubadours. It is therefore surprising that the *Leys d'Amors* says nothing of any importance about the composition of it. The author of this work had evidently only a very vague idea of the real essence of the stanza. The only guide, therefore, in any investigation must be Dante's work, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in which he gives the full and logical account of his own deep knowledge and experience. But many of his expressions will be obscure until the musical system of the middle ages is better understood. The rules of musical rhythm are indeed inseparably connected with all forms of the lyrical poetry of those times. But the way may be partially cleared, and the words of the great Italian poet illustrated by examples from the works of the best troubadours.

The definition which the *Leys d'Amors* gives of a stanza, or, as it calls it, *cobla*, is very unsatisfactory, or rather is no definition at all. It is expressed in a long poem of the author's own, the meaning of which is simply that a *cobla* may consist at least of five, and at most of sixteen verses, not including the little lines known under the name *bordos biocatz*. Nothing more, in fact, is said on this important subject. Of a division of stanzas according to their metrical and musical composition the author seemingly knows nothing. Dante, on the other hand, begins his long and careful investigation by stating first that "*omnis stantia ad quandam odam recipiendam armonizata est.*" The word "*odam*" is here decidedly to be understood in a double sense—a musical and a metrical; in the former it means simply melody, in the latter the metrical scheme of the stanza. But this *oda* is very different in different cases: "*quia quædam [stantiæ] sunt sub una oda*

*continua, usque ad ultimum progressive, hoc est sine iteratione modulationis cujusquam et sine dieresi; \* et dieresim dicimus deductionem vergentem de una oda in aliam; hanc voltam vocamus cum vulgus alloquimur.*" In these cases, therefore, the flow of melody or verse must not be interrupted by a decided rest or pause, but must go on in an equal strain to the end of the stanza. This kind of stanza, Dante continues, was used chiefly by the great Arnaut Daniel, in allusion to the *sestina* invented by this troubadour, and imitated by Dante himself. A stanza of one of these *sestine* will at once make the meaning of Dante's words clear:

"Lo ferm voler qu'el cor m'intra  
nom pot ges becs escoissendre ni ongla  
de lauzengier sitot de maldir s'arma;  
e per no l'aus batr' ab ram ni ab verga  
sivals a frau, lai on non aurai oncle  
jauzirai joi en vergier o dins cambra."

It would indeed be impossible to find a point from which to divide this stanza on any principle. There are no groups of verses marked by rhyme, because there is no rhyme at all; there is no change between *accen agut* and *accen greu*; there is not even a strong grammatical stop. Accordingly, it may be concluded that the musical accompaniment of the words was not interrupted by any strong harmonious modulation which made a rest necessary. Exactly the same may be said of Dante's own *canzo*,

"Al poco giorno, ed al gran cerchio d'ombra," †

which was composed on the same principle. In many other cases also where there are rhymes a division of the stanza after Dante's system is utterly impossible, because the different parts allow no forming into groups by the returning of the same order of rhymes. For instance, the following stanza of Janfre Rudel was certainly sung to a continued *oda* without any interruption:

"Quan lo rius de la fontana  
s'esclarzia, si cum far sol  
e per la flors aigentina  
el rossignoletz el ram  
volf e refraing et aplanà  
son dous chantar et afina  
dreitz es queu lo meu refranha."

These stanzas, however, "sub una oda continua," are not the rule. "*Quædam vero sunt,*" Dante continues, "*dieresim patientes, et dieresis esse non potest secundum*

\* Dièresis probably, where it occurs in this treatise, is always a misreading for *diæsis*, which is the real expression for what Dante means.

† *Canzoniere*, ed Giuliani, p. 227.

quod eam appellamus nisi reiteratio unius odæ fiat vel ante dieresim vel post vel utrimque." The criterion, therefore, of the possibility of a dieresis or volta is, first of all, that in the poem there should be certain groups which are defined musically by the same melody repeated, and metrically by the same rhymes and verses of the same length recurring in the same order. The volta can, as has been seen, be either before or after such a group, or between two different groups if both parts of a stanza are divided in this way. Dante gives the expressions for all possible combinations in the following words: "Si ante dieresim repetitio fiat, stantiam dicimus habere pedes, et duos habere decet, licet quandoque tres fiant, rarissime tamen. Si repetitio fiat post dieresim tunc dicimus stantiam habere versus, si ante non fiat repetitio stantiam dicimus habere frontem, si post non fiat dicimus habere syrma sive caudam." These few words contain in a nutshell the whole theory of Italian, and, with some slight changes, also of Provençal, stanzas. It remains to enter into the special cases referred to by this rule. The first alternative Dante mentions is that of a division effected by the repetition of certain melodic and rhythmic phrases in the first part of a stanza. After these groups, which in this case are called *pedes*, a rest or volta becomes necessary; and after this a fresh melody begins, which lasts to the end of the stanza, and is then called a *cauda*.\* The following is one of the very numerous examples of a stanza consisting of two *pedes* and a *cauda*:

- |       |    |  |
|-------|----|--|
| Pedes | 1. | { Ai deus, ar sembles ironda,<br>que voles per l'aire,<br>qu'eu vengues de noit prionda<br>lai al seu repaire! |
|       | 2. | { bona domna jauzionda<br>mortz es vostr' amaire,<br>paor ai quel cors mi fonda<br>s'aissom dura gaire.        |
| Cauda |    | { domna, vas vostr' amor<br>jonh mas mas et ador<br>bel cors ab fresca color,<br>gran mal me fatz traire.      |

In this case the *cauda* is as long as one *pes*, consisting of four verses. Very seldom, says Dante, are there more than two *pedes* to a *cauda*. This however applies only to the Italian literature of his time. In Provençal poetry there are many cases of three *pedes* in a stanza; and even the favourite form of the Italian poets of the cinquecento,

the ottava rima, can only be considered as consisting of three *pedes* and a *cauda*. Moreover the most important form of lyric Italian poetry, the *sonnet*, consists of *pedes* and *cauda*. The two quatrains show the required *repetitio unius odæ*, and the two *terzines* are the *cauda*. If the repetition of a melodic and metrical phrase takes place after the volta, and only there, the two groups in the second part of the stanza are called *versus*, while the first undivided part goes under the name of *frons*; the number of *versus* scarcely ever exceeds two. This form is also very common in the Provençal poetry. In the following stanza of Guillem ix. of Poitiers, the first three lines form the *frons*, and the last four are divided into two *versus* of two lines each:

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Frons     | { Eu conosc ben cel qui bem di<br>e cel quim vol mal atressi,<br>e conosc ben celui quem ri, |
| Versus 1. | { e sil pro s'azautan de mi<br>conosc assaz  |
| Versus 2. | { qu'atressi dei voler lor fi<br>e lor solaz.  |

These two kinds of division in a stanza, viz., *pedes* and *cauda*, or *frons* and *versus*, Dante seems to consider as the most important. In both cases the stanza is actually divided into three parts; and this, indeed, was the fundamental principle of the Italian lyrical stanza, which in this respect, in conformity with the middle high German strophe, differs from the langue d'oc. Into the old Italian poetry this was perhaps introduced from the leonine hexameter, which, as has been stated already, sometimes took this form. In the Teutonic languages it seems much older; and indeed it is already to be found in the old Icelandic *ljóðahátt*, where the two first lines are of equal length and belong to one another, while the third one, longer than each, stands by itself. In the German popular epos this principle is not visible; but it appears again unmistakably in the mediæval *minnelied*. The usual form in this is *pedes* and *cauda*, which here are called *Stollen* and *Abgesang*. It is not possible here to consider all the interesting phenomena which arise from the conflict of this principle with the Provençal, in those cases where the German *minnesänger* tried to imitate the stanzas of the troubadours. The prevalent principle in the Provençal poetry seems to have been the division of a stanza into two corresponding parts; and, accordingly, to the above-mentioned combinations two more of great importance must be added. The first of these, which Dante also is acquainted with, is the divi-

\* The meaning of the word *coda* in modern music is not exactly the same as the one here given by Dante, but might well be derived from it.

sion of a stanza into pedes and versus. In this case there are actually four parts of a stanza; but each couple of these hangs so closely together that it can very well be brought under the Provençal principle of a division into two halves—the more properly, as there certainly were only two different melodies, each of them being twice repeated. The instances of this are again very numerous. In the following stanza of Peire d'Alvernhe's, the pedes and versus consist of two lines each:

- Pes 1. { Rossinhol, en son repaire  
m'iras ma domna vezer,
- Pes 2. { e digas lil meu affaire  
et ill diguat del seu ver,
- Versus 1. { quem man sai—com lestei;  
mas de mill sovenha,
- Versus 2. { qui ges lai—per nuill plai  
ab ri not retenha.

The fourth and last combination occurs when the stanza consists of a frons and cauda, that is to say, when the two parts are undivided in themselves, but a new melodic and metrical period begins after a certain number of verses. This shows the Provençal principle of a division into two parts better than any of the others; but Dante, from his point of view, is also right in not approving, or rather not acknowledging, it as a division at all, because there is no *repetitio unius odæ*. One out of many examples of this phenomenon is a stanza of Bertrand de Born's, where the frons and cauda consist of three lines each:

- Frons { Autr' escondig vos farai plus sobrier  
e no mi posec orar plus d'encombrier:  
seu anc failli vas vos neis del pensar,
- Cauda { quant serem sol en chambr'o dins ver-  
gier,  
faillam poder devez mon compaignier  
de tal guiza que nom posec' ajudar.

The interruption of the first and beginning of the second musical and metrical phrase, as marked by the *diesis* or *volta*, was generally still more strengthened by the end of the grammatical sentence. In most of the many stanzas already quoted, the *volta* contains either a full stop or a semicolon, or at least a comma. The sentence is seldom carried on through the *volta*, though even the best troubadours were not always careful in following this rule.

By these various methods, then, the stanza was strictly divided into different parts. But, on the other hand, the feeling of the troubadours for unity and harmony was too keen

not to make it desirable to bridge over somehow the gap made by the *volta*, and to keep up the connection between the two sides. This was done by means of the rhyme, which, as has been seen already, was also used for a similar purpose between the different stanzas of a poem. The process by which it was done is called by Dante *concatenatio*; and this concatenatio might be effected in two different ways. The first and simpler consists in the cauda or versus adopting one or several rhymes of the frons or pedes. This is used in most cases; and almost all the stanzas already quoted may serve as examples for it. So in Bertrand de Born's poem the cauda repeats both the rhymes of the frons. In Guillem's ix. stanza the versus take up the only rhyme of the frons, adding a new one of their own. This concatenatio, however, was not at all considered necessary; and Peire d'Alvernhe, for instance, one of the most finished troubadours, introduces into the versus of his stanza rhymes entirely different from those found in the pedes. Another kind of concatenatio is effected by adding, either before or after the *volta*, a line which contains the rhyme of the opposite part of the stanza. How the troubadours managed not to disturb the flow of their melody by this new and seemingly inharmonious element is difficult to say. Perhaps it was sung to a sort of recitativo or arioso of its own, which already was a prelude to the new melody of the second part. The meaning of this will be clearly shown by the following stanza by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras:

"Era pot hom canoïsser e proaer  
Que de bos faitz ren deus bon gazardo,  
qu'al pro marques n'a fait esmend'e do,  
quel fai son pretz sobrels melhars pojar,  
si quel crozat de Frans e de Campanha  
l'an quist a deu per lo melhor de totz,  
e per cobrar lo sepulcr'e la crotz  
on fon l'hesus, qu'el vol en sa companha  
l'onrat marques, et al deus dat poder  
de bos vassalhs e de terr'e d'aver  
e de ric cor per melhs far so quel tanha."

This stanza consists of a frons and two versus of three lines each. The four first lines are a whole in themselves; and after them the frons ought to be ended by the *volta*, as is indicated by the punctuation after *pojar*. But then the poet adds a fifth line, only in order to introduce the rhyme of the versus; and in this way he effects the concatenatio he wants. There was yet another way of bringing the two parts of the stanza into a connection which might in a certain sense also be called concatenatio, but which was seemingly unknown to Dante. The following stanza of Cercalmon's,



"Senhors e dompnas gerpira  
s'a lei plagues queu li servia,  
e quem diria m'en partis,  
fariam morir des era,  
qu'en autra non ai mon esper  
noit ni jorn ni matin ni ser,  
ni d'als mos cors no consira,"

consists evidently of a frons and a cauda, of three lines each. The fourth verse does not belong to either; and its rhyme is not to be found in the same stanza: therefore it is to be called a clavis. But nevertheless it is of use for connecting the frons and the cauda; for, considering it as a sort of centre, and going from it to the beginning and end of the stanza, it will be seen that the two parts exactly agree in the length of the verses, and even in their feminine rhyme.

In the eleventh chapter of his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* Dante speaks of the relations between the parts of a stanza so far as the number and length of the verses are concerned. He enumerates and explains no less than nine different cases. For the present purpose, however, these are scarcely of any importance; for the rules given by him cannot be traced in the poems of the troubadours. In this respect, the Provençal poets seem to have exercised great liberty, being protected against choosing bad proportions by their refined sense of harmony.

It still remains to mention a form of Provençal poetry, of which the essence cannot be explained nor the rules defined without applying Dante's statements to the canzos of the troubadours. This is the tornada, a sort of postlude to the stanza, in which the poem was dedicated to the lady-love or the protector of the troubadour, who was generally introduced under a senhal or nom de guerre, to keep the real name secret. So Peire Vidal always calls the beautiful Azalais "Vier-na," while the senhal "Bels Castiatz" designates his noble protector Sir Aimeric de Monrial. The *Leys d'Amors* says that, as a rule, there ought to be two tornadas, and in the first of them the senhal. This however is not confirmed by the majority of Provençal poems, where there is at least quite as often only one tornada. Also in another respect the *Leys d'Amors* is very inaccurate. It says that the tornada must follow in form the latter half of the stanza, if this consists of an equal number of lines, adding or leaving out one line where the number of the verses cannot be divided by two. But this applies only to those stanzas where no division is to be found. Where there is a diesis the rule is quite different, and can be learned only from Dante, who speaks of the tornada in the *Convito*, where he derives the word from tornar, because a part of the oda re-

turns in it. Accordingly the rule in the divided stanza is that the first tornada repeats the metrical form and rhyme of that part of the stanza—cauda or versus—which stands after the volta. Where there is a second tornada it generally agrees with the first, being, however, always the shorter of the two. All this, of course, the author of the *Leys d'Amors* could not know, because he knew nothing about the metrical and musical formation of the stanza; but it is of the highest importance for Provençal versification, and shows again the great value of Dante's works in that respect. The above-stated rule is confirmed by so many examples from the canzos of the troubadours that it is scarcely necessary to bring new evidence for it. It will be more useful to give some of the more important exceptions, which in this, as in other cases, "firmant regulam." If the last stanza of a poem ends with two versus, the tornada sometimes repeats only one of them. Sometimes also part of the cauda is not repeated. In other cases the tornada repeats exactly the measures of the cauda, but differs slightly from its rhymes. In a sirventes of Marti de Mons, which was written in the fifteenth century, but by which the poet at that time (1436) gained the "englantina" in the competition of the Academy of Toulouse, the cauda of the last stanza consists of the following four verses:

"doranavant no cal plus dart ny lansa  
depus que dieus s'es mes de nostra part;  
qu'a tout l'erguelh al verenos leupart  
que ta lonc temptz nos ha donat damp-  
natge."

The first of these lines is put by way of concatenatio; and therefore its rhyme agrees with the first part of the poem. In the tornada this reason of course did not exist; and therefore the poet very cleverly rhymes the first line with the last line of the tornada, instead of making it like the first verse of the cauda. The tornada therefore is this:

"Confort d'amors, fons he cap de paratge  
vostre car filh faytz que prim ho de tart  
nos velha dar totz ensemps bona part  
de paradis, le sobrier heretatge."

In many cases also there is no tornada at all, or it consists, so to say, of the last stanza of the poem, if in this the senhal and dedication are introduced.

The principles insisted upon in the foregoing remarks may perhaps best be illustrated by an accurate metrical analysis of the subjoined canzo of Bernard de Ventadorn. For the purpose in question this poem has the double advantage of presenting a great

complication of metrical rules, and showing at the same time how the troubadours managed to combine such a complicated structure with the beauty of genuine poetry.

- a. "Be m'an perdut lai enves Ventadorn.  
tuit mei amic, pos ma domna nom ama,  
et es be dreitz que jamais lai no torn,  
qu'ades estai vas mi salvat' e grama,  
veus per quem fai semblan irat e morn,  
quar en s'amor mi deleit em sojorn,  
ni de ren al nos rancura nis clama.
- b. "Aissi col peis qui s'eslaises' el cadorn  
e no sap re tro que s'es pres en l'ama,  
m'eslaisesse eu vas trop amar un jor;  
qu'anc no saup mot tro fui en mei la flama  
que m'art plus fort que no focs de forn;  
e ges per so nom poec partir un dorn,  
aissim te pres s'amors que m'aliama.
- c. "Nom maravilh si s'amors m'i te pres,  
que genser cors no cre qu'el mon se mire;  
bels es e blancs e frescs e gais e les,  
e totz aitals cum eu volh e desirer;  
no poec dir mal de leis, que non i es;  
qu'el n'agra dig de joi, seu l'i saubes,  
mas no l'i sai : per so m'en lais de dire.
- d. "Totz temps volrai sa honor e sos bes  
elh serai hom et amics e servire,  
e l'amarai, be li plass'o belh pes,  
qu'om no pot cor destrenher ses aucire.  
no sai domna, volgues o non volgues  
sim volia, qu'amar no la pogues;  
mas totas res pot hom en mal escrire.
- e. "A las autras sui aissi escasutz :  
laquals si vol mi pot vas si atraire,  
per tal coven que nom sia vendutz  
l'onors nil bes que m'a en cor a faire;  
qu'enojos es prejar, pos es perdutoz;  
per mius o dio que mals m'en es vengutz,  
qu'enganat m'a la bela de mal aire.
- f. "En Proensa tramet mans e salut,  
e mais de bes qu'om no lor sap retraire,  
e fatz esfortz, miracles e vertutz,  
car eu lor man de so don non ai gaire;  
qu'eu non ai joi mas tan com m'en adutz  
mos Bels Vezers en Faituratz sos drutz  
en Alvergatz lo senher de Belcaire.
- g. "Mos Bels Vezers per vos fai deus vertutz  
tals com nous ve que no si' creubutz  
dels bels plazers que sabetz dir e faire."

This poem consists of six stanzas and a tornada. The length of each stanza is seven verses, that of the tornada three. In each stanza there is, according to Dante's expression, a *diesis* or *volta*, for there is the required *reiteratio unius odæ*. This *reiteratio* takes place before the *volta*, while after the *volta* a division is no more possible. The stanza therefore must be divided into two *pedes* of two lines each and a *cauda* of three lines. According to the rule, the metrical division is marked by a strong gram-

matical stop, at least a semicolon, from which is only excepted stanza *b*, where a punctuation in the *volta* is not possible. The *tornada* repeats as usual the form and rhymes of the *cauda*; and in it the poem is dedicated to the poet's lady-love, who is addressed under a *senhal*. Bel Vezers was in this case Agnes de Montluçon, wife of the troubadour's lord and protector, who raised him from the state of a common servant and gave him the first lessons "*del gay saber*." The verse of the stanza is the *decasyllable*, which occurs with masculine and feminine rhyme. The stanza may be formulated metrically by using capital letters for the *decasyllable*, and adding to them the sign ~ for the *accen greu*. The *volta* may be marked by a semicolon, and the division of the *pedes* between each other by a colon:—

A B~ : A B~ ; A A B~.

Hence it appears that in each stanza there are only two different rhymes, the *cauda* repeating those of the *pedes*, which is the simplest form of concatenatio. Moreover, a couple of stanzas have the same rhyme, or are *coblas doblas*; and so the poet had to find, three different times, eight masculine and six feminine rhyming words, which, though not a very heavy task in the *langue d'oc*, always required a certain amount of skill. In the last group of stanzas this number of rhymes was even increased by the *tornada* to ten and seven. Nevertheless there are only two cases of the same words with the same meaning used in the rhymes, or *motz tornatz en rim* as the *Lays d'Amors* calls them. Both these cases,  $f 3 = g 1$  and  $e 4 = g 3$ , occur in the *tornada*, where they were not as strictly forbidden as in other positions. On the other hand there are many examples of "*rührende Reime*" in their masculine as well as feminine form. The former or *rims consopans leials* are  $a 1 = b 1 = b 6$ ,  $c 6 = d 1$ ,  $d 5 = d 6$ ,  $e 3 = e 5 = f 5$ . The latter or *rims leonismes parfaits* are  $e 2 = f 2$ . But in all these cases it is very doubtful whether these rhymes were intentional, since they exhibit no system or order. A remarkable sense for the effects of sound is shown in the alliteration with *f* in *b 4* and *5*, by which the pains of the unhappy lover are onomato poetically expressed.

In the verse of ten syllables the *cassura* is always of importance: it therefore remains to say a word on it. The *cassura*, where it appears as feminine, has already been divided into the epical and the lyrical, the difference being that in the epical *pauza del bordo* the accent always remains on the fourth syllable, after which another unaccentuated syllable is added to the first hemi-

stich, while in lyrical poetry the accent itself is removed from the fourth to the third syllable. In this poem the pausa con accen agat is by far the more frequent; where it occurs with accen greu it always takes the lyrical form. These cases are *d* 5 and 6, *e* 1, and *f* 1.

It may be worth while to notice that once, *d* 5, the word *domma* is put into the lyrical pausa. The troubadours, in addressing their lady-loves, seem to have liked this particular position of the word, by which it received, in a certain way, a greater emphasis. In many canzos of different troubadours there are instances of this ingenuity; in one of Guillelm de Cabestanb's songs it occurs twice, or, according to a Parisian manuscript in which the poem is also preserved, even three times.

#### ART. II.—THE BORGIA AND THEIR LATEST HISTORIAN.

THE Renaissance is the only epoch of history that has equal charms for idle and for thoughtful men, and stands in visibly intimate connection with the civilization of the present time, yet beyond the range of its controversies. The interest it awakens is undisturbed by the contests that immediately followed it. Neither religious nor political differences affect the feelings with which men regard the age to which they owe the knowledge of Pagan, of Jewish, and of Christian antiquity, the formation of modern literature, and the perfection of art. The degradation which Italy suffered under native tyrants cannot prevent the pride with which she remembers the days of her national independence and her intellectual supremacy. Stores of new materials continue to be produced in uninterrupted profusion by patriotic scholars; and the way in which they modify the aspects of the fifteenth century is shown in several recent works. Zeller's *Italia et Renaissance* and Reumont's *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, mark the progress which has been made beyond the range of Roscoe and Sismondi. Both are well-written books; and the authors are perfectly familiar with the spirit of those brilliant times. Burckhardt's *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* is the most penetrating and subtle treatise on the history of civilization that exists in literature; but its merit lies in the originality with which the author uses common books, rather than in actually new investigations. The last traveller over the ground is Gregorovius.

The seventh volume of his *History of Mediæval Rome* virtually completes his task, for it reaches the beginning of the sixteenth century. Another volume will include the age of Leo x., and terminate with the siege and devastation of the city in 1527. The work gains in breadth and variety as it proceeds; and at times it is little less than a history of the Popes. The treatment is unequal. Pius II., the ablest and most interesting pontiff of the fifteenth century, receives but little attention, probably because a voluminous life of him appeared only a few years ago. But the pontificate of Alexander VI. is described with elaborate care, and occupies great part of the volume. These chapters are among the best and most solid that Gregorovius has written. Continuous reports by the envoys of Florence, Venice, and Ferrara at the court of Rome enable him to emancipate himself from the trivial diarists on whom every writer since Raynaldus has been obliged to depend for the secret history of the Vatican. He is so well supplied with unpublished documents, and he employs them with so little regard for purposes of vulgar controversy, that his estimate of Alexander, which contradicts the unanimous judgment of all the contemporaries of the Pope, cannot be put aside, at once and without examination, among historical paradoxes. Alexander VI. is described by his latest historian as a man whose everyday mediocrity reflects the sinfulness of a godless age, whose motives were the love of pleasure and the advancement of his family, who had neither political capacity nor serious design, and whose nature was too frivolous and too passive even for ambition.\*

This excessive depreciation of a man whose talents and success were the admiration of Europe in his time is not due to an irrelevant indignation at his depravity, but to the historian's habit of avoiding the ecclesiastical part of his subject. Looking at secular and profane things only, he does not see that Alexander fills a great space in history, because he so blended his spiritual and temporal authority as to apply the resources of the one to the purposes of the other. The strain which his policy as an Italian sovereign laid on his power in the Church was fruitful of consequences in the next generation, and for all later times. His

\* In Wahrheit zeigt es sich, wie gewöhnlich und klein dieser Mensch gewesen ist. . . . Sein ganzer Pontifikat zeigt keine einzige grosse Idee weder in Kirche noch Staat. . . . Nichts von jenem rastlosen Thatendrange und Herrschersinn eines Sixtus IV. oder Julius II. erscheint in der wollüstigen und passiven Natur dieses kleinen Genussmenschen.—Pp. 500-502.

energy in making the prerogative of the Holy See profitable and exchangeable in the political market was an almost immediate cause of the revolt of Northern Europe. The system which Luther assailed was the system which Alexander VI. had completed and bequeathed to his successors. It was his work and example that Adrian meant to repudiate when he attributed the corruption of the Church to the recent usurpations and immorality of the Papacy.\* And Julius II. attempted to liberate the Church from the responsibility of his acts by declaring that a Pope elected by simony could never become legitimate.†

The leading fact that governs his whole pontificate is the notorious invalidity of his election. There had been no hypocrisy in the transaction; and all Europe was able to learn the exact sums that he had paid or promised to his supporters, and even to their attendants. His seat never became secure. His right was permanently threatened. The shadow of an impending Council darkened his life and ruined his authority. He was obliged to create for himself the power which belonged in theory to his See. He could not have held his position without perpetual activity and effort.

He was hailed at first with flattery so general and excessive that it must have been more than conventional. Men said that he was more than human, that he surpassed all mankind in righteousness, that the splendour of Christ himself shone forth when he ascended the throne.‡ His very counten-

ance was divine. The golden age came back again: Astræa returned to earth at his accession: It was really believed that he would be a glorious Pontiff.\* Ferrante of Naples and Ferdinand of Aragon were hostile to him from the beginning; but in many countries the illusion was not dispelled until the cardinals who had refused his bribes published his iniquity. Julian della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II., insisted that a Council should be summoned in order to judge him.†

The idea was taken up by the Court of France, when the Pope appointed one of his kinsmen to the archbishopric of Rouen, whilst the chapter elected George d'Amboise.‡ The ministers boasted that the King possessed an infallible means of subjugating Alexander, by calling a Council.§ Charles VIII. claimed the crown of Naples, and threatened, if investiture should be refused, to depose the Pope, not by force, but by canonical proof that he was a heretic and an intruder.¶ When Alexander took the

et ornatum conspiciamus, videbatur a divina providentia talem pastorem gregi, dominio et sacrosanctæ romanæ ecclesiæ vicarium suum fuisse delectum et præordinatum.—Romanin, *Storia di Venezia*, v. 10. The Archbishop of Colocza wrote: Omnes id satis exploratum habent, mitiorem Pontificem nec optari, nec creari potuisse, cui tantum sapientiæ, probitatis, experientiæ, ac integritatis esset, quantum in quovis alio unquam audiverimus.—Petrus de Warda *Epistola*, 38. A priest of Parma wrote: Hominem non dicam, sed divinum hominem, magnanimum pietate gravem ac meritis sapientissimum, ingenio præstantem, consiliis et sententiis probatissimum, omnibus denique virtutibus ornatissimum.

\* Diceci che sarò glorioso pontefice.—Manfredi to the Dukes of Ferrara, Aug. 17, 1493: *Atti e Memorie*, iv. 328.

† Quid enim felicitæ recordationis Alexandro VI. Romano Pontifici prædecessori nostro magis nos odiosos fecit, nisi studium et cura generalis concilii celebrandi? Quid nos terra marique jactavit, cum nobis idem Alexander prædecessor esset infensus? quid toties Alpes transcendere transalpinas, Gallias peragrarè per æstus, nives et glacies compulsi, nisi quod nitebamur, ut a Romano Pontifice concilium indiceretur, convocaretur et celebraretur?—Raynaldus, 1511, 10.

‡ Sdegnati di questa collazione contro del Papa, il Rè tenne il dì medesimo gran consiglio, dove furono proposte e trattate più cose contro del Papa, in riformazione della chiesa.—Desp. of Aug. 31, 1493: Canestrini, *Negotiations avec la Toscane*, i. 249.

§ Venetian despatch of the same month of August, in Romanin, v. 33.

¶ Soggiungeva che rifiutando le cose che ricercava, considerasse bene essere a Carlo cosa libera, poichè adjutato dall' imperatore de' Romani il quale da pochi giorni s'era seco lui confederato, era per privarlo dalla dignità apostolica, non solo colle armi colle quali superava tutti gli altri, ma per diritto, radunando un concilio de' prelati, i quali potevano giustamente

\* Scimus in hac sancta Sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. (Indicat hic optimus Pontifex ea, quæ nos in Alexandro VI. deploravimus;) nec mirum si ægritudine a capite in membra, a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores prelatos descendit.—Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1522, 70.

† Contra dictum sic electum vel assumptum de simoniacæ labe a quocunque Cardinali, qui eidem electioni interfuerit, opponi et excipi possit, sicut de vera et indubitata hæret.—Raynaldus, 1506, 1.

‡ Politian, speaking in the name of Siena, said: Præstans animi magnitudo, qua mortales crederes omnes antecellere—Magna quædam de te nobis rara, ardua, singularia, incredibilia, inaudita pollicentur. The Orator of Lucca: Quid iste tunc divinus et majestate plenus aspectus? The Genoese: Adeo virtutum gloria et disciplinarum laude, et vitæ sanctimonia decoraria, et adeo singularum, ac omnium rerum ornamento dotaris, quæ talem summam ac venerandam dignitatem præbeant, ut valde ab omnibus ambigendum sit, tu ne magis pontificatus, an illa tibi sacratissima et gloriosissima Papatus dignitas offerenda fuerit.—Ciacconius, *Vita Pont. Hi.* 152, 159. The Venetian Senate rejoiced: Propter divinas virtutes et dotes quibus ipsum insignitum

side of the house of Aragon, and the French invaded Italy, his prospects seemed hopeless. He expected to be deposed.\* The Cardinal of Siena, whom he sent to mollify the king of France, could not obtain an audience, and wrote to warn his master of the approaching danger.† The French intended to summon a Council at Ferrara to sit in judgment on the Pope;‡ and they believed that the consciousness of his guilt would make him pliable.§ They occupied Rome without resistance. Alexander shut himself up in St. Angelo with a small group of faithful prelates; but the majority of the cardinals were urging the King to depose him.|| The instrument pronouncing his deposition was drawn up;¶ French cannon

were pointed against the fort; and part of the walls suddenly gave way. When it seemed that nothing could save Alexander, Charles relented and made terms with him. The reforming cardinals quitted Rome, indignant at the failure of their design. As the Pope instantly broke the treaty that had been forced upon him, Briconnet himself thought that the King would proceed to extremities against him on his return from Naples.\* Alexander escaped by flight. He afterwards said that Charles had been restrained from acts of violence by the piety of his courtiers;† but the language of Briconnet and Comines proves that the opinion of the French camp was in favour of a bolder policy, and the King had not courage to attempt it. When he was gone, and the danger was over, Alexander excommunicated him. Shortly before he died, the Sorbonne exhorted him to convoke a Council, and accomplish the reforms which the Pope persisted in refusing.

Under his successor, Lewis XII., the plan was revived. The Cardinal d'Amboise opened negotiations with Ferdinand and Maximilian with a view to a new election.‡ In the summer of the year 1501, Piccolomini, Cardinal of Siena, who became Alexander's successor, proposed to him to call together a Council and undertake reforms himself, lest the thing should be done in spite of him, and to the detriment of the Papacy, by the cardinals who were living abroad. Alexander entertained the idea for a moment, and then gave it up when he was reminded that Piccolomini was a nephew of Pius II., "un concilionista," whose advice

pronunziare avere egli comperato la pontificia dignità, di maniera che non si poteva chiamare vero pastore di Santa Chiesa.—Corio, *Storia de Milano*, iii. 525.

\* Dubitava che il re lo dimettesse del Papato.—Marin Sanuto, in Cherrier, *Hist. de Charles VIII.*, ii. 61.

† Aiunt etiam multo vulgo inter illos lactari, regem Romam venturum et statum Romanæ Ecclesiæ reformaturum.—Piccolomini to Alexander, Lucca, Nov. 4, 1494.

‡ Le quali cose sono di qualità, secondo che me concluse dicto oratore (the French envoy at Florence), che daranno materia al prefato Re Christ: de fare pratica con qualche Cardinale, come già se fece, de chiamare Sua Santità a Concilio, dicendomi che el credeva che non passariano molti giorni che l' se ordinaria dicto Concilio, et de farlo a Ferrara, dove pare che se debba fare per ogni rispetto. Et a questo gli è molto inclinata prefata Regia M<sup>te</sup>.—Manfredi to Duke of Ferrara, February 16, 1495: *Atti e Memorie*, iv. 841.

§ Crediamo che la Santità di nostro Signore, il quale di sua natura è vile e è conosciu criminis sui, ancora de facili si potrebbe ridurre alle cose oneste, per dubio delle cose di qua.—Florentine desp., Lyons, June 6, 1494: Canestrini, i. 899. Eulx deux (Borgia and Sforza) estoient à l'envy qui seroit Pape. Toutesfoi, je croy qu' ils eussent consenty tous deux d'en faire ung nouveau au plaisir du Roy, et encores d'en faire ung françois.—Comines, *Mémoires*, ii. 386.

|| Nostre Saint Père est plus tenu au roy qu'on ne pense, car si ledit seigneur eust voulu obtemperer à la plupart de Messigneurs les Cardinaulx, ils eussent fait ung autre pape en intention de reformer léglièe ainsi qu'ilz disaient.—Briconnet to the Queen of France, Rome, Jan. 18, 1495: De la Pillorgerie, *Compagne d'Italie*, 185.

¶ This was stated by Paul IV.: Sua Santità entro a deplorar le miserie d'Italia, et narrò l'istoria dal principio che fù chiamato Rè Carlo in Italia da Ludovico Moro et Alfonso d'Aragona, con li particolari del parentado fra questi due, la causa dell' inimicitia, il passar Rè Carlo per Roma, la paura di Papa Alessandro di esser deposto, come publicamente dicevano li Cardinali che vennero co'l Rè tra quali erano S. Pietro in Vincola, che fù poi Giulio Secondo; che furno fatti li capitoli della privatione da un Vicentino Vescovo di [illegible], all' hora auditor

della Camera.—Desp. of B. Navagero, Rome, May 21, 1577: ms. Foscarini, 6255.

\* Divinendo in ragionamento col Card. de S. Malo (Briconnet) del facto del Papa, sua Rev<sup>ma</sup> Sig<sup>ra</sup> me disse che il Re ch<sup>mo</sup> non ne remaneva cum quella bona satisfactione che'l sperava, havendose portato non troppo bene in queste pratiche de Spagne, etc., concludendo dicto Card. che'l dubitava assai, che, finita che fosse questa impresa del Reame de Napoli, la M<sup>te</sup> del Re non se desponesse a pigliare qualche expediente per reformare la chiesa, parendogli che'l sia molto necessario, vedendosi come sono governate le cose della chiesa et sede apostolica.—Manfredi to Duke of Ferrara, Feb. 25, 1495: *Atti e Memorie*, iv. 842.

† Adducendo su questo proposito quello che accadette al Christianissimo Re Carlo quando andava in lo reame: che avendo pur contra sua santità malo animo, non solo fu consentito per li Sig<sup>li</sup> francesi che ageret contra eam, ma fu necessitato ad inclinarseli et basarli lo pede, et tenerli la staffa in mezo la fango.—Desp. of Saracini to Duke of Ferrara, Rome, Oct. 27, 1501.

‡ Le Gendre, *Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise*, i. 246.

in these matters was open to suspicion.\* In the following year it was reported in Rome that the French were resolved to depose him. There is a celebrated medal bearing the effigy of Lewis XII., with the lilies, and the words "Perdam Babylonis nomen," which is ascribed to the time of the deadly quarrel between Lewis and Julius II. It belongs to the time of Alexander VI. Constabili speaks of it, and describes the sensation which it made at Rome, in a letter to the Duke of Ferrara, on the 11th of August 1502.

The aspiration of the Councils of Constance and Basil, the hope of honest reform, had remained unsatisfied, and was kept up by the condition of the Roman Court during several pontificates. It was scarcely worse under Alexander than under his predecessors; and the zeal of the French Government was not attributable exclusively to disinterested motives of conscience. The flaw in his election was too tempting an instrument to be neglected. There was more to gain by practising on his fears than by deposing him. Neither Germany nor Spain was willing to accept a Pope created by the king of France.†

King Ferdinand continually impressed on Alexander that he heartily despised him. Gonzalo of Cordova came to Rome and spoke out the indignation and horror of Europe.‡ A joint embassy was despatched by the kings of Spain and Portugal, to protest against the scandals of the Papacy.§ Alexander received the envoys in presence of five cardinals. They represented the immediate necessity of a thorough reformation; they demanded that a Council should be assembled at the Lateran; they informed the Pope that all Italy could bear witness that his election was void.|| He replied that their king was excommunicated, and

that it was well for them that Cæsar Borgia did not hear them. Later on he made one concession. He promised that the duchy of Benevento should not be alienated from the See of Rome. He had conferred it on his son the Duke of Gandia, who was almost immediately murdered; and the Spanish ambassador had resisted, and declared that it should not be done.

Grief for the loss of his son roused the conscience of the Pope; and he spoke of abdicating the throne, and changing his life. He would send Cæsar to reside in his diocese of Valencia. He would resign the government into the hands of the cardinals. A commission of six was appointed on the 17th of June 1497, and drew up, in the following month, a scheme of reform, which has not been noticed by Gregorovius.\* Their proposals were quickly forgotten; but two months later they were still acting as advisers of the Pope in the affair of Savonarola.†

During the short interregnum over which the promise of improvement lasted, Cardinal Borgia was sent with the powers of a papal legate into Umbria. His letters to Alexander VI., written in the summer of 1497, are the most eloquent testimony we possess touching the state of society which the Borgias set themselves to abolish in the dominions of the Church, and the influences which determined their unrelenting policy.‡ It was a pacific mission. The legate went unarmed to try the force of persuasion, and to test the moral authority of the Papacy in a district where the idea of the State was quenched in feudal strife, and each man's safety consisted in the terror he was able to inspire. In his first letter, on the day of his arrival at Narni, he announced that he could accomplish nothing without troops, as the demons he had to deal with were not to be frightened with holy water.§ The presence of a legate was so little heeded that Alviano, the same who afterwards commanded the

\* Constabili to Duke of Ferrara, Rome, Feb. 23, 1502.

† Cardinal Perrault said to the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Maximilian: "Non se parla de deporre el Pontifice: ma se vol provvedere che el stato della chiesa non sia tirannizzato, ovviar alla simonia, corregger la vita dei prelati et levare le estorsioni che se fanno nala cancellaria."—De Leva, *Storia di Carlo V.*, i. 73.

‡ Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando*, i. 117.

§ Mores esse profligatos, pietatis studium restinctum, flagitiorum licentiam solutam, res sanctissimas pretio indignissimis addici—remque esse in extremum pene discrimen adductam.—Osorius, De rebus gestis Emanuelis: *Opera*, i. 595.

|| Italia tutta aviebbe dimostrato lui non esser vero Pontefice.—Marin Sanuto, in De Leva, 61. Que eran notorias las formas que se tuvieron en su eleccion, y quan graves cosas se intentaron, y quan escandalosas.—Zurita, 159.

\* Raynaldus, who is his sole authority here, depends upon Zurita; and Zurita gives no particulars. The plan is in Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, 494.

† Se era deliberato per el Papa et per li sei Cardinali deputati pro reformatione, che ullo pacto non se dasse la absoluteione che addimandava questa Signoria per fra Hieronimo nostro, nisi prius pareret mandatis del suo generale et del Papa, non se attendendo alli ragionamenti facti per li antedicti Cardinali de suspendere le censure per duos menses.—Manfredi to Duke of Ferrara, Aug. 16, 1797: *Atti e Memorie*, iv. 585.

‡ The originals are among the manuscripts in St. Mark's Library.—Lat. Cl. x. 176.

§ E molto necessaria la provvisione de le genti d'arme contro questi demoni che non fugono per acqua sancta.—July 16, 1497.

Venetians when their power was broken at Agnadello, seized a town belonging to the Pope, and sacked it almost before his face. Borgia sent for him, and summoned him to keep the peace. Alviano replied that he would gladly help the Pope to subdue his neighbours, but that he would destroy the town rather than give it up.\* It was soon discovered that the legate was not followed by an army; and things grew worse.† The country was without police or law. The inhabitants of Todi, finding that there was no government to protect them, deserted the town in despair.‡ Brigands held unmolested sway, and were only checked by rival bands. At Perugia the legate caused a murderer to be arrested and put to death.§ It was an immense achievement. Murder was common; but legal punishment was a thing almost unknown. Perugia, in consternation, became an altered city. Borgia was proud of his success. He assured the Pope that the rest of the country could be reduced to order and peace by measures of exceeding rigour.

Reigning over subjects unaccustomed to obey, befriended by no power in Europe except the Turk, surrounded by hostile cardinals, with a flaw in his title which invited defiance and contempt, Alexander found himself in a position of the utmost danger. In the natural course of things, a power so wrongfully acquired and so ill secured would have fallen speedily; and the Papacy, bearing the penalty of its corruption, would have been subjugated. It was only by resorting to extraordinary artifice of policy, by persisting in the unlimited use of immoral means,

and creating resources he did not lawfully possess, that Alexander could supply the total want of moral authority and material force. He was compelled to continue as he had begun, with the arts of a usurper, and to practise the maxim by which his contemporaries, Lewis XI, Ferrante of Naples, and Ferdinand of Aragon, prevailed over the disorganized and dissolving society of feudalism, that violence and fraud are sometimes the only way to build up a State.\* He depended on two things—on the exchange of services done in his spiritual capacity for gold, troops, and political support; and on the establishment of principalities for his own family. The same arts had been employed by his predecessors with less energy and profit. It was an unavoidable temptation, almost a necessity of his position to carry them to the furthest excess.

The theory of the Papal prerogative was already equal to the demands he made on it. Flatterers told him that he was invested with the power of Almighty God on earth, that he was supreme in the temporal as well as the spiritual order, that no laws or canons could bind him, for he himself was the animated law, and the rightful judge over the princes of the world.† He made the most of this doctrine, and resolutely applied it in practice. He declared that his authority was unlimited, that it extended over all men and all things.‡ In virtue of this claim he bestowed Africa and America on the kings of Spain, excommunicating beforehand all who should presume to trespass on these regions without license.§ The plenitude of power

\* Intendendo che quando l'antique sue rasoni non li siano sopra de quella da la S<sup>a</sup> vostra instaurate, spianarla per modo che dire se possa, qui fù Lagnano.—July 17.

† Solo in la mia prima lonta in provintia cessarono un poco per timore dele gente d'arme, fo dicto me seguitavano, ma hormai reassicurati comensano nel primo modo offendere et non dare loco ad mei commandamenti.—July 27.

‡ Ricevo ad ogni hora da quelli proverbi loro castelli querele miserabili che le prede et occisioni se le fanno tutta via maturi. Per la qual cosa la S<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> po ben comprendere che tuto lo remedio de questi mali consiste in la venuta de la gente d'arme, le quali tardando più forniscere el paese de Tode da desolare, essendo da la partita mia in qua la cita totalmente derelicta et lassata vacua.—July 30.

§ In questa cita hieri si fecerò li bannamenti et con maraviglioso consenso sonno da tucti posti in observantia, et procedono le cose qui con tanta obedientia et quiete che meglio non si potriano desiderare.—July 30. Dopo li Bandimenti, dui becharini homicidi ho facti pigliar, et son stati senza tumulto et piacer del popolo menati in presione. Cosa da bon tempo in qua insolita in questa cita, et questa matina ne è stato appichato uno.—August 2.

\* Uno in una città disordinata merita laude, se, non potendo riordinarla altrimenti, lo fa con la violenza e con la fraude, e modi extraordinarii. Guicciardini, in *Opere Inedite*. i. 22.

† Tibi supremi rerum omnium opificis potestas in terris concessa est. Pontifex est, qui Lege, Canone, et propria constitutione Papali solutus, ea tamen vivere non dignatur; qui Canon in terris animatus vocatur: qui denique omnium Principum, Regum et Imperatorum Judex legitimus appellatur. Negabit ergo quispiam, quod gladii potestatem utriusque a vero Deo demandatam non obtineas?—Cicconius, 155, 158.

‡ Altissimus, sicut in Beato Petro, Apostolorum Princeps, eternæ vitæ clavigero, omnes atque omnia, nullo prorsus excepto, ligandi atque solvendi plenariam tribuit potestatem, ita Nos, super gentes et regna constitutos. . . in Prophetam mandavit.—To Charles VIII., Aug. 5, 1495.

§ Auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in Beato Petro concessa, ac vicariatus Jesu Christi qua fungimur in terris. Ac quibuscunque personis cujuscunque dignitatis, etiam imperialis et regalis status gradus ordinis vel conditionis sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna, quam eo ipso, si contra fecerint, incurrant districtius inhibemus ne ad Insulas et terras firmas inventas et invenlendas. . . accedere presument.—Auctoritate nobis in B. Petro concessa, de ipsa Africa

thus exercised was justified by an enlargement of the mediæval theory, which adapted it to the enlarged horizon of the Church. It is the Pope's office, it was argued, to teach the Gospel to all nations, and to compel observance of natural law. But the heathen will not hear the Gospel, and will not keep the law, unless they are made subject to Christians. Conquest, said one of the best writers of the next generation, makes more converts in a few days than mere preaching in three hundred years. Civil rights and authorities cannot lawfully obstruct the propagation of the faith.\* The Spanish government profited by this sweeping grant, but attached no religious value to it; for they soon after agreed with Portugal to shift the line of partition which the Pope had drawn across the earth.

Alexander VI. employed the terrors of excommunication with a sparing hand. The risk was great and the weapon blunted. His censures against the King of France were effectually suppressed by Cardinal Julian. The Sorbonne declared that his threats might be disregarded with a safe conscience. They were of no avail when unsupported by material force. But in Italy, where they were backed by carnal weapons, men thought of them with awe; and the Venetians dreaded them even when unjust.† Accordingly, the Pope used excommunication as a way of declaring war on those whom he was about to attack. The rebellious vassals were assailed

omnibusque regnis, terris, et dominis illius sine alicujus Christiani principis præjudicio, auctoritate apostolica tenore præsentium. . . . plene investimus.—Raynaldus, 1498, 22; 1494, 80.

\* Habet igitur Papa potestatem ubique gentium, non solum ad prædicandum Evangelium, sed etiam ad gentes, si facultas adsit, cogat, legem naturæ cui omnes homines subjecti sunt, servare. . . . Ut autem infideles Evangelicam prædicationem audire et legem naturæ servare cogantur, necesse est ut Christianorum imperio subjiciantur. . . . Hac ratione paucis diebus plures et tantius ad Christi fidem convertuntur, quam fortasse trecentis annis sola prædicatione converterentur. . . . Quamquam enim Ecclesiastica potestas, quam Christus tradidit Viceri suo, in his potissimum rebus versatur, quæ religionem attingunt, patet tamen latissime in omni terrarum orbe, pertinere etiam ad imperia civilia et omne genus, si hoc religionis moderandæ vel propagandæ ratio postulare videatur. . . . Belli parandi classisque mitendæ gravissimus auctor fuit Alexander VI. Pontifex Max. cujus Pontificis auctoritas ea est ut ejus legibus atque decretis publice factis obestere vel contradicere nefas sit, et sacrorum interdicto hæreticorumque poenis sancitum.—Sepulveda, *Opera*, iv. 884, 885, 840; iii. 12, 15.

† Perchè giusta vale, ingiusta timenda est. . . Con veritate il favor d'un Papa è più grande di quello che cadauno può considerare. . . . Perchè l'autorità sua vale assai, edico grandemente apud Deum et homines.—Priuli, May 25, June 10, August 23, 1501.

with spiritual arms on account of their impiety as a prelude to the arrival of Caesar's army.\*

It was by squandering ecclesiastical privileges, by the profusion of graces and dispensations, that he disarmed enemies, made friends, and got money. The Venetians accused him of abetting the Turks against them;† and they dreaded extremely the progress of Cæsar Borgia in Romagna. Yet they feared to oppose him; for they required the Pope's aid in taxing the clergy, and in raising money from the people. They gained 120,000 ducats by the Jubilee in 1501.

Marriage dispensations became, by careful management, productive sources of revenue and of political influence. Charles VIII. wished to marry the betrothed bride of the King of the Romans; and the Pope was solicited on either side to permit or to prevent the match. He informed Valori that he meant to decide in favour of France, as the stronger and more useful power.‡ But he said that the thing was too scandalous to be done publicly, and afterwards spoke of the marriage as invalid.§ Divorce served him even better than dispensations. Lewis XII. wished to marry the widow of his predecessor, whose dower was the duchy of Brittany. He was already married; but Cæsar was despatched to France with the permission for the King to put away his wife. He was rewarded by a French principality, a French wife, and a French army wherewith to conquer Romagna. Ladislaus of Hungary desired to put away his wife, the widow of Matthias Corvinus. The Pope gave him leave, and earned 25,000 ducats by the transaction. He twice dissolved the marriage of Lucretia. The king of Poland had married a princess of the Greek Church, and had bound himself by oath not to compel her to change her religion. The

\* Alexander to the Magistrates of Bologna, Jan. 28, 1501, in Gozzadini, *Memorie di Bentivoglio*, Doc. 75.

† Se la stessa Santità Vostra persuade altrui ci si lasci penire e battere dagli infedeli, convien pur dire si voglia e si desideri che prima noi, e poco dopo l'universa religione cristiana vada in ruina.—Council of Ten to the Pope, June 30, 1500: De Leva, i. 69.

‡ Lo ricercammo, qual era in secreto la intenzione sua. Rispose che in ultimo satisfarebbe al Re di Francia, e terrebbe più conto di lui che del Re de' Romani; non solo perchè la Francia è più potente, ma anco perchè quella casa è stata sempre amica e difensora di Santa Chiesa.—Desp. Rome, March 31, 1498; Canestrini, i. 486.

§ Pubblicava que la dispensacion que el Rey Carlos tenia, con la qual casò con la duquesa de Bretaña, era de ningún efecto . . . y decia, que en publico no queria concederla, por el escandalo.—Zurita, 27.



Pope informed him that the oath was illegal, and not only absolved him from it, but required that compulsion should be used, if necessary, in order to convert her. But if neither ecclesiastical nor secular weapons should avail to subdue her obstinacy, then he commanded that she should be punished by having her goods confiscated, and by being turned out of her husband's house.\*

In order to make money by Indulgences, Alexander claimed jurisdiction over the other world. When the jubilee of 1500 was celebrated, he was advised that it would produce far more if it were made applicable to the dead. Divines reported that this power was included in the Pope's prerogative.† Sixtus IV. had attempted to restrain this superstition; but Alexander allowed it to prevail; and the idea that the release of a soul could be insured by a mass at a particular altar became in his time the recognised belief in Rome.‡ It was supposed that the two last kings of Portugal had died under sentence of excommunication. The Pope gave them posthumous absolution, on condition that their successor discharged their debts to the Church.§ It was he who simplified and cheapened the deliverance of souls in purgatory, and instituted the practices which Arcimboldus and Prierias, in an evil hour, set themselves to defend. The mass

was not held necessary; to visit the churches did as well.\* Neither confession nor contrition was required, but only money.† It came to be the official doctrine that a soul flew up to heaven as fast as the money chimed in the box.‡ Whoso questioned the rightfulness of the system was declared a heretic.§

By these measures in the spiritual order Alexander exercised vast influence over the future of the Catholic Church, whilst by his nepotism he caused the Papacy to become a political power in Italy. His nepotism is commonly explained by his desire to enrich his kindred. But there was more than this. There was the desire to put in the place of almost independent feudatories a prince who represented the person, and could be trusted to do the will, of the Pope, and to strengthen and sustain the Papacy by the introduction of an hereditary element. It is a wise saying of Guicciardini, that the Popes were badly served because their reigns were short, but that the Borgias proved what could be accomplished by a well-served Pope.‖ It was a substitute for the security derived from dynastic interests and influence. There was vulgar nepotism in the solicitude of Alexander to heap wealth and titles on his obscure sons and kinsmen. But Caesar's career of conquest, the great reproach of the Borgias,

\* Pollicitus es, quod eadem iuramento forte dictorum oratorum sub nomine tuo confirmatum extitit, nunquam eandem compulsurum ad ritum Romane ecclesie suscipiendum: sed si sponte sua ad eandem Romanam ecclesiam venire vellet, libertati sue in hoc eam dimitteres, que tua Nobilitas, quamvis perniciose satis et iuri contraria fuerint, per quinquennium observare curavit . . . Volumus, teque oneramus, ut non obstantibus promissionibus et iuramentis predictis, quibus te nullatenus teneri tenore presentium declaramus, denuo tentes, ac ea omnia agas, que tibi necessaria videbuntur quo eadem uxor tua, relicta pessima Ruthenorum secta, tandem respiciat.—To Alexander of Lithuania, June 8, 1501. Per censuras ecclesiasticas et alia iuris remedia, etiam cum invocatione, si opus fuerit, brachii secularis, cogas et compellas . . . Concedens licentiam eidem Alexandro ipsam Helenam auctoritate nostra apostolica ex lecto, domo et omni maritali consorcio penitus excludendi, illamque pro meritis errorem suorum, etiam dotem et omnia alia bona eiusdem confiscata declarando, punias . . . Non obstantibus quibus vis promissionibus etiam iuramento firmatis.—To Bishop of Wilna: Theiner, *Monumenta Polonia*, ii. 288-290.

† Duke of Ferrara to Cardinal of Modena, January, 1501.

‡ It was officially affirmed by the legate Raymondus at the Jubilee of 1500.

§ Tibi per presentes committimus et mandamus ut Alfonso et Joannem, si in eorum obitu manifeste penitentie signa apparuerint, ab excommunicationis sententia necnon aliis censuris et penis ecclesiasticis si quas propterea incurrerint . . . absolvas.—To Bishop of Oporto, July 8, 1502: *Corpo Diplomatico Portugetz*, i. 39.

\* Quam Ecclesiam [S<sup>u</sup> Laurentii] si quis visitaverit in omnibus diebus Mercurii per totum annum, habet a Deo et Sanctis Laurentio et Stephano istam gratiam extrahendi unam animam de purgatorio.—Raymundus in Amort, *De Origine Indulgentiarum*, ii. 233.

† Valde iniquum est quod pauper defunctus gravissimis peccatorum penis tamdiu affligatur, qui liberari posset pro modica substantie parte, quam post se reliquit. . . . Neque in hac causa erit opus contribuentibus esse corde contritos et ore confesos, cum talis gratia charitati, in qua defunctus decesserit, et contributioni viventis duntaxat innitatur.—Instructiones Arcimboldi, 1514: Kapp, *Urkunden*, iii. 190, 191.

‡ Prædicatur, animam quæ in Purgatorio detinetur, adstruens evolare in eo instanti, in quo plene factum est illud, gratia cujus plena venia datur, puta dejectus est aureus in pulverem, non hominem, sed meram et catholicam veritatem prædicat.—Prierias, *Dialogus*, in Luther, *Opera Latina*, i. 357.

§ Qui circa Indulgentias dicit, ecclesiam Romanam non posse facere id quod de facto facit, hæreticus est.—Prierias, *ibid*.

‖ Essendo comunemente di breve vita, non hanno molto tempo a fare uomini nuovi; non concorrono le ragioni medesime di potersi fidare de quelli che sono stati appresso allo antecessore . . . in modo che è pericolo non sano più infedeli e meno affezionati al servizio del padrone, che quelli che servono uno principe secolare. Dimostro quanto fussi grande la potenza di un pontefice, quando ha uno valente capitano, e di chi si possa fidare.—Guicciardini, *Opere Inedite*, i. 87; iii. 304.

was not a mere pursuit of mean and sordid objects: it belonged to a system of policy founded on reason and design, and pregnant with consequences not yet extinct.

The secret of Cæsar's power over his father was not love but fear. Machiavelli saw that he really controlled the action of the pontiff, and advised the Florentines that they would obtain more by keeping an agent at Cesena than by their embassy at Rome;\* but he did not discover the nature of the relations that existed between the father and the son. There was complicity, mutual dependence, even confidence, but not affection. The immense value which Alexander set on the advancement of his son, the perils and sacrifices he incurred to promote it, were not caused by family feelings. He spoke of Cæsar with the bitterness of aversion. He justified his resignation of the cardinal's hat, and his marriage, by saying that his presence among the clergy was enough to prevent their reformation.† When the Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors boldly reproached him with his nepotism, he answered helplessly, that Cæsar was terrible, and that he would give a quarter of his dominions to keep him from Rome.‡ At other times he complained that he could not be made to reside there,§ and that when he did, he allowed ambassadors to wait an audience for months, and turned night into day, so that it was doubtful whether, after his own death, his son would be found capable of keeping what he had got.¶ The year before his death he said to an envoy who was trusted with his secret plans, that he hoped Cæsar's character would change, and that he would learn to tolerate advice.¶ Twelve months later, when he was at the height of his fortunes, Alexander was still lamenting that he would listen to nobody, that he made enemies everywhere, and all Italy cried out against him as a bastard and a traitor.\*\* At last, when nothing else would

restrain him from attacking Siena, the Pope threatened him with excommunication.\*

When Alexander was dead, Cæsar Borgia attempted to excuse himself by attributing his own acts to his father's will. He wrote to Ferdinand that he had sought the French alliance against his own wishes, in obedience to the Pope. He tried to conciliate the Duke of Urbino, the most tame and patient vassal of the Church, whom he had twice driven into exile. Cæsar knelt before him, pleaded his own youth, and cursed his father's soul, whose baseness had led him astray.†

One point of contrast between the two, which the Pope was in the habit of urging, is curious; for it does not turn quite to Cæsar's disadvantage. The Pope used to represent him as implacably cruel in punishing his enemies, and loved to dwell on his own generosity towards those who had injured or insulted him. In Rome, he said, speech was free, and he cared not for the things which were published against himself.‡ This praise was not quite hollow. That he was not excessively sensitive, that he could bear with adversaries, appears from the fact that he sent Ludovico di Ferrara to offer a cardinal's hat to Savonarola.§ He did not proceed to extremities against him until Savonarola had written to the monarchs of Europe bidding them make a new Pope. Cæsar was capable of equal self-restraint, less from temperament than his father, and more from calculation. When by an act of consummate treachery he made himself master of Urbino, he published a general amnesty, and observed it even against his worst enemies.¶ But he caused all those to be seized and punished who had betrayed their former master to him, showing, says the chronicler, that he hated the traitor though he loved the treason.¶

It was said with truth that Alexander VI. succeeded beyond his designs.\*\* When Cæsar stood at the head of a victorious army, the only Italian army in existence, the ambition of the Borgias soared to great heights. They were absolute in Central Italy, where no Pope had exercised real direct authority

\* Se ne ha contentare costui, e non il Papa, e per questo le cose che si concludessino dal Papa possono bene essere ritratte da costui, ma quelle che si concludessino da costui non saranno già ritratte dal Papa.—Desp. Cesena, Dec. 14, 1502; *Opere*, v. 354.

† Una de las mas principales causas que dava, para que el Cardenal de Valencia dexasse el capelo era, porque siendo aquel Cardenal, mientras en la Iglesia estuviessen, era bastante para impedir que no se hiziesse la reformation.—Zurita, 126.

‡ Que bien conocia que era muy terrible: y que el daria la quarta parte del Pontificado, porque no bolviessen a Roma.—*Ibid.* 160.

§ Saraceni to Duke of Ferrara, Sept. 22, 1501.

¶ The same, Oct. 6.

¶ Dicendomi Sua Santità che esso Ilmo Sigr Duca era uno bello Signore, et che sperava mutaria natura, et se lassaria parlare.—The same, April 6, 1502.

\*\* Constabili to Duke of Ferrara, Jan. 22, 1503.

\* The same, March 1, 1503.

† Incolpando la gioventù sua, li mali consigli soi, le triste pratiche, la pessima natura del Pontefice, et qualche uolto altro che'l haveva spirito a tale impresa; dilatandosi sopra el Pontefice, et maledicendo l'anima sua.—Letter from Rome in Ugolini, *Duchi d'Urbino*, ii. 524.

‡ Constabili to Duke of Ferrara, February 1, 1502.

§ Quétif et Echart, *Script. O.P.*, i. 888.

¶ Ugolini, ii. 111.

¶ Per dar ad intendere a tutti, che'l Signor over Signori hanno appiacere del tradimento, ma non del traditore.—Priuli, July 6, 1502.

\*\* Furono i successi sua più volte maggiori che i disegni.—Guicciardini, *Opere Inedite*, iii. 304.

for ages.\* The kingdom of Naples was the Pope's, to grant, to take away, or to distribute. Lucretia was married to the heir of Ferrara. A marriage was proposed between an infant Borgia and the Duke of Mantua. Cæsar possessed Piombino; he threatened Florence, Siena, Bologna, Ravenna, even Venice. He received tribute as condottiere from the chief independent states of Italy. The king of France offered Naples to the Pope.† The king of Aragon proposed that Cæsar should receive Tuscany, with the title of king.‡ Men spoke of him as the future emperor, and dreamed of Italy united and independent, under the sceptre of a papal dynasty.§ Public expectation went at least as far as the secret hopes of Borgia. And it is certain that Cæsar, hateful as he was, and hated by the great families he had overthrown, was not disliked by the masses of the people whom he governed.||

It is not just to condemn the establishment of a powerful dynasty in Romagna as an act of treason against the rights of the Church. Though not done for her sake, it was not done at her expense. Cæsar was more powerful than Malatesta or Varano, but not practically more independent. Rome had derived little benefit from her suzerainty over the petty tyrants whose dominions were merged in the new duchy of Romagna, and incurred no positive loss by the change. In reality there was closer connection with Cæsar than with the vassals he had deposed, and more reliance to be placed in him. His fidelity was secured; for he could not maintain himself in opposition to the Pope. He had no friends in the other Italian states. Supported by the inexhaustible wealth of the Church, he could keep up an army which

no power in Italy could resist; and the Papacy, assured of his fidelity, obtained for the first time a real material basis of independence. Before the French invasion of 1494, the Italians had so little habit of serious warfare that the various states enjoyed a sort of inert immunity from attack.\* The expedition of Charles VIII. showed how little there was of real security in the general proneness to inaction. By the aid of Cæsar Borgia the Papacy became a military power. That aid was purchased at a great price; but it was sure to be efficient.

The danger was not that the provinces would be alienated, but that the Papacy would fall under the sway of its formidable vassal. Alexander not only foresaw this result, but anxiously contrived to make it certain. He meant that his family should not relax their hold on the Church, to which they owed their elevation. He did not wish to weaken the staff on which they were obliged to lean. His purpose was not to dismember the State, but to consolidate part of it in such a way that his descendants should be the servants and yet the masters of his successors, and that a dynasty of Borgias should protect and should control the Papacy. There was ruin in the scheme, but not the obvious ruin commonly supposed. It was not inspired by religion or restrained by morality; but it was full of intelligent policy, of a worldly sort. Cæsar's principality fell to pieces; but the materials enabled Julius II. to build up the Roman State, which was destined to last so long. The Borgias had laid so firmly the foundations of their power, that the death of the Pope would not have shaken its stability if Cæsar had not been disabled for action at the moment when he was left to his own resources.†

Gregorovius, like Ranke, accepts the story that Alexander perished by poison which had been prepared for others. It was the common rumour. Two other guests at the fatal supper, Cæsar and Cardinal Adrian, were seized with illness at the same time, and the latter assured Giovio that he had been poisoned. This statement, recorded by Giovio, is the only evidence that positively supports the suspicion. The report arose before the Pope was dead, as soon as the sudden illness of the others became known.‡

\* Fu più assoluto Signore di Roma che mai fussi stato papa alcuno (*Ibid.*) Donde viene che la Chiesa nel temporale sia venuta a tanta grandezza, conciossiachè da Alessandro indietro i potentati Italiani, e non solamente quelli che si chiamano potentati, ma ogal Barone e Signore, benchè minimo, quanto al temporale, la stimava poco; e ora un Rè di Francia ne trema.—Machiavelli, *Principe*: *Opere*, i. 55.

† Constabili to Duke of Ferrara, August 3, 1503.

‡ Zurita, 242.

§ Nobody execrated the Borgias more than the Venetian chronicler Priuli. After the destruction of the Condottieri at Sinigaglia, he writes: Alcuni lo volevano far Re dell'Italia, e coronarlo, altri lo volevano far Imperator, perche'l prosperava talmente, che non era alcuno li bastasse l'animo d'impedirlo in cosa alcuna.—Jan. 11, 1503.

|| Aveva il Duca gittati assai buoni fondamenti alla potenza sua, avendo tutta la Romagna con il ducato di Urbino, e guadagnatosi tutti quei popoli, per avere incominciato a gustare il ben essere loro.—Machiavelli, *Principe*: *Opere*, i. 35.

\* Chi aveva uno Stato era quasi impossibile lo perdessi.—Guicciardini, *Opere Inedite*, i. 109.

† Se nella morte di Alessandro fusse stato sano, ogni cosa gli era facile.—Machiavelli, *Principe*: *Opere*, i. 39.

‡ Per la qual infermità si giudicava fosse stato avvelenato, e questo perchè etiam il giorno seguente il prefato Duca Valentino et il Card' s'erano buttati al letto con la febre.—Priuli, August 16, 1503.

But it was founded entirely on conjecture. Guicciardini, who did much to spread it, possessed no proof. He says that the story is confirmed by the fact that the Pope died within twenty-four hours.\* In reality he died on the seventh day after his attack. The witness who has been hitherto the principal authority proves therefore to have no evidence. There are almost daily accounts of the Pope's state between the 12th and the 18th of August, from Giustiniani and Costabili. They suggest nothing more unusual than a violent Roman fever.

### ART. III.—THE IDEALISM OF BERKELEY AND COLLIER.

WITH the name of Berkeley as an Idealist is now always to be associated that of Arthur Collier. He was a clergyman, rector of Langford Magna in the diocese of Salisbury, who led a quiet life and published some philosophical tracts in the early part of the last century. Although these display great metaphysical acumen and boldness of thought, yet, as Hamilton truly remarks, it is not at all wonderful that they should have been forgotten in England; though it is perhaps a little remarkable that they should have been remembered in Germany. But when Hamilton goes on to rank Collier with Berkeley, upon the strength of his metaphysical acumen and the close resemblance between their speculations, it becomes worth while to point out the difference.

Collier published the same system of Idealism as Berkeley, at nearly the same time and certainly without concert. His *Olavis Universalis* was published in 1718, Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge* having appeared in 1710; but Collier expressly says that he had spent ten years upon the incubation of his doctrine; and he handles the matter in such a different style and temper, and throws so much new light upon some points, that it is impossible to question his claim to the independent discovery. In mere metaphysical acumen, using the word strictly, the two men are about on a level. Berkeley became a widely known writer, a polemical divine of high repute, a man of great influence, and a bishop. The very name of Collier was unknown in England, in

spite of a sentence or two in Reid and Dugald Stewart, until Hamilton in 1899 reviewed a reprint of the *Olavis* and some other pieces by various authors. But the two men came before the world with very different claims. The fame of Berkeley does not depend upon his Idealism: his Idealism has had the luck to be remembered because it was fathered by so famous a man; just as Collier's, though really the same thing, was forgotten because it came from the mouth of a nobody. Berkeley was a man of great and varied powers, of most engaging disposition, of noble virtues. He wrote much; his style was exquisite; and, above all, he threw himself with enthusiasm into one of the currents of feeling which united the literary and political worlds. This last point supplies the key to his success. The Church of England was entering upon that long controversy with the Deists which occupied the whole of the eighteenth century. Philosophy, as in the Middle Ages, but in rather a different sense, was once again the handmaid of theology. Learning in a clergyman was chiefly valued for the blows which it could deal against the enemy; and Bentley gained more credit with stanch Churchmen by the *Remarks of Phileuthe-rus Lipsiensis* than by the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*. In this battle Berkeley engaged with zeal; and he soon earned the reputation of a champion. His personal character was perhaps the pledge of his orthodoxy (Collier's orthodoxy, by the way, was more than suspicious); for the drift of his arguments was certainly not understood. But neither side was disposed to quarrel lightly with a zealous and able ally; and if it had been otherwise in general, an exception might have been made in favour of such a man as Berkeley. But Collier, though a very respectable person, must not be put upon the same level. A simple country clergyman, he wrote little; there was nothing to make his writings known except their own merits, and these were not of a sort which his contemporaries generally could appreciate; his style was harsh and crabbed, though sometimes enlivened by sallies of a caustic humour; and above all, his philosophy was not brought to bear on the controversies of the day. It is no wonder that two or three unintelligible pamphlets, written by a man otherwise unknown, should have failed, as they did, to make a great impression. The oblivion which covered him was singularly complete and profound. For a hundred years his existence was unremembered. Even in his own parish, where he was born and bred, and where several generations of his ancestors had held the same rectory before it descended to him, he left

\* Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, iii. 162. E che questa sia la verità, ne fa fede che lui morì o lo notte medesima o il dì seguente.—*Opere Inedite*, iii. 802.

no tradition behind him; and it is said by his biographer that his name does not appear in any catalogue of authors connected with the county.

Mackintosh libels Beattie and Johnson as though they thought that Berkeley's opinions implied a distrust of the senses; and speaks idly of Hobbes, and falsely accuses Butler of arguing in a circle. Berkeley has been a fatal stumbling-block to the critics; and Mackintosh's own talk about a "touchstone of metaphysical sagacity" is only one degree less absurd than what he fathers upon Beattie and Johnson. But if Berkeley was visionary, assuredly the hard-headed Collier was not. His shrewd and caustic temper is a sufficient guarantee that Idealism, whatever it may be, can be looked at by a cool and wary eye without seeming to be ridiculous.

When Idealism is described in the phrase of Collier as a doctrine which teaches the "non-existence or impossibility of an external world," it looks, to say the least, like a startling paradox; but this kind of statement is in Collier's manner. There is about him a touch of the fondness of Hobbes for shocking people, as is hinted by the motto which he picked out from Malebranche and prefixed to the *Clavis*:—"Vulgi assensus et approbatio circa materiam difficilem est certum argumentum falsitatis istius opinionis cui assentitur." But Berkeley, who wrote as a polemic, did not care to offend his readers; he was rather inclined to enlist on his side the favour of the people, if that should be found possible; and so he prefers to regard the vulgar opinion as a partial and distorted view of his own. And this is certainly nearer the truth than what Collier says. But since the inconceivability of the vulgar opinion is also one of Berkeley's commonplaces, it is rather puzzling to guess in what way he supposed that the vulgar held it; for he certainly did not think they held it by way of a mystery. He has some passages which look like giving up all difference whatever between himself and the public; and they show at least that he could not always draw the line with precision.

It is equally beside the point to treat Berkeley's conclusions either as manifestly absurd or as hazily magnificent. They are the tolerably simple result of a failure to analyse the facts of vision, taken in conjunction with some theological dogmas. He may be supposed to have come by them somewhat as follows:—In all ages so far as we can tell, men in general have been strongly impressed with a certain conviction, which, when analysed and put into words, appears to be the common metaphysical doctrine that every act of perception consists in a relation between two

elements, a Subject which perceives, and an Object which is perceived; and the usual names for these two elements, which are intelligible without being defined, are respectively Mind or Soul and Matter or Body. Collier, indeed, affected to call this universal belief into question; but he was only half serious. His aim was rather to show his opponents that they were open to attack in their strongest point, by any one with a turn for quibbling, than to throw a doubt upon the alleged agreement of mankind; and in another place he admits that he had himself formerly held the vulgar error, and that his feelings were still affected by the old prejudice. Now, when we look at any object, we feel impelled to assert that we see it to be of a certain colour; but on reflection we are compelled to allow that this assertion must be compatible with two facts—that the same object has different colours as seen by the same person from different points of view, and also as seen by different persons at the same time. But on the whole we stand firmly by our conviction that we see an external object—that the thing seen is something which exists no less really than ourselves, which exists apart from being perceived, and which is in no way affected by our perceiving it. When we are asked why, we can only answer that we cannot help it. But it may also be asked whether we do not feel a like conviction in cases where we know, after the event, that it has testified to a falsehood; whether when sleeping or delirious we do not see dreams and visions which seem to be external and real in the same way as the objects perceived by us when awake. And it cannot be denied that we do somehow mistake the phenomena of dreaming for realities when asleep, though it may be doubted whether the sleeping conviction is of the same kind as the waking conviction. The Idealist takes no notice of this last point, and from our inevitable admission infers that our waking conviction of the reality of external objects cannot suffice to prove that they are real, since we may have a like conviction of the reality of what is admitted to be unreal. This is the aspect in which the conclusion is first presented, so soon as we begin to make inquiry into the extent and nature of the evidence of our senses. It appears in the form of a sceptical doubt about the reality of matter, while it assumes as beyond question the reality of mind. The phenomena of perception are not called into question; but it is doubted whether they are caused by an external reality which exists apart from being perceived and without which the phenomena do not exist.

Suppose, then, the case of a man who

has thus somehow got into his mind a doubt whether, as he must express it, the external world is real. He is met by the fact that some phenomena, which in ordinary speech are called dreams, are found to be faint, fleeting, and inconsistent, while others, which are called real objects, are found to be distinct, permanent, and presented in a fixed order. He must account for this difference. We know how it is explained by men in general; but we are to consider the case of a man who is fostering his doubt into a positive denial of the reality of matter. When he is bent upon believing that what he has hitherto called realities have no existence apart from his perceiving them, how is he to account for the regularity with which certain groups of impressions are found to recur under stated conditions? How is he to account for the fact that they are independent of his will, and that he is obliged to act towards them as though they were the realities which they seem to be? To a Theist the path out of the difficulty is obvious. God's power will suffice to account both for the regularity of the impressions and also for the conviction that they are real. Nay, in some sense the things seen are real, even to the Idealist, since the impression of them is conveyed to his mind by something external to it; but they are more properly styled unreal, because the impulse which calls up the impression does not exist when it is not felt. When people say, as they do in common speech, that they see the same thing at different times, they mean (says the Idealist) that precisely the same ideas are impressed upon their minds under given conditions by the power of God; and the regularity with which the impressions so recur is due to the fact that the conditions under which God will impress them are fixed. This, it may be supposed, would fairly represent the train of thought by which Berkeley and Collier were led to embrace their doctrine. When they had come to believe it, they set about arranging and exhibiting all the arguments in its favour.

It is evident, before all argument, that this so-called system is not and cannot be proved. The alleged proof begs the question more than once. It selects arbitrarily, in order to explain facts, a particular hypothesis which tends to the foregone conclusion, passing by without notice the several other hypotheses which equally well explain the facts but do not tend to the same result. Therefore, as a speculative theory it is a *petitio principii*.

But in Berkeley's hands it is much more than this. He did not regard it as a specu-

lative theory standing on its own merits, as Collier did. Berkeley took it in hand with a practical view; and to him it was nothing unless it was a premise in a syllogism to prove the Being of God. So firmly does his mind cling to this view that in *The Theory of Vision* he actually loses his temper over some people who, fully accepting his conclusion, ventured to question the prudence or validity of his proof; the result is a complication of fallacies, the enormity of which is not easily expressed in words. The Being of God had been already juggled in, by arbitrary selection, during the proof of the speculative theory: the speculative theory is then used as a step towards proving the Being of God. He picks out a series of assumptions, lumps them together, and calls them a proof; then, to crown the matter, he brings forward the thing supposed to be proved, as conclusive evidence of one of the previous assumptions. Having begun with *petitio principii*, he clinches it with *circularis in concludendo*.

Berkeley, quite in good faith of course, shows a great deal of the art of the cuttlefish in managing his evidence. The dry and precise Collier, who cannot dazzle his readers or himself with the splendour of Berkeley, is obliged to keep more within bounds. And accordingly, though he begs the question (as he could not help doing, if he was to make out his case), he does not go on, like Berkeley, to reason in a circle. Berkeley was a philosopher chiefly because he was a polemic; and he assumed the Being of God in order to prove his Idealism, only because his Idealism, containing, as it did, the Being of God, could afterwards be used as a weapon against the Atheist. But Collier was a polemic, so far as he was one at all, only because he was a philosopher; and so far as he makes war, it is not upon Atheism, but upon Catholicism. This suggests a curious comparison, which will be reverted to presently.

An analysis of the evidence, which is nearly the same in both of them, shows that it may be divided into two principal sections—part being a priori, professing nothing less than to demonstrate Idealism, and part being a posteriori, inferring the truth of Idealism from the supposed failure of all other systems to account for notorious facts. These may be briefly described as follows:—1. The a priori argument is divided into two parts—*a*. It is contended that the Vulgar Realism is impossible, since it involves a contradiction in its terms; ergo (which of course does not follow, even granting the alleged fact) the Berkeleyian Idealism must be true; *b*. It is contended that, even granting the Vulgar Realism to be conceivable,

yet the world of matter, which it supposes, is useless; for the sensible phenomenon would serve every useful end, even though it did not inhere in any permanent substratum; and therefore, since Realism is compelled to postulate a principle with which Idealism is able to dispense, it follows that Realism is negated by the law of Parsimony—a modern term, which of course is not used by the authors in question. 2. The a posteriori proof consists in alleging certain difficulties, which Idealism is supposed to explain, while Realism does not. These are:—*a.* The intercourse between mind and matter, or, the commerce of the Soul with the Body; *b.* The infinity of Space and Time; *c.* The infinite divisibility of Space; *d.* The connection between light and sight as cause and effect. The particular statement of this last, though it occurs in the *Clavis*, is not found, so far as we remember, anywhere in the writings of Berkeley; but it may be regarded as only one aspect of the difficulty involved in the Realist hypothesis of commerce between soul and body. So too the third head may be reduced to depend upon the solution of the second. Under one or another of these heads may be arranged all that is brought forward. Viewed as an aid to religion, or as a contribution to true philosophy, this reasoning looks little better than childishness. But Berkeley was of a fanciful and enthusiastic temper, animated by a pious zeal, and believed that in a whim of his own he had found a cogent weapon against those whom he deemed the enemies of God; this accounts for his readiness to draw and flourish it. If further explanation be wanted, it may be found in the ludicrous solemnity with which Hamilton perpetually holds up Berkeley to the “Cosmethetic Idealists,” as the logical result of their procedure.

Putting aside Abstract Ideas, which were a sort of permanent grievance with Berkeley, the assertion that the Vulgar Realism implies a contradiction in its terms is reduced to mean only this much—that visible objects look of different sizes and colours at different distances and in different lights. This must be conceded; and it is quite clear, either that things are not perceived as they really exist, or else that they exist in different ways at the same time. This latter position is what the Idealists, with some cogency, declare to involve contradiction; for the notion of existence as it is in itself seems to be repugnant to the notion of existence under several forms at the same time. They conclude that the thing seen exists only in the mind of the person who perceives it; and then, since men all have different minds, there is no longer any difficulty about the

separate existence of the things perceived. Each mind entertains its own image or idea; and each image is real to him who perceives it; and all the images are different each from the others. But how are we then to account for the regularity with which these images recur under given conditions? For example, the books in Berkeley's study, as they exist only in his mind when he sees them, must be said to vanish into nothingness whenever he shuts his eyes, and to revive into being whenever he opens them. How are we to account for the fact that he always finds the same books there, and not others in their stead; and in general, for the regularity of our perceptions under given conditions? Why, replies Berkeley, we know that God exists, and that He created and sustains us and is the Author of all things; and under these circumstances it is obvious to suppose that He supplies us with the images by a direct effort of His power, and that they recur regularly because He has ordained fixed rules for their recurrence. Thereupon he turns to the supposed Atheist (in those days Deism was too often stigmatized as Atheism) and demands to be told where is now his blasphemous denial of God. Even granting the previous conclusion, the reply is obvious. It may be replied that the mind evolves the images to itself regularly, in accordance with the laws of its own constitution; and that it evolves them regularly, not capriciously, because the laws are themselves regular. Nothing is then logically gained by Berkeley's argument towards proving the Being of God; for the pleading of these laws of the mental constitution can add nothing to the weight of the old argument from design. If the existence of a Creator is already postulated by the existence of the mind, then Berkeley's argument is superfluous; if not, then neither is it postulated by the existence of laws of the mind. However, it is only fair to mention that Berkeley was afterwards at the pains to deny the possibility of this hypothesis of self-evolution. “We know that our Ideas of Sense are not the Cause of themselves. We know also that we do not cause them. Hence, we know they must have some other efficient Cause distinct from them and us.”\* We know however that the hypothesis has been maintained by men whose names far outweigh that of Berkeley.

The argument from the Law of Parsimony is to be considered in connection with the argument from the commerce between soul and body or mind and matter; and the two taken together afford one of the most re-

\* *Theory of Vision*, p. 15.



markable examples on record of turning the tables. When translated into plain language, Berkeley's argument runs thus:—Mind and matter (1.) need not (2.) cannot be supposed to exist together. Now I am sure that mind exists, ergo matter does not. The materialist has therefore only to be sure that matter exists, in order to reverse the conclusion. It cannot be pretended that the substance of the mind is presented in consciousness any more than the substance of matter in perception. Just as to the Idealist the apparent sensible perception of internal objects is a product of or exists only in the postulated mind, so, to the Materialist, thought is a product of or exists only in the postulated body. If Berkeley's opponents had been able to use a little more dexterity in debate, he might have been shocked to find his choicest arguments, with only the change of a word or two, brandished by Materialism in the face of Idealism.

But as Berkeley was too hasty in identifying psychological Idealism with Theism, so he and others have been too hasty in identifying psychological Materialism with Atheism. They do most commonly so run in couples, but not necessarily. As Berkeley held that matter does not exist really in the same sense as mind, and that God impresses on the latter material images inhering in no substance, so it might be held that mind does not really exist in the same sense as matter, and that God injects into the body thoughts which have their residence in no mental substratum. Here, then, we should have materialism combined with theism. The Materialist is obliged to deny the immortality of the soul only in the sense in which the Idealist is obliged to deny the perpetuity of matter.

The difficulty involved in the existence of Time and Space is a very real one; and it has both a philosophical and a theological aspect. From a philosophical point of view we are pressed to decide whether Space and Time are infinite or finite; and either hypothesis equally transcends imagination. From a theological point of view we are pressed to decide whether Space and Time are created or uncreated; and either hypothesis lands us in great difficulties. To hold them to be uncreated almost obliges the Theist to identify them with the Creator; while on the other hand, the phrase "creation from all eternity" seems to imply a contradiction in its terms. But whatever credit may be due on this account to the Berkeleyan hypothesis, it serves much better to exhibit the jejunity of British speculation. The denial of the reality of Space comes in quite as an afterthought to

the denial of the reality of Matter; and the denial of the reality of Time comes in apropos of nothing at all. Berkeley's Idealism is not a system, but an inconsiderable fragment, the scratching of an old hen in the corner of a great field. The contrast is evident when we turn to Kant. There the relations of Space and Time hold their proper place. Indeed, Berkeley's treatment of the point comes in; and it is inserted quite by chance, like the byplay which it is: "If we regard space and time as properties, which must be found in objects as things in themselves, as *sine quibus non* of the possibility of their existence, and reflect on the absurdities in which we then find ourselves involved, inasmuch as we are compelled to admit the existence of two infinite things, which are nevertheless not substances, nor anything really inhering in substances, nay, to admit that they are the necessary conditions of the existence of all things, and moreover that they must continue to exist although all existing things were annihilated—we cannot blame the good Berkeley for degrading bodies to mere illusory appearances."\*

Hamilton pointed out, both acutely and learnedly, that theological considerations had forbidden the scholastics to draw Idealist conclusions, although they were well acquainted with Idealist premisses. But he more than exaggerates the cogency of the Idealist reasoning, in order that he may use it as a weapon against the objects of his pet aversion. The truth is that there are no reasons, and that a man can draw the conclusion only by a freak or idiosyncrasy. Juster by far is the estimate of Hoadley, which indeed is much above the usual level of his critical remarks:—"Everything not absolutely impossible, or implying a direct contradiction in terms, may be equally proved by this comprehensive logic."†

These theological considerations which stood in the way of Idealism were the ground of Collier's application of his doctrine to meet Catholicism; and it is a curious question why Berkeley, whose Protestantism has never been doubted, should have resisted the temptation. He attacked Materialism; and the point of his attack lay in the fact that Materialism postulates the existence of body, which Idealism denies. By Collier the same argument was brought to bear on the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Hence arises the awkward question, when the same hypothesis is found cutting such different ways, whether it might not be made to do duty against Christianity in gene-

\* *Kritik*, Meiklejohn's Translation, p. 49.

† *Works of Dr. Samuel Parr*, i. 707.



ral. A dim suspicion of this possibility seems to have sealed up Berkeley's lips more than once. He would have liked to strike at Transubstantiation; but he did not desire that his blows should be found to fall upon the Incarnation. Collier was perhaps too hard-headed, to let such considerations stand in the way of his logic; and, which is very much to the point, he does not appear to have held by any means the same doctrine of the Incarnation with Berkeley. In the *Logology*, Collier's biggest and latest work, he takes occasion to suppose, with some acrimony, that his opponents will call him "either Arian or Apollinarian; but most probably the last;"\* and if he had met with any opponents no doubt they would have called him by those names.

H. W. C.

#### ART. IV.—MR. TENNYSON'S POETRY.

MR. TENNYSON deserves an especial study, not only as a poet, but as a leader and a landmark of popular thought and feeling. As a poet, he belongs to the highest category of English writers; for poetry is the strongest and most vigorous branch of English literature. In this literature his works are evidently destined to secure a permanent place; for they express, in language refined and artistic, but not unfamiliar, a large segment of the popular thought of the period over which they range. He has also a clearly marked if not strongly individualized style, which has served as a model for imitators, and as a starting-point for poets who have sought to improve upon it. Moreover, his own poetical development is capable of being ascertained by a chronological examination of his poems, and, when ascertained, affords material for a psychological study of some interest. Here are points more than sufficient to constitute the subject-matter of a voluminous criticism of his works.

He began publishing in 1830, at the age of twenty. It was a time of great political as well as religious agitation. There were ideas in the air which entered variously into combination, and formed distinct products. The two great English Universities were, in the main, differently affected by these ideas. In both of them the spiritual revival of the early part of the nineteenth century was strong against the materialism of the eighteenth. But at Cambridge these ideas

were combined with a kind of liberalism which at Oxford was abhorred and abjured. Mr. Tennyson is a Cambridge man; and it is plain that his ideas were influenced by his University. But his poetic development was later than that of the poet who embodied the Oxonian idea, and who published *The Christian Year* in 1827. Keble, however narrow as a theologian, as a poet was wide enough in his sympathies: he lighted his torch from the fire of Wordsworth, Scott, and Southey. Under their inspiration he knew how to dispose of his classical knowledge, his Hebraic faith, and his familiarity with nature. In his poetry the poet eclipsed the divine; but as a poet he had much to teach which was semi-theological in its aspect, and was capable of giving a tone to a school of divines. Take, for instance, what may be called his natural sacramentalism, founded on the opinion that the visible universe is the counterpart of the invisible, and that the seen is both the hieroglyphic which reveals and the veil which conceals the unseen—revealing by its significance, concealing by its substituting one thing for another. Then again this doctrine, which favours the idea that the visible and tangible world is mainly significant of the invisible, tends to the further doctrine that, if not absolutely in themselves, at least in comparison with the transcendent reality of the invisible world, all material phenomena are unreal. This again is connected with the doctrine that the true forces of the universe are not the gross and brutal energies which can be measured by their visible effects, but those subtle unseen powers which seem to be ridden over in the furious charges of material forces, but emerge fresh and unhurt, in all their former persistence, after the tempest has subsided; and that gentle and divine force underlies the visible works of nature, and manifests itself not less completely, and much more persistently, in the commonest natural phenomena, than in the passing cataclysms which sometimes interrupt the settled course of things. It is in weakness that this divine force manifests its strength. The great operations of the universe are accomplished not by main force, but little by little, by patience and slow growth. These ideas are of course not original in Keble. Mr. Tennyson may have got them from a common stock whence Keble had drawn them first; but the adoption of the same course of thought places the two poets in one line, in which the earlier writer has of course the precedence.

The three points mentioned—the natural sacramentalism, the unreality of all visible things, and the slow, gentle, gradual opera-

\* *Metaphysical Tracts*, etc. p. 180. The *Logology* was published in 1782.

tion of all that is really strong—are ideas which were assimilated and harmonized at Oxford into a very different system from that which Mr. Tennyson represents. At Oxford they were joined with the dogmatic principle, and with the abjuration of liberalism. In Mr. Tennyson we may almost reverse the formula, and say that they were united with liberalism and the abjuration of dogma. These two differences, in the conflicts of the day, outweighed the more numerous points of agreement; and Mr. Tennyson was generally classed among, and regarded with the same feelings as, the opponents of Oxford thought. But enough time has already passed to allow the similarities and differences to be seen in their true perspective; and Mr. Tennyson exhibits a real expression and representation of the forces which dominated in the academical mind of England from 1830 to 1845. In common with some of his leading contemporaries, he saw all things as if they were but a mystical veil of that which could not be seen. The outer world of nature and of man was for him the manifestation of a reality greater than itself. Nature was a parable. Greek poets and wise men were seers in whom a spirit greater than their own spoke. The outward framework which concealed the living truth was not intended to last, and would be found to melt into a dream before the analytic contemplation of the right-minded thinker. In looking at a pebble, a flower, or a worm, something far beneath him in the scale of existence, he would nevertheless discover behind them the presence of some hidden and powerful being who was secretly fashioning them, and giving them their order, their grace, and their meaning; and it would be in these quiet nooks of nature, in the flower and leaf, and in those human creatures whom we naturally compare to flowers for their bloom, or their beauty, or their fragility, rather than in coarser and bigger masses, that such a man would look for the mystery of power.

All this, in Mr. Tennyson's later works, is combined with a religiosity, not to say a religion, with which it fits very harmoniously. He seems content that it should be called, nay he himself calls it, "the higher Pantheism;" but he mixes it with tenets concerning the eternal persistence of separate personalities, which are entirely inconsistent with real pantheism. It does not seem that his pantheism extends farther than dashing his Christianity with universalism. But though, since 1850, when he published "In Memoriam," he has appeared as a moral and religious teacher, it is by no means clear that he originally adopted these three points be-

cause they chimed in with any religious theory; rather, it seems that they harmonized with his ethical bias, his tone of thought, and his æsthetic nature. In themselves, they are just as susceptible of a merely æsthetic as of a religious application. The painter can give to nature a meaning which the unartistic eye could not discover; the sculptor may solidify the aerial act, freeze up the liquid mobility of the instantaneous energy, and prolong the passing now into the indefinite ever. And every creative and artistic mind goes through some phase or other wherein these fixed and still images take the place of the nimble and flashing thought which it is the highest achievement of artistic genius to embody. According to Wordsworth, there is a period in the poet's life when the images of nature supply to him the place of thought, of sentiment, and almost of action, when the cataract haunts him like a passion, and colours and forms are "an appetite, a feeling, and a love." But this direct importation into poetical language of images from nature in order to suggest novel trains of thought, sentiment, and action, is not, as Wordsworth seems to consider, proper to the immature youth of the poet alone: it is commonly set down as one great characteristic of the Lake school. In this school Mr. Tennyson obtained his poetic education; but in his earlier poems we do not find this peculiarity of the Lake poets in its simplicity. For his images are generally not derived directly from nature, with which his acquaintance was then only superficial, but from nature viewed through the medium of one of the plastic arts. He did not originally contemplate nature at first-hand, but as it were in the studios of other artists. It was not so much nature as art that was his ideal. He belongs, in principle, to that band of artists who went to Rome in the early part of the century, resolved that, to paint like Raffaele, they must work upon the artistic models from which he started, in hope that the premisses which led him to his conclusion might lead them to a similar one. In general, he seems to have accepted Wordsworth's description of the office and work of the imagination. Imagination, as distinguished from fancy, is, according to Wordsworth, abhorrent of definite form; it extracts all the stiffness, rigidity, solidity, reality from objects, and reduces them to misty, grandiose, looming phantoms, instead of tangible and measurable things. There is a double process by which this may be done—the poet's and the painter's. Wordsworth reach farther than pencillings; passing sounds paint action more energetically than fixed forms and colours. The poet who goes

direct to nature and man may body forth in words as energetic as the act itself the action of the forces which he portrays; but another poet may prefer to take nature at second-hand from the painter or sculptor, or rather to pass his views of nature through a sculptor's or painter's medium, and then his imagination will have a peculiar character which may be called, perhaps, *sculpturesque*. It will be characterized by a stillness like that of a picture. Momentary acts will not come instantaneously across his horizon, to be noted for a moment, and then to pass. But the instantaneous posture will be caught and fixed, as in the gladiator of the Louvre; the rapid spring will be arrested in mid bound; and the lightning energy will stand for ever motionless, not as an act, but as a thing. All the images which Wordsworth adduces in his famous preface as instances of imagination have this characteristic, which he very likely considered to be essential to what he called "enthusiastic and meditative Imagination, as contradistinguished from human and dramatic Imagination." All these images seize and fix an action by depriving it of its energy, or stick a thing to the paper by pressing out its solidity and reducing it to a superficies. Thus we have Milton's comparison of the flying fiend to a fleet *hanging* in the clouds, and Wordsworth's own lines about the dove *brooding* over his own voice which is *buried* among trees, about the doubt whether the cuckoo is a bird or but a *wandering voice*, and about the old Cumberland beggar, who is compared first to a huge stone lying "like a sea-beast crawled forth," and then to a eloud which "moveth altogether if it move at all."

The *sculpturesque* phase of imagination thus adumbrated by Wordsworth became a characteristic of Mr. Tennyson's youthful poetry. Throughout his poems published in 1830 we find action reduced to dreams, and motions to pictures, or rather unliving photographs of life. His tendency is to translate all moods of minds into natural images or landscapes. Even his metaphysic becomes pictorial. The "Ode to Memory" accounts for the vividness of childish recollections by saying that it is the pride taken by the artist Memory in the first picture she painted. And at this time of his life Mr. Tennyson's memory was a picture-gallery, not a stage whereon former acts were performed anew. His "Recollections of the Arabian Nights" are all of this kind. The life is taken out of the tales, and only the painted vase left which once contained the volatile essence. There is no motion in these recollections; all is still life—idle trees, with a lazy boat on gurgling waters,

floating, without oarsmen or helmsman, and bringing its passenger into the presence of a painted Scherazade, and a wooden and spangled Aroun Alraschid. A like dreamy unreality characterizes all these early poems. "Adeline," the "mystery of mysteries," with her dim looks, holds converse only with roses and butterflies, who whisper wisdom to her brain. In a similar strain, "The Dirge" counsels a dead man to be careless of his detractor's raving, because flowers and bees and lights and shadows flit over his grave. In such a mood of mind it would seem a sufficient reply to any grave question to say that you saw a shooting star, or heard a skylark, or smelt a rose. The fine ballad of "Oriana" contains the noble line—where action is so characteristically suspended and woe drawn out to illimitable length—"O breaking heart that will not break;" but it ends with the lines:

"I dare not die and come to thee, Oriana,  
I hear the roaring of the sea, Oriana."

Naturally enough the roaring of the sea may connect itself with any mood of mind—with fear of death, or with determination to die—for passion assimilates sensation, and translates it into its own fibre. But then the sensation comes first, and the passion interprets it, as in the beginning of *Hamlet*:—"Tis bitter cold, and I am sick at heart." It is quite otherwise when the passion is interpreted by the sensation, and terror of death accounted for and justified by the fact that the man hears the waves roaring. This is a phantastic, not an imaginative or passionate, logic, learned not by direct observation of nature, but in the studio of the theoretical artist. It is in fact an affectation learned from the Lakists, often very irritating to a reader who is impatient of puerilities. To make all the horrors of the ancient mariner the penalty of shooting an albatross is bad enough. But in that case there exists an analogy between the deed and the penalty; the deed may be taken as a symbol of cruelty, and treated as the sample of a mass of like acts which in the aggregate deserve all that the mariner has to endure. But there is no such analogy to be found in the frequent cases where the Lake poets refer inquirers about the deepest questions of the soul and reason to the daisy or the robin-redbreast. They may declare that there are wrapt up in flowers and birds "thoughts too deep for tears;" but, as the symbol has no constant relation with the thought, it must suggest a different thought to every thinker, and so fail if an attempt is made to use it as an expression of common thought in common language. But there were several

causes which made the attempt popular when Mr. Tennyson began to write. Poetical instincts were wearied with the evaporated metaphors and stale images which had become the conventional alphabet of poetical speech; and it was a relief to see the Lakists striving to work out a new alphabet from the inexhaustible hieroglyphics of nature, to give a definite meaning to the vague language of flowers and birds, and to reduce it to recognised and measured harmonies of passion and feeling. Then again, poetical instincts were satiated with the melodramatic energy of Byron. In this respect there is an analogy between the enthusiastic meditative symbolism of the Lakists and the resolution of the school of Overbeck, in its reaction against the muscularity and energy traceable to the schools of Michel Angelo, Raffaele, and Rubens, to find all conceivable expression beneath the calm immobility of Beato Angelico da Fiesole. Again, it has been already pointed out that the consideration of nature as a parable was a prominent feature in the religious revival of forty years ago. Ideas were then rising and becoming popular which the Lake school had preached to audiences, fit perhaps, but few. The tone of the eighteenth century and of Byron was losing ground. The middle ages were preferred to the classic times seen through the French atmospheres of Lewis XIV. or the Revolution. Mediæval art and its principles were in the ascendant. The spirit of wonder was cultivated even to affectation. No one could guess the infinite possibilities which slumbered behind even the infinitesimal atom. The commonplace was transformed into matter of marvel; and the wonderful element was even more abundant in the ordinary occurrences of life than in its rare catastrophes.

When Mr. Tennyson began to publish he was thoroughly imbued with these sympathies. And, as the habit of looking at nature as at a chain of petty miracles is not very conducive to a generally accurate observation of her functions, it is not surprising if his earliest poems contain rather the mystical and magic view of nature than its sober and truthful transcription. The verses on "The Mermaid" and "The Mermaid" are cases in point. There is no concentrated effort to realize the watery medium in which those beings reside. They seem as dry and bright as if they dwelt in the Sahara. Nay, we are even told of

"All the dry pied things that be  
In the hueless mosses under the sea."

Among these early poems there is one, "Mariana in the Moated Grange," which is

both perfectly musical and perfectly natural. But the nature is the loneliness of the foggy fen. It is the stillest life that can be called life at all. Like Mr. Browning's "Childe Roland," it is founded on a hint of Shakespeare, who gives the pregnant title, and leaves to the succeeding poet the task of bringing out the latent possibilities of the idea he had darkly hinted. Even these early poems show an intelligent appreciation of the great dramatist astonishing in one so young. Not only are whole poems, such as "Mariana" and the two owl songs, founded on Shakespeare's hints, but his influence may be traced in many a subtle touch throughout the poems. When he was only twenty years old, Mr. Tennyson had learned a secret which Wordsworth never could master—the secret of finding a neat image which enabled him to express a whole sentence in a couple of words. He had made himself a master in the art of creating epigrammatic language. Thus nothing can be neater than the lines:

"Thou art no Sabbath-drawler of old saws  
Distilled from some worm-cankered homily."

An example of how the two poets respectively treat an image of nature may be here adduced, though the instance is not taken from Mr. Tennyson's earliest poems. Wordsworth, in his "Waggoner," describing the tugging horses, says:

"And the smoke and respiration  
Rising like an exhalation  
Blend with the mist, a moving shroud,  
To form an undissolving cloud."

Compare this with Mr. Tennyson's picture of Sir Bevidere in the "Morte d'Arthur":

"But the other swiftly strode from ridge to ridge  
Clothed with his breath, and looking, as he walked,  
Larger than human on the frozen hills."

Whether it is quite natural that the vapour should cling like a garment round one so swiftly moving may be questioned: what is unquestionable is that in the four words, "clothed with his breath," is compressed the whole picture which Wordsworth spends four lines on. And this gives a characteristic of Mr. Tennyson from his earliest times: he was not content, like Wordsworth, to describe in the first perspicuous words which came to hand the natural image which he intended to describe; but he laboured at his words as well as his ideas; he studied the art of musical expression, of moulding sound to sense, of terse speaking, of finding the handiest image, perhaps even more profoundly than he studied the art of importing new ideas and images from nature. Doubt-

less this came from a close study of the poets. In reading lines like

"He trod on silk, as if the wind  
Blew his own praises in his eyes,"

it is easy to see what age of poetical literature had impressed him. Again, in his lines on "The Poet's Mind" it is obvious that he speaks as Shelley had prompted him. The extravagant description of the almighty seer, so tame in its very extravagance, is clearly an idea adopted, not self-evolved; and his defiance to the critic who cannot fathom the poet's mind, and in whose presence the birds cease to sing and the fountains to play, is simply a puerile conventionality.

Two years later, in 1832, a number of fresh poems were published. The first is "The Lady of Shalott," which gives the earliest indication of the bent of Mr. Tennyson's inclinations to the cycle of Arthurian legends. But this epic material had not yet awaked him to the love of action. His poetical attitude in these poems is essentially the same as in the earlier: dreaming is substituted for living, and thought is a trance. The poems even become monotonous through this cause. There is hardly one in which an exaggerated repose does not become a frost to numb the poetry. "The Lady of Shalott" may be taken as a type of the poet himself. As long as she sits at her embroidery frame, seeing in her mirror what is passing beyond her windows, and copying what she sees in her web, she lives; when she runs to the window to see life, not in its reflection but in its reality, the curse overwhelms her, and she dies. Life in a trance, or life fading away into death, or wearing itself out in monotonous and dreary expectation—these are the farrago of the little book of 1832. There is a repetition of the lonely Mariana, no longer finding the appropriate scene of her disconsolate solitude in the dreary northern fen, but in the lazy tedium of a hot Italian Castello. If "Eleanore" recalls the manner of Shelley, it also contains some lines typical of Mr. Tennyson. Thus:

"In thee all passion becomes passionless  
Touched by thy spirit's mellowness,  
Losing his fire and active might;"

and again, the description of his own love:

"A languid fire creeps  
Through my veins to all my frame  
Dissolvingly and slowly."

"I would be dying evermore."

In fact "Eleanore" contains a very lexicon of phrases and images to express the dying fall of the mesmerized spirit, half consciously entering into its trance. "The Miller's Daughter,"

in many respects a charming idyll, is a kindly recital by some John Anderson to his old wife, over their wine and walnuts after dinner, of how he came to woo and win her. Here, besides the dreamy nature of the story itself, there is the additional dreaminess of its reflection in the old man's memory. He remembers himself as a boy who

"Had no motion of my own  
Before I dreamed that pleasant dream"

of love, which just gave him energy enough to gain his bride. But long before the time of the narration he has relapsed into his old trance: and his only wish is that he and his wife may die both together, and that till then things may remain as they are, without any change:

"Untouched by any shade of years  
May those kind eyes for ever dwell."

If the love in "Fatima" is of a different kind, fast and furious, yet there is a central calm in the midst of the movement, which is the ultimate goal to which her passion tends:

"I will possess him or will die,  
I will grow round him in his place,  
Grow, live, die, looking on his face,  
Die, dying clasped in his embrace."

All the hurry and violence is simply the greater eagerness with which the blessed Nirwana is pursued. In "Enone" the contrast between the fiery love within and the outward stillness of nature, which gradually subdues the inward flame and extinguishes its violence, is pursued. In this poem Mr. Tennyson first gave proof of his mastery over the music of blank verse, and of that marked individuality in it which makes his ring almost as easily recognised as that of Milton. But it is remarkable how the dominant stillness is here also made to invade everything. Nature is subdued by it:

"The swimming vapour slopes athwart the glen,  
Puts forth an arm, and creeps from pine to pine,  
And loiters, slowly drawn."

Enone herself is subject to its control:

"round her neck  
Floated her hair, or seemed to float in rest."

Even Juno, promising Paris the highest prizes of ambition if he decides in her favour, has nothing greater to promise than power which brings not work but repose:

"men in power  
Only, are likest gods, who have attained  
Rest in a quiet place, and quiet seats."

Enone seems to formulate the whole idea of

the poem, the unquiet mind subdued by nature's rest, in the lines:

"Fiery thoughts  
Do shape themselves within me more and more  
Whereof I catch the issue, as I hear  
Dead sounds at night come from the inmost hills  
Like footsteps upon wool."

What Falstaff would call the "damnable iteration" of the invocation "O Mother Ida" recalls the lines in "The Miller's Daughter" where the narrator, to exhibit the dreaminess of his youth, relates how he was haunted by

"the phantom of a silent snog  
With weary sameness in the rhymes."

The repetition certainly gives the idea of a mechanical and involuntary dream, as if the action were sleep-walking, and as if all motion were congealing under our eyes, and the subtle legend crystallizing in the multitudinous and monotonous needles of a frozen mass. In "The Sisters" murderous hate assumes the form of love, to charm its victim into his last sleep; while "The Palace of Art" admits us at once to the secrets of the youthful poet's idealisms. The pictures it draws, with one exception—that of the angry sea, which however in its rocking motion is not incompatible with the cradle and with sleep—are all of subjects such as have already been described. The solitary

"Who paced for ever in a glimmering land  
Lit with a large low moon,"

the maid-mother sitting smiling by a crucifix, St. Cecilia asleep with an angel looking at her, the wounded Arthur dozing in Avalon and watched by weeping Queens, Numa waiting for Egeria, are all pictures where life is set at rest and the quick pulse suspended. The moral purpose of the poem is to show that art cannot supply the lack of religion. It remains, however, that the poet's ideal of art is stillness and repose. He criticises not art as he conceives it, but the immoral usurpation of art over faith and conscience. The poem therefore furnishes no evidence that, when it was written, he had discovered, or begun to suspect, the insufficiency of his ideal.

His ideal however is one which, by the nature of the case, is capable of any amount of pathos. For it prizes suffering above acting, enduring above inflicting; and it treats pride and wickedness rather as the symptoms of a diseased and wasted heart, than as direct results of an evil strength and voluntary activity. It is impossible to conceive Mr. Tennyson spontaneously setting himself to create a character like Milton's Satan or Byron's Cain. If it were not for

a profound sympathy with Milton's workmanship and imagery, he would be more apt, on ethical grounds, to call the *Paradise Lost*, with Collier, "that cursed farce, in which the devil is the hero." He only represents evil as a pitiable weakness; he refuses to it, not only in its beginning and end, but also in its middle and its immediate operations, any real element of strength. Thus in "Lady Clara Vere de Vere" the cold pride of the aristocratic jilt is made rather a sickness than a crime:

"In glowing health, with boundless wealth,  
But sickening of a vague disease,  
You know so ill to deal with time  
You needs must play such pranks as these."

The three poems, "The May Queen," "New Year's Eve," and "Conclusion," are three touching pictures of the young girl asking her mother to call her early for she is to be Queen of the May, and again to call her early because she wants to see the sun rise on the last New Year she will ever behold, and again, just before death, relating her experiences to her mother. They are poems of exquisite pathos. In the first, the anticipation of the maddest and merriest day of the year comes through the medium of night: it is not the frolic itself, but the waking dream of it, which the poet gives. In the second, the girl, half purified and half resigned, still clings to earth, and cannot be content to go till she has seen the snowdrop. In the last she quits life's feast, *uti conviva satur*, who has seen not only the snowdrop but the violet, and has nothing more to desire in life. This poem presents in its most touching form the mediæval and mystic notion of death as the deliverer, the sanctifier, the great artist who first subdues the gay colours of life, and then gilds its sombre tints, and crowns it with a nimbus.

In "The Lotos-Eaters" the artistic ideal of the young poet found its most finished expression and its culminating point. Here he seems to have attained a consciousness that beyond the ideal which he had adopted there is another, larger, grander, and more satisfying. And he makes this perfect manifestation of his own ideal a self-condemning criticism upon it. Nowhere else perhaps in the range of poetry is the trance of a listless life so harmoniously married to appropriate melodies and appropriate accompaniments. The method by which the effect is attained is a tour de force, somewhat akin to Gainsborough's audacity in painting his blue boy contrary to the received axioms of pictorial combinations. The lines describing the land

"In which it seemed always afternoon—  
All round the coast the languid air did swoon,

Breathing like one that hath a weary dream,  
Full faced above the valley stood the moon;  
And like a downward smoke the slender  
stream  
Along the cliff to fall and pause, and fall did  
seem,"

show to demonstration that poetry has a province where it is no blemish but a beauty and congruity when

"a needless Alexandrine ends the song,  
When expletives their feeble aid do join—  
And ten low words oft creep in one dull line,"

and when even the verses

"ring round the same unvaried chimes,  
With sure returns of still expected rhymes."

But if the more special rules are set at nought in these poems of Mr. Tennyson's, at least he gives a brilliant example of the wider and more general axiom:

"The sound must seem an echo to the sense."

In the two lines immediately succeeding those already quoted from "The Lotos-Eaters," there is an image which may be taken as typical of the kind of imagery which the poet's ideal requires:

"A land of streams! some, like a downward  
smoke  
Slow dropping veils of thinnest lawn, did go."

In a poem which had not the special drift of "The Lotos-Eaters," this image would be open to the criticism that it halted behind nature with the clumsy contrivance of the theatrical scene-painter, instead of attempting to overtake her with the nimbleness of thought and thought-executing words. The lawn veil is precisely the scene-shifter's contrivance for representing mists or darkness or spray. But the whole art of Mr. Tennyson, in this early stage at least, lies in his rendering of nature at two removes; his poems are a translation of a translation. The scene is first in idea reduced to a picture; and then the picture, not the scene, is the immediate object of the poetical description. The views of nature are artificial, and not unsophisticated; and the art is concealed by the affectation of dreaminess. For the dream is a representation analogous to artistic representation in everything but its spontaneousness. Art without contrivance or design would be undistinguishable from the imagery of a dream. The suggestion of a dream removes, therefore, the suspicion of the cut-and-dry pedantry which makes up the gravamen of artificiality and affectation. The lines of the poem where the ideal it presents is criticised and condemned are

those which, after extolling the sweetness of lying, with dropt eyelids,

"To watch the long bright river drawing slowly  
His waters from the purple hill,"

announce (ironically on the poet's part) the practical conclusion:

"We have had enough of action, and of motion  
we

Surely, surely slumber is more sweet than  
toil."

Andrew Marvell made his shepherds anticipate an Elysium where

"There always is a rising sun,  
And day is ever but begun."

This is perhaps the natural idea: Mr. Tennyson's dream is redolent of the fumes of opium.

The somewhat extended poem, "A Dream of Fair Women," while it aims at the pathetic purpose of exhibiting

"Beauty and anguish walking hand in hand  
The downward slope to death,"

is obliged, by the necessities of its machinery, to strike the same monotonous chord of somnambulism and quietism:

"There was no motion in the dumb dead air,  
Nor any song of bird, or sound of rill,  
The smell of violets, hidden in the green,  
Poured back into my empty soul and frame  
The times when I remember to have been."

In all these poems, as in dreams, man is the plaything of circumstance, the victim of accidents, sensations, and images, instead of a creative spirit subduing circumstances to his own will. He is a being of growth and development, not of self-determining energy. In speaking of nature, the copula in the propositions of the poet is not "becomes" but "is." And as he falls behind fact instead of outstripping it, in his natural contemplation, by reducing the motion of vegetative life and mechanical force to mere stationary existence, so his verb for man is "becomes" not "does." His characters do not act: they grow. They feel; and their feelings change them. But they do not preside over their own changes or show themselves lords of their own actions. Hence they are not characters: they are personified feelings. The dramatic element is entirely wanting in them.

The poems of 1832 conclude with a few political pieces, in which the political principles stand in the closest relations to the ethical and artistic principles which we have found in the poetry. In politics, Mr. Tennyson

recommends the same statuesque attitude which he gives to the characters of his poems. His ideal citizen holds off and watches events, and interferes but rarely. Though he watches them not as a critic, but as a sympathizer, nevertheless the work of interference is too rough for him. As a cultured man, he feels shut out from political movements whose tendency he approves, because of the collision between his refinement and the rude energies of the active politicians. He justifies his liberalism by his undoubted faith in the goodness of the ultimate results of the fermentation, and justifies his own refusal to meddle by the intolerable roughness and sourness of the actual and present agents in that fermentation. He believes that 'the braggart shout for some blind glimpse of freedom works itself, through madness, hated by the wise, to law, system, and Empire.' So he may, as a philosopher, approve the madness which as a man he loathes. He likes democracy, but not democrats. Mr. N. P. Willis used to say that the perfection of good fortune was to be an American and to live with Englishmen. If Mr. Tennyson was ever (for foreign lands) a theoretical revolutionist, at any rate he would have nothing to do with revolutions. The justification of this apparently pusillanimous abstention from the whirl of politics is the notion that political changes come to pass not so much by the efforts of individuals as by a kind of natural force,

"A motion toiling in the gloom  
The spirit of the years to come;"

and that the attempts of men to influence and guide the course of events, result, as often as not, in bringing about just what they do not wish:

"He that roars for liberty,  
Faster binds a tyrant's power,  
And the tyrant's cruel glee  
Forces on the freer hour."

Hence, as man's moral nature is supposed to grow almost independently of his acts, so is the constitution of States supposed to grow by a kind of vegetative process. Accordingly the politician, as painted by Mr. Tennyson in 1832, is rather a contemplative than a man of action. At least his endurance is infinite, whereas his action, though decisive, is rare indeed. He speaks his one word, deals his one blow; and all is over. He loves the good of each side, and is impartial, and only

"If some dreadful need should rise  
Would strike, and firmly, and one stroke."

His is a literary and critical view of politics,

hopelessly inadequate for any practical purpose. It was however a view which in 1832 many thoughtful men took. With half sympathy, half aversion, they supposed themselves to be assisting at the flood of democracy, which was to destroy barbarism, but in the process also to overwhelm the highest culture and to reduce the nations to a level of moderate ideas and average happiness. Men of culture who held with Tocqueville that the rising tide was, on the whole, fraught with salutary promise, yet mourned over the prospects of refinement and the delicate ornaments of civilization which they thought would be rolled into shapeless shingle by the waves. Mr. Tennyson, at the age of twenty-two, seems to have been impressed with this view, though he had hopes for England that she would not be subject to the common law of less exceptional nations.

The next batch of poems was published in 1842. In these ten years the poet had outgrown much of the exaggeration of his earlier period, and was giving indications of many modifications and improvements in his style. But his mind was in a state less complete, less satisfied with the limit it had attained, than it had been in 1830 and 1832. Hence the new volume contained no poem (except "Locksley Hall") which in completeness and perfection after its kind could be compared to the best of the earlier compositions. As a whole, the new poems are more interesting as indications of the poet's course, of the direction of his progress, than as beacons set up to mark the farthest limits of that progress in its several directions. They consist largely of fragments of blank verse, used in several ways for epic, idyllic, satirical, lyrical, in fact, anything but dramatic, poetry. Yet there seems to be a kind of blind intention to be dramatic, testified by the way in which the poet attributes many of the fragments to others, as if they, not he, had written them to express thoughts not his own. But there seems to be no inherent quality in any of these poems to furnish a plausible pretext for this pretended disclaimer of their authorship. Their manner, their sentiments, their thoughts, are all Tennysonian. It may be that the poet was sounding his own dramatic depth; it may be that he had formed the design of writing an epic poem on King Arthur in detached fragments, and had thought of connecting them by some machinery similar to Chaucer's in the *Canterbury Tales*. At any rate, he puts several of his fragments into alien mouths, and thereby gains an opportunity, like Chaucer, of embodying in the prologues to them some charming realistic, and often



playful and even humorous, sketches of modern life. Already these prologues are of greater interest than the more laboured exercises which they introduce. Future times will perhaps see in them some of Mr. Tennyson's most characteristic and most valuable productions. As might be expected, the mental characteristics of the poems of 1842 are on the whole those of the poems of 1830 and 1832. The poet's mind was too well rounded off, too well furnished, at the earlier period, to admit anything contradictory to its main principles. It is hard to get more into a mind already full. Mr. Tennyson had not obeyed the good rule, never to tell men one truth till you can tell them two. He had consequently become the champion of one idea, which occupied and still occupies almost the whole of his mind. He formed his ideal of life so exclusively on the notion of man floating helplessly down the stream of time, and dreamily reposing on the bosom of Fate, that he has found it hard to give any just picture of human activity and voluntary effort. He is a master of pathos, of the representation of endurance, but not of dramatic energy.

The first of the poems of 1842, purporting to be the eleventh out of twelve cantos of an epic on Arthur, written, and with this exception destroyed, by one Everard Hall, is introduced by a short prologue. It has two titles—"The Epic," and "Morte d'Arthur." The prologue is perhaps a "prelude of disparagement," indicated by the authorship shuffled off to other shoulders, by the confession that in these days an epic poem is an anachronism—

"For nature brings not back the Mastodon,  
Nor we those times; and why should any  
man  
Remodel models?"—

and by the production of a mere fragment as a sample instead of waiting till a completer quantity might be delivered. The epic itself is what, sixteen years afterwards, the poet would have called an idyll; and in fact he has at last republished it with his idylls. Doubtless the whole story of Arthur, with its violence and catastrophes, is epic enough in possibility; but in this canto the poet gives an idyllic fragment, describing processes and appearances instead of acts and characters, manners and sentiments instead of resolutions which have their effect on life. The wounded Arthur commands Sir Bevidere to restore the sword Excalibur, which had been given him by the arm "clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful," emerging from the lake. Then follows Sir Bevidere's temptation, and, lastly, his bear-

ing the king on his shoulders, and depositing him in the fairy barge to be carried to Avalon. It is a piece of an epic, which is not epic but idyllic—a dreamy, sentimental, magical episode of the energetic story of the Round Table.

"The Gardener's Daughter" is another idyll, but of a pastoral character, of two painters and their two loves. The narrator cannot be said to make love; love is borne in upon him as a sensation. He is made happy by circumstance. The dreamy character of the poem is kept up by the nature of the love described. It is a desire which attains its object without means. No doubt it is a true description of the feelings of youth, whose solecism, as Bacon says, is to will the end without the means:

"Shall I cease here? Is this enough to say  
That my desire, like all strongest hopes,  
By its own energy fulfilled itself  
Merged in completion?"

The contagion of love is a real instance of the desire fulfilling itself; and the selection of the subject proves nothing about the poet's views. But his generalization, that like love "all strongest hopes" fulfil themselves by their own energy, is a touch too characteristic to be passed over.

"Dora" is another idyll in another form. It is a pathetic and domestic story, such as reached its greatest development nearly a quarter of a century later in "Enoch Arden." These little stories are such as might serve for touching chapters in some fresh tales of *Our Village* by a new and improved Miss Mitford. They are of perilous precedent; for they are only too imitable, so far as pathos goes, by writers who make it their business to milk the public for tears. But it would be difficult to copy the jewelry of Mr. Tennyson's diction, or the casket of melody in which he sets it. These pieces are true idylls, highly finished little monographs, specialties of narration, in which the poet demonstrates, by the logic of fact, that pastoral life is not of the essence of this kind of poem, but that it can be applied to any subject which may be surveyed through a peaceful medium, in any way analogous to the shepherd's dreamy meditation.

"Audley Court" and "The Golden Year" are other instances of the tentative nature of these poems. They are only frame-works for songs, in which the capacity of blank verse to serve for lyrical poetry is sounded and proved. The experience here-acquired was afterwards turned to excellent account in "The Princess." The settings of the songs are real idylls, of not much importance. Again, "Walking to the Mail" is an attempt

to put satire into idyllic form. The matter of the poem, like that of "Locksley Hall," concerns the socialistic questions agitated at the time, and so far is a prelude to "Maud." "Edwin Morris" is another idyll belonging to the same category. It is aimed against that great bugbear of English romance-writers, humorists, and poets, the habit of allowing considerations of money and family to thwart love-matches, and satirizes

"him  
That was a god, and is a lawyer's clerk,  
The rent-roll Cupid of our rainy isles."

The next idyll, "Love and Duty," is of another kind; it is a meditation on the fruits which the mind gathers from a love which ends because duty forbids its continuance. The philosophy of the poem is that which the poet afterwards so tersely expressed in the stanza:

"God gives us love, something to love  
He lends us; but when love is grown  
To ripeness, that on which it throve  
Falls off, and love is left alone."

The poem, though philosophic in intention, is idyllic, because the philosophy is pictorial, and the exposition of it is therefore descriptive, not didactic. The pathos is highly wrought, and gives promise of that profound power which is displayed in Arthur's parting words to Guinevere in the "Idylls of the King." "Ulysses" is an idyllic monologue, and both in subject and manner is the retraction of "The Lotus-Eaters." As the motive of that poem was "we have had enough of action," so the motive of "Ulysses" is "we have had enough of rest." It denounces, not the vanity of working, but the vanity of ceasing work:

"How dull it is to pause, to make an end,  
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use,  
As though to breathe were life!"

But the restlessness of Ulysses, like the pranks of Lady Clara Vere de Vere, arises from a "vague disease," a void within him, caused by the eddies of his experience in his memory:

"All experience is an arch wherethrough  
Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades  
For ever and for ever."

The thoughts, and some of the diction, of this poem seem to be moulded on the grand speech of Ulysses to Achilles in the third act of *Troilus and Cressida*:

"To have done, is to hang  
Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail  
In monumental mockery."

The last of the idylls in blank verse is "Godiva," a charming version of the Coventry legend, telling how she

"Unclad herself in haste, adown the stair  
Stole on; and, like a creeping sunbeam,  
slid  
From pillar unto pillar, until she reached  
The gateway; there she found her palfrey  
trapt."

An action which is more passive than active, consisting more in suffering and endurance than in energy, like the aimless wanderings of Ulysses and Godiva's naked ride, is the ideal to which Mr. Tennyson still clung in 1842.

After the idylls must be first mentioned, "St. Simeon Stylites," which, like "Ulysses," is a monologue, but is too drastic in its searchings of heart to be called idyllic. It opens a new vein; it is a dramatic monologue, similar in kind to those with which readers of Mr. Browning's poetry are familiar, but of which, before 1842, that master had given no other examples than his incomprehensible "Paracelsus" and "Sordello." St. Simeon motionless upon his pillar, growing there like a weed, enduring the sun by day and the dews by night, is a figure apt to impress Mr. Tennyson's fancy. If his conception has not the audacity of Æschylus's Niobe, who, veiled prostrate and silent, acted the chief part in a drama without saying a word, or of his Prometheus, chained to Caucasus, and exchanging his words only with his tormentors or his comforters, at least his picture of St. Simeon has something of Æschylus about it. The monologue of St. Simeon, which only at the end changes to an address to the people round his pillar, is a recitation to himself, before God, of what he has done to obtain remission of his sins and the crown of sanctity. The subject is approached rather from the polemical side than from that of an impartial psychological analysis. It looks as if the poet had been intent upon showing the ill-concealed pride and half-conscious hypocrisy of a humility which seeks perfection through self-imposed suffering. Hence comes a coarseness in the conception and a hoarseness in the involuntary "asides" which is very ill-matched with the delicacy of the technical execution. Mr. Tennyson evidently lacks that power which is the strong point of Mr. Browning, whose monologues of unintentional self-analysis are perhaps the most striking portions of his poems.

Passing by "The Talking Oak," a long ballad of the dialogue between a lover and an oak growing in his mistress's park, which takes upon itself a kind of guardianship

over her—a fancy quite in unison with Mr. Tennyson's muse, which, with eyes only half-awake, sees men as trees walking, and so congruously hears trees as men talking—we come to two of the most important poems of 1842, "Locksley Hall" and "The Two Voices." The latter belongs to the psychological class to which we have referred "St. Simeon Stylites." It deals with the scepticism which is a natural reaction of the mind, on its first expansion with scientific knowledge of the laws of the visible universe, against not only the prejudices but the truths of a religion the teaching of which had for ages been involved with false theories of physics. To those who had accepted Christianity as a religion essentially mixed up with the notion that the earth is, if not the physical, at least the moral, and probably the organic, centre of the universe, the discovery of the apparent infinitude of space, peopled with innumerable solar and planetary systems, is a difficulty which often cuts them adrift from their moorings. Mr. Tennyson in the "Two Voices" seeks to furnish them with new cordage, not to make them fast to their dogmatic traditions, but to prevent their drifting away from the morality of theism. In accordance with the temper of the Lake school, the counter proof consists merely in appeals to the feelings. Against the hopelessness of ever attaining any real knowledge, and the folly of striving for it in pain, when death presents a ready haven of rest, the second voice has only to hint at a "hidden hope,"—

"To feel, although no tongue can prove,  
That every cloud, that spreads above  
And veileth love, itself is love."

This dialogue is the *Phædo* of Mr. Tennyson's philosophy. Its impressiveness depends simply on the mood of mind in which it is read. Its intellectual character, so far as it has one, is Platonic; and the fact of reminiscence is explained by the Platonic suggestion of pre-existence. At the same time, the poet unquestionably exhibited great foresight in seizing on the great and pervading question of the day. It was about the year 1842 that the tide of the religious and metaphysical feeling which had found expression in the Lake school began to turn, and the tide of materialistic philosophy began to advance. At any rate the poem foreshadows the miseries of a mind imbued with feelings of religiosity, but overwhelmed with the suggestions of a philosophy which admits the validity of nothing but phenomena. This philosophy is exhibited in deadly struggle with the old view, which considers the world as the creation and the realm of a mind and will ana-

logous to man's; and at last some kind of reconciliation is made between them. To one is assigned the realm of reason; to the other that of the feelings, which constitute premises for a certain conclusion, though the reason cannot formulate either the premises or the conclusion of the argument. The upshot seems to be the popular notion that among all things that can be taught some are knowable and others only capable of being felt, and that religion, like poetry, is one of the things which belongs solely to the feelings. "Locksley Hall," on the other hand, belongs altogether to the visible and sensible side of existence. It paints the collision of individual passion with the exigences of social life. It strives to solve the problem which assails every man sooner or later—how to make his public duties square with his private feelings. There are innumerable occasions in which a man has to smother the wounds within him, and to bear a cheerful countenance, and join in common triumphs, as if he were heart-whole. Not only love and duty may be at strife, but duty and the other feelings or passions. The poem weighs in poetical balance the claims of the individual passions and sorrows of the blighted being against the claims which his country and the public have upon him. It is a monologue. The orphan-nephew at Locksley Hall, dreaming of the coming humanitarian millennium, becomes engaged to his cousin, the heiress of the estate; she jilts him; and he, in his despair—rage, inveighs against the whole constitution of things. He thinks of retiring to the far East, and taking to wife a savage woman. But then he remembers that because he is vexed to death it is no reason why the world should come to an end, that his private sorrows do not take away from the value of the gains of human progress, and that civilization is better than barbarism though his cousin is a jilt. It is observable that the very truth which brings resignation to the hero of "Locksley Hall"—

"The individual withers, and the world is more  
and more"—

is just that which the tempter in "The Two Voices" uses as the argument for self-destruction:

"Who'll weep for thy deficiency?  
Or will one beam be less intense,  
When thy peculiar difference  
Is cancelled in the world of sense?"

And it really is true that the same fancy which might argue the quietist into despair would be the greatest motive for exertion to the man of action:

"I must mix myself with action, lest I wither  
by despair."

In the resolve to be up and doing, such a man finds his comfort:

"The crescent promise of my spirit hath not set."

The poem itself quite smothers its philosophic intention in a wealth of poetical imagery, and in a dramatic flow of ideas suggested as much by pride and passion as by reason, which Mr. Tennyson up to that date had never given promise of. It may even be doubted whether "Maud," which thirteen years later pursued the vein here opened, was any real improvement upon the earlier work. "Locksley Hall," however, with all its impetuosity, is no real exception to the peculiar current of Mr. Tennyson's poetical ideas. The soliloquist is a dreamer struggling with his dreams. His trials are all self-woven, by a self which works helplessly and involuntarily. The various schemes of life which he suggests to himself and rejects are so many dreams. The difference between the poet of 1832 and the poet of 1842 is that the first is a dreamer who sets himself to dream, and who thinks, as some poet says,

"He sleeps not vainly life away  
Who tells of what he dreameth ;"

while the second sees that life is somewhat more than a dream, and that dreams have to be countermined sometimes with contradictory dreams, sometimes with action. "Ulysses," "Locksley Hall," "The Two Voices," have all this tendency. In "The Vision of Sin" the very attitudes and versification of the "Lotos-Eaters" are reproduced, not now to glorify inaction as a permissible phase of existence, but to denounce it as sinful. There

"sat a company with heated eyes,  
Expecting when a fountain should arise;  
A sleepy light upon their brows and lips—  
As when the sun, a crescent of eclipse,  
Dreams over lake and lawn, and isles and capes,—  
Suffused them, sitting, lying, languid shapes,  
By heaps of gourds, and skins of wine, and piles of grapes."

It is natural that both this poem and "The Day-Dream" should largely display Mr. Tennyson's earlier characteristics; for they profess to be only visions. The other poems of 1842 are chiefly ballads, the best of which for simplicity and pathos is the "Lord of Burleigh," "Amphion" and "Will Water-proof's Lyrical Monologue" over his port wine at the Cock are humorous—the latter rather high in the scale of merit.

After all these preludes and experiments Mr. Tennyson girded up his loins for a longer and more continuous effort. "The Princess,

a Medley," was published in 1847. It is in blank verse, with a few lyrical rhymes as symphonies between the cantos. It consists of a prologue, a story, and an epilogue. The prologue is an idyll of modern life. There is a rustic fête in Vivian Park, with all the appliances of the Mechanics' Institutes, still in 1847 fresh with the halo which Sir Robert Peel had shed around them in his speech at the opening of the Tamworth reading-room in 1841. Seven college friends are together in the park, picnicing in the ruins of the Abbey, with Lilia Vivian, a woman yet in girlhood, who makes herself a champion of woman's rights:

"O I wish  
That I were some great princess, I would build  
Far off from men a college like a man's,"

and, as one of the seven suggested,

"With prudes for proctors, dowagers for deans,  
And sweet girl graduates in their golden hair."

At last, from this badinage there emerges a proposal that a story should be told, and that each of the seven men should narrate a chapter of it. So said, so done; and the medley called "The Princess" is the supposed result. Seven narrators succeed one another, each taking up not only the thread of the story, but the person of the chief actor in it. Each in turn is the prince betrothed in boyhood to a princess, who, however, according to Lilia's fancy, renounces men, founds a woman's college, and makes it death for man to enter. But the prince and his two friends don woman's raiment and enrol themselves as students. They are discovered by the dowager-deans, who, however, in pity refrain from reporting them to the princess; but their own imprudence betrays them at a silvan feast. In the disorderly retreat which follows, the princess falls into a river, and is saved by the prince. Meanwhile the prince's father comes with an army to rescue him, and to claim the bride. After parleys, the event is left to be decided by a tournament, in which the princess's brother unhorses and wounds the prince, who is carried into the ladies' college to be nursed—an operation which opens the lady's eyes to the true place of women, and makes her yield to the common lot of her sex. The epilogue returns to the meeting in Vivian Park, and ends with the chat of the young men, and an application of the story to the politics of France.

The author of "The Princess" professes that his poem is "mock heroics;" and it may be said with truth that never out of

Cervantes was a slight tale more majestic-ly told. In fact, the heroic form makes one forget the triviality of the matter; and the story is read with simple faith, not undermined by the humour of its absurdity, till we awake at the end to the consciousness of what manner of poem it is that we have read. And yet it is not the triumph of sound over sense. Each incident arouses its appropriate passion, and each passion clothes itself in its appropriate words. The exaggeration is between the parts and the whole, between the whole action and its accessories, not, as in Cervantic style, between the words and their immediate meaning. The poem has no grandiloquent absurdities; the utmost that can be said of it in this respect is that it has here and there very sweet music with a minimum of meaning beneath it. Such is the Prince's song in the fourth canto:

"O swallow, swallow, flying, flying south,  
Fly to her, and fall upon her gilded eaves  
And tell her, tell her, what I tell to thee."

But in general the sentiments are commensurate with the language, however incommensurate with the absolute requirements of the story. Hence we feel no incongruity when we come on so mixed—Miltonic and Shakespearian—a speech as that of the Prince to Ida in the fourth canto:

"O not to pry and peer on your reserve," etc.

So far as words, images, and power of expression go, the poet in "The Princess" had emancipated himself from the dreamy spontaneity of his style. It is all the more striking then, as a witness to the strength which the passive attitude of mind has over him, that when he had emancipated himself from it, so far as the manner of his writing was concerned, he chose still to keep himself enthralled by it so far as his matter went. For he selected a story so loosely hung that, to justify it, he had to attribute it to the invention of seven consecutive narrators. He made its hero, for no evident necessity, a cataleptic subject, liable to day-dreams, in which he knew not the shadow from the substance. In the very tournament, which is the most stirring moment of the poem, the hero is made to fight as in a dream. "Yet it seemed a dream, I dreamed of fighting."

It seems as if the dreaming side of life appeared in those days to Mr. Tennyson so exclusively its real and solemn side, that, on the other hand, all fierce action seemed grotesque, the proper subject for "raillery or false sublime," and unworthy of serious

treatment by an earnest poet. This perhaps partly accounts for his success in this great poem. He was able to let himself down a peg or two, to unscrew himself from the tension of his sublime dreams, to come down upon his subject from above instead of climbing laboriously up to it. Yet in one sense he had climbed laboriously up to it. On reading his works consecutively, it is easy to see that many of the short pieces of 1842 were preludes and studies in which he essayed the form and the intention of this poem. The pseudo-dramatic form which in the miscellanies of 1842 is so often affected by attributing the authorship of a piece to an alien pen, or by distributing its otherwise undistinguishable current among the conduits of more speakers than one, here finds its crown, if not its explanation and justification; and the intention of "The Princess" finds its anticipation in "The Day-Dream," with its morals and envoys, to explain its application, or rather its inapplicability to anything in particular. As for the idea of the poem, it has much in common with Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, where a male academe, a counterpart of the Princess's girl's college, is routed by the irruption of a princess and her court. It has also some analogies with Mrs. Browning's *Aurora Leigh*, and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, both of which recount the failure of socialistic reformers. It must be owned, however, that the man shows himself much less of an enthusiast for the woman's reforms, than the women showed themselves for the male ideas round which they entwined their tales.

"In Memoriam" was Mr. Tennyson's next poem. The introduction bears the date 1849. The poem was published in 1850. It is analogous to a series of sonnets, and is addressed to a friend, Arthur Hallam, who had died at Vienna seventeen years before. The metre is the same throughout—quatrains of lines of eight syllables each, the first and the last lines rhyming together, and the two middle ones. Each number consists of three, generally four, sometimes as many as thirty (lxxxiv.) of these stanzas. The form then is as wide as possible from that of the strictly defined and invariable sonnet; but the whole spirit of the poem is the spirit of the sonnet as understood by Dante, Petrarch, and Shakespeare. The sonnet is devoted to the philosophy of love. Whether the chosen object of love is a real mistress idealized, as Dante's and Petrarch's, or a real mistress realized, as Spenser's, or one quite ideal, as Drayton's, or a living man, like Shakespeare's friend, or a dead mistress, as in Petrarch's second series of sonnets, or

a dead friend, as in "In Memoriam," makes no great matter to the course of the poem. The subject is always the scale or ladder of love; whether this is approached in a pre-established scholastic manner, as was apparently the case with Dante and Petrarch, perhaps even with Shakespeare, or whether the method is evolved from the isolated self-consciousness of the individual poet, an analogous result is always obtained. The courses of the human affections proceed by rules as really as the processes of the human reason. There is a logic of love as truly as there is a logic of deduction or induction. From the nature of the case its rules are not capable of so intelligible an exposition as the rules of the logic of reasoning; but Plato has sketched their movement as really as Aristotle has exhibited the movement of apprehension, judgment, and syllogism; and the great sonneteers have exhibited this movement in its concrete expression with as much mastery and clearness as that with which philosophers and men of science have exhibited the applications of logic to observed facts. The sonneteers of the sixteenth century were generally copyists of each other and of Petrarch; Mr. Tennyson's originality consists in this—that he has taken their main thought, and translated it out of mediæval objectivity and definiteness into the subjectivity of modern idealism and the indefiniteness of the Lake school. That he has made a profound study of the sixteenth century models appears from many turns of thought and expression. One instance will serve to show the direction in which these imitations may be looked for. Shakespeare twice in his sonnets uses the expression "fool of time" for an entity which like a weather-cock changes with changing circumstances, and goes through its movements like a windmill by the impact of external force, not by its own self-determination. Mr. Tennyson develops this phrase, and talks of "fools of habit," men who are led by habit and not reason, or of the will being the "fool of loss," when its grief overmasters it and dries up its forces. It is thus that he builds on his models, not by imitation of what they have actually done, but by continuing to build on the lines which they laid down, but on which they had erected nothing. He might have found a model in Petrarch's "*sonnetti e canzoni in morte di madonna Laura*;" but he takes nothing from them except a general and far-off resemblance. Their first intention is objective—to speak of Laura, and to make her name live. Mr. Tennyson doubtless had a like intention with regard to his friend; indeed, he gives many more particulars of his cha-

racter than Petrarch gives of Laura; but his first intention was to show how grief may be transfigured by love, and may become the master of the soul, to instruct it in all truth, and to lead it into all good. If men, he says in the first sonnet, may rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things, cannot they also turn their losses into gain, and make their tears blossom and bear fruit? Grief then, its uses and the method of utilizing it, make up the primary notion of "In Memoriam." Its motto might be Constance's:

"Grief fills the room up of my absent child,  
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,  
Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,  
Remembers me of all his gracious parts,  
Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form—  
Then, have I reason to be fond of grief?"

Mr. Tennyson's grief, or rather his mourning mind, in the same way puts on the form of his lost friend, reproduces his image in itself, and moulds itself upon the form and circumstances and mental habits of the departed one. Grief thus becomes personified, and so may be at least the proxy for, if not the real presence of, the absent friend; and the poet's soul, in espousing its own sorrow, marries itself to him:

"O sorrow, wilt thou live with me,  
No casual mistress, but a wife,  
My bosom friend and half of life."

In this way the union of two souls, which is always the conclusion of the premisses of love, is arrived at. But the means are somewhat different from those usually employed. For instance, in Mr. Tennyson's school the beloved object is only a loan of nature. When it drops away, love is left; and ripened love is the end for which the friend was lent. In the old sonneteers one object of love only fades away to be replaced by another. As each beloved one falls away by death or otherwise, it reveals a better and higher object behind it, on which the widowed love can fasten itself, not forgetting what it has lost, but finding it again in a better and higher form in the new object, which thus becomes "the grave where buried love doth live," the master image in which the images of all former loves may be viewed. In the ultimate outcome no doubt both processes agree. The most subjective of poets must project his own image on the world, and make it his object. And whether the object is the poet's own mind filled with the image and recollections of a lost friend, or whether it is the lost friend himself idealized in the memory of the poet, the

same words must necessarily be used, the same affections will be evoked, and the same thoughts will be communicated to the reader. With Mr. Tennyson the lost friend himself becomes the higher object. Death transfigures him; he becomes an angelic spirit, of mighty but undefined powers, a guardian to protect, a teacher to prompt, a form into which any ideal of excellence in wisdom or knowledge can be fitted. He becomes the impersonation of love, and thus becomes deified:

"Known and unknown, human, divine!  
Sweet human hand and lips and eye,  
Dear heavenly friend that canst not die,  
Mine, mine for ever, ever mine!"

As he grows more distant for knowledge he grows nearer for love. His known outline fades away, becomes indefinite and elastic enough to comprehend all objects of love, and therefore to have a kind of divine omnipresence, "loved deeper, darklier understood:"

"Thy voice is on the rolling air,  
I hear thee when the waters run,  
Thou standest in the rising sun,  
And in the setting thou art fair."

But this identification of the limited with the unlimited is not pantheistic, because for Mr. Tennyson the limited strictly keeps its own individuality and personality. It is enclosed, not absorbed:

"Eternal form shall still divide  
The eternal soul from all beside."

Thus the lover still retains the love for the distinct personality, and is at the same time able to give a well-nigh infinite expansion to that personality, to invoke its presence that it may aid and infuse good thoughts, to tremble before it, to treat it, in a word, as the Catholic devotee treats his favourite saint. That this is the necessary development of love all the philosophers who have treated most deeply upon it are agreed, in spite of the reclamations of the divines.

The progress of the poem is marked quite as much by its chronological succession as by the development of its idea. The Christmas season, as it comes round, is duly noted, and the departed friend's birthdays are religiously kept. Thus we find that three years are assigned as the period of the growth of the idea, from the mere blank feeling of loss with which the poem begins to the apotheosis of the departed with which it ends. The poet does not conceal from himself or his readers that all this conclusion is a dream of his own, his "own phantom chanting hymns," expressive of his

"trust that those we call the dead  
Are breathers of an ampler day  
For ever nobler ends."

But his dream must be true, because it is so noble:

"In my spirit will I dwell,  
And dream my dream and hold it true."

And thus he considers himself entitled to describe his lost friend not as what he really was, but as what love tells him he would have been, with a lovelier hue lent to him by distance. He considers his own spirit as wife to the departed spirit, and therefore entitled to speak of him as the widow is entitled to speak of her lost paragon.

But the poem embraces more than the old sonneteers usually included in their intention. They generally treated of love in an abstract way, and therefore generalized all the loveable qualities which they celebrated in such a manner that no distinct image of the individuality of the person celebrated can be extracted from their sonnets. Mr. Tennyson seems to have resolved to avoid this defect; but his resolution, while it has added interest to the portrait of his friend, has also added a polemical tone to the poem, which is slightly out of time with the dominant chord of sorrow. For when a strongly individualized portrait is held up as the great ideal, which at last becomes everywhere present, the individual qualities of the soul thus portrayed become rules and laws imposed upon men dogmatically. Mr. Tennyson's doctrine may be sound enough; but it is only one of the many codes possible to be insisted on as the guides of life, and is polemically exalted above all others. It is doubtless an excellent rule to meet all perplexities and doubts manfully, without shirking them, and yet to avoid combating them with the sole arms of reason and knowledge without the aid of obedience, reverence, and wisdom. The ideal friend

"touched a jarring lyre at first,  
But ever strove to make it true.

Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,  
At last he beat his music out:  
There lives more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

He fought his doubts and gather'd strength,  
He would not make his judgment blind,  
He faced the spectres of the mind  
And laid them; thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own."

And the conclusion of the whole poem is made to be the acquisition of this

"faith that comes of self-control,  
The truths that never can be proved

Until we close with all we loved  
And all we flow from, soul in soul."

It has been said that "In Memoriam" is tinctured with scepticism. The scepticism, if any, is only that which is found in the religious writings of all those men who to enhance the greater certainty treat the lesser as none at all, who because the next world is so true resolve that this shall be only a dream, and so, because they throw doubt upon that which is seen and known, are scarcely credited when they explain that they do so only to magnify the undoubtfulness of that which is invisible and unknown.

It will be evident that the poem is in its matter and form perfectly homogeneous to the early poetical attitude of Mr. Tennyson. It is a dream; it is a progress of feelings, not of action; it is moreover a process where the change is said to be brought about by an external influence, and not to be due only to internal self-development. Even the poetry itself is attributed to a force over which the poet has no control:

"I do but sing because I must,  
And pipe but as the linnets sing."

The work is therefore, though published later, earlier in relation to the poet's development than "The Princess." Perhaps it was begun or designed shortly after Arthur Hallam's death in 1833. Some of it seems to have been in course of composition at the same time as certain of the poems published in 1842. Thus in "Love and Duty" there is the same development of thought as here in No. 27:

"'Tis better to have loved and lost,  
Than never to have loved at all;"

and in "The Two Voices" there are the same turns of thought as in No. 54, about nature:

"So careful of the type she seems,  
So careless of the single life."

But in these quasi-sonnets Mr. Tennyson's quietism found its most natural outlet. The dreaminess and stillness which reign throughout the poem flow in accordance with its idea. There is no suspicion of contrivance or manufacture. The art is concealed. It does not seem built on theory, as in "The Lotos-Eaters." It does not suggest as its origin that the poet said to himself, "Now let us dream," or, "Let us pretend to be dreaming." The cause was adequate to the effect; and the result is a poem which on the whole may claim a place, if not in the same rank, at least in the same category as Petrarch's sonnets and canzonets, or Shakespeare's sonnets.

"Mand" was published in 1855. It is both psychologically in sentiment, and artistically in expression, a development of the motive of "Locksley Hall." There are naturally two directions in which Mr. Tennyson's poetical psychology tends. In representing man determined by circumstances and floating down the stream, he may exhibit him either on a placid current of love or grief or on a boiling and surging torrent of anger and hate. The two courses have this altogether in common, that both represent man as the playthings of an external power:

"We are puppets, man in his pride, and beauty  
fair in her flower.  
Do we move ourselves, or are we moved by  
an unseen hand at a game?"

The hero of "Locksley Hall" and the hero of "Mand" both excuse themselves for feelings and judgments which they know are not morally defensible by an antecedent suffering which has deprived their will of its power, and has made them impotent to resist the onset of passion. Both are strong muscular men, capable of bodily and even mental endurance as soldiers and officers, but incapable of mastering their passions, expelling their dreams of revenge, or denying themselves the morose delight of brooding over such dreams. It is not without reason that the poet chooses men of this class to be the vehicles of his socialistic complaints against that silent war between every man and his neighbour which grows up during a long peace. When Shakespeare has to make analogous complaints he puts them into the mouths of Tullus Aufidius's serving-men. Peace, they say, rusts iron, increases tailors, breeds ballad-makers; it is a very apoplexy, a lethargy, muddled, deaf, sleepy, insensible, and a grievous wronger of neighbourhood; it makes men hate one another, because they have less need of each other. If Mr. Tennyson puts charges like these into more educated lips, he too provides that the servile tincture shall not be wanting; he makes the speaker the slave of the ever present memory of a great wrong. As the Elizabethan dramatist would put unpalatable truths into the mouths of his fools, so Mr. Tennyson, willing to ventilate his feelings about social scandals, devises a character who would naturally inveigh against them in unmeasured terms. Such characters may be men of the school of Shylock, whose wrongs partly justify their ferocity, and whose eloquence and invective beget a desire to take away the just grounds of their malice. The life of the hero of "Locksley Hall" is blighted by being crossed in love: that of the hero of



"Maud," by a gigantic swindle practised on his father, which caused the old man's suicide. The boy's memory is oppressed with the remembrance of the night when he was waked

"By a shuffled step, by a dead weight trailed,  
by a whispered fright,"

and "the shrill-edged shriek of a mother," when the corpse was brought home. He grows up lonely, parsimonious, revengeful. He is cured by the love of Maud, the daughter of the man who had ruined his father. But Maud's brother, scented and "curled like an Assyrian bull," comes between them. He strikes his sister's lover, and is shot by him in a duel. The murderer flies, returns to find Maud dead, becomes mad, and is restored to reason by the national upheaval at the beginning of the Crimean War. The poem is a lyric monologue, consisting of obvious invective, gradually mastered by love, then the idyllic joy of love, then anger, despair, madness, and patriotic enthusiasm. There is rush and motion enough in it; but the rush is that of a planet rather than that of a spirit. The movement is determined by the motive; and the motive is not created by the will of the man moved. It is a helpless whirl of a man overmastered by a self-imposed necessity in the form of passion. Such overmastering fatality is a phase of poetical experience which some of the greatest poets have almost exclusively fastened upon. It is the subject-matter of *Æschylus's* monotonous sublimity. It is the ground idea of Shakespeare's Richard III. But Shakespeare put into no other of his dramas the classical background of an overbearing fate. To have exhibited life under this aspect once was enough: the great and universal artist turned himself to some other of nature's myriad facets. But Mr. Tennyson has not this command over variety. He can sing his divisions only on one tone. With him love is lord of all, the sovereign balm or mortal bane of the spirit. For good or evil, love is the only real power which his poetry recognizes. The very bitterness of the hero of "Maud" is distilled out of his love for his father, and out of his patient self-sacrifice to the service of his widowed and waning mother. The love of Maud sweetens this bitterness; but her loss drives him back upon himself, and nurses his bitterness into madness.

As Mr. Tennyson carefully adapted his music to the dreamy idleness of his "Lotus-Eaters," so he as carefully adapts his metre to the irregular and hard thoughts in "Maud." It begins with the metre of "Locksley Hall"—the long trimeter iambic,

generally with one or two anapæsts in one or two of the even places, and sometimes with anapæsts in every place, as in the line:

"I am sick of the hall and the hill, I am sick  
of the moor and the main."

But a great change in character is introduced by making the alternate lines rhyme, instead of the consecutive ones. With such long lines this distance between the jingle gives a notion of rough, uneven motion which the poet clearly studied to produce. In the third section the metre changes the iambus and anapæst for the trochee and dactyl. It answers to the first irresistible impression of Maud on the man's mind, and his vain efforts to resist it:

"Cold and clear-cut face, why come you so  
cruelly meek,  
Breaking a slumber in which all spleenful  
folly was drowned?"

In the ninth section the lyric and love element begins to predominate, and all runs comparatively smoothly till the hero sings his joy at Maud's love for him. Perhaps here the music may be meant to imitate the bumping and thumping of the happy heart, which deliriously denies that it does bump, and asserts that it never before beat so smoothly:

"I have led her home, my love, my only  
friend;  
There is none like her, none;  
And never yet so warmly ran my blood,  
And sweetly on and on,  
Calming itself to the long-wished-for end,  
Full to the banks, close on the promised  
good."

Perhaps the violence of passion hardly justifies the ruggedness of the measure. The love lyrics that succeed are many of them very beautiful. One of them, "Come into the garden, Maud," at once struck the fancy of musicians, and seemed spontaneously to clothe itself in melody. In the second part, the lyrics are meant to represent the deadness of the heart that forfeited its good just when enjoyment was within its grasp—a living deadness, gradually degenerating into the crisis of madness. The madness is found in the fifth section of the second part. It is madness with a method in it, a cloak to cover the satiric venom of the dead heart, rather than genuine impulsive madness. It is the madness rather of Edgar than of Lear, of Hamlet than of Ophelia. The man fancies he is dead and buried, and sings:

"Wretchedest age, since Time began,  
They cannot even bury a man;

And tho' we paid our tithes in the days that  
are gone

Not a bell was rung, not a prayer was read ;  
It is that which makes us loud in the world  
of the dead ;

There is none that does his work, not one ;  
A touch of their office might have sufficed,

But the churchmen fain would kill their  
church,

As the churches have killed their Christ."

Mr. Tennyson has chosen a psychological subject which could only be treated with sovereign inerrancy by the poet of *Hamlet* and *Lear*. Among living Englishmen it is not the Laureate, but Mr. Browning, who approaches nearest to the ideal treatment of like situations, whether we regard his matter, the subtlety of his thoughts, or the methodical ruggedness of his metre, which is his form.

The "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington" was fitly bound up with "Maud," as a piece in the same musical key ; but its discords and halting progressions are less justified by its thoughts than are those in "Maud." In fact, it reads like a Laureate's obligato accompaniment to a national event, prompted by duty and aspiration instead of creative energy and inspiration. The form is justified by the circumstances of the time, not by the thoughts of the poem. It harmonized with the ceremonies of the day ; it is not in harmony with the event in retrospect. Indeed, the thoughts are almost painfully commonplace. The author seems to have considered himself the mouthpiece of the nation, bound to say in verse what the newspapers said in prose on the occasion, and to dress up the thoughts of journalists in his own language. And this is only a type of Mr. Tennyson's political position. His ideas appear in general to be those of the majority. He yields to the impulses of the time, or rather of the present, for the week or month often reverses the judgment of the day or hour. Thus he assumes the whole war fervour of 1854 at the end of "Maud," as he afterwards assumes the whole hero-worship of the nation towards the Duke of Wellington and the Prince Consort, to whose memory he dedicates the "Idylls of the King." Among the other poems printed with "Maud" is "The Brook," which proves that, in the midst of all his painful endeavours to assimilate his music to that of which Walt Whitman may stand as the symbol, he still cultivated his old ear, and kept up his unrivalled power of idyllic composition. "Maud" seems to be the final outcome of a vein which is certainly not exhausted, but which Mr. Tennyson does not seem able to work with perfect success.

In the "Idylls of the King" he carried to perfection the kind of poetry which had always flowed from him in the happiest manner. We have seen how many-sided and versatile the idyll becomes in his hands. It is no longer a mere pastoral ; but, remaining fundamentally idyllic, it borrows from every other species of poetry, and becomes dramatic, epic, or lyrical as well. The "Idylls of the King" are properly idyllic episodes of the epic of Arthur, and are in themselves far more like cantos of an epic poem than the pretended eleventh book of the supposed "Epic" which was published in 1842. They are however fundamentally idyllic. They all have their centre and their base in love. Each idyll exhibits love in a distinct relation : —the adoring but jealous husband and the perfect wife, in "Enid ;" Solomon snared by the wiles of the harlot, in "Vivien ;" a man so true to his false love that he lets his true love die of a broken heart, in "Elaine ;" the repentance of the false wife and the Christian forgiveness of the wronged husband, in "Guinevere." There is plenty of action in the stories ; but the author, true to his poetic nature, exhibits it as it were through a veil —a dim medium which seems to deprive action of its sudden resolve, and to make it appear simply as the necessary result of combinations long preparing. The persons drift helplessly into action, instead of being arbiters of their own choice. Thus we get a dream of action instead of its imaged reality. The will is the great test of the waking state : freedom is absent from dream. In dreams character is moulded by circumstances ; awake, man is in a great measure independent of circumstance. He builds his character out of circumstance, but is not himself built up by the stones which are only the materials of the edifice. Hence the correlation of dreaminess and fate in poetry. Mr. Tennyson exemplifies in his works this correlation ; in order to maintain his ideal stillness in passages so eventful as those of the "Idylls of the King," he is obliged to conduct his personages with closed eyes, by the spells of presentiments and voices which re-echo in their ears, leading them, not against their will, but by compelling their will and making it too strong to assert its own deliberate freedom. Thus when Elaine insists upon going to nurse the wounded Lancelot, her father says to her :

"Being so very wilful you must go."

So she goes. But in her going,

"Her father's latest word hummed in her ear,  
'Being so very wilful you must go,'  
And changed itself and echoed in her heart,  
'Being so very wilful you must die.'"

And then, her task over, and Lancelot not being to be won,

"As a little helpless innocent bird,  
That has but one plain passage of few notes,  
Will sing the simple passage o'er and o'er  
For all an April morning, till the ear  
Wearies to hear it, so the simple maid  
Went half the night repeating 'Must I die?'"

But before she had seen Lancelot, Elaine had dreamed

"That some one put this diamond in her hand,  
And that it was too slippery to be held,  
And slipt and fell into some pool or stream"—

a dream which presages the whole course of the story. The presentiments in "Guinevere" are more normal, inasmuch as the presentiment of evil is one of the natural consequences of the consciousness of sin. The Queen's shuddering at Lancelot's attack on Modred, as half-foreseeing that the subtle beast would track her guilt; or seeing in the darkness grim faces, and vague spiritual fears; or dreaming awful dreams of standing in a vast plain before the setting sun, from which a ghastly something would rush towards her; or, in her dread, commanding Lancelot to go, but granting him one last interview whereby her presentiments of evil were all fulfilled—this is a natural picture of guilt. The subject was one in which Mr. Tennyson's power had its proper scope; and the choice of the subject shows his consciousness of that power. In "Vivien" the fatality of the action is helped on by the slow old age of Merlin the wise, whom the enchantress catches in her toils. He knows well, and ever learns better, the evil, untrusty nature of Vivien, and is more and more persuaded and resolved not to tell her his secret. But these resolutions are only the waves on the surface. His fluttering old heart is flattered and cajoled by the pretended affection of the young girl; and this current is ever waxing in him. The wind of reason may blow against it, and may raise ever angrier waves on its surface; they may seem to course upwards; but the stream still flows downwards to its destined precipice. Like another Samson, he intrusts his secret to a Delilah who has deceived him, and whom he has found out; and on the first opportunity his Delilah makes an end of him. In "Enid," the stolid, ox-like, beef-witted jealousy of Geraint carries out the same tone of colouring. Nothing could make his conduct tolerable except the notion that, like Ajax when he slew the sheep, he was horn-mad. His deeds are only reasonable with the reason of dreams: the logic of real life condemns them as absurdities.

In these idylls, Mr. Tennyson's refined style reached its perfection. In general, they exhibit noble thoughts in noble language. In special, there is a curious union of the modern Miltonic classicism, framed on Homeric and not Latin principles, with the romantic and sententious diction of the sixteenth century. The Elizabethan sententiousness is exemplified in such passages as this:

"When I was up so high in pride  
That I was halfway down the slope to hell,  
By overthrowing me you threw me higher."

A still more characteristic instance is the remark on Lancelot's refusal of Elaine's love on account of his passion for Guinevere:

"His honour rooted in dishonour stood,  
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

Clearly Mr. Tennyson is not one who, like Ben Jonson, would tax Shakespeare with ridiculousness for the verse, "Caesar did never wrong but with just cause;" nor, like Mr. Thorpe, would he correct the forcible phrase of the Saxon chronicle which tells how William "took many a mark of gold by right, and with great unright, from his people, for little need." This kind of paradoxical sententiousness is almost as classical as it is romantic. In Mr. Tennyson it has this double relationship, and is one of the means by which his romanticism and classicism are fused together.

But amidst all his metaphysical imagery, he always evinces a truly idyllic contemplation of nature in his comparisons and descriptions. Of this kind is his favourite comparison of a watcher to a robin eyeing the delver; his description of people mounting a hill, and disappearing behind it, who

"Shewed themselves against the sky, and  
sank;"

of ivy against a ruin, which looked

"A knot, beneath, of snakes; aloft, a grove;"  
of men fleeing in panic, "like a shoal of  
darting fish," which

"Come slipping o'er their shadows on the  
sand,  
But if a man who stands upon the brink  
But lift a shining hand against the sun  
There is not left the twinkle of a fin;"

of the tumultuous eating of the brigands in  
Earl Doorm's Hall,

"Feeding like horses when you hear them  
feed;"

and of Arthur cashiering the unjust judges  
of his kingdom as

"Men weed the white horse on the Berkshire hills,  
To keep him bright and clean as heretofore."

So again Guinevere's remark to Lancelot about Arthur, which combines the metaphysical with the physical :

"He is all fault who hath no fault at all,  
For who loves me must have a touch of earth;  
The low sun makes the colour."

In a different direction, a passage on the way in which Elaine in her meditations pored over Lancelot's face, clearly exhibits Mr. Tennyson's idea of art :

"As when a painter, poring on a face,  
Divinely through all hindrance finds the man  
Behind it, and so paints him that his face,  
The shape and colour of a mind and life,  
Lives for his children, ever at its best."

Among these beauties must be mentioned the three lyrics in the three first idylls—lyrics written, as usual in Mr. Tennyson's blank-verse poems, in triplets, and here in rhyme. They show a great advance upon those in "The Princess," beautiful as the earlier ones were.

In "Enoch Arden," published in 1865, the presentiment of a fatality, which only forms the dim background in the "Idylls of the King," is brought out in full consciousness into the clear light of day. The story is idyllic; but it might be an episode in an epic. Its subject is love, courtship, and marriage; but its culminating interest lies in the self-mastery of the husband, who returns as from the dead after ten years' absence, finds his wife remarried, and then, not to break up the happiness of the new home which he has just seen at night through the garden window, conquers his own will, resigns all the hopes which have buoyed him up in his long absence, keeps his secret, lives as a poor labourer when he might live as a master, and finally dies, having only confided his secret to one. The subject gives a tragic dignity to the idyll, which Mr. Tennyson hardly ventured upon before he had written the "Idylls of the King." The special peculiarity, however, of the poem, is the dominant force of presentiment and forecast. The story begins with the wooing of the two boys, who eventually become the successive husbands of Annie Lee.

"This is my house, and this my little wife,"  
says Enoch, the stronger :

"Mine too, said Philip, 'turn and turn about.'"

And then quarrels are settled by the little maiden, speaking oracularly in her innocence, and declaring "she would be little wife to

both." With this comes the fixed determination of the will :

"Enoch set  
A purpose evermore before his eyes  
To hoard,"

so as to make a home for Annie. Annie accepts him; Philip sees the pair sitting hand in hand, and reads his doom. Henceforth he dwells apart,

"Bearing a life-long hunger in his heart."

Then, after seven years of prosperity, comes an accident which half ruins Enoch. In his sickness

"He seemed, as in a nightmare of the night  
To see his children leading evermore  
Low miserable lives of hand-to-mouth,  
And her he loved a beggar."

So he prays; and in answer to his prayer he is offered, and accepts, a berth in a ship China-bound. Annie fights against the resolve,

"Sure that all evil would come out of it."

But Enoch is steadfast, sells his boats, sets up Annie in a small shop, and when his time comes departs. He comforts his desponding wife: "I'll be back, my girl, before you know it;" but she answers;

"O Enoch, you are wise,  
And yet for all your wisdom well know I  
That I shall look upon your face no more—  
Well then, said Enoch, I shall look on yours."

In his absence her business fails; her youngest child dies; and the family, reduced almost to beggary, is obliged to depend on the charity of Philip, the old rejected suitor. Annie accepts it because she believes that

"Enoch lives; that is borne in upon me,  
He will repay you."

But time passes; nothing is heard of Enoch, who is exercising his patience under the palm-trees on a lonely coral island, where he has been shipwrecked. Philip proposes that Annie should marry him; and Annie answers :

"If Enoch comes—but Enoch will not come—  
Yet wait a year."

He waits the year, and another half-year. Annie, urged by the talk of the town and the silent reproaches of her children, prays for a sign, opens the Bible, and puts her finger on the text "under a palm-tree." She sees Enoch so in a dream, and interprets it that he is in Paradise. So Philip and she are married; but she is never happy till her child is born. On the other side Enoch, in

his palm-island, in the deaths of his companions reads his own warning, "wait." Once on his lonely island he hears the wedding-bells, which make him shudder. He is at last rescued, and returns, to find his home broken up. He looks upon Annie's face once, and determines that she never, even in death, shall look upon his, so that her new happiness may not be blighted. At last the foreknowledge comes to him that he is to die within three days. Of course, the pathos and nobleness of the work are not made up of this constraining force of predestination, reflected in the prophetic gleams of presentiment, any more than the grandeur of Shakespeare's Richard III. is made up of the fulfilment upon him of the curses of his victims; but in both instances the fateful element predominates, and is made to give a prevalent colouring to the poetry. In "Enoch Arden" this colouring harmonizes with the long-drawn patience of the actors, whose will seems not to be the versatile, ever-changing, ever-ready, instrument which poets of the highest order are able to paint, but rather a slow growth, unresistingly moulded by higher influences. And the fatality not only serves to enforce Mr. Tennyson's idea of the slow and fixed growth of his vegetating love, but also directly ennobles the scenes out of common life which he relates. It makes one feel that the loves of the fisherman and miller are as great in themselves as the loves of princes, and that the same Providence takes equal forethought for the good of the lowest and for that of the highest among the ranks of men.

"Aylmer's Field" is a kind of new and improved edition of "Maud," reduced from a lyric to an idyll. It takes up the old story, so favourite a one with Mr. Tennyson, of affections crossed by pride. There is the angel daughter, the foolish mother, the father possessed by one idea—the pride of his race and estate—who, in his determination not to let his daughter marry her old playmate, kills her, him, himself, and his wife, with the dagger of sorrow. The author, true to his chosen and now almost necessary attitude, surrounds the story with all the accidents which serve to draw out and prolong the acts of the will, and to give them a dreamy instead of a wakeful character. As usual, the landscape sympathizes with this inertia of the men. It ministers their opiate:

"A land of hops and poppy-mingled corn,  
Little about it stirring save a brook,  
A sleepy land,"

where Aylmers at the hall and Averills at

the rectory were immemorial. The Rector's younger brother is the playmate of Edith Aylmer, the heiress. He is

"Ever welcome at the hall,  
On whose dull sameness his full tide of youth  
Broke with a phosphorescence cheering even  
My lady."

The word "phosphorescence" is characteristic of Mr. Tennyson; no other word could have reduced flashing and brilliant intelligence to so inert and calm an image. Phosphorescence is only the pale ghost of fire—the fire of dreamland, that burns not and hardly illuminates, a fire which seems separated by an infinite distance from other fires, like the soul of the dying man from his friends. It would be a more hopeful undertaking to kindle a match by the ray of the dog-star than by the lantern of the glow-worm. Then there is the baronet himself,

"dull and self-involved,  
Tall and erect,"

but, "mighty courteous in the main," who thinks no more of the intimacy of Leolin with his daughter than of the old Newfoundland's familiarity with her. But when he finds out the truth, then comes the dull persistent persecution, ending in Edith's death. The absent lover has a sympathetic presentiment of her fate; and when he learns it as a fact he slays himself with an ornamental dagger, her mysteriously fatal gift. The moral is put into the mouth of the rector, who has to preach at the maiden's funeral. It is the same sermon against the "fee-farm Cupid" which Thackeray loved to preach. Mr. Tennyson had hitherto put it into the mouths of half-crazy and vindictive madmen in "Locksley Hall" and "Maud;" here it softened, though the Rector's grief for the frenzied suicide of his brother throws him somewhat into the same passionate position as the earlier apostles of the doctrine. Perhaps Mr. Tennyson thinks that no one can really see the harm of these matches for convenience except those who have suffered in consequence of them.

The diction of "Enoch Arden" and "Aylmer's Field" is without the studied archaism of the "Idylls of the King," and without the conscious imitations of "The Princess." It is the style which Mr. Tennyson has created for himself, to paint the modern world and real life; it is the gradually worked-up result of long and profound artistic study. It is also pregnant with sweet little idyllic conceits, which show, what his early poems did not show, a direct familiarity with nature, not a study of her in the studio of the

painter and sculptor. Such are these lines, the second more than the first:

"Pity, the violet on the tyrant's grave."

"The rabbit fondles his own harmless face."

"Sea Dreams" is the story of a married couple who take their sick child to a bathing-place. There the man meets an oily preacher-like banker who has swindled him out of his money. The helpless wrath of the man is kindled by the swindler's unctuous greeting; and the plot of the poem, such as it is, consists in the wife's trying to make her husband more charitable by the aid of his own and her dreams. They however do not wring the desired forgiveness from him till she tells him that the man has died suddenly. He receives the news with an epigram which felicitously appropriates the idea of a well-known line of Rogers:

"He has a heart, and get his speeches by it."

Mr. Tennyson makes his clerk exclaim:

"Dead? he? of heart disease? what heart  
had he  
To die of?"

Then the woman inculcates the moral which Mr. Tennyson has steadily from the first inculcated from time to time—the moral of the ultimate restitution of all things, when the evil shall become good again:

"If there be  
A devil in man, there is an angel too. . . .  
His angel broke his heart;"

and the man, after a struggle, and with a protest against the doctrine,

"His deeds yet live, the worst is yet to come,"

adds, "I do forgive him." There is not much in the poem but its sweet diction; and Mr. Tennyson's music is so sweet that he sometimes charms men into listening to what is intrinsically not worth the pains.

"The Grandmother" is the sorrow of an old woman who has just heard of her eldest son's death at the age of more than seventy years. Her grief has to break through the mists of a memory grown stiff and solid, retaining ancient images and admitting no new ones. She talks of the old man just gone as he was when she first nursed him, chubby and rosy, on her knees. The slowly moving, half-frozen intelligence, the misty affections fixed not on what is but on what was, the weariness of life in the woman of fourscore and ten, form a subject exactly suited to Mr. Tennyson's ideal, and are therefore hit off with rare power and pathos.

The "Northern Farmer" is a happy so-

lution of Mendelssohn's doubt whether there was in nature any such thing as a serious scherzo. The Boeotian dialect, the unsuspicious frankness of the dying farmer, who says exactly what he thinks, without the least consciousness that his thoughts are shocking to pious ears, and justifies all his hard dealings by the plea that he had done his duty by the land, by the parson, by the squire, and by "Beasy Marris's barn"—all this makes the poem itself highly humorous, with a humour akin to Thackeray's. The optimism of the farmer, who considers that every man in doing what he does is doing his duty, and that when duties clash each man's clear path is to keep his own rule, is excellent; and so is his determination to stick to his own rule of a pint of ale nightly and a quart on market nights, spite of doctor and parson, though they perhaps do their duty too in forbidding it. The stolid fixed idea in his head is one of those materialized statuesque mental states which Mr. Tennyson has always chosen for his favourite nurse-lings.

Among the miscellanies of 1865, "Tithonus," which had appeared earlier in a periodical, is the most noteworthy. This classical fable is one of those which readily precipitate themselves round the pole of Mr. Tennyson's battery. The old man, the bed-fellow of Aurora, who had obtained from her the sad gift of immortality, forgetting to couple his request with that for perpetual youth, now vainly seeks release and envies the

"Happy men that have the power to die,  
And the still happier dead."

"The Holy Grail," which was published in 1870, completes the "Idylls of the King," and unites them into a connected epic. It gives an introduction called "The Coming of Arthur," and two new idylls, "The Holy Grail" and "Pelleas and Ettarre," whose place is to be between "Elaine" and "Guinevere;" the conclusion is "The Passing of Arthur." This is identical with the "Morte d'Arthur" of 1842, except that a new beginning is added, and it is divested of the introduction and epilogue, which on its first appearance explained it to be the eleventh canto of a destroyed epic. This poem is said to be "connected with the rest in accordance with an early project of the author's." Mr. Tennyson seems to have early projected an epic poem on Arthur, but scarcely such a one as is now made up. In the first design it seems to have been intended to allow the magical and mysterious machinery of the mediæval legend to give the predominant tone to the poem. This

tone was supreme in the "Morte d'Arthur;" in the "Idylls of the King" it had retired to the background, thrust out of the way, but not out of mind. When the poem was to be completed in a way to allow the early canto to be used as its conclusion, the new additions had necessarily to be made to harmonize with both the parts which had to be joined. Hence these new poems have an earlier smack than the "Idylls of the King." They stand between them and the "Morte d'Arthur." Or, to speak with more speciality, "The Coming of Arthur" and "The Holy Grail," especially the latter, are entirely magical and mystical; while "Pelleas and Ettarre" is a love idyll, a study of a different phase of love, that of the honourable and inexperienced boy for the mocking jilt who only begins to love him really when she has lost him and turned his true love into a fixed resolve to contemn. Thus the completed epic of Arthur carefully eschews all that is epic in the legend. It extracts from the story its fantastic and its pathetic episodes, and occupies itself entirely with them, only affording passing allusions and brief studies to the epical parts of the story, which concern the conduct of Arthur as hero, king, and saviour of his country.

In "The Holy Grail," amidst the fantastic and beautiful mediæval legends, Mr. Tennyson contrives to teach his lesson. Arthur, flower of kings, is, as Mr. Tennyson images him, much too commonplace, or too sensible, to go on the quest. He has his definite work to do, which done, but not before, he can afford to dream. After it is done he says:

"Let visions of the night or of the day  
Come, as they will; and many a time they  
come,  
Until this earth he walks on seems not earth,  
This light that strikes his eyeball is not light,  
This air that smites his forehead is not air,  
But vision—yea, his very hand and foot—  
In moments when he feels he cannot die,  
And knows himself no vision to himself,  
Nor the high God a vision, nor that one  
Who rose again."

This is as if he said: Our only knowledge of material reality comes from our duties and our needs: we are obliged to act towards things as if they were real: but the moment action ceases and thought begins, then reality begins to evaporate; all turns to dream: we are certain of nothing but the *cogito ergo sum*, the existence of self as a thinking being; and on this certainty we build up further certainties—first our immortality, next the being of God, lastly the truth of Christianity. With this conclusion, so strongly held, it is difficult to see why Mr. Tenny-

son should have been considered a sceptic. He is a sceptic in the same sense, and for the same reason, that Descartes is a sceptic—because his philosophy begins in doubt. But it is not founded on doubt. Doubt in this system merely clears away everything till the doubter comes to the solid ground of indubitable fact. His scepticism is not absolute, its own end and object, but relative, a means to an end; and that end is certain knowledge. If this is scepticism, the whole thought of the world has been sceptical since Descartes. To Mr. Tennyson, when the whole world of eye and ear has been evaporated to a mere vision, this vision becomes the veil which God weaves both to reveal and conceal Himself:

"Is not the vision He? though He be not that  
which he seems?  
Dreams are true while they last, and do we  
not live in dreams?"

This he calls "the higher pantheism." It is a pantheism which asks, "Is He not all but thou?" It therefore leaves to each spirit its own personality, looking upon individual minds perhaps as shuttles in God's great loom, wherein He weaves the veil through which men see Him. But we do not look for severe logic in dreams. A pantheism where all that is individual and finite mind is not God at all, and all that is material is a vision which seems and is not, which is not God but only represents Him and stands for Him, is not in any true sense Pantheism at all, lower or higher.

Among the poems published with these idylls is one called "Wages," which embodies the first of Arthur's principles—that action is the first duty, and dreaming, if a duty at all, only secondary. Virtue has no wages; if she aim at glory she is not virtue at all:

"She desires no isles of the blest, no quiet  
seats of the just,  
To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a  
summer sky,  
Give her the wages of going on, and not to  
die."

This confession cuts away all supposition that Mr. Tennyson attributes any real goodness to the quietude which from "The Lotos-Eaters" to his last poem, "Lucretius," he attributes to the highest beatitude:

"the great life which all our greatest fain  
Would follow, centered in eternal calm . . .

. . . The gods, who haunt  
The lucid interspace of world and world  
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,  
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,  
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,  
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar  
Their sacred everlasting calm! and such,

Not all so fine, nor so divine a calm,  
Not such, nor all unlike it, man may gain  
Letting his own life go."

It is a characteristic conclusion that Mr. Tennyson should at last put the most finished utterance of his own youthful creed into the mouth of Lucretius, and should have corrected, not to say contradicted it, by the mouth of Arthur, his ideal knight,

"Who revered his conscience as his king."

The "Northern Farmer, New Style," is not so successful as the first of the series. The chief reason is that the humour of the first consisted in the old man's frank contradiction to the most elementary principles of morals, and his justification of his breach of the minor virtues by his asserted observance of the greater ones. After so successful an effort, Mr. Tennyson was not able to resist the temptation of making his northern farmer not exactly an apostle of his evangel, that no young man or young woman is to be thwarted in love or forced to resist the impulse to marry—not exactly an apostle, but a Helot, warning others from the vice by his own hard and remorseless doctrine that a man should marry, not for love, but for "property." In showing up a maxim so partially acknowledged and capable of such foolish applications, no humourist could achieve the same success as when the unquestioned rule of right and wrong, or some equally unquestioned article of good manners, is the subject of his ironical railleury.

It is clear that "The Window," Mr. Tennyson's last publication, though not his last work, was not intended to weigh for much in the estimate of his poetry. It was written for music, and consists of a cycluſ of a dozen lyrics, expressing the progress of a lover's feelings, as he contemplates his mistress's window, through the course of a successful suit. It is a cross between the lyric of the middle part of "Maud" and the old ballad with its pictorial or interjectional burden, like "Heigh-ho to the green holly," or "Green grow the rushes, O." On similar orthodox principles does Mr. Tennyson construct his "When the winds are up in the morning," "Vine, vine, and eglantine," "Bite, frost, bite," and the rest of the present series. Perhaps the old burdens sounded as affected to those who first heard them as these new burdens may to the present generation. By the nature of the case, such interjectional phrases are more cherished for the associations with which familiarity surrounds them than for what they directly denote. There is no reason why Time may not dress up these songs with similar feelings, and

carry them down to posterity in the good company to which they evidently aspire.

Of all the characteristics of Mr. Tennyson's poems, perhaps the most general and most comprehensive is its youthfulness. It is not merely the poetry which the mature guardian would judge to be harmless *virginibus puerisque*, for youths and maidens, but it is the poetry which is calculated to go most directly to the heart of such unsophisticated readers. It is youthful in its metaphysics, in its religious views, in its views of nature, in its politics, in its social theories, and in its pathos. As for the metaphysics, there can be no philosophy more naturally grateful to the young mind than the notion that matter is a dream; that it is only by some inexplicable necessity, which it is our happiness to represent as a duty, that we are bound to matter, and made dependent on food and raiment and air and shelter; but that, our mere duty once accomplished, we are free as air to question the reality of all that we have been doing, and to advance the supreme reality of our visions by denying the reality of our sensations. Then again, the union of a general Christianity with an imaginary and merely sentimental pantheism is a youthful phase of religiosity; this too stands in close connection with the superstitious reliance on presentiments, on the fatal significance of random words, on chance omens and their mystical sense. Even the religious difficulties which the poet encounters and controverts are those which specially strike the youthful imagination, but hardly live in the reason of the grown man. They are imaginary difficulties. He is quite right in implying that there is no arguing against the argument: "The solar system is one in an inconceivable multitude of similar systems; therefore Christianity, which makes man the moral centre of the universe, is false." Such fancies can only be evicted by the same door by which they gained possession, that of the feelings. There is no reasoning a man or boy out of an opinion he was never reasoned into. The poetry too is youthful in its appreciation of time. The boy has all life before him, and he has no idea how little is that all. He is ready, with the Greek scholasticus, to accept the custody of a raven in order to see whether it really lives a hundred years. He can therefore put up with the slow motion, molecular and not mechanical, which Mr. Tennyson assigns to the passions and development of men. "Had we but world enough, and time," says the old poet,

"My vegetable love should grow  
Vaster than empires and more slow."



However contradictory this tardy action may be to the hot blood of youth, it falls in with the workings of the youth's brain, and with the metaphysics appropriate to his age. He can muse upon the idea, however impatient he might be of having to act upon it. Then the very monotony and narrowness of range in Mr. Tennyson's poems have their strict analogues in the youthful intelligence. The young intellect is the home of formal logic—of that logic which carries out the few principles it knows into all their deduced results, without check from the exceptional facts and modifying conditions which only a mature experience can supply. To such an intelligence the very perfection, however monotonous, with which Mr. Tennyson has carried out his ideal, and shed the phosphorescence of dreamland round the images of fact, must be a source of keen pleasure. If it is not logical, it is at least the dreamy substitute for logic, and therefore hyperlogical. For the poet may claim as fairly to be super logicam, as the Emperor supra grammaticam. Again, Mr. Tennyson's politics have all the graceful characteristics of the youth. Indeed, with a poet's tact, he very often puts his political utterances into the mouths of young university men. There is in these utterances, not the union, but the mixture, of three qualities—the refinement which keeps a man apart from violent action in the present, the dreamy faith in the past, and the unborn movement within which whispers of a better future; all these are found fermenting in the young heart and brain, as well as in Mr. Tennyson's poetry. Then his politics have in them the sympathetic enthusiasm of youth, and all its admiration, not for the hidden great, whom the want of research disables the young from comprehending, but for the main actors on the world's stage, for the acknowledged great, especially when they are in temporary disfavour. He has also, to the full, the patriotic confidence which might be so graceful and becoming in the young midshipman; and, with all his overflowing disgust at the sordid knaveries of a life given up to trade, he grows dithyrambic over the greedy gripes who becomes a determined patriot when his country is in danger, and over the dissolute drawler who in the battle can face his enemy like a hero. Such sudden resurrections of his countrymen out of the mud into the clear firmament seem to give the poet a new confidence in the surpassing excellence of the clay out of which English nature is moulded; and he has more joy over such repentances than over any amount of steady excellence, wearisome in its sameness. In all this there is a youthfulness of sentiment

which must carry with it all the youthful sympathies left even in mature readers. Such readers will also recognise a wealth of imagination and illustration which could only be looked for from the mind of the grown man, and a versatility and familiarity with the technical resources of his art which are incompatible with an artist literally youthful. But the satisfaction of the mature reader with Mr. Tennyson will hardly stand the test of too much repetition, and, still less, of comparison with profounder poets. His characters come out not as real men, but as boys and girls acting the parts of men and women in their Christmas games. The words he puts into their mouths are full of beauty and refinement; but they illustrate only a narrow segment of that humanity which it is the privilege of poetry, at its highest power, to exhibit in myriad-sided completeness.

---

#### ART. V.—THE SECTS OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

A KNOWLEDGE of the Russian Church and its clergy is a knowledge of the national religion, not in its intrinsic nature, but only in its official externals. It tells nothing of that hidden Church, sprung from the national life, towards the development of which the whole people has been working together from at least the earliest period of Byzantine domination, and is still working with the utmost zeal, however persistently and cruelly the hierarchy, both of Church and State, keeps renewing its endeavours to extirpate and destroy it. This growing plant is Russian sectarianism. The life-blood of the nation beats in it strong and uncorrupt: modern Russia proclaims that within it the future of the Russian world is germinating. Certainly many of its manifestations make a far more novel, and occasionally a more repulsive, impression upon the West European spectator than the lifeless power and splendour of the Orthodox Church, beneath whose dull weight all freedom of thought must inevitably be stifled. And this is an additional reason for investigating that mysterious influence of Russian sectarianism which has already raised it to be a powerful opponent of the ruling Government, the Church, and society.

The Russian sects have been persecuted from time immemorial by the authorities of the Orthodox State Church, but most severely and persistently since Peter I. united the supreme jurisdiction of the Church with the political supremacy of the Czar. It results

very naturally from this, without seeking for other explanations of the fact, that, until the last ten or twenty years, the public, not only of Europe, but even of Russia, was quite in the dark with regard to sectarianism in the Russian Church. If any Orthodox theologian had busied himself with inquiring into it, he would have been forbidden by the censors of the Synod to print his work, and would have suffered numberless persecutions at the hands of the hierarchy, for venturing so much as to enter upon the subject of such heresies. The political government would have considered him as a direct accomplice in a political crime, and the more so the more frankly and scientifically he had endeavoured to execute his task; for Peter I. established the principle that sectarianism was not a mere heresy, in the sense of the Western Churches, but treason, a crimen læsæ majestatis, for which the Russian laws decreed death or banishment to Siberia. In spite of this law, the most varied manifestations of sectarianism have always been interwoven with Russian popular life; and the State, in order to maintain its principle of conduct, has ignored their existence, and adhered to the policy of formal repudiation. Nevertheless, it has not desisted from the persecution of individual sects, while from time to time it has established a *modus vivendi* with others, which were too powerful to be suppressed by force. This point will recur further on. At present it is only necessary to remark that, in spite of all the efforts of Orthodoxy and all the power of the State, not one of the known sects of the Russian Church has really been stamped out, although occasionally one or another has been frightened into concealment, or overshadowed by the greater prominence of other forms of sectarianism. Now it is clear that this could not have been so unless a strong bias for religious speculation, and a still stronger inclination for mystic associations, had been inherent in the national character. This is the simple explanation of many of the characteristic phenomena of Russian sectarianism. The first of these is the high antiquity of the Raskol, under which term the Russians comprehend the entire body of ecclesiastical dissent—all sectarianism and heresy; for though, as will be seen better presently, the origin of the most important sects of the present day is connected with the great schism in the Russian Church, it is undeniable that other sects still existing had separated at a far earlier date. Furthermore, the continuance of the old, and the rise of new sects, the consistent extension of the collective Raskol, would have been impossible if there had not been a national veneration to insure its support, and a consequent sympathy and favour

on the part of the Orthodox population not belonging to it. No instance exists of any sect or its religious observances having been denounced by the people. This however does not imply an opposition in principle on their part to the Orthodox Church, or an animosity against the Government, but only a certain feeling of solidarity of interests with the schismatics against the higher classes of society. The sects are recruited, without exception, from the lower orders—the real mass of the nation. Only there do they seek their proselytes. Indeed they are obliged to place themselves consciously in antagonism to all that is known as modern cultivation among the upper classes. Even those sectarian elements which in themselves are regarded as senseless, become radiant with the halo of nationality; whilst the culture of the upper classes is condemned as anti-national, and, if not treasonable, at least unfaithful to Russia. Herein lie the seeds at once of the material vitality and the spiritual powerlessness of the Raskol, both of which are at the same time and in the same manner characteristic of all its individual manifestations.

This fact in the history of civilisation must be grasped before a clue can be found to the labyrinth of Russian sectarianism. Otherwise it would be incomprehensible that a people, the great mass of which satisfies its religious needs so completely in the external worship and ceremonial of a spiritually lifeless State Church, should nevertheless have developed in its midst a sectarianism so strong that, though the priestly caste and the educated laity have no share in it, its members are counted by millions. These millions do not group themselves round formed theological systems, such as are found among the schismatics of more contemplative nations like the Orientals, or round fundamental ecclesiastical differences, but are classified mainly according to isolated ideas, mere outward ritualistic forms, such as the various modes of making the sign of the cross, the different pronunciations of the name Jesus, and similar details. On the other hand, they have never been able to look for any worldly advantages, or any relief from the embarrassments of daily life, by means of their dissent, which has always entailed privation, persecution, and enmity. Their heresies excite them to a horrible pitch of fanaticism, which at times not merely degenerates into suicidal monomania, but makes self-immolation the essence and substance of practical religion. Such phenomena in the life of a people, recurring through centuries with frequency, consistency, and general acquiescence, cannot be fortuitous. It would be natural to recognise in them the yearning of the popular

mind to satisfy its needs, even if amid the fluctuations of fortune the consciousness of those needs had become lost to the masses, and had only floated dimly before the mind of the sectarians themselves. The first question, therefore, must be: Is the Russian Raskol in its different aspects the manifestation of the national want of a spiritual reform in the Orthodox Church? This must be doubted. The Russian national character does not strive in any other direction for a spiritualization of forms and institutions derived from antiquity; and those sects which originated in the official reforms attempted by Nikon, and in opposition to him laid the foundations of the schism, are most widely spread, have attained the strongest influence upon the national life, and have gradually risen to such power among the people that even the Government has had to abandon its hostility, and been obliged to tolerate their existence. This group of sects is generally called the Old Believers; and they are regarded as such special representatives of dissent that the collective term *Raskolniki* (apostates, heretics) is in popular phraseology applied to them alone among all the schismatics. On the other hand, in these, as in all the other sects, which, however different in form and expression, are still by their nature intimately connected, there is a common endeavour to formulate into religious dogmas the socialistic and communistic tendencies of Russian nationality. It would scarcely be a paradox to say that the Russian Raskol is merely a religious expression of national socialism. This aphorism is far from being a sufficient explanation of Russian sectarianism; but it contains a partial truth which deserves some development. Those sects which are furthest from the Orthodox Church, and even lie almost outside the pale of Oriental Christianity, are the oldest and the youngest. The oldest appear to have been introduced into Russia simultaneously with Byzantine Christianity, though by another road, perhaps through the scattered Gnostics of the East: the youngest, on the contrary, derive their origin from the theosophic and mystic influences of West-European immigrants, and hardly date further back than the last century, and, in part, not beyond the epoch of the Napoleonic invasion. In any case the origin of both is unconnected with the schism in the Church. Among these sects, which are sometimes, though erroneously, comprehended under the name of *Duchoborzi*—their correct designation being *Spiritualists*—the socialistic element does not figure prominently as the dogmatic basis of their tenets. This is natural; for, at the time of the origin of the oldest among them,

the nation had not been divided into two distinct classes—privileged masters, and serfs without rights or property. Personal freedom and the property of communes were comparatively well recognised. The need of a social reform, to re-establish them upon a national basis, was not the motive of the western founders of the later spiritualistic sects. Their object was the promulgation of a new system of faith. On the other hand, the doctrines of universal equality, of common possession of property, and kindred socialistic and communistic principles, prevail among all the Old Believers, and are interwoven with the tenets of sects caused by the schism in the Church, and the violent reforms of Peter the Great. But, it may be asked, were not serfdom and aristocratic monopoly of power established during the Tartar domination? Were not both of them developed under the rule of succeeding Czars, with whom the Orthodox Hierarchy went hand in hand in oppressing the peasants and extirpating the political rights of municipalities? Was it not finally Peter the Great who invested serfdom with a legal sanction, created the Patriarchate of the Czar, and by despotic means grafted the civilisation of foreign countries upon Russian nationality? Would not sectarianism under such a burden naturally have taken a social character, as a reaction of the popular mind against the tendencies of the ruling powers, even if the elements of socialism had not previously been existing in the national temperament of Russia? But these elements were in fact already existing. They had given the commune its national organization before Russia existed as a State; and they preserved it for two centuries, during which the first beginnings of the State disappeared again beneath the Tartar rule. This very period of national humiliation was employed by the nobility and Church to establish their privileged position over the mass of the people, by undermining those institutions which had grown up from the nation itself. It cannot then be wondered at that the bulk of the community regard the nobility as apostates from the really national organism, and resent the absence of that jealous guardianship and practice of Christian doctrines in the State Church which the Church herself enjoins. Had the general cultivation of the people been greater, and had the chasm between the upper and lower strata of the population been less, perhaps political movements or revolutions might have determined the course of Russian history. Had not the beginnings of the Byzantine work of civilization been entirely destroyed by the centuries of Tartar domination, a systematic religious reform might perhaps have develop-

ed itself. But in the sixteenth century no schools were any longer existing : only here and there, and that quite exceptionally, was a clergyman to be found who could read and write, and that only in the ecclesiastical language, which was scarcely intelligible to the people ; so that the religious anarchy of all classes of society was necessarily connected with the general intellectual and material degeneration. Sects which took their rise under such conditions could devise no religious systems ; and, had they been able to do so, no adherents would have been forthcoming. But, instead of this, the grosser any superstition was, the readier acceptance it found. The more violently ignorance and fanaticism were pitted against the better cultivation of the upper classes, the larger were the masses who followed the so-called national banner. The greater the homage paid to the wildest communism by subjective interpretations of isolated passages of the Bible or fundamental articles of the creed, the more profound became the popular enthusiasm for the heresy.

These considerations are enough to show that the Russian Raskol is no accidental phenomenon, but really a natural growth of Russian nationality. It will remain therefore ineradicable. But since the existence of the Russian State, as at present constituted, rests far less upon its political than its national, social, and ecclesiastical constitution, the spread and popularity of the Raskol cannot be hindered by persecution ; and the Raskol itself, since the modern Government has gone more or less with the national and social parties, has become a national-democratic power with which statesmanship has to reckon, and which political agitators speculate upon using for their own advantage.

It is owing to the attention which modern political movements have directed towards the sects in Russia, that a somewhat more intimate knowledge of their history and development has been attained. In this connection, Kelssiew, a former partisan and fellow-labourer of Herzen, performed a useful work in collecting documents for a history of the Raskol, though he afterwards purchased his reconciliation with the Government by denouncing the sectarians, when they refused to be made tools for the revolutionary purposes of the neo-Russian emigration. The Government, though it has been at war with the Raskol since the time of Peter the Great, has never published anything relating to its proceedings ; and it must therefore be concluded either that the Synod allowed nothing of the kind to pass its censorship, or that the inquisitors did not penetrate to the inner life of sectarianism, or that the

Czars were afraid to increase its popularity. Anyhow it is remarkable that no Russian has done so much as the German Baron Haxthausen, some twenty years ago, in his *Studien über Russland*. Haxthausen first helped the Slavophiles to a consciousness of the national importance of the socialistic constitution of the commune, and published the first comprehensive information on the sects in the Russian Church. He could write with justice : " Even if I can in no way lay claim to being able to afford anything like exhaustive information on the subject, yet, after all, I know more about it than other strangers, and more even than the majority of Russians, officials and magistrates not excepted." Under West-European conditions it would be incomprehensible that the political and ecclesiastical powers should for centuries have contended with, or have been obliged to tolerate, the existence of an anomalous element in the internal organization of the State, and that at last a stranger should come and say : " Your own nation is unknown to you ; you do not know what that cancer of the national life is against which you contend." That such a state of things is possible is shown by the Raskol ; nor is the Raskol the only mystery of that kind in Russian national life. And this exemplifies anew the axiom that in judging Russian phenomena, as exhibited in the different states of society and relations of life, to apply the standard of West-European ideas would only lead to unpractical and delusive results. All things surrounded with mystery are considered by public opinion in Russia as possessing far greater importance and significance than their nature actually warrants. In the various walks of public life all movements are subject to the magnetic influence of mystery. It is a freemasonry, the pretended secrets of which are published daily in the streets ; whilst everyone who stands outside its sanctuary imagines that there is some spell hidden within, capable of exerting an inconceivable power and influence over every relation of life. Such half-concealed mysteries derive their power solely from public opinion. Therein lies the powerful moral influence of the Russian Raskol ; and this is why neither the political nor the ecclesiastical powers, with all their resources, have never been able to extinguish it, or to weaken its popularity. Even the " New Era " has devised no fresh policy towards it, nor adopted any settled principles in its relations with it, but veers about and experimentalizes in the same fluctuating way as in its dealings with Old and Young Russia, with Democracy and Nihilism, with the Western Churches and the non-Russian nationalities of the

Empire. Whilst this "New Era" concedes the freest license of action to many of the sects, and appears desirous of ignoring the Raskol in general, the well-known and fearful persecution which has been lately decreed against the Skopzi proves that, under certain circumstances, it is willing to adopt the cruellest measures, directed, in reality, though not avowedly, against heresy, and devised in concert with the Orthodox Hierarchy. The old results must follow once more—an additional oppression of authority, a corresponding increase of popularity, a deepening of the secret, a sanctification of martyrdom for the cause, a strengthening of the moral and material influence of sectarianism in the nation. Whether, in the modern conditions of Russian society, such a result is favourable to the growth of religious reform, remains a problem for the future to solve; but there is no doubt that, in the present fermenting state of Russia, the Raskol is an element of the highest importance. Let us now proceed to examine its individual features.

The subject is one which to the European world in general is still more obscure than the other phenomena of Russian national life. But at the present day the various relations of the world necessitate a more exact acquaintance with the inner life of Russia; and the Raskol is one of its most important factors. The political bias of the sects is an element necessary to make them intelligible. If we only knew that no Russian sect rests upon any mere theological system, this would not be enough to explain why the upper strata of the population as a body take no interest whatever in the religious movement, and such a thing as a direct and concerted alliance between sectarian and political or national agitation is quite exceptional and temporary. Enough has been said to show the improbability of the opinion that the elements of a reconciliation between Russian nationality and the European nations, or the germ of a fusion between the Russian and any Western Church, could be found in the Raskol. Several West-European writers of reputation and authority, and even some theologians, have recently endeavoured to popularize such ideas. Mr. Hepworth Dixon also has lately followed the same track in his *Free Russia*. Such ingenious fancies afford amusing reading; but they rest upon a superficial acquaintance with the country. These writers build general laws on isolated experiences, and set forth error as truth, because they apply European modes of thought to Russian conditions of life. Their conclusions have no practical value, because they are founded on

erroneous premisses, such as the idea that there have been Russian movements of reform of which the object has been an entrance into the cosmopolitan solidarity of the European world. At no time would such an illusion be more pernicious than at present, when Europe is in agony, and Russia meanwhile is watching for opportunities to extend the frontiers of the empire in the name of her nationality and her Church, and to subject the development, the civilization, and the freedom of Europe to the yoke of Caesarism.

But to return to the sects themselves. The difficulty of classifying them in a comprehensive and harmonious system is evident from what has been already said. A classification founded on their religious tendencies can be only relatively correct, since their growth and practice depend everywhere upon the accidental degree of popularity which this or that fundamental tenet happens to enjoy—a popularity which varies with time and circumstance. It is not generally possible to determine the beginning or the birthplace of a sect: for the most part, it can only be said that its existence was first observed at such and such a time, or in this or that part of the empire. It may also not unfrequently be found that schismatics whose fundamental ideas were diametrically opposed at starting have coalesced under the stress of common needs and dangers, even though they have had merely external points of contact. If we possessed an exact knowledge of all the existing sects, a geographical distribution of them would be a great help towards estimating their connection with the national character. Meanwhile, it may be laid down that the sects of the Old Believers are principally to be found in the Great-Russian centre of the Empire, and the spiritualist sects, on the contrary, in the circumjacent countries, among the Little and White-Russians, and in Siberia. The Spiritualist sects, however, are known to have originated partly in the oldest and partly in the newest period of Russian Christianity, so that the nature of their connection with it is often hard to clear up; whereas the sects of the Old Believers exist simply by reason of the great schism in the Church. Further, the influence and extension of the Spiritualists have always been smaller than that of the Old Believers. Lastly, their fundamental doctrines are still less known than those of the Old Believers, some sects of whom enjoy at least a certain toleration on the part of the Government, a favour which is not granted to any spiritualistic sect. Thus the entire Raskol must be regarded as comprehending the two main di-

visions of the Spiritualists and the Old Believers. This distinction however is of a very uncertain nature as regards some particular sects. Many inquire reckon those which have no priests or sacraments among the Spiritualists, whilst others regard that fact as a reason for classing them as the extreme Rationalists of the Old Believers. It cannot be decided which view is correct. For no one can answer the most important question, namely, whether these ambiguous sects were existing before the schism in the Church; and their dogmas or watchwords afford no distinct information on the point whether their common characteristic, the absence of a priesthood and of sacraments, constitutes the fundamental element of their existence, or was first added to their principles as a consequence of Nikon's reform. Those who see in them the extreme party of the Old Believers maintain that the reason why they possess no priests is because they think the gift of the laying on of hands, transmitted by the apostles to the priesthood, was lost by the desertion of Nikon from the true Church, and with it the power to dispense the sacraments, etc. But it remains unexplained why these sectarians reject not merely the Orthodox Church, but also the sect of the Old Believers, as the kingdom of Antichrist, whose worship both are said to conceal beneath a corruption of the name "Jesus" into "Jissus" and "Issus." themselves they designate as the True Believers, to whom it would be the greatest mortal sin to admit any kind of contact with the children of Antichrist. Finally, it must be observed that, in the national idiom, the whole of these sects without priests and sacraments are discriminated from the rest of the Ras-kol by the collective name of Bespopowtschina. The communities which regard the existing Church not simply as a deviation from truth, but as a conscious antagonist of Christianity, have naturally opened their doors to the most various types of doctrine, and the most various gradations of fanaticism, in such a manner that even the dominant idea of their community is sometimes obscured. The Bespopowtschina is accordingly divided into numerous sects, named, for the most part, after their founders or teachers, as the Danidites, Kapitones, Theodosians, etc. To this class also belong those which make the essence of their practical religion consist in extreme self-torment.

Among these ascetics, the Skopzi, or Eunuchs, claim the first notice, in consequence of the commission issued against them a year ago, the object of which appears to have been the confiscation of their wealth. It is curious that the members of this sect,

who call themselves Karablik, *i.e.*, frail vessels, and recognise each other by secret signs, are chiefly found among those portions of the population which have to do with metals; and not only a large number of jewellers, gold and silver smiths, money-changers, and so forth, in the large cities of the Empire, are numbered among its adherents, but even whole villages in remote provinces, which are employed in metallic industry. Their aggregate is reckoned at twenty or thirty thousand. Their wealth gives them considerable authority and a far-reaching influence, which is still further increased by their tradition that not only Peter III. but Christ himself, who had taken his form, was a member of their sect. This Peter-Christ never died; but the corpse of a soldier was shown to the people instead of the Czar, who still lives in secret in Siberia, after having immured the only true Gospel within the cupola of the church of St. Andrew at Wassily-Ostrow in St. Petersburg. Some day he will return and sound the large bell of the Church of the Ascension at Moscow, and will summon all the Skopzi to assemble around this Gospel; and then will come the empire of their supremacy. The mode of life they adopt is held to be a preparation for this empire by assimilation to Christ. This assimilation, they assert, is possible; for, as God has revealed himself in Christ, who is the founder of the only true Church, though not himself God, in like manner He reveals Himself continually as the Holy Ghost in the true Christians, the Skopzi. These must do their duty towards the preservation of the human race by begetting one or two children; but then, in order to become ripe for the Christian empire, they must assimilate themselves to Christ, who is of no sex. Hence their practice of the rite from which they derive their name. It is performed by aged women with all manner of mysterious ceremonies. Till this is over they consider themselves not as adepts, but merely as disciples. Whoever adds twelve or more disciples to the sect, attains to the rank of an apostle, an honour which naturally gives a great impetus to proselytism. They deny the resurrection of the body, hold their religious meetings in secret on Saturday nights, and observe no Sunday; but they celebrate Easter, as the only festival in the year, by a mysterious sacrament, at which every communicant partakes of a kind of bread, previously consecrated by having been buried in the grave of one of their apostles. Partly related to the Skopzi, perhaps as a preparatory school, is the small and obscure sect of the Chlistowtschini or Flagellants, who strive after

heaven by every description of self-scourging and mortification of the body, though without the mutilation of the Skopzi. They are recognised by the Skopzi as brethren. Another kind of renunciation of intercourse with the sinful world is practised by the sect of the Besmolwij, *i.e.*, the Dumb, who, from the first moment of their conversion by an inward enlightenment, become completely speechless, but in other respects maintain their former habits unchanged, and even associate with their previous co-religionists, except that they reject the sacraments. Since even punishments and torture, which many over-zealous officials have employed against them in order to extort their secret, have failed to elicit a syllable of confession, their doctrines are quite unknown. Not much more can be ascertained of the tenets of the Stranniki or Pilgrims, who probably derive their origin from very ancient gnostic influences, but may nevertheless be included in the present class, since they reject all ecclesiastical and civil ordinances. They count themselves as belonging to the monastic orders, but not so as to prohibit freedom of intercourse between their members of different sexes. They are divided into the superior grade, of actual pilgrims, who, without having any intercourse with the world, wander through it, without home or employment, and the preparatory class or asylum-givers, who, "in consideration of their weakness," are allowed to associate with the world and possess settled homes, but whose duty it is to receive and tend the pilgrims. Meanwhile, the formal promotion into the class of actual pilgrims is a matter of obligation binding on the asylum-givers; and in case of mortal illness or extreme old-age, they must break up their home, if they have not already done so, and must let themselves be carried out to the open plain, there to die, since their salvation depends upon death's finding them pilgrims and fugitives from the world.

We come next to the most fanatical of the sects without priests, the Morelschiki, *i.e.*, Self-immolators, or Soshigateli, *i.e.*, Self-burners. Nothing at all is known of their doctrines, except that they look upon voluntary death, especially by fire, as the one means of purification from the sins and stains of the world. Long ago travellers, like Pallas, Gmelin and others, told of the enormous numbers of persons who burned themselves from motives of religious fanaticism. At the present day such phenomena occur most frequently in Siberia; in the last century they might be counted by thousands. The magistrates rarely hear of these "baptisms by fire" until long after they are over; and

the population outside the sect do not hinder them, because the Soshigateli exhale, in their opinion, the very odour of sanctity. Thus it happens even at the present day, though less often than formerly, that a host of these fanatics surround some deep hole or hut with combustible materials, place themselves with wild songs in their midst, and setting fire to them on all sides at once, burn themselves with all the courage of stoicism. But a definite religious system must underlie these self-immolations, since they are repeated in the most different and remote parts of the Empire, with the same attendant circumstances and without any apparent external cause. The antithesis also of these fanatical barbarities is not wanting among the sects that possess neither priests nor sacraments. It is found in those communities which, by mitigating the crude severity of the older doctrines, have established a form of compromise with the State-Church. The Theodosians may be named as the most numerous and important among the widespread representatives of this moderate tendency. Though many of their communities have settled in Livonia from Swedish times, and in Poland since the time of her independence, and enjoy a certain toleration in both countries, they all nevertheless, together with their brethren in Russia proper, acknowledge a common centre in the Preobraschenski churchyard at Moscow. Every year a meeting of delegates from all the communities in the Empire is held there, to collect offerings towards defraying the material necessities of the sect, to elect their common elders, to consult over their common affairs, and to receive teachers, pictures of saints, and mass-books. A large portion of these offerings goes to purchase official toleration; and similar means are adopted to induce the popes not to see how the Theodosians, while conforming in the main to the customs of the Orthodox Church, reject the sacrament of marriage and take no part in the prayer prescribed by the ritual for the Czar and his dynasty.

Even those who were best acquainted with the Russian people, have been doubtful whether the sects already described stand in immediate intellectual connection with the schism, and particularly with the Orthodox Church, or whether they are direct offshoots of the Raskol of the Old Believers. The groups which are now to be noticed present difficulties of another kind, though, with regard to them, scarcely a doubt is entertained that originally they had nothing to do with the Russian Church, and not much with Russian nationality. They sprang chiefly from Western, and sometimes even non-

Christian influences, but always from a palpable desire to spiritualize religious life, and from a certain degree of culture in that direction. They are therefore rightly designated as a spiritualistic group of the Raskol. It is owing to a confusion of ideas that they have been called protestantizing; for they exhibit no trace of Western Protestantism, and possess none of that wild energy peculiar to the sects already described, which might mark them out as protesting against official orthodoxy. Most of them rather seek to avoid a conflict with the State-Church, by taking part with a good grace in all its ceremonies, so that the outer world often remains long ignorant of their existence, and utterly unacquainted with their dogmas. Their influence upon the nation is, for the most part, insignificant; and their characteristics are so far removed from contact with the mass of the people, and appear to them so little ecclesiastical, that they identify the community with the Freemasons, who have no existence in Russia, but are only known there as a secret association, under the corrupted title of *Farmassoni*. These spiritualistic sects, however, are important in the history of civilization, because, in contrast both to the fanatics already described, and to the reaction of the Byzantine ecclesiastical element, they agree in discarding altogether the purely external character of Orthodox Christianity as well as its whole ceremonial, in order to attain to a pure and spiritual worship. So powerful are these aspirations that most of the sects belonging to this class have no defined ecclesiastical constitution, and do not even form established associations. Hence their systems are capable of such modification and extension that in any of them may be found a multitude of particular tenets in which no two communities agree, and which, nevertheless, contain far more theological and philosophical logic than is found among all the other schismatics in Russia. There are accordingly in the spiritualistic sects almost as many sub-divisions as communities; and in the end there is nothing left us but to epitomise their principal branches under the designations of *Sabbatniki*, *Duchoborzi*, and *Malakani*. Though their national, and therefore their political, influence is in no way comparable with that of the Old Believers, yet they exhale a breath of modern speculation, which may become more formidable to official orthodoxy in proportion as the educated and upper classes are forced to take a part in the national life.

The *Sabbatniki* come first, because, most distinctly among the spiritualistic sects, their original aim was not a reform of the Russian

Church, but a more naked conception of monotheistic religion in general. That they celebrate Saturday instead of Sunday is a mere external peculiarity, though it has given them their name. According to *Karamsin*, it was not a Christian, but a Jew from *Kieff*, named *Zacharias*, who was the founder of the sect in the fifteenth century; but nevertheless its earliest members and teachers came from the Russian priesthood. They look upon the Mosaic law as the sole revelation of God, and upon Christ as merely a divinely-inspired prophet and purifier of the law; and they assert that the regeneration of mankind will be effected by the *Messiah* who is yet to come. These doctrines were not founded upon the Hebrew Testament, but upon the old Slavonic translation of the Bible, on which account the *Sabbatniki* were formerly reckoned with the Old Believers. Having originated at *Novgorod*, they had spread rapidly when, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, their members were partly exterminated by cruel persecutions, and partly scattered, so that for a long time the sect disappeared. It was not till the last century that they were again discovered in *Siberia*, where however they owed the high consideration they had won for themselves not to their religious character but to their cabalistic arts, which procured them the reputation of prophets and sorcerers. Later on they reappeared in *Turkey*, in *Bessarabia*. The Government finds it most convenient to ignore their existence; and some writers speak briefly of them as exhibiting a "modernised and gnosticised Judaism"—a *contradictio in adjecto*.

Of deeper significance for the spiritual life of the nation, and far more widely extended through the Empire, are those spiritualistic sects whose two principal subdivisions have been comprehended under the designations of the *Malakani* and *Duchoborzi*. The names themselves have but a slight and external connection with the sects. The members of the first are called *Malakani*, i.e., milk-consumers, because their precepts allow them to use milk-food on fasting days—an indulgence prohibited by the Orthodox Church. The double-meaning term *Duchoborzi*, which can be interpreted as Warriors for or against the light, for or against the Spirit, comes simply from the records of an inquiry instituted against the sect by the Bishop of *Jekatrinoslaf* in the last century, and, construed of course in a favourable sense, has been perpetuated by the sect. Their former popular designation was *Ikonoborzi* or *Iconoclasts*. Although the *Malakani* and *Duchoborzi* are now at variance with each other, still undoubtedly



they are only different scions of a common stock; and it often happens, in spite of their antagonism, that members of the Malakani go over to the Duchoborzi, who are the more consistent in carrying out their fundamental principles, or that converts from one side or the other gather round them a circle of adherents, and in some sense form a new sect, which in turn almost always disappears again through similar casualties. This is explained by the fact already stated, that the spiritualistic systems are by no means fully organized or reasoned out, as indeed they could not be, when no theologian, or official, or noble, is ever found among their leaders, and their doctrines are only the inventions and traditions of Russian peasants. Among the thousands who belong to them no printed formulas, no sectarian catechisms, are met with. In the last century their system and profession of faith became known, so far as regards fundamental principles; but the knowledge was merely derived from their statements made, under examination, before the judge. It was not till later that some few sympathetic inquirers succeeded in penetrating deeper into the matter, not as members of the sects, but for their own instruction. Among the schismatics themselves, all religious knowledge is based upon tradition. And these traditions show that the Russian peasant is fully equipped with the common human gifts of intelligence and conscience. The Malakani were not wrong in that spiritual self-consciousness which occasioned their discovery in the Government of Tambof in the last century, because they separated from the Orthodox masses as Jitingi Christians, spiritual Christians. People then set about tracing their origin to a Prussian subaltern, who had come to those parts as a prisoner in the Seven Years' War, and who had certainly entered into close relations with them. But, though he perhaps helped them towards a consistent development of their system, he certainly found the sect already existing; for almost at the same time their fraternities were discovered in the Governments of Charkof, Saratof, and Taurida, sometimes in the midst of Orthodox Russians, sometimes among Mahometan Tartars, and later on even among the Fins and Tschukts. Their common fundamental doctrines of faith are the acceptance of the Bible as the word of God, and the Trinity in Unity as the eternal, inscrutable, omniscient, creative, and sustaining power of the universe. There might be reason to imagine the action of Western Catholic influences upon them if their doctrine of the sacraments had not struck out a path of its own,

in the pursuit and practical application of which, however, the Malakani sects deviate from each other. They practise baptism at the naming of children (the names being given from the calendar-day); but they interpret that sacrament symbolically, as an invitation to a spiritual cleansing from sin by a blameless life. For the like reason they do not recognise confirmation, and, while celebrating the Eucharist as a remembrance of Christ, do not require actual participation in the elements. They do not use penance as a sacrament, but consider that its object is effected by mutual confession of sins among the brethren. The ordination of priests, and with it the priesthood itself, they reject; since, through the spiritual consecration of Christ as High Priest and Bishop, they regard all men equally as ministers of the Church. Marriage, concluded by the mutual consent of the betrothed, and celebrated in public amidst the prayers of the community, is indissoluble, but not a sacrament. Extreme unction they interpret symbolically, as a fervent prayer for the sick; on which account its practice is not expressly discountenanced. Fasts are kept at different periods, and voluntarily; they consist in abstinence from food of all kinds, not merely from flesh. The Malakani, as might be expected, feel no need of special places, such as churches or temples, for the worship of God; but they do not refuse to frequent them, since they find the conception of a spiritual church fulfilled in every assembly which meets for the purpose of striving after religious instruction and edification. Their whole tendency is neither proselytizing nor exclusive; their general demeanour is quiet and peaceable; and in the midst of Orthodox surroundings they do not absent themselves from the ordinary public worship, nor refuse to conform to the religious observances prescribed by law. This does not prevent their regarding themselves as elected to reign with Christ in the earthly millennium to which they look forward; nor does it hinder the occasional rise and popularity of fanatics among their members, whose extravagances the police usually put an end to, in the Russian manner, by imprisonment. Their practice of considering their villages as sacred asylums, in which they receive all kinds of criminals and protect them from the arm of justice, involves them in much danger, since the criminal police naturally look upon their doctrines as the cause of the criminality they protect. In general, however, during the present century, they have continued unmolested in matters of faith by the State-Church and the Government, per-

haps because they accommodate themselves to the outward forms of the Church, perhaps also because, in spite of their wide extension, their popular influence is at present small. It is a significant evidence of their indifference to the national movements of the day, that, when Napoleon invaded Russia, a great portion of the South-Russian Malakani and Duchoborzi recognised him as the prophetic "Lion from the Valley of Jehoshaphat," who was to come to overthrow the pseudo-Czar, and found a new empire. In pursuance of this idea, a deputation, clothed in white garments, was sent to welcome him; it disappeared, however, in Poland at the hands of the Cossacks. Of late scarcely anything has been heard of this sect, though they continue to exist in numerous communities and groups, particularly in Southern Russia.

Whether the Duchoborzi, as many believe, have sprung from the Malakani, and are therefore of later origin, is not of much more importance than their claim to have descended from the three men in the fiery furnace who refused to worship the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar. The derivation of their name has already been mentioned. Like that of the Malakani, however, it designates merely a genus—a multitude of sects in different places, with different dogmas, but with a common fundamental character. It was towards the end of the 17th century that the Duchoborzi were first discovered in the province of Jekatrinoslaw. That these earliest traces have any connection with the appearance of German mystics and theosophists in Moscow, is extremely difficult of proof; for when the Duchoborzi of Jekatrinoslaw were discovered, their existence was ascertained almost contemporaneously in all parts of Russia, even in Old Finland, on the island of Oesel, among the Cossacks of the Don, in the countries of the Caucasus, in Siberia, and even in Kamschatka. In all cases they were found only among the free peasants and Cossacks, never among the serfs; and so it has continued up to the present time. Their doctrines comprise still more spiritualistic and gnostic elements than those of the Malakani. In the case of the most extreme of the communities belonging to them, these doctrines become a confused mixture of the sublimest thoughts with the grossest and most material application of them to the affairs of daily life; the highest spiritual mysticism degenerates into atheism, the pantheistic self-deification completely effacing the idea of God; the conceptions of good and evil resolve themselves into those of the ego and the non ego, since the Duchoborz is penetrated with God and cannot sin, whilst even the virtue of the non-Duchoborz

becomes sin, inasmuch as he is not a Duchoborz. All their sects, however, as well as those of the Malakani, start from a belief in the Trinity. The fall of man also they hold to be threefold in character: first, the soul, which had existed before the creation of the world (whether as an emanation or a creature of God is not clear), fell in the world of spirits through self-love—perhaps the cause of Satan's fall; then, when the soul was imprisoned in the body, came the fall of Adam, through pride; then followed a spiritual and carnal repetition in all the generations of mankind, through pride of the spirit and indulgence of the flesh. Since God foresaw this earthly but continual fall of man, as well as his powerlessness to rise from it, the Eternal Love resolved itself into the incarnation of Christ, in order to satisfy by its sufferings the demands of eternal justice. Hence the belief in the historical Incarnation is not exactly necessary; but the inner belief in the power and efficacy of God, as revealed in Christ, is an indispensable article of faith. Up to this point all the Duchoborzi agree. But beyond this there begin to emerge, on the one side the more mystic and ascetic tendency which makes repentance the great means of self-restoration from the fall, on the other side the doctrine which supports inward repose and peace upon the belief that every man can become a son of God in the spirit of Christ through wisdom and sanctification. More exclusive than the Malakani, the Duchoborzi limit the conception of the Church to themselves; assigning a divine origin to the Bible, they clothe its contents with a mysterious, figurative, and symbolical meaning, which discloses itself only to the Duchoborz. He does not recognise outward sacraments: to inner ones he attaches a far more mystical and symbolical signification than the Malakani. His idea of marriage is now more serious and now more frivolous. Priests and priesthood have no existence for him. His churches or prayer-rooms are completely bare and unornamented, without cross, picture, or symbol, but with only bread and salt on a table; and these are there merely from an instinct for sociability, which, even in prayer, makes man gladly unite in fellowship with man, however isolated each individual may be in his relation to God. Neither Sundays nor festivals are celebrated; but on certain days and at certain hours the brethren assemble to perform in common their very simple and unceremonious exercises of prayer. There are also other secret, and, it is said, very immoral meetings of the initiated—the elect and the elders of each community. The Duchoborzi have never had a common head; and the several communities are frequently

at variance with each other. But leaders are continually arising among them, who soon acquire an absolute control, and command perfect obedience. Thus, about the middle of the last century, in the Government of Jekatrinoalaf, Sylvan Koliswikof arose as teacher and patriarch; and his authority was so great that his office and power descended to his sons Peter and Cyril. A man more frequently mentioned is Ivan Kapustin, whose origin is unknown, and who about the year 1800 ruled over the Duchoborzi in the Tauric Peninsula (especially in nine villages on the Malotschnaja in the circle of Melitopol) with supreme and arbitrary power, like that which Jan von Leyden once exercised in the Netherlands. Through him the belief in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls acquired great importance; and he turned it to his own advantage, by identifying himself with Christ. He introduced a complete community of property; and by clever management the Duchoborz colony rose to a very flourishing state. After his death, which happened about the year 1814, his office, but not his spirit, passed to his son: Order ceased; the partnership of property was dissolved; and the new ruler died of delirium tremens, leaving two sons under age. A Council of Regency, consisting of twelve apostles, now constituted itself a tribunal of inquisition. The suspicion of a betrayal of the secret mysteries of the colony, or of an intention to go over to the Orthodox Church, was punished by torture and death. Within a short time nearly 400 persons disappeared, leaving no trace behind. The State interfered; and, after an investigation which lasted five years, the entire Duchoborz colony was banished to the Caucasian Provinces, where they were parcelled out and placed under strict surveillance. Similar things happened in other parts of the Empire, but did not attain so great importance. At the present day, the Duchoborzi have the reputation of being severe in their morals, reverential in their family relations, sober, and industrious; but nowhere do they disown a strong tendency towards socialism.

Not one of the groups of sects hitherto mentioned can be compared, on the score of national popularity, with that of the Old Believers. All the other groups collectively number scarcely so many members as this one alone. In earlier times it was estimated at even more than six millions; and this explains why the public when speaking of the Rascolniki almost always mean the members of this group. Their more precise designation is Staroveri, i.e., Confessors of the Ancient Belief. They like to call themselves

the Just or the Blessed. Their chief point of contrast to the other sects consists in their opposing no new system of dogma to the Orthodox Church, but merely rejecting those ritual innovations which were embodied in the reform of Nikon, and which, in their opinion, are at variance with the true belief. Thus they represent the conservative ecclesiastical element; and it would be perfectly incomprehensible why the Government should at all times have persecuted them so bitterly, had not this dissent, apparently only external, led to very important results. One of its earliest consequences was that the Staroveri refused to recognise the priests of the new Ritual. Accordingly, while one section tried to make converts of the priests ordained by the Church, the other considered the genuine priesthood as altogether lost; they demanded the re-baptism of converts, and in this manner drifted into those fanatical sects which possess neither priests nor sacraments, and which are therefore sometimes considered as the extreme party of the Old Believers. Here it is only necessary to consider those among the Old Believers who have priests, and are comprehended under the name of Hierarchical Staroveri. Manifold as the deviations in their branches may be, yet, by virtue of this common and distinctive feature, they maintain one community and form one separate body, being all represented at the yearly assembly of delegates in the Rogoski Churchyard at Moscow, which deliberates upon their common affairs, as the Theodosians, the Skopzi, and other spiritualistic sects have their central directories in the Preobrashenskow Churchyard. In one point of political importance the sects of Old Believers agree with all the rest of the Russian Rascolniki—namely, in rejecting the Church-prayer for the Czar. On the other hand, of no other sect or group of sects in the Empire can it be said so forcibly as of the Old Believers, that the State, in instituting new reforms and measures of domestic policy, is obliged to have regard to their opinion and demeanour. Officials and liberalizing writers at the beginning of the "New Era," imagined that altered relations would soon destroy the mysterious power of an association recruited solely from the uneducated masses, and reactionary in its religion, politics, and social tendencies, however deeply-rooted might be its sentiment of nationality. But facts have hitherto more and more disappointed this expectation. For since the Government, in its endeavour to emancipate itself from the despotism of the Orthodox Hierarchy, has shown a certain tolerance towards the sectarians, the Old Believers have developed a power of propagandism

such as they never exhibited before. It is even asserted that their numbers have been doubled. While, in face of this phenomenon, nationalist writers on the one side pleaded for a complete liberty of faith, on the other side, Pogodin, one of the chief leaders of the national party, said in 1869: "If this were ventured on, the upper classes of society would, beyond doubt, lapse into the west Catholic propaganda; and the whole mass of the nation would follow the irresistible power of attraction presented by the *Raskol* of the Old Believers." Finally, since the destruction of Catholicism in Poland and Lithuania, and of Protestantism in the Baltic provinces, has become a common shibboleth of the Government and the national democracy, the press has cooled in its reforming zeal against the Orthodox State-Church, as well as in its luminous criticism on the credulity of the sectarians, especially of the *Staroveri*.

The intellectual and moral deterioration of the clergy, and the religious and material decay among the laity, which followed on the Tartar domination, have already been mentioned. In almost all the small principalities peculiar rites and ceremonies had sprung up, owing to the transcribers of the Sacred Books having filled them with corrupt readings which were sometimes absolute nonsense. This of course became a graver matter when the principality of Moscow and the Russian Patriarchate were established, since uniformity in the National Church became of still greater interest to the civil power than to the Patriarch himself. Now tradition is the essential element of the Russian Church; and accordingly the people and inferior clergy clung with desperate tenacity and zeal to errors which the course of centuries had sanctified in their eyes. It was in vain that the Greek monk Maximus, who was summoned to Moscow about 1506 to revise the Sacred Books and the Liturgy, had attempted to eradicate these superstitions; in vain had Philareth, of the Romanoff family, used his authority; neither of them was able to carry the work through. The utmost they could do was to tone down into a passive resistance the excitement which agitated the whole body of believers. The strength of this excitement is clear from the fact that it had not disappeared when, after a century and a half, in 1657, under Alexei Michaelovitch, the second Czar of the house of Romanoff, the Patriarch Nikon, with the assent of the civil power and the approbation of most of the bishops, made use of his position as the head of the Greco-Russian Church to carry out by force the revision of the Rituals and the Liturgy. For, though

the revision was certainly right in principle and executed with care, yet, when the revised liturgical books were printed and published, and the written ones forbidden, the measure met with the most energetic resistance. Bishop Paulus of Kolomna, and five other prelates, at the head of a large majority of the Russian laity, refused obedience to the reform, and called themselves "leaders of the just." Attempts to come to an understanding were fruitless; there existed no higher authority than the Patriarch, himself a party, to decide the dispute; and a council called by him in the year 1666 not only excommunicated the adherents of the old Ritual, but declared them heretics. The heretical communion however possessed at that time a larger number of members than the Orthodox Church, and entered warmly into the combat. It took the Government seven years to put down the sedition, of which the centre and headquarters was the Monastery of Solovetz on the White Sea. The most terrible punishments were inflicted on all concerned in the movement. Under the Czarina Sophia, however, during the minority of Peter the Great, a second revolution threatened even the throne itself. The Strelitz joined it under the leadership of Prince Chovanski; but by giving up to these Praetorians the beer and brandy cellars of the Kremlin the Czarina saved the crown, and converted the Strelitz into the enemies of their former co-believers. Peter ascended the throne whilst this exasperation between the State Church and the Old Believers was in the heat of fermentation. His strong measures of reform according to West European models wounded the Russian sentiment of nationality, and drove the people to make common cause with the Old Believers. The schism, begun under Nikon, now first received its settled stamp and character, by creating a national party which was not merely ecclesiastical but also social and political. "It was not Nikon," say the more educated *Staroveri* of the present day, "who separated us so completely from our other Russian brethren, but Peter the Great." When the propaganda of the sect again invaded the corps of the Strelitz it afforded Peter the occasion for the massacre of that body, as well as for the fiercest persecutions against the whole *Raskol*. It is difficult at the present day to form an idea of the enormous and agitating influence of Peter's reforms upon Russian national life. They were unheard-of innovations, fearful abominations to every son grown up in the customs of his forefathers. In spite of persecution the whole *Raskol* took deep root among the people; the hierarchical Old

Believers in particular gained such an accession of strength that Catherine II., instead of punishing them, attempted to reconcile them to the State Church—an attempt which every succeeding Czar has renewed, but which even the iron Nicholas could only partially achieve.

Their need of priests was the point on which the State operated to induce them to return to the fold. The hope seemed reasonable, since there are nowhere any doctrinal differences between the Old Believers and the Orthodox Church, and since those branches of the Staroveri which developed new sects, were never really popular in the nation, on account of their having no priests, but were mostly regarded as apostates by the bulk of the Old Believers themselves. So long as Paulus of Kolomna and the priests he had consecrated were alive there were no Old Believers who did not subordinate themselves to their control. But Paulus died without consecrating any bishop; and all the sections concur with the Orthodox Church in holding that only a bishop can ordain priests. Now, with their ever-increasing extension, the Old Believers became less and less successful in sufficiently recruiting their priesthood with converts from the Orthodox clergy; and, as the antecedents of such deserters could no longer be inquired into, the moral refuse of the Orthodox clergy were received. The communities despised their priests all the more, because the laity among the Old Believers are subject to severe mutual control, and in general attach great importance to strict ecclesiastical discipline. In this dilemma several communities in Southern Russia petitioned the Empress Catherine II. that the Synod might confer upon priests of the Old Believers the right of administering their official functions "according to the ancient books." The Government made the counter stipulation that the sectarians should take priests appointed by the State, and also adopt the prayer for the Czar contained in the old and unrevised ritual, whereupon they should be considered as holding equal rights with the members of the Orthodox Church, and no longer as heretics. Although this ukase appeared as early as 1789, and thus formally recognised the doctrinal identity of the Staroveri with the Orthodox Church, yet it was not until the reign of Nicholas, and after several concessions had been made by the Government, that a comparatively small portion of the Old Believers, under the official title of Jedinoverzi, or fellow-believers, entered into this compromise. The schism which the Government hoped for among the Old Believers was not, however, effected. For besides

that the large majority of them altogether rejected the attempted compromise, and made shift with renegade priests as before, the Jedinoverzi have only attached themselves very loosely and slightly to the State Church, and maintain a cold reserve towards their priests, whom they suspect of being unduly influenced by the consecrating bishops. Nicholas tried to coerce the refractory Old Believers by severe means, such as shutting up their schools and churches, and so forth; but his efforts were unsuccessful. Their superiority over the bulk of the people, their greater severity of morals, their sobriety and trustworthiness, as well as a certain general culture and worldly prosperity which mark them, remained undiminished. Their loyalty in the Crimean War, when the Poles vainly endeavoured to instigate them to sedition, did not permit the continuance of a harshly repressive policy. In the year 1863, when the Polish insurrection was raging, a Council of the Staroveri even sent an address to Alexander II., in which they assured him that, although their members held firmly and immovably to the tenets and usages of their forefathers, they would remain strictly loyal subjects, and, if necessary, shed their last drop of blood for the throne and the country. Later on they directed an "encyclical message" expressly against Herzen, the Young-Russian emigration, and Nihilism. Still, the Government could not make up its mind to recognise them formally; but it enjoined the greatest toleration towards them in every point of their contact with the State. This step has had a very conciliatory effect, especially upon the Cossacks of the Don, most of whom belong to the Raskol of the Old Believers. And, since the course which the Government has been lately pursuing is in harmony with the prevailing mental condition of the nation, and is essentially guided by Old-Russian parties, it may very likely happen that the Old Believers will by degrees be completely won over.

Thus the Russian Raskol, taken generally, is the differentiated and living Church of the nation, by the side of uniform Orthodoxy and the petrified State Church. The State Church can neither summon courage for the task of self-reform, nor can she persecute. Forced to hold back her arm, so desirous of punishing, her compulsory forbearance is the acknowledgment of her defeat. No doubt the event is still very distant; but some day the active co-operation of the various tendencies of the Raskol may bring about the regeneration of the Russian Church. One thing, however, the history of Russian sectarianism conclusively proves, namely, that the national life, in

even its most uncivilized aspect, everywhere rebels with all its mental energies against the imposition of State guidance in religious matters, and that a hierarchy which clings for assistance to the civil power thereby provokes the popular sentiment to opposition, rebellion, and renunciation, whereas that sentiment would be its strength and support if it would recognise the principle of equal rights.

#### ART VI.—COMMERCIAL CRISES.

I PROPOSE to inquire into the nature, the causes, and, if any there be, the means of prevention, of commercial crises in England. A graver or a more important inquiry can scarcely arise in the commercial sphere. The symptoms and the effects of these fearful occurrences are unhappily but too familiar. It makes men shudder to recollect the agonies which convulse trade at these dreadful seasons—the crash of falling houses, the paralysis and distrust which arrest commerce, the danger hanging over the heads of eminent banks and distinguished firms, the difficulty or even impossibility of discount, the sleepless fear of being crushed by the fury of a tempest too violent to be controlled by the wisest or the most experienced. Nor is it merely the memory of the past which gives interest to a question which might seem to belong solely to history. Who among merchants does not quail at times under a dim consciousness of a mysterious law of periodical recurrence which broods over these trading pestilences? Who is not haunted by a misgiving that the past may repeat itself in the future—that the anxieties and calamities which have marked bygone years revolve in recurring cycles, and may even now be approaching laden with distress and ruin? Writers distinguished in economical science believe that they have rivalled the processes of the astronomer, and have discovered the mysterious law which governs the orbits of these rotatory convulsions. The lapse of ten years is pronounced to be the rule which regulates the appearance of these visitations. Every ten years English trade at home and abroad, by its very nature and constitution, is held to be doomed to be ravaged by the destructive storms of the commercial market. The last outbreak of violence occurred in 1866; five years hence, then, the merchants of England must expect loss and ruin to crush firms now basking in the sunshine of confidence and prosperity. Is this so in very truth?

It deeply concerns the whole nation to learn whether this seeming law of recurrence is due to some inherent necessity in the nature of trade, or whether such calamities may not be averted by skill and prudence. Can it be that the exchange of the products of human industry, a process so simple and so natural, is subjected by an inexorable decree of nature to the certainty of periodical earthquakes? And if so it be, what quality in the nature itself of commerce, what element in the commercial mind, has rendered such visitations inevitable? If the inmost essence of commerce has made the tenth year the year of doom, might not a knowledge of the causes which generate these convulsions enable precautions to be taken in the ninth which might mitigate their fury or perhaps avert them altogether? It is no trivial investigation then on which we are entering. Must many of the merchants of England suffer loss and disaster in 1876, or can they act in such a manner as each to protect himself individually? And if each can save himself personally, may not the salvation of the units become the safety of all?

The first step in the process of this inquiry is an examination of the nature of the malady. What is a commercial crisis? An accurate diagnosis of the facts of the case is of supreme importance for prevention or for cure. The symptoms of the disorder have been painfully evident on many an occasion. All the world is familiar with the gradual stiffening of the discount-market, the increasing difficulty of obtaining loans and advances, the progressive rise in the rate of interest, the dim and uneasy sense of coming danger, the perplexity of bankers and merchants, the uncertainty as to the causes of mischief which are at work, the rapid growth of that sinister monster distrust, the decay of credit, the sinking of prices in commercial markets, the fall of firms and companies, the swelling suspicion alighting on the banks and houses of widest repute, the paralysis of trade, the ruin brought on thousands who had never speculated and feared no ill, the consciousness brought home to traders of every kind that their operations had credit for their foundation, and that the facility of borrowing, which had not failed them in ordinary times, might now betray them to their ruin. These and many other signs of a commercial earthquake are but too well known to the merchants of the nineteenth century. Most of all does the suddenness which usually characterizes these visitations aggravate the consternation and the distress. No doubt a rumbling under ground sends forth before-

hand sounds of ominous portent in special circles. The financial region witnesses successive disorders before the real fury of the storm breaks forth. But the regular traders, the steady men of business who work their affairs by commercial bills, generally give but small heed to these phenomena in the mercantile sky. They deal not in finance: why should they be startled by the disappearance of a joint-stock company or two? So they pursue their usual round without change; and then when the tempest rages in earnest, when frightened bankers refuse advances, when bills cannot be discounted, and cargo after cargo must be sold in markets bare of buyers, the amazement and the terror become unbounded.

Such are the usual symptoms of a commercial crisis, such generally the features it exhibits; but what is the real meaning of commotions so intensely violent? Cannot traders buy and sell, and exchange the produce of the earth and of the factories against each other, without encountering disturbances which involve the imprudent and the innocent in one common and overwhelming crash? What is the true nature of a commercial crisis, and what the real seat of the malady?

First of all let us see what it is not; for a mistaken view of the character of a disease is not helpful for its cure. It is not a monetary panic; it is nothing of the kind. It is usually described by these words; but the phrase indicates a radical ignorance of the nature of the disorder. The word panic is so far accurate, that undefined imaginative alarm is an unfailing concomitant of a crisis; but monetary is an epithet which misleads and does not describe. A crisis disturbs money as it disturbs many other things besides; but it has not its origin in a scarcity of money, that is of coin and gold, nor in a scarcity of cash, that is of money and bank-notes combined. No doubt it creates great eddies in the distribution of cash; it drains some tills and pockets, and fills others even to repletion. But it practises this commotion upon many other kinds of property besides cash. It violently transfers goods from one set of persons to another; its undulations are strong enough to remove mills and merchandise and estates from one class of owners to another. But these movements are only effects; they do not, by the mere fact that they take place, show that they contain the efficient causes which generate the tumult. The naked fact that gold and notes have diminished at the Bank of England, or anywhere else, does not establish that there was a deficiency of currency in

England, and that such a deficiency generated the crisis. Those who put forth such an assertion must make it good by proof, by proof of a very different kind than merely pointing to a banking till, and noticing that a strong reserve which was once there had disappeared. Reasoning of a very different order must be brought to bear, reasoning which can distinguish between cause and effect, and feels itself bound to raise the question whether the fact brought forward is cause or effect. On the contrary, I affirm that the amount of the circulation, the quantity of gold and notes existing in the country, never has been and never will be the cause of a commercial crisis. A portion of the currency of the kingdom played a large part in the crisis of 1825, namely, the country notes; but the action of these notes turned, not on the fact that they were too few or too many, but on their being bad currency, notes that would never be paid at the rate of twenty shillings in the pound. Bank-notes are tools; and the quality of a tool is something wholly distinct from the numbers in which it is made. It is only necessary to look at the bank returns of the first months of the last crisis in 1886 to see how unconnected the terrible fluctuations in the loan-market and in the rate of discount were with the amount of the circulation. The year opened with about 27 millions of notes issued, 12½ millions of gold and nearly 25 millions of securities, that is of advances to traders. During January and February no noticeable change occurred in the amount of the circulation and of the gold; yet the securities, that is the loans granted by the bank, varied to the extent of not less than 5 millions. There was a difference of 5 millions in the supplies given to what is called the money-market, upon an unchanged circulation of gold and bank-notes. March and April exhibit about a million more of gold and notes; but the loans ranged over a difference of 3 millions. In May the crisis burst in full fury. May opened with a circulation of about 27 millions of issues and 12½ millions of gold, a little in excess of January. In the course of the month there was a fluctuation extending to about 1½ millions. But now look at the securities—the loans granted by the bank. The sums borrowed from the bank rose from 20,400,000 in the first week to 31 millions in the fourth—nearly 11 millions of increase. This shows the intensity of the pressure, the mighty aid furnished by the bank, and a practically unaltered state of the gold and the bank-notes. What rational sense can be assigned to the expression "monetary panic" in the presence of such

figures, if by money is meant the circulation, the quantity of gold and notes possessed by the country?

Again, a great loss of national wealth, by itself alone, does not constitute a true commercial crisis, though it may easily generate one, nay, though no crisis can exist without being preceded by such a loss. Nothing destroys the public wealth like war; yet a war can be long continued without producing a violent commercial convulsion. The great war with France cost England incredible sums every year; yet there was no annual visitation of disaster amongst the merchants of England during its continuance. A bad harvest is estimated to involve a loss to the English nation of some 30 millions worth of property; yet though its tendency is invariably to raise the rate of discount, it is not seen to be necessarily accompanied by an earthquake in Threadneedle Street. Loans granted to foreigners carry off the national wealth as effectually as a fire; yet they may be very large without landing the City in wild disorder. Stocks and shares, we know by experience, often produce great effects in banking crises; yet, by themselves alone, enormous speculations may be carried on in stocks and shares without depriving banks of a single particle of their resources. Their action may be identical with that of betting performances on the turf. What the banks lose on one side is restored to them on the other. In such cases the community as a whole incurs no loss, though the difference to individuals may be extreme. I do not deny that speculation in shares and stocks often acts in a manner most marked and most decisive in creating crises; but their action on banks and discount proceeds from another source than the mere betting, as I shall presently have occasion to explain. The wild schemes of Law, it is true, generated a speculative commotion which had many features in common with the disasters of more modern times; nevertheless it was not a true commercial crisis of the same kind with those which we are now investigating. It scattered ruin with the same violence; but it was the ruin of gambling rather than the special calamities which the crises of the present day inflict on merchants and traders who are wholly innocent of gambling. It lacks the one element which constitutes the essence of a modern commercial crisis.

What now is this element, this distinguishing characteristic, of a modern crisis? The combination of commerce with banking. The essence of the disorder is a phenomenon of banking. Without the banks there may be loss, there may be ruin, but there cannot be that peculiar disorder which is

popularly known by the name of a crisis, or a panic. It is the commotion within the banking region which generates this specific malady. In circles not intimately mixed with banking, for example in the market for loans laid out on mortgage on land, which are made for a long period of time, the facility of borrowing and the rate of interest may be, and usually are, unruffled in a storm whose waves are swallowing up commercial traders. On the other hand, borrowers on land may experience exceptional difficulty at a time when the bill and discount markets are enjoying complete ease. These two spheres of lending are composed of different elements, and obey different laws. The borrowers and lenders in the one are not the same with those in the other. They are influenced by different feelings and seek different ends. Both employ credit, but under very dissimilar conditions. The position of a borrower and a lender in the banking world is most distinct from what is exhibited in other spheres; and, as the commotions which we call crises belong to the region in which banking is the predominant force, if we desire to understand their nature we must make ourselves acquainted with banking and its operations. The secret of the explanation we are in search of resides in banking.

What then is a bank? What facts does it present to our observation? Let us, as it were, place a great bank upon the dissecting-table: what kind of structure do we find? It possesses, let us suppose, besides its own private capital, which does not come under consideration here, twenty millions of deposits—a reserve of five millions, and fifteen millions of securities. What is the meaning of this description? This; that it owes twenty millions of sovereigns to a large number of persons, is owed in turn fifteen millions of sovereigns by another set of persons, and possesses in hand, five millions of sovereigns or Bank of England notes. That is the situation; it sums up what the bank is at the close of a given day. It has incurred a large amount of debt to a large body of creditors; it has made a nearly equal amount of loan to debtors; the difference between the two sums it holds in cash as reserve. What do these facts disclose on analysis? Let us look, in the first place, at the source of the bank's power and action, the debtor side of its balance-sheet, the debts which it has contracted to its creditors. These features here stand out in great prominence. These debts, speaking generally (for most of them are composed of deposits at call), are avowedly payable on demand; and they must be paid, if demanded. The call for payment is going on at every hour



of the day; and the refusal to pay a single one of these demands would instantaneously stop and annihilate the bank. Other debtors may refuse immediate payment without incurring ruin: the refusal to pay a single cheque would destroy a bank. If it renewed its life afterwards, it would be as one risen from the dead. This is a condition under which all banks live; it is always a serious one, and at times it may become most formidable. The banker must be prepared at all seasons to meet the demand of immediate payment for every one of his debts. This does not mean that the banker is bound to have as many sovereigns and bank-notes as would suffice to pay every claim over the counter; were such the law of its being, no bank could exist, except as a storehouse for the cash of its customers, with a warehousing rent for its remuneration. A bank accomplishes incomparably the largest number of its payments by other means than by cash. It is theoretically possible that a bank should pay back every one of its deposits on a single day, and yet not have touched a single note or sovereign in the process, beyond what it chanced to have in its reserve when the operation began; and it is an indubitable fact that a bank, particularly a London bank, does every day, even during the most terrible crises, pay huge sums to its creditors without the smallest intervention of money.

The second feature which characterizes the debtor side of a bank's position, the accounts and deposits which constitute its strength, is the large number of its creditors. A great bank is made up of a multitude of accounts. It receives funds from a vast number of persons, each of whom keeps a certain sum in the bank's hands, to remunerate it for the various conveniences which it provides for them. The employment of these funds, we all know, is the source of the bank's profits—the object of its existence. This numerousness of its creditors is held, and justly held, to be a great element of strength for a bank. A large body of creditors contains a vast variety of motives and influences acting on the disposition either to leave undiminished or to withdraw the sums comprised in the collective aggregate of their accounts. Thus the varying fortunes of many individuals balance each other, and furnish the bank with a fairly steady average amount of deposits, on which it may reasonably reckon in ordinary times, precisely as assurance companies proceed on the assumption of an ordinary average of deaths. This multiplicity of its creditors enables a bank to grant loans with confidence, as also to reduce the unprofitable element of its business—the reserve.

But on the other hand, if a multitude of creditors generally imparts security, it may at peculiar seasons become a fearful source of danger. To keep an account at a bank is an act of trust; if confidence is destroyed the account is withdrawn. Now in all human affairs, as in war and politics so in banking, a large mass of ill-informed persons are eminently exposed to the contagion of panic. In times of heavy commercial pressure, when the most exalted reputations are suspected, and no one knows what firm will next succumb, a host of small depositors easily catch alarm from one another. They are too numerous to be made acquainted with the secrets of the bank and the real facts of its position. A few creditors might have received information in confidence: many cannot; and thus the fountain of safety becomes in the hour of difficulty the source of danger. In the crisis of 1866, the largest and strongest banks, precisely because they rested on a colossal foundation of deposits, were exposed to the greatest peril; in their case the whispering voices were so numerous, the points open to remark were so endless, that a wild irrational panic, a mad *sauve qui peut*, was at any moment possible. This peculiarity in the institution of banking is of incalculable importance, both in respect of its practical management and for the explanation of the events which occur in a crisis.

The third feature requiring notice on the debtor side of a bank is the liability to fluctuation to which the amount of deposits is subject. The essence of a bank's business is to employ the means lodged with it by its depositors. Consequently its resources must share the fortunes of its customers. If they are prosperous, and making profits, their deposits swell; if misfortune overtake them, if a bad harvest or a costly war impoverishes the nation, the means of individuals dwindle also, and the banks are amongst the first to feel the effects of the change. But, besides the actual state of the nation's wealth, there is another circumstance which exercises a powerful sway over the fortunes of a bank—the mood of mind which may come over its customers as to the disposal of their means. A man with a fixed income, never exceeding his means, is the model of an excellent client for a bank; a legion of such accounts would make a bank the strongest in the world. But, on the contrary, men who accumulate great savings, or realize large profits, if they swell the resources of a bank with huge sums, are also a very dangerous sort of people. Their fancies and caprices may create vast havoc at the very time when the banker believes himself to be at the strongest. A sudden impulse to go into

foreign loans, a burst of speculation to construct railways, a rush to cover the distant fields of a foreign land with cotton crops, may generate with the swiftness of a whirlwind a storm that even the most carefully-conducted bank may find it hard to weather. This is a danger against which no bank is entirely safe; it is a disturbing force ever impending over the banking world, most of all in seasons of prosperity.

Let us now cross over to the credit side of the bank's balance-sheet, the other limb of its action, the loans which it has granted, the persons towards whom it stands as creditor. Here we encounter the action of the banker himself; in this region his will alone directs every movement. The funds he sets in motion do not belong to him, for he has borrowed them; but he treats them as if he were their owner. A vast field presents itself before him; he is prompted by his own inclinations, and he is tempted by the solicitations of others. He is bound by the law of requital; he has to return good for good; he is compelled to oblige those who have obliged him; his freedom experiences some constraint. A bank must accommodate its customers, or it will lose them. It must make advances to their business, help them in their difficulties, discount their bills, and facilitate their purchases. Now, all these processes involve an element which stands in startling contrast with the obligations on the other side—the element of time. It is impossible in these modern days that a bank should possess the same power of recalling its loans as its customers have of withdrawing their deposits. Many of the advances are necessarily for a period of time more or less long. This is a necessary condition of many of its loans. Thus we discover the volcano on which every bank is seated. It may have all that it owes claimed of it at the same hour on the same day; it never can, at the same moment of time, call in all that it has lent. It is protected solely by the law of average—a law which has an average of confidence, and not of inherent necessity, for its foundation. An assurance company reposes on a rate of mortality which is governed by laws of a certain stability: an average of confidence may in a week be converted into a maximum of distrust. An English bank has a soil of Peru for its foundation.

There remains the third component part of a bank's constitution—its reserve, the reservoir into which the streams of its various receipts pour, and from which all the manifold waters of its loans trickle out. The ideal of a perfect bank would have no reserve. It would lend out hourly all that it

received, and hourly gather in all that it needed for payment. If a bank's loans were always safe and always available at a moment's notice, there would be no need of a reserve at all, even in the worst of crises. A bank built on such a basis might carry on the most gigantic operations of commerce without ever touching an ounce of gold or a bank-note. If it did require cash, it would only be as small change, for such of its customers as asked for money. A deposit of a million of gold would be a pure perplexity for such a bank, a useless incumbrance out of which it could get nothing. All it could do with such a treasure would be to export it to foreign countries that had a use for it. But the realization of such an ideal bank is forbidden by the laws of human life. The cheques of depositors will fluctuate; and the repayment of advances will require time. Thus a reserve becomes inevitable, as a contrivance for guarding against irregularity, against inequality of movement in the demand of depositors for repayment. It possesses, however, very great importance as an indicator of the tendency of a bank's position, to become better or worse. Any forces urging depositors to diminish their accounts, or any losses preventing borrowers from repaying advances, are at once felt in the reserve. They alter the level at which its waters stand; and according as that level rises or sinks the banker is able to judge of the strength of the influences at work amidst borrowers and depositors.

The notion is widely spread abroad that the reserve is the real basis of banking—in this sense, that the size of this basis regulates the superstructure, that loans and advances are made in some direct proportion with the amount of the reserve, and that "the practical question for a banker is upon how small a basis of coin he can erect a given superstructure of liabilities, or how large a superstructure of liabilities he can erect with safety upon a given basis of coin." According to this doctrine, the language of a banker practically is: "Tell me how large my reserve will be, and I will tell you how much I shall have it in my power to lend." This theory involves a radical misconception of the nature of a reserve. The reserve does not supply the means of lending; they come from an entirely different source, from the deposits of the bank's customers. The reserve is an instrument of safety, not a fountain of resources. Its sole object is to protect the bank against the specific danger of a sudden and extensive withdrawal of deposits in heavy excess over the repayment of advances by the debtors of the bank.

That danger is very different for different banks. In an agricultural district, with a regular business amongst steady clients, a bank may so adapt its lendings to its accounts as to need but an exceedingly trifling reserve. In the City, a bank whose customers consisted chiefly of brokers, jobbers, bill-brokers, and speculators of every kind, will need a reserve out of all proportion great compared with that of its agricultural colleague. As I have already said, a bank whose loans and assets were instantly realizable would need no reserve at all. It might carry on a larger business than a bank whose reserve was immense. Look again at some of the Bank returns of 1866. In the opening week of January, the Bank, with  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions of notes in reserve, had made nearly 25 millions of advances. In the second week, the reserve of notes is unaltered; and 2 millions less of loans have been made. In the first week of February, the notes in the reserve have risen up to nearly 6 millions; the securities or loans have sunk to  $19\frac{1}{2}$ . The first week in May gives  $20\frac{1}{2}$  millions of advances on a reserve of less than 5 millions. On May 26, the reserve of notes has sunk below a million. The securities, that is the advances, have mounted up to nearly 31 millions. What, I pray, becomes of the doctrine that bullion (for under the present law notes are bullion) in the reserve means much lending and a low rate of discount? How this fine theory about the reserve-basis, about gold lodged in the reserve governing the amount of loans and the charge on discount, must blush in the presence of these facts! These figures seem to me to mock, with malicious delight, at an illusion which would be amusing were it not put forth with so much perverseness and so much pretension of practical wisdom—that heaps of bullion and piles of bank-notes in the reserve of bankers create for traders large supplies of loans. In December of the same year the reserve reached the vast height of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  millions of notes; and yet the loans granted on security had descended to less than  $19\frac{1}{2}$  millions, where they stood in February on a basis below 6 millions. Which are the theorists, the figures or the City oracles?—the little lines which give all sorts of lendings with all sorts of reserves, or the great authorities who preach much gold in the reserve as being much lending to traders?

The rate of discount, which constitutes the profit of a bank, is regulated in the main by the law of supply and demand. It is not the mere amount of the means placed in the hands of bankers, nor the amount actually employed in the purchase of commodities,

which governs the rate; but it is the ratio between them and the demand, and also the return made to the application of capital in the then circumstances of trade and industry. Thus a few years ago 7 per cent. was obtained with ease by the bank, and paid with equal ease by the applicants for discount, although such a rate would be felt at the present hour to be oppressive. The reason of this difference of feeling is to be found in the superior profitableness of trade at the former period. The high rate was not the result of temporary pressure, but of the great profits realised in business on every side. The condition of the world was such that the customers of England had a large demand for her wares; and both merchants and manufacturers were eager to procure the command of capital, for which they possessed such a profitable use. The discount-market of London at that time approached the usual normal condition of colonies. On the other hand, at a different time, the demand for capital may have slackened from exceptional causes, and the desire to procure it may be feeble compared with the desire of bankers to lend the command of it to borrowers. Thus the rate of discount is subject to two very distinct influences—first, the profitableness of the employment of capital; and secondly, the relations of lenders and borrowers towards each other. It is in this second region that crises perform their work, acting alternately as cause and effect. The discount-market is the most sensitive, the most sudden, the least capable of being foretold, of all markets. In these qualities resides its peculiar dangerousness. It is a perilous sea to navigate. Other markets have an objective, material force, to steady and control them. The corn-market reposes on the quantity of bread needed by human wants. There is a definite relation between cotton goods and the need of clothing. But in the loan-market, over and above the demand for capital founded on its productiveness, there are moral forces at work which are at once mighty and fitful. Confidence enters as an ingredient into banking loans; and a very slight shake to confidence may produce immense results both on the granting of loans and the demand for their repayment. The failure of a few great houses, the explosion of a large finance company or two, the stoppage of a bank, is sufficient to shake the feelings of bankers to their inmost depths; and then loans are granted grudgingly, advances are reclaimed, assistance relied on is withheld, inchoate companies, sound in nature but incomplete, swiftly descend into ruin, buying in many markets is suspended, merchants are incompetent to meet their en-

gements, and the frantic demand for help runs up the rate of interest to a disastrous height. Much of this is a purely moral calamity generated by impressions created on the mind, the result of feeling, governed by no visible connection between the means and the willingness to lend, and well summed up in the fearful word panic.

We have now a bank before us ; we see its strength and its weakness, its resources and the mode of their application. Our next step is to inquire into the nature and origin of these resources, into the causes which act upon depositors, into the influences which at one time enable them to place large funds in their accounts, at another to bring but small ones, and even to overdraw and to become borrowers instead of contributors to the bank. Of what then are these resources composed ? Not of money or cash, not of sovereigns or bank-notes. Taking the analysis of 19 millions of receipts at Messrs. Robert's Bank, made by Sir John Lubbock, as fairly representing the average of banking accounts, we find that three parts only of a bank's receipts out of a hundred are made of cash ; the remaining 97 are composed of various kinds of orders to receive money, of cheques, bills, dividend warrants, and the like. It is undeniable, therefore, that we must look to these 97 parts for an explanation of the forces which regulate the means of banks. No investigation has the slightest pretension to be called real or scientific which directs its attention, as City writers do, to the three parts of gold and bank-notes, and passes over the other 97 parts of the receipts of bankers, which are nothing more than written orders to pay money ; it is no better than the rule of thumb. It is these paper orders which are the things that a banker receives, and which give him the means of lending. What are they ? Whence do they come ? To what do they owe their existence ? To sales of commodities. I do not speak, of course, of cheques paid in from one banker to another. These are merely transfers of resources already existing amongst the banks. I speak of the origin of the resources of the banking community taken as a whole. Their means, to the extent of 97 parts out of 100, are debts created by sales of goods which have not been paid for in cash. This is the grand commanding fact to grasp. The sellers have received in payment not money, but orders to receive money ; and these orders they lodge with their bankers for collection. Accounts and deposits at the banks have sales of goods for their origin. Goods have been sold—whether to pay rent, or to provide a dividend on consols or a joint-stock company ;

and a paper order to receive money, a debt signed by the buyer of the goods, is placed at the bank. Then the action of the bank commences. The banker has the power of demanding cash of the debtors named in the cheques or bills. Does he enforce this right ? Does he bid his collecting clerks bring home nothing but money and bank-notes ? Nothing of the kind ; he would get no profit by heaping up cash in his strong box. He knows that he has not the disposal of all that he is commissioned to collect. Those who give him cheques and bills to receive will draw upon him in turn. But he knows also that they will not draw out from him at once all that he receives on their behalf. The remaining difference he at once lends to borrowers, with a charge for interest which constitutes his profit. Then at the end of the day, at the clearing-house, the orders to receive money which the banker obtained from his customers will be settled, first by the cheques which these same customers will have drawn upon him, and by the cheques which he has authorized borrowers to draw upon his bank.

This analysis furnishes us with facts of extreme significance. In the first place, the resources of banks depend on commodities, on capital, on wealth and its sale. They do not come from money ; for there are only 3 parts out of 100 of cash in their receipts. Secondly—which is a matter of cardinal importance—the quantity of resources at the disposal of a bank depends on its customers buying less than they sell. Whatever makes goods accumulate in hands which cannot immediately use them, and consequently renders their owners after selling them unwilling to purchase goods of equal value, directly increases the means of bankers ; whatever causes compel their customers to buy as much as or more than they sell, at once contract and diminish the power of bankers to lend on discount or make advances. Thirdly, banks do not possess wealth beyond 3 per cent of their means. Those means are composed of a power to demand money ; but that power is not exercised, the money is not obtained by the banks, beyond this trifling extent. Fourthly, the real action of a bank consists in its being an intermediate agent between two holders of commodities, two persons engaged in buying and selling goods. A seller gives away more goods than he buys, and places with his banker a power to receive money to the extent of the difference. The banker passes on this right to receive money to another man who desires to buy goods. This right is borrowed ; the borrower buys goods with it ; and then the transaction is completed.

The original seller has given away commodities, and is paid first in part with those he buys, and secondly with the loan made indirectly through his banker to the man who borrows of the bank the means to make purchases. A bank is as truly a medium of exchange as a sovereign; and it is in substance nothing more. Lastly, these vast operations of banking can be, and are, entirely carried on without money, except what is needed for small change; so certain is it that bankers are not dealers in money or cash, do not derive their resources from money, and may have enormous expansions or contractions of their business whilst their stock of money remains absolutely unchanged. When we think of the state of the banking world, of bankers having much or little to lend, of the rate of discount and the facility of borrowing, it is not of gold that we must think, but of the stock of commodities, of the national wealth, of the quantity of goods offered for use, and of the power of the nation to employ them to good account.

The employment of commercial bills in the sale and purchase of commodities furnishes the best, the safest, and generally the most profitable, field for the application of the agency of banks. It is the safest for the bankers, because good bills provide generally the best security for banking loans; and to the country at large the gain is great that the use of commodities should be placed in the hands of those who are able to employ them most advantageously. By means of the practice of discounting, the cotton, the wool, the corn, and the other articles which England must obtain from abroad, are purchased, in the first instance, with the means standing in a multitude of small accounts at the banks. Their customers have received incomes which it will take them many weeks to spend, or have reaped profits which they are not ready at once to invest. In other words, they have sold goods, and have not cared to buy for themselves the full equivalents in other goods; and through bankers they tell traders to use this power of buying equivalents for a while in their stead, and by its means to purchase the commodities of which the country stands in need. Capital is thus found for merchants on easy terms, with small risk for bankers, and with no strain on those who, by keeping accounts with bankers, provide them with the faculty of granting this accommodation.

But, by the law of human life, evil ever dwells near to good; and this excellent practice of bankers to grant accommodation to traders creates most of the danger, the agony, and the havoc, of commercial crises. By this institution of discounting, traders

move on a ground which can never be made perfectly solid. I invite special attention to this fact. A gigantic business is conducted daily with means furnished by bankers. In ordinary times this business moves along with so much smoothness and regularity, the funds are so sure to be forthcoming when needed, that the commercial community relies upon them with a plenitude of confidence which is almost unconscious; yet in these pleasant waters a whirlwind will sometimes spring up with the suddenness and the destructiveness of a typhoon. Merchants buy, order cargoes, sign bills, incur liabilities infinitely transcending their own power to pay, in the unclouded assurance that the bills which they received for the goods they sold will be discounted with unfailing certainty by bankers. Buyers and sellers, the bills of the one and the cheques of the other, all rely on funds to be supplied by bankers. The engagements entered on are out of all proportion to the personal ability of the drawers and acceptors to pay with their own means. Both the merchants and the bankers alike are mere intermediate agents between the makers of goods and the buyers, between producers and consumers. It is the wearers of calico shirts in England who pay for the cotton grown in America. But to bring the buyer of shirts and the cotton-grower together the intermediate machinery of the merchant and the banker is required—the merchant to purchase the cotton with his bill, the banker to discount some other bill which the merchant has received upon a previous sale. Thus the merchant commits himself in reliance on the banker; and if the banker fails him what but ruin stares him in the face? He has no control over the banking world; he cannot compel them to act prudently; he has no part in any encouragement they may give to financial speculation, or to an access of unproductive consumption. When the storm bursts, and the bankers are hard pressed, the merchants and traders may be entirely innocent of causing the crisis; and yet their own difficulties and ruin will be incomparably the most calamitous part of the disaster. By the system of bills and discounting the whole body of traders are partners in the bankers' world, and yet have no power in controlling the ignorance or the rashness of the misfortunes of bankers. This ever existing danger is a fearful set-off against the advantages of banking, as it is the precise feature which constitutes a crisis.

We are now in presence of the forces which govern crises. The danger lies in two different regions—in the diminution of the receipts of bankers, and the insolvency

of their debtors. Two questions, therefore are always presenting themselves:—are the receipts of bankers likely to diminish, and from what causes? and have the bankers so managed their advances as to be in danger of not having them repaid? In respect of the first question, their receipts, the bankers are far more passive on this side than on the side of their advances; they are more subject to forces which they cannot control. In respect of loans, the causes which act upon the banks are much more of their own making. What then are the causes which make the receipts of bankers to dwindle away? They are in the main two: first, a diminution of the sale of goods, such as occurs when trade is bad, and stocks of merchandise accumulate for want of purchasers, or when the harvest is deficient, or when cotton is scarce and dear, and the consumers of cotton goods reduce their consumption; and secondly, a diminution of profits, leaving small margin for savings, and reducing the quantity of uninvested savings, which form a large portion of the means at the disposal of bankers. These two causes may be summed up in one—loss of wealth, whether positively by its actual destruction, or negatively by a failure in its ordinary rate of accumulation. Here I must point out a mode of impoverishing a nation for a time, which is little heeded in the City, though it tells most powerfully on the resources of bankers. Most persons are satisfied if an undertaking is sound in character—if it is no bubble, but a solid investment. They make no further inquiry; they press it forward, and preach to bankers that they are safe, and even patriotic, in promoting such enterprises. Such are works of drainage, railways, docks, canals, and the like. No doubt they are all highly promotive of wealth. The growth of a nation in well-being and greatness largely turns on the prosecution of such works. But no one stops to reflect that such operations destroy wealth and diminish resources, until they are capable of yielding profitable returns. Nothing enriches a country like a well-planned railway: yet railways are nothing but a gigantic destruction of wealth till they are at work. They employ an enormous mass of labour; they use up huge quantities of iron and other materials which have been produced by the consumption of wealth. Hosts of labourers have been fed and clothed during their construction; tools have been worn out; materials have been used up. And what has been the result? A change in the surface of the land. No one doubts that if the labourers employed in making the railway had been set to dig holes in the ground and to fill them up again a flood of poverty

would have overspread the country. The food of the labourers would have been lost and not replaced. In what respect, for the time, do the embankments and tunnels of a railway differ from such holes? In the future they may and will generate vast wealth: for the present they are a pure and uncompensated loss of the public wealth. Nations ought to make railways; they will be far richer by making railways; and bankers, in days to come, will have much more to lend to borrowers. But if nations are not to feel impoverishment during their construction they must be made out of savings, that is, out of the food, clothing, and materials produced in the country in excess of the quantity consumed.

A diminution of wealth has always preceded every true crisis. Even when a crisis has been largely occasioned by over-trading, and a consequent inability to sell and a fall of prices have come to pass, the peril of the disorder has been the waste created by the manufacture of the goods, and the non-replacement of the destruction their production involved by the acquisition of other goods of equal value. In 1825 some thirty millions worth of English goods, not money, had been sent out on loan to the States of South America. Bankers also, especially country bankers, had either themselves speculated in mines and similar works, or had encouraged others to speculate. In 1847 the potato-disease had created a gigantic destruction of wealth. The cotton crop also had failed in America, impoverishing the customers of England, and compelling a larger amount of her productions to be given away for a smaller quantity of cotton. And the construction of railways had been carried on to an extent far exceeding the savings of the country. In 1859 a similar excess of railway construction had been carried out in America, which comprised much English wealth, and disturbed one of the most important of English trades. France, too, experienced a similar derangement. And thus a short, though sharp, crisis was rapidly developed. In 1866 the American civil war had destroyed the production of cotton—a crop nearly as much English as if it had been grown in English fields. The Americans were deprived of the power of buying English goods. English manufacturers lost their profits and their means of employing the people. English capital—again I remark, not money, but goods—had been sent to India, to Egypt, and to other regions, to promote the growth of cotton, to make up for the deficiency of the American supply. Houses like the Gurneys had built ships at Millwall, and equipped great fleets in Gal-

way, with much consumption of wealth, and a result of pure waste. Mills and factories had been built far beyond the means of trade to give them employment; this became a dead loss of the capital consumed by the workmen in building them. Abroad, towns had been enlarged and beautified with English capital; industries had been opened in the colonies and dependencies of England in countless numbers; and a like absorption of English wealth which had been consummated in many continental countries. At home, endless projects, such as the London Chatham and Dover Railway, had destroyed much wealth in the making, and had not produced one shilling's worth of wealth in return. These examples proclaim the moral; that a vast outlay on new enterprises, involving a large consumption of food and materials, whether in the way of pure waste or of temporary unproductiveness, ought always to suggest the feeling of danger. New enterprises there ought to be and will be in a growing nation. The rule is that they should be limited by its means, that is, by its savings. It is a most momentous question to determine what these savings are, as a matter of fact; and unfortunately it is a most difficult one. It is always very hard to say how much drainage, how many railways and openings of mines and new factories, England can afford to make; and an estimate of its amount is necessarily vague. Still, the signs of excess become sufficiently prominent to enable a watchful eye to detect them. Unhappily, however, these signs appear at a most inopportune moment, when the minds of bankers and borrowers are much indisposed to notice them. The excess of unproductive expenditure occurs in seasons of prosperity, when profits are large, and abundant harvests all over the globe bring in a multitude of customers to England, and every mill as fast as it is built finds excellent employment, and every one is sanguine and buoyant. Then it is that danger is most rapidly evolved, and the call for prudence and for reducing sail is the strongest; but then also is the time when it is most difficult and most unnatural to heed and obey the call.

Let us now turn again to the lendings of bankers. We have seen how safe is the employment of their funds in the discounting of commercial bills: crises never originate amongst them, whatever may be said of over-trading. But bankers lend also to borrowers of a very different kind. We know that bankers determine to an immense extent who shall use the store of food, clothing, and materials, which the nation possesses for new enterprises. They do not own the

capital; they never possess it; but, as the command of it passes through their hands, as the debts arrive for collection, it is they who settle to whom they shall be transferred, and who shall be able to make purchases by their means. In the exercise of this selection, they may place the command of capital, the power of purchasing goods, in the hands of those who may waste and lose it, or in the hands of those who are promoting new enterprises beyond the savings of the nation. They may give it to persons negotiating foreign loans, which take away wealth without return, to cotton-growers in India, to sheep-farmers in New Zealand, to Manchester manufacturers flushed with profits and urging on new speculative mills, to railway companies without number, to finance companies of every kind whose shares possess the favour of the stock exchange. And not only may they make advances on the debentures of multitudinous companies, but they also may give assistance to their individual customers in holding the shares of such companies, thus engaging many more persons in these enterprises, and preparing a much wider disaster when the evil day arrives. Thus they develop a specific mischief which enormously aggravates the pressure in the hour of difficulty; they encourage new undertakings for whose completion the means do not exist, either collectively or in the individual shareholders. There cannot be a more dangerous element in the banking market than a multitude of schemes commenced with no other foundation for their completion than a vague reliance on the future resources of bankers. All goes on well for a while; shares find a ready sale; great names countenance new schemes, till the means of the nation are crippled by the disproportion between the consumption of goods and the reproduction of others. Then on speeds the storm. The bankers, lately so full of sanguine benevolence, sniff the coming gale, and refuse further advances and recall the old ones. Companies are brought to a standstill with their works still unfinished; shareholders can find no market; bankers press for repayment; and property is sacrificed on every side.

Who the borrowers are is a matter of great moment in the commotions of banking. The mortgage-market may experience great movements in the amounts borrowed and lent, without generating disorder or even a rise of interest. It possesses a great power of balancing itself, a strong vis inertiae which resists violent oscillations; it is free from the excitement of speculation. Above all, its loans are steady and permanent; the full sums are lent at once; there is no liability for

future calls. The market of commercial bills to a certain extent partakes of the same nature. Purchases here, as a general rule, are met by sales; one bill is liquidated by another; the discount of an American bill is settled by the cheque paid in by an English ironmaster. This is not the region, as I have already remarked, in which crises originate, though it is the region which is peculiarly laid waste by their visitations. Traders rely on discount, as a thing of course; and their numbers are legion. It is their sufferings pre-eminently which render a crisis a national calamity. Again, if the Government or the Bank itself were to transfer to-day 10 millions of gold to a foreign land, without publishing the fact, the rate of discount would not rise one iota. The Bank of Amsterdam was conducted for very many years on the acknowledged supposition of possessing a vast metallic treasure in its vaults. The day came at last when it was discovered that the metal had been removed, and that its existence in the bank was a myth. The operations of the bank, nevertheless, were not hindered by being based on a fiction instead of a fact; and the merchants of Holland experienced no particular difficulty in the discounting of their bills. On the other hand, a sudden issue of orders for the purchase of corn abroad under a down-pour of autumnal rain, or a multitude of shareholders each clamouring for help, though the sum-total borrowed might be relatively small, would act energetically on the terms of lending. The gold would be a dormant mass of metal placed in a cellar: the rise or discount would be the keen bidding of many borrowers against each other.

It is a common occurrence to designate most of the processes here described under the general title of credit and its development. The expression is not strictly inaccurate; but it is not a happy one, and is exceedingly apt to mislead. It fixes the attention on one half only, and that by no means the most important half, of the banking system. It puts forward the advances and lending made by bankers; whilst it leaves out of sight the far graver and decisive element in their operations, the means, namely, which they have of lending, the extent of their ability to make advances, their resources—in a single word, their receipts. The use of the word 'credit' encourages the notion that lending or credit is a something of which bankers possess an unlimited stock, which they can create or annul at pleasure; and thus the true nature of a bank, that it is an accountant's office, a medium of exchange, a broker of a power of buying composed of debts given for col-

lection, of which the receipts are in part not immediately claimed by those who paid in the debts, becomes mischievously obscured. It is easy enough to perceive that imprudent and extravagant advances made by bankers may generate distress in the discount-market; but observation is not directed to the fact that excess of loans in banks invariably springs from a long continuance of a great abundance of resources, and that it is the events which are going on amongst these resources, the causes at work to increase or to diminish them, which ought to be the objects of study for those who wish to discover the signs of an approaching crisis. The man who has firmly grasped the knowledge that the means of bankers are derived from sellers of goods who do not buy to the full value of what they have sold, will watch the influences acting on the whole community which creates a tendency, either to have something left over on sales which may be deposited at a bank, or to buy at once other goods of equal value with those sold, or to have less to sell than what must necessarily be bought, and consequently to become a borrower instead of a depositor at a bank. Crises spring up and spread disaster precisely because these movements amongst commodities are not adequately watched by bankers, merchants, and producers; and the seeds of widespread ruin are often unconsciously sown at the very moment when traders are commencing new operations in utter unconsciousness that a sudden diminution of the wealth of the country may deprive bankers of the power to continue the assistance which they had long granted upon discount.

And now the question arises, What remedy can be applied to heal a crisis? What can be done to arrest the suffering under which the whole commercial community writhes? Nothing, nothing in the way of the application of fresh resources, unless foreign nations can be persuaded to supply help on loan. The mischief must run its course, till it has done its work and spent itself. Distrust may be alleviated so far that banks and firms needlessly suspected may possibly contrive to make known the groundlessness of the suspicion; and every fear allayed is a clear relief. But that is not an increase of resources; it is only the subsidence of wild and ignorant terror. But nothing can heal suffering occasioned by loss of means. The wealth is gone; the real destitution always precedes the crisis; the crisis itself is only the settling who shall be the sufferers. Merchants unable to procure discount may have to sell their goods at a crushing loss; but what the seller loses the buyer gains.



The destruction of wealth through unfinished railways or other incomplete or wasted works must be borne by some one. On the 9th of May 1866 the host of shareholders in new banks and finance companies awoke to the discovery that the loss was theirs. Calls and liabilities came down upon them; advances were all withdrawn; means reckoned on were found to exist only in the imagination; and property was sacrificed to repair the disaster. This then drove up the rate of discount; and then came the turn of commercial bills to suffer. Ten per cent. created ruinous loss on trading operations, where four would have left a handsome profit. No new resources existed or could be created to prevent the evil: the distribution of the loss was all that was left to be done under the actual circumstances of the hour.

An almost universal belief prevails amongst traders that a crisis can be relieved by an increased issue of bank-notes, and that its severity is greatly aggravated by the Bank Charter Act of 1844. This is a thorough and fundamental error. It is easily proved to be such an error in respect of the Act of 1844. That Act has one enactment, and one enactment only, about Bank of England notes. It orders the Issue Department to issue no notes above 15 millions, as the figure now stands, unless they are bought with gold; this gold forms the reserve kept for securing the convertibility of the notes. It is an Act regulating the reserve of gold to be kept for Bank of England notes: it does nothing else about them—nothing whatever. It says nothing about the number of notes to be issued. It says only that a deposit of gold must be demanded from the public for every note above 15 millions. There is no restriction of any kind. If the Act does good or evil, it does it by its command respecting gold. Well, in 1847 and 1866, two of the very worst crises known, the Bank Act was suspended, and the order to sell notes for gold only ceased to exist. They might be issued at the discretion of the bank. What was the effect of the suspension? A rush of notes out of the bank upon advances on loan and discount! Nothing of the kind—nothing. It was discovered afterwards that, when the bank was free to issue notes without an equal deposit of gold, there was, from natural causes, as much gold in the reserve as the law, if it had not been suspended, would have required. The demonstration is complete. The law was proved to have done nothing about gold which natural causes did not do also; and, as its enactment about gold was the one only thing it did, it is mathematically certain that

it was wholly inoperative. Traders got no relief from the suspension, except one of the imagination; and imagination lies outside both of science and of facts. Bankers could not lend a single pound more by the help of the suspension than they could do before it. To me this result was exactly what I was bound to expect. Notes are only the small change of bankers; they are not the things they lend, or can lend, beyond 3 parts in 100 of their operations. The crisis did not create a demand or use for this small change beyond what the Act allowed; so its action about gold never came into play. Nay, a crisis, if it leads to a certain amount of extra-reserve of notes, kept by bankers all over England from precaution, and to some hoarding, leads also to a diminished use of notes, from the fewer sales and business going on in most markets. These two causes about balance each other. As Mr. Mill has already observed, it produces but a very trifling effect on circulation.

But if crises must work their way, they arise, how are they to be prevented in the future? The problem is difficult, absolutely insoluble. The difficulty is in moral rather than in physical or trade. It is the want of knowledge, and of observation and reflection, which prevent real crises. Loss of wealth from natural causes, or disorders among countries, whom the nation has no control over, cannot be avoided; but crisis is not a word for poverty. If the wealth of the nation is met by wise curtailment even in its legitimate uses, it may dwindle, but the convulsion of a crisis will not be developed. If farmers never drained except out of a good harvest, if manufacturers never built new mills except out of the proceeds of a good harvest, if goods were not produced in excess of demand, if bankers never advanced money without solid and realizable security, the world would never be desolated. That, under the actual conditions of the English trade, which is spread over the whole world, such a course should be made before a crisis of finding damaged men and property. A war abroad, a famine at home, an act of a protective government, similar influences, nations planned with such events the world may be crippled, and the world may not be repaid. The world and merchants may be ruined, and the

duced production, there might be less to lend, but there would also be less need for borrowing. Deposits and advances might stand at lower figures; but the balance would not be changed, and discount might experience little or no alteration. Thus the rate of discount, though a very important indicator of the movements of borrowers and lenders, is nevertheless not an infallible sign of the coming situation. In 1857 the rate of discount jumped up from profound tranquillity, with the suddenness and the violence of a white squall in a tropical calm. A great reduction of the means of lending is quite compatible with low discount, because the demands of borrowers, whether from calculated prudence or discouragement, may have diminished in a still greater degree the employment of those means. This has been for some time, and to a certain extent is still, the position of English trade. On the other hand, a high rate of discount is equally consistent with easy borrowing, for trade may be so prosperous as to bring the English loan-market up to the Colonial state, and 7 per cent. may be more lightly borne by traders than 3 per cent. is now. The rate of discount is governed generally by the law of supply and demand; but, if the demand is made by men who are reaping large profits, an increase in the dearthness of the supply is not felt as a hardship.

Traders and bankers, then, like sailors, have a difficult task in predicting the coming weather; and, like sailors, they must try to acquire the sailor's eye—the faculty of discerning small signs and judging their significance accurately. The vital point is that they should notice the right things, the causes which are at work in brewing mischief. They must be studied at their origin. The difference between the intelligent merchant or banker and the unintelligent lies in the ability to understand the forces which make deposits and their withdrawals great or small, in the skill *rerum cognoscere causas*. This is a wide study beyond doubt, far too deep and too wide, it will be said, for most bankers. But is it supposed that the understanding of the influences which act on a commerce covering the whole globe, or a banking which feels blows delivered in any civilized nation under the sun, can be acquired without a great grasp of mind and thought? It is easier, no doubt, to float down the stream as it runs in the present, to make profits and to let to-morrow take its chance, or to set up some empirical rule, some high-sounding jargon, without stopping to inquire whether it possesses the reality as well as the look of knowledge. But if men choose to let their actions be guided by such methods, they must look out for crises—sharp, sudden, and

overwhelming crises. The responsibility weighs heaviest upon the bankers—not upon the Bank of England only, as some proclaim, but upon all bankers collectively. As we have seen, it is they who dispose of the uninvested savings of the nation; they are the persons who decide mainly to what purpose the surplus of corn and cattle, the profits of accumulated clothing and goods, the commodities and machinery of all kinds amassed which constitute the national savings (not money, nor notes, nor gold in cellars, I repeat), shall be applied. Everything depends on the sagacity and prudence they bring to bear on the loans they grant. The periodical recurrence of these convulsions seems to indicate that prudence lasts a year or two after disaster has punished folly; care and caution are developed in all commercial classes; and the industry and the energy of the people restore the losses incurred. Prosperity follows; prudence gradually disappears; then heedlessness encourages every kind of enterprise; and again the thunder and the lightning avenge forgotten virtue. Ten years seems to be the cycle in which these moral qualities, these virtues and this heedlessness, revolve; and the re-appearance of this comet-like visitation may be looked for, unless reflection shall have perceived its causes and have prevented their action.

But I shall be told that I am forgetting the supreme ruler of the money-market, the king of bankers, the mystical power which bestows and extinguishes their resources, which makes and unmakes crises. I have discoursed on crises, and have said nothing about gold. I have been silent about gold because I know that gold, its drains and its imports, do not contain the secret of cheap or dear discount. The notion that a drain of gold is a calamity, that an influx of it creates much to lend and ease, is the darling theory of that greatest of theorists, the practical man. He takes his stand on notoriety; he appeals to facts: to facts then let us go. The first fact I cite is that a large mass of the imported gold is not lent at all, but goes into a cellar; it might as well have stayed in its Californian mine. I will not speak of the gold at the Bank of England, for people will then talk of its being represented by notes. Look at France rather, where the gold is not represented, to use the language of the favourite phrase. Fifty millions of sovereigns were piled up there. Is it to be supposed for a moment that the Bank of France would not have lent this money if it could? The Bank of France exists for the purpose of lending money: at even 1 per cent. it would have made the magnificent profit of £500,000 a year, by lending all this gold. Why then

did it not reap this splendid harvest? Because it could not, I say; because the money refused to come out. The practical man, the believer in the doctrine that much gold makes cheap discount, is bound to explain this fact. He is bound to say plainly what service is performed by a heap of metal perpetually locked up in a vault. It is irrational in him to go on with his assertion if he does not give an explanation of so killing a fact. Mine I shall give presently; I will say distinctly why this gold cannot be lent; but I ask him for his.

My second fact I have already produced. All sorts of lendings accompany all sorts of reserves. Large reserves are found with small advances, and great advances with small reserves. There is no rule about the proportion of gold in the reserve to loans made by bankers, or the rate of interest charged for them. The gold flows in, and is not lent; the gold flows out, and loans and advances increase. This fact is decisive of the matter. It authorizes me to affirm that the doctrine that the money-market depends on gold is an absurdity. It is not I who say it; it is the figures. They proclaim, as plainly as the pain in the finger proclaims that fire burns, that gold, by its presence or its absence in the bank's reserve, is not the cause of the bank lending much or little upon discount. Either the upholders of the gold doctrine must show that these figures do not say the things which I affirm that they do say, or they must allow me to declare that their language indicates no knowledge of the action of gold and of currency.

But the figures have yet more to tell us. I will, in the third place, with the help of the *Economist*, compare several years together, and point out the relations which the quantity of gold in the Bank of England bears to the rate of discount. I take the statements of the *Economist* for the whole year 1866. Let us look at the first week's. In 1856, with 10½ millions of gold we have a rate of discount of 6 and 7 per cent. In 1866, the gold is swollen to 13 millions—2½ millions more: at what rate is discount? At a lower figure, in obedience to the increase of gold? Just the reverse: it has gone up to 8 per cent. On March 21, 1866, the bullion and the rate of discount remain unchanged. For the same week in 1866 the bullion has reached 14½ millions—4 additional millions; but they have had no effect on the rate of discount; it remains unaltered. On May 9, 1866, the bullion stood at 9½ millions, with a rate of 6 and 7 per cent. In 1866 there were 3 millions more of gold; but, behold, the rate had run up to 9 per cent. Look at the statement of June 18.

There are 12 millions of gold with a rate of 5 per cent. in 1856: in 1866, 14½ millions of gold and a rate of 10 per cent.; double the charge imposed on traders for discount, in the teeth of 2½ millions of additional gold. In those same years also, in 1856, with the low discount, 14½ millions only were lent on discount: in 1866, with double the rate of interest, the gigantic sum of 31½ millions was advanced to the commercial world. The statements of the whole year tell the same tale. They demonstrate—for the proof is nothing short of demonstration—that the doctrine which makes the rate of discount depend on the quantity of gold in the bank, as cause and effect, is a pure fallacy—the fallacy of City articles and of the practical man. He boasts that he stands on facts; and facts flatly contradict him. Upon his theory—the theory that ease in borrowing comes from plenty of currency, from gold, the figures are absolutely inexplicable. To one who understands the nature and functions of currency they present no difficulty. Coin and notes are used for ready-money payments; and when there is enough of them for this purpose the excess cannot be employed. It must remain at the bank, as surely, as inevitably, as an excess of ploughs and carts, more than the farm has employment for, must remain under the farmer's sheds. Bullion and notes are nothing but tools; they are useless for every purpose except exchanging property; and of the property exchanged daily they exchange very little indeed. When there is more of them than the work requires they must stay at the bank, do what the bank will. The gold becomes a mere security, as a jewel or a mortgage: it cannot be lent, and, as the piles in the Banks of France and England showed, was not lent. The varying figures of the gold indicate only—omitting the sums exported—that more or less gold is needed for ready money payments for small change. At certain seasons more sovereigns are required for use, as in summer for paying harvest wages, and in autumn for travelling: when this employment ceases, they flow back to the bank as naturally as scythes and reaping-hooks return into store. The Australian merchant may import gold; but the great fact will always come out transparent: to the cellar it must march. It will not come forth, except for exportation, for the plain reason that no one has any use for it, and no one wants it; it is mere surplusage; and the wealth with which it has been bought is practically lost to England as long as it is not exported. Doubtless there are always plenty of people who are eager to borrow, especially in times of crisis; but if the bank grants them loans

they will not be made with gold. The loans will be made by granting credits, on which the borrowers will draw cheques. Those cheques will be paid in by creditors and sellers, and will be settled at the clearing-house. But the gold will not stir; its slumbers will not be disturbed. The bank will hold it as a security; but, mark carefully, any other kind of property of equal value and saleable would do as well. It is not as gold, used and at work, that the bank keeps most of the mass of its reserve, but as property of so much value, as a guarantee against loss. This is the grand truth which the commercial mind finds it so hard to grasp and to make its own. Traders see well enough that with the help of this gold the Australian merchant bought goods, and sellers of merchandise found buyers; but they do not see that an importation of foreign goods of equal value with the gold—of wool, for instance—would have given the same purchasing power to the Australian, would have created the same amount of buying in the shops and warehouses, but with a vital difference to the capital of the nation. The Australian carries away a million, say, of England's wealth in goods: in the one case, when he pays with wool, he leaves capital in England of equal value; in the other case, when he pays with gold, he gives a perfectly useless metal, which forms no more a part of England's capital than if it had remained in Australia. It will buy other goods—true; but if it remains in England the result will always and inevitably be the same—that some one has given away his goods for a useless metal. If that process came to be indefinitely repeated, England might be stripped of every particle of her corn and meat and iron and merchandise, and every house in Lombard Street might have its cellars stuffed with gold. Is this the Elysium which City articles seek for a nation of human beings!—this the consummation which would bring great reserves, low discount, easy borrowing, universal ease? Yet it is the essence of the view which they take of gold. If they protest against this statement as extravagant, and say that this would clearly be too much gold, then I ask them to tell us plainly what makes enough and what makes too much. I say that enough means what is required for small change for those payments which are made actually with sovereigns, and for reserves of banks sufficient to guard against fluctuations. All above that I call too much. Let them tell me their definition of too much.

But I shall be asked, whether I really mean to deny that when gold flows into the bank the tendency is towards an easier state of banking and a lower rate of discount?

To this question I answer, first, that if Australia were to send to England ten millions of gold from its mines, and to take away no English goods in return, England would receive neither good nor harm. The Australians would have warehoused in England a certain amount of their property. But such a case never occurs in practical life: Australia does not send sovereigns to England without taking English capital away in exchange.

Secondly, if Australia sent the ten millions when England lay under a severe crisis, but carried off English capital of equal value, I do not see how this exchange can possibly bring any relief to the commercial pressure. Nay, the very reverse would take place; the crisis would be aggravated by the loss of the capital taken away by the Australians.

But, thirdly, if the gold flows into the bank from a balance of trade, which results from England having sold more goods to foreigners than she has bought of them, I admit that, generally, an easier state of the loan-market accompanies such importations of gold. England sells to all the world, and of course, as a rule, sells with profit. It takes some time before profits are invested; and then there is a tendency of the profits, a part at least of them, to come in the first instance to England in the shape of a balance of gold. Now persons realizing profits are generally in an easy position; they are under no pressure to borrow; their outlays are recovered; and the excess of profit makes them depositors and not borrowers at the bank. The opposite conditions reveal themselves when England is forced by any deficiency at home, or by granting excessive loans to foreign States, to pay a balance abroad in gold. Thus a bad English harvest necessitates large purchases of foreign corn; and payment must be made in gold before the foreigner has had time to increase his purchases of English goods. Borrowers at such a time multiply, and the rate of discount rises; but it is not the loss of the gold which creates the pressure—for it may just as well lie in a foreign as in an English cellar—but the loss of wealth caused by the failure of the harvest. A bad harvest necessarily diminishes the reserves of banks; farmers now borrow of banks instead of having full accounts in their books; and the purchase of additional food abroad is naturally made in the first instance with the uninvested funds lying at banks. I freely, therefore, admit the existence of the tendency of low discount to follow gold imported on a balance of trade; but the point to bear in mind is that this tendency is not in any way the effect of the gold itself, but of the con-

dition of capital which leads to its importation. Nor is the tendency universal; for the figures of the *Economist*, as well as general reasoning, prove beyond all contradiction that all kinds of rates of discount accompany all kinds of stocks of gold in the reserves of the Bank of England.

BONAMY PRICE.

## ART. VII. HISTORY OF IRISH EDUCATION.

To comprehend the question of Irish education in its essential bearings, it is necessary to remember, first, that the Irish people have possessed from of old a love of learning so intense as to constitute a real motive power, and, second, that they have obtained, in times past, such a measure of success in acquiring and diffusing knowledge as to give them complete confidence in their own methods. These two facts have been strong enough to foil the systematic efforts, recorded in history, to destroy or seriously alter Irish education. Through a misapprehension of their force and endurance, the various penal policies issued in results exactly contradictory of those which were intended, and which sometimes seemed to be immediately produced. The Statutes of Kilkenny, instead of making the Irish adopt English fashions, welded the naturalized Anglo-Normans and natives into a warlike union which almost destroyed the Pale. The proselytizing policy of Elizabeth, instead of binding the Irish to England by the bond of a common Protestantism, effected their alliance with Spain, and again almost destroyed the Pale. The penal code of William and Anne, instead of stamping out altogether their education at home and abroad, made their numerous colleges spring up on the Continent, and ultimately brought about the foundation and endowment of Maynooth, which was established to wean them from foreign education. Finally, as a general result of such policies, from the first to the latest plan adopted, comes the displacement and lowering of the educated lay element, and the relative augmentation of the ecclesiastical power, in the social system of Ireland.

The cultivation of knowledge existed in Ireland before the introduction of Christianity. It is recorded that the sovereign Cormac, who died in 266, composed a tract entitled *The Instructions of a King*, "to preserve manners, morals, and government in the kingdom." He was also "a famous au-

thor in laws, synchronisms and history, for it was he that established law, rule and direction for each science, and for each covenant according to propriety; and it is his laws that governed all that adhered to them to the present time." He collected the chroniclers of Ireland in Tara, ordering them "to write the chronicles of Ireland in one book." In this were given the synchronisms and exploits of kings, a statement of the rents and dues of lords and vassals, and a description of the bounds of districts.\* Thus St. Patrick, on his arrival in Ireland, found books, and a body of men addicted to learning.† Now, when Christianity is introduced amongst an ignorant and barbarian nation, in whose social system there is little cohesion, the missionaries tend to become civil as well as religious rulers, and may formally establish a theocratic form of government, like that of the Jesuits in Paraguay. When it converts a people whose government is characterized by strength, the two great powers of Church and State are brought into a more or less stable equipoise. But in Ireland neither of these conditions existed. When Christianity arrived, there were already two real powers in the island, that of civil rule and that of learning; and there was also the false power of superstition common to all countries. The Church, displacing this last, formed a third real power. The result was not a theocracy, and not a duality, but a trinity of powers. This is shown likewise by the fact that on the conversion of the nation the ancient laws were referred for revision to a commission composed of three kings, three bishops, and three learned laymen.‡ Again, it is manifest from a passage in this revised code, where it is stated that "equal dire-fine was established for a king, and a bishop, and the head of the written law, and the chief poet," and the hospitaller.§

Religion had of course great influence. But the rapid establishment of monasteries and great schools, which might be supposed to have quickly eclipsed native learning by the introduction and development of theological and classical studies, had not really that effect. The masters of the earlier literature, forming lay corporations, as it were, maintained their positions as legists, historians, poets, musicians, and narrators of historical romances. There were many grades to pass before the position of ollav—doctor

\* *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 266.

† O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, p. 4.

‡ *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 438; *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 5.

§ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 41.

in knowledge, or chief professor—could be attained; and the minor graduates formed the ollav's suite. Such a chief professor or doctor in knowledge, "when ordained by the king or chief—for such is the expression used on the occasion—was entitled to rank next in precedence to the monarch himself at table. He was not permitted to lodge or accept refection, when on his travels, at the house of any one below the rank of a land-lord-chief. He was allowed a standing income of 'twenty-one cows and their grass' in the chieftain's territory, besides ample refectations for himself and for his attendants to the number of twenty-four, including his subordinate tutors, his advanced pupils, and his retinue of servants. He was entitled to have two hounds and six horses."\* He could confer temporary sanctuary by having his wand carried round the person or place threatened. On the other hand, the clergy were mustered to battle along with the laity, until the year 804. Then the primate and the northern clergy, though obeying the call, complained of the grievance to the king. He neither decided the point himself nor allowed them to decide it, but said "he would abide by the award of Fótad the canonist."† This award exempted them.‡

These relations of equality and co-operative independence existed between the three principal powers of the Irish social system—the civil government, the lay learned corporations, and the hierarchy—till partially disturbed by Anglo-Norman feudalism. And, although of the three elements only one was ecclesiastical, the influence of religion did not suffer, but rather seemed to gain by the arrangement. As compared with social systems where Church and State were set nakedly face to face, this system supplied a referee or umpire element (such as is now represented by public opinion) by which much of the strife characterizing them was moderated or avoided.

The monasteries founded by St. Patrick and his followers flourished. In the four centuries that intervened between the Saint's death and the invasions of the Northmen, many of them were reputed as great schools, whilst Armagh, Cashel, Lismore, Ross, Bangor, and others were famous as universities. It is stated that in the year 513 there were

7000 scholars at Armagh;\* that at Cashel, in 901, under Cormac, king and archbishop, there were 5000 scholars and 600 conventual monks; and that Lismore and Down had as many. Besides the attraction of learning, there existed for students in Ireland the inducement of having books to read and copy, and of board and lodging free. Celtic civil society comprised a system of hospices established and endowed by the State in every district, for the refection of travellers; and it appears to have been supplemented to meet the needs of students. The churches evidently served as lecture-halls. The services these Irish universities rendered to civilization could not well be exaggerated. There for some centuries learning found that refuge which was denied to it elsewhere; and thence it issued again to educate a new-born Europe. When Roman civilization on the continent was perishing, and when England was suffering from wars with the Picts and Welsh and the civil discords of the Saxon heptarchy, Ireland was earning the names of the "School of the West," "New Rome," "The Island of Saints." Though there were civil troubles, they were insignificant. Ireland appeared to the world as a university, to which it was natural for students to resort from all quarters to complete their studies. It received all comers with a liberal welcome, and hospitably entertained them, giving them books to read, instruction in the arts and sciences then known, food and shelter, and all gratuitously.‡ From this university island a multitude incessantly swarmed in all directions, from Iceland to Italy, to spread collegiate learning with the Christian faith—to found, not only churches and monasteries, but schools and universities. It is claimed for them that they founded or assisted to establish the schools and universities of Paris, Pavia, Lindisferne, Malmesbury, and (through Johannes Scotus Erigena) even Oxford. The universities and schools of Ireland were still flourishing when the Northmen began their irruptions. About the year 840, Donatus, Bishop of Faesulæ, described his native island in these terms:

"Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis et auri:  
Commoda corporibus, sero, solo, solo.

In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur  
Incyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide."

The Northmen were attracted by its riches. In the year 867 Armagh was plundered and burned, with its oratories, by Áwliffe (of the

\* O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, pp. 2, 3.

† *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 799 (recte 804).

‡ They were subject to the law: "There are four dignitaries of territory who may be degraded; a false-judging king, a stumbling bishop, a fraudulent poet, an unworthy chieftain who does not fulfil his duties."—*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 55.

\* *Cambrensis Eboracensis*, c. xxlii. v. q. c. xiv. xxi. Bede, *Historia Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 27; v. q. c. 8, L. iv. c. 26. *Cambrensis Eboracensis*, Adelung, pistola ad Eagfridum.

Danes of Dublin); a thousand persons were slain or suffocated; and great booty of "property and wealth" was carried off.\* A score of years later, when it had recovered, they sacked it again; and to most of the localities with which they came in contact they did the like. They made it "a part of their savage warfare to tear, burn, and 'drown' (as it is expressed) all books and records that came to their hands, in the sacking of churches and monasteries, and the plundering of the habitations of chiefs and nobles."† But when the strife was past, and their rule established, they allowed the Armagh University to continue its work.‡ In 1146, the Irish King Diarmid of Leinster founded the nunnery of St. Mary outside the eastern gate of Dublin; in 1162, an Irishman, St. Laurence O'Tuahal, was Archbishop of Dublin (hitherto Danish); and in 1162 the same King Diarmid founded the monastery of All Hallows. The confiscated grounds of this monastery became afterwards the first possessions of Trinity College.

Immediately before the Anglo-Norman invasion, great efforts were being made for the reformation and reorganization of the country. To remedy the abuses and laxity which had prevailed in the social system, shaken so violently by the Danish wars, synods of clergy, conferences of clergy and laity, and assemblies of princes, were held. In 1162 it was ordered that "no one should be a lector§ in any church in Ireland who was not an alumnus of Armagh before." In the same year are recorded the deaths of the Dano-Irish Archbishop of Dublin, "distinguished for his wisdom and knowledge of various languages:" of the lector of Derry, who "was a distinguished scholar;" and of "the chief ollav of Ireland in penmanship, at Armagh." In 1168, the death is recorded of a bishop who was "chief doctor of the Irish in literature, history, and poetry, and in every kind of science known to man in his time." In 1169, Rury O'Connor, King of Ireland, "granted ten cows every year from himself, and from every king that should succeed him, for ever to the lector of Armagh, in honour of Patrick, to assist in instructing the youths of Ireland and Alba [Scotland] in literature."||

\* *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 867.

† O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, p. 5.

‡ Ware, *Antiquities*, Harris's edition, c. xxxvii. a. 2.

§ If a bishop should offend and be deposed, "the lector [man of learning] shall be installed in his bishopric, and the bishop shall become a hermit or a pilgrim."—*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 59.

|| *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1162, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169.

The Anglo-Normans replaced the Danes at Dublin; and the subsequent incursions and counter-incursions destroyed the eastern seats of university learning. In the other districts they existed for a time longer.\* The exemption of the clergy from war-service had naturally brought them forward more prominently as teachers; but the lay element continued to be well represented in the independent provinces of Ireland, until the reign of James I. The Anglo-Normans, debarred from the higher graces which had sweetened life to them in England or France, readily welcomed the Irish representatives of troubadours and trouvères. The fables, tales, and romances were acceptable in Celtic, when delivered by skilful masters of the art of narration. The poets, versed in different metres, knew also how to excite by their songs an enthusiasm strong enough to cause the deposition of princes, and to complete the revolt of a Silken Thomas. In the use of musical instruments the Celtic minstrels especially excelled;† and their art was not more remarkable than the grace with which its effort was concealed.

Such were some of the chief agencies by which the rapid Hibernicising of the Anglo-Norman nobles was accomplished. These influences prevailed in all outlying districts of the Pale; but within its cities they were trammelled or banned. The Kilkenny Statutes of 1367, by which they were formally, though ineffectually, excluded from the whole Pale, acknowledged their existence throughout it. Before that, and after it, the Anglo-Norman nobles, like their Celtic peers, had their brehons or legists and judges, their minstrels, poets, and romancers. The lay corporations still constituted an effective public opinion. Though the universities and great monastery schools had long established and popularized classic studies, had erected the faculties of theology and of arts, with its trivium and quadrivium, yet the two faculties of jurisprudence and medicine had remained hereditarily in the lay corporations. With these also were the arts and sciences of secular poetry and music, not to mention others which, pacific or martial, largely influenced the daily life of the community in the ages of chivalry.

Within the chief city and adjoining districts of the Pale, this third power, of lay

\* In the west, for instance, "after the coming of the English at Cluanraid, near Ennis, there were 600 scholars and 850 monks supported by O'Brien, King of Thomond."—Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, p. 34, n.

† "In quibus, prae omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter instructa est."—Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernia*, p. 153.

public opinion, had at first little or no existence. The clerical and civil powers were face to face. They sometimes went on well together; and several monasteries were founded. They united cordially to establish the Catholic code of Anglo-Norman penal laws against the Catholic Irish: the civil penalties against intermarriage, fosterage, entertaining minstrels or poets, wearing moustaches, are all finished off by a series of parliamentary excommunications. Peers temporal and peers spiritual bore each their part. But though thus united against their neighbour, the dual powers were constantly at variance between themselves; and this rivalry cannot have helped the cause of education. When the Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics insisted on cudgelling citizens in the streets,\* against their protests, it is unlikely that the children of citizens would flock to their schools.

There were two principal reasons, therefore, for predicting failure for Anglo-Norman Catholic universities in the Pale: first jealousies and rivalries between the lay and ecclesiastic elements; second, and chiefly, the policy of proscribing and excluding all Irishmen who would not conform to Anglo-Normanism in ideas and fashions. The Irish universities had flourished because they answered to the desires, were the organs of the ideas, of the people amongst whom they were planted and grew up. They became famous abroad because their liberality and hospitality to all comers, strangers or natives, were known. But the Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics, after quarrelling with the Dublin citizens, could not expect a university to be filled with teachers and students from the Irish territory, when they had solemnly excommunicated all who permitted Irish Catholic ecclesiastics (and monks and nuns) to remain in or to be admitted to cathedral and collegiate churches or religious houses. This was the first formal announcement of that narrow colonial policy of education in Ireland, which, under various names that avow or veil the colonial ascendancy purpose, has endured to this day. Then the aim was to maintain a race-ascendancy of Anglo-Normanism, as afterwards it was to sustain a sect-ascendancy of Protestantism. Had it been otherwise, had a great and liberal university been established at Dublin, including within its teaching body Irish as well as Anglo-Norman professors, welcoming with hospitable hand and equal mind Irish and Anglo-Norman students, who can doubt that the internecine quarrels, which followed might have been

greatly diminished, if not altogether avoided? The spirit of enterprise and adventure, which found no outlet except in war, would then have had a fair opportunity of developing itself and winning fame in the commonwealth of arts and sciences. That mutual confidence and respect which had existed when the Irish universities flourished would have been renewed, instead of being obliterated by mutual hatred and distrust. For the Irish had been a very friendly people until the policy of exclusion and plunder prevailed.\*

Archbishop John Lech was the first who sought to establish a university in Anglo-Norman Dublin. In 1312 he obtained a Bull from Clement v., authorizing the foundation of a university for scholars. But on the death of the Archbishop, a year and a month after, the project fell to the ground. His successor, Alexander de Bicknor, in 1320, founded the University anew, taking care to obtain confirmation of it from John xxii.† A copy of the writ of institution is still extant.‡ The university was established in St. Patrick's Church; and the dean of this church, William Rodiart, being promoted to the degree of Doctor of Canon Law, was made its first Chancellor. The Masters regent were empowered for the future to elect the Chancellor, and two Proctors accountable to him and them. With the advice of the regent and non-regent Masters, the Chancellor could frame laws. This university existed for a time, but did not flourish. During the period of moderation which preceded the Kilkenny Statutes it possibly gained some Irish students. Edward iii. gave it countenance, instituted a divinity lectureship, and granted its scholars letters of protection. In 1358 there is mention of lectures in divinity, civil and canon law, and other sciences, being delivered in it. In this year it was resolved at a provincial synod held in Christ Church, that annual stipends should be paid "Lectoribus Universitatis" by the archbishop and his suffragans. This contribution was limited to seven years; and it is probable that the Anglo-Normans, whilst richly endowing their conventual establishments, starved their university. It dwindled away. Another was established at Drogheda in 1466, by Act of Parliament, 5 Ed. iv. The

\* A.D. 684. "Egfridus, Nordhumbrore Rex, misso in Hiberniam cum exercitu, duce Berto, vastavit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam."—Bede, *Hist.* L. iv. c. 26.

† Ware, *Antiquities*. Harris's edit., c. xxxvii.

‡ *Ibid.* c. xxxvii. s. 3.

\* A.D. 1266.—Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, p. 180.



Statute, in Norman French, endowed it with all the privileges of the University of Oxford in England. It was hoped that it would secure "si bien l'encrese du science, richesse et bonne governance, comme l'avoidance du riot, male governance, et extorsion."\* But it lived and died obscurely.

In 1475 the last attempt before the Reformation to establish a university in Dublin was again made. This time the matter was taken up by the Dominicans and by members of the other Mendicant Orders.† They appear to have contemplated no narrow policy of exclusion; their mission was rather to the people and oppressed than to the great; and their members in Ireland were probably, for the most part, Irish. They showed to the Pope that no university now flourished in the country, where masters and doctors could lecture and scholars learn. They had indeed resources at hand, if they might only use them. But though there was a host of well-skilled professors, of the four Orders, in the cities and walled towns—received there because of their exemplary lives and Gospel-preaching—yet it was not easy for scholars and persons willing to study to obtain admission.‡ There were to be found a great number of professors of the said Orders, masters and bachelors in theology and in arts sufficiently instructed to teach, and a vast array of scholars well inclined to those sciences, who desired to learn. Day by day their minds were deteriorating and growing torpid, to the great detriment of the Christian republic and of the Catholic faith. But there was no university accessible, unless they endeavoured to cross the sea to England at the risk of perishing, as many had done. The charges of such a journey were heavy; and it was made more difficult by the decay of charity, and the multiplying discords of the nations. For all of which reasons, and for some besides, Pope Sixtus iv. issued a Bull, in compliance with their request, for the erection of a new university in Dublin. The Bull is worth study. It constituted the university as a corporation, whole and complete in itself, self-working, self-dependent, with liberal elective powers accorded to its members. It assumed that such an institution could and should stand alone, manage its own affairs, and grow great by the development of its proper forces. This university probably oc-

cupied St. Patrick's church, like its predecessors, and like them was starved by the Anglo-Normans. There was neither endowment granted nor edifice built. The times, however, were troubled and unpropitious.

Then came the Reformation, announced in Ireland by the dissolution of religious houses against which there was no accusation, and the appropriation to the use of the King and his favourites of lands formerly held in trust for public uses. The area of the Pale was limited until the time of James I., when the disposition to resist gave place to hope of conciliation from the Celtic Stuarts. Not until that time, therefore, could the educational enactments issued in Dublin have any but a limited audience. And this audience was one which, whenever it could, perverted plans ostensibly designed for the public good to its own private enrichment, and which, when it could not do this, generally neglected and ignored them. The destruction of the Irish universities, begun by the Danes and completed by the Anglo-Normans, through conflicts and wars, had not altogether destroyed education. Neither had the ill success of the Anglo-Norman universities extinguished it. The ruin of the universities had simply thrown education into the hands of the monastic establishments. Higher education (except what was professional) was indeed razed out; and when the sovereignty of the universities was abolished the bond was broken which had brought and held the principal personages of the land together in intellectual union. After the fall of the Irish universities, national co-operation was succeeded by sectional quarrels; the federal pact became enfeebled; the pretensions of the feudatories (so to speak) were augmented; and petty wars embittered without settling their conflicting claims. University education had given a recognized centre towards which all were attracted; when local monastic schools replaced without representing it, each district lost cohesion with its neighbour, and fell back on merely local ideas.

In a Catholic community the existence or non-existence of a university has an important bearing on the relations between clergy and laity. The existence of such a mart of higher education liberalizes the minds of both ecclesiastics and layman, and engenders mutual respect. It was after the fall of the Irish universities that Giraldus Cambrensis described the Irish prelates as rather ascetic monks than pastors:\* it was during the non-existence of any Anglo-Norman university in Dublin that the State had to interfere to

\* Ware, *Antiquities*, c. xxxvii.

† De Burgho, *Hibernia Dominicana*, MDCLXII., cap. iv. num. xvii.

‡ This is confirmed, for instance, by the charter given to Limerick in 1423 by Henry vi., which excluded the Irish from citizenship.—Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, p. 36.

\* *Topographia Hibernica*, p. 175.

forbid the beating of citizens through the streets and public places. When there is a university, ecclesiastics and laymen, each educated in the higher studies, are on an intellectual equality: when there is not, the layman must dispense with such studies. The Catholic priest cannot do so. He is bound to be conversant with the teaching of the faculty of theology at least. Thus, even in the absence of a university, he must somehow be of university standing; whilst the layman, at most, is of grammar-school standing. Hence a depreciation of the latter by the former, which is perfectly natural under the circumstances, but which soon becomes a clerical characteristic, and deeply affects the relations between the two classes.

We come now to a period when, by the efforts of the proselytizing policy, the laity, already one grade below the clergy in education, were to be lowered another grade by the abolition of monastic grammar-schools, and finally quite de-graded by the abolition of all Catholic teachers. The conquest-policy gradually broke down and destroyed the lay powers, civil and learned, of the Celtic social system. The ecclesiastical element, though outlawed, still maintained its position there, and by the destruction of its co-equals became preponderant: by the degradation of the laity, through the proselytizing policy, it tended to become supreme. The epithet "priest-ridden" was never used until the proselytizing policy had effected this work: before that the complaint had been that the laity were not sufficiently obedient. But, whilst this social supremacy of the clergy was favoured by the love and admiration called forth by their devotedness in time of danger and death, it was counterbalanced by respect for the old lay chief families, till they were transplanted, exiled, or disintegrated by the operation of the penal law of gavelkind and Protestant heirs.

The proselytizing policy in education was begun in the reign of Henry VIII., in 1537, by an Act\* ordering the Protestant clergy to keep parochial schools. Two years later the commission for the suppression of abbeys recommended the preservation of six of the religious houses, because "in them young men and children, both gentlemen children and other, be brought up in virtue, learning, and the English tongue, and behaviour."† But though this was done at great charges, and though they educated "the womankind of the whole Englishry," such pleas did not prevent their suppression in the Pale. In 1542 an Act was passed for the "suppres-

sion of Kilmaynham and other religious houses,"\* the grantees being bound to "inhabite and keep household and hospitalitie" on pain of forfeiture. Thus the first steps were taken, by seizure of public property to private uses, to lower the Catholic laity another grade beneath their clergy. Education of any kind began to be difficult for any Catholics but the rich to obtain; and riches were a temptation to the confiscator. The disendowment of the multitude for the disproportionate endowment of a small section had begun.

The Pale was pinched and narrow in Henry's reign. The Hibernicised Anglo-Normans and Irish nobles were strong enough to exact that recognition of their titles, tenures, seigniories, and customs, which had been voluntarily yielded to Wales on its conquest. When Spenser wrote, in 1596, it could be alleged that "they have ever since remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them would (say they) be a grievous wrong." Elizabeth's "Uniformity Act" did not practically much affect them. The Irish social system remained almost intact; and the absorption of the Catholic Anglo-Normans into it was favoured by the change of religion in England. To Anglo-Normanism Protestantism had succeeded. The policy of sectarian ascendancy replaced that of race ascendancy. There was thenceforward no effort to keep the races, as such, from intermingling: the ban was reserved for the intermingling of persons of different religions. Throughout the Irish nation the two lay elements were still strong, and the ecclesiastical element was fully represented. In 1565, the Earl of Kildare is mentioned as appointing Irish Brehons to weigh offences.† This presupposes the existence of professional lay law schools. The learned professions, medicine and law, were hereditary in many families. The use of the Latin language was common. In 1571, Campion writes: "They speak Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common schooles of Leachcraft and Law, whereat they begin children and hold on sixteene or twentie yeares, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hypocrates and the civill institutions and a few other parings of those two Faculties.‡ In 1589, after the confiscation of the Earl of Desmond's estates, and the decree for the Plantation of Munster, Robert Paine, the intelligent and impartial agent of a number of English planters, describes the Irish people

\* 33 H. VIII. c. 6.

† Kildare, *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, Addenda, A.D. 1596. 1

‡ Campion, *Historie of Ireland*, Dublin edition, 1807, p. 26.

\* 28 H. VIII. c. v.

† *State Papers*, vol. III. part 8, p. 180.

of the interior as hospitable, civil, faith-keeping, and industrious. "Most of them," he observes, "speak good English and bring up their children to learning." In the towns the children were taught to "conster the Latin into English"\* Spenser, in 1596, describes how great was still the influence of the bards or poets, as an agency of lay opinion. "Their profession," he says, "is to set forth the praises and dispraises of men in their poems or rhymes, the which are had in so high regarde and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for feare to runne into reproache thorough their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men." Discontented with them for using their powers for the "maintenance of their own lewde libertie" against his countrymen, he yet praises the poetical beauty of their compositions.† The fact that Latin was commonly spoken (for a knowledge of which the people certainly were not restricted to their law and medical schools) is an indication that the monastic schools were hard at work (openly) over the independent provinces of Ireland. Lynch, who lived under Elizabeth and her immediate successors, though his refutation of the errors of Giraldus was not published till the commencement of the reign of Charles II., states that each cathedral had its school open to all who wished to enter. At the time when he wrote there were thirty-one such churches in Ireland; formerly the number had been much greater.‡ The religious orders pursued their labours in the Pale, more or less secretly, according to the amount of connivance.

In the reign of Elizabeth important events with reference to education took place in the Pale. The suppression of monasteries had made the lack of education severely felt. Sir Anthony St. Leger had suggested to Henry VIII., in 1543, the propriety of converting Christ Church into a free school, as there was none. In 1568, before Sir Henry Sidney, Elizabeth's Lord Deputy, there was a motion made in Parliament for the re-erection of a university in St. Patrick's Church. In 1570 an Act§ was passed providing for the erection of diocesan free schools, one to be built in every diocese, at its proper expense, and placed under a schoolmaster of English birth or parentage. His salary was

apportioned on the Protestant ecclesiastics; possessing the monastic land, they were to provide for education. Nothing was done to carry this Act into execution till the reign of Charles II.; it was rigorously enforced in the penal days of William III. and his successors. The question of superior education again began to be agitated in Dublin, Sir Henry Sidney's project for the revival of St. Patrick's University having come to nothing. The Queen had written\* favourably of this project, and ordered a survey to be made of the possessions of the College of St. Patrick. The matter lagged. In 1584, Draper, incumbent of Trim, petitioned that the university might be erected there. In the same year Archbishop Loftus energetically opposed the adoption of the Catholic precedent of erecting a university in St. Patrick's. He complained that "the purpose to translate the state of St. Patrick's from a cathedral to a university is likely to produce much evil by discouraging the good and godly preachers of this nation."† St. Patrick's, which is within a few hundred paces of Christ Church cathedral, had a reason for existence whilst it was the collegiate church of a university. There may have been use for the two cathedrals when a dense population of Catholics was congregated around both; but since they came into the hands of official Protestantism one of them has always been felt to be superfluous. In the reign of Elizabeth this fact must have been sharply evident. The Lord Deputy, therefore, was anxious to apply the revenues of one of them to the erection of even two universities. In 1585 he declared that he would not be crossed, that he would become the utter foe of Loftus if he persisted, and that he believed Ussher to have been sent over "to cross his plot for the two universities."‡ The revenues, being estimated at 4000 marks, would serve, he held, to found two universities and to endow a couple of colleges in them with £1000 per annum apiece; the residue might be expended on repairs, and annexed to Christ Church to augment the choir.§ He intended to settle six masters (chosen from the most learned residentiaries) in each of the two colleges, and a hundred scholars. Archbishop Loftus was, however, deeply interested in the re-

\* *Tracts relating to Ireland*, published by the Irish Archaeological Society: A Brief Description of Ireland; made in the year 1589 by Robert Paine.

† Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, Dublin edition, 1808, p. 124.

‡ *Cambrensis Eboracensis*, c. xxiii. p. 494.

§ 12 Eliz. c. 1.

\* *Calendar of the Carew MSS.* 1515-1574, p. 359. Queen Mary had ordered the Dean and Chapter to establish a Grammar-School: the endowment is misapplied. Power to grant degrees was still claimed for St. Patrick's in Swift's time. — *Endowed Schools Commission*, p. 174.

† *State Papers*, Ireland, 1574-1585.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 537.

§ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *History of Dublin*, vol. i. p. 538.

venues, and finally succeeded in 'crossing his plot.'

The Augustinian Monastery of All Hallows, founded by King Diarmid in 1166, had been given in 1534, after its dissolution, by Henry VIII to the (still Catholic) citizens of Dublin, to compensate them for their losses in the revolt of Silken Thomas. To end all further danger of attempts on St. Patrick's, Loftus urged the citizens to meet the Queen's intention by making a grant of the monastery and lands. It then lay at a distance from Dublin, which, by its growth, has enclosed it, and made the name of College Green (applied to the place in front) a mockery. It was not a valuable property, many endowments being cut off. The citizens made the grant. On a petition, presented by Usher, the Queen ordered a license of mortmain to pass for the grant of the abbey, valued at £20 yearly, and for the foundation of the college as a corporation, with power to accept whatever contributions charity might give, to the extent of £400 a year. Letters-patent passed, March 8, 1592, granting and defining its rights and powers as College and University.\* The Charter was almost as liberal as that of Pope Sixtus. The offices of Provost and Chancellor were made elective; and powers of legislation were granted. The Charter was seriously altered in the reign of Charles I., who reserved to the Crown the appointment of Provost. Some other changes were also made. This interference with the rights of the body arose from the fact that it soon became a dependant upon the bounty of the State. Elizabeth's charter authorized a plan of voluntary endowment; but no one would willingly give anything of his own. The foundation-stone was laid, and students are said to have been admitted, in 1593; but the institution could not stand alone. The Protestant nobility sent their sons to England,† as they generally do at present: the Catholics looked elsewhere. To save it from ruin the State had to support it; to insure its continuance the State had to endow it; to attract students to it the State had to furnish it with an array of bribes. As a dependent artificial scheme, its history contrasts with the natural and luxuriant outgrowth of the native universities and colleges. Though it stood in confiscated possessions, privileged with a monopoly of the higher education, freed from all taxes and charges, backed by the Queen's

favour and the Lord Deputy's fosterage, the Lords Justices had, in 1597-8, to decree it £40 a year and six "dead payes" out of the army money to save it from ruin. In 1599 it was in so perilous a state that the Earl of Essex had to order the former sum to be paid in quarterly, and the "dead payes," amounting to £5, 12s. a month, in monthly instalments. On a piteous appeal from the body, which had fallen into great want and was nigh dissolution, from the decay of rents owing to the war, it was granted 40s. a week, being a cannoneer's "dead paye." In 1600 the grant of £40 a year for a public lecturer was renewed, and charged on wine imposts and casual fines. In 1601 the institution was again near being dissolved, not having derived any benefit from the discoveries (of concealed forfeitures) allotted it; and the Queen endowed it with a further sum of £200 out of Crown fines, until such benefit should be derived.

The first effects of this proselytizing policy on education were manifold. The Anglo-Norman and Celtic Catholics were driven to foreign alliances and to arms, in which they had such success that Elizabeth's educational projects failed. Ireland became a favourite mission of Ignatius Loyola, so that the Jesuits devoted their powers to the organization of a Catholic party, fusing together Normans and Celts, and to the foundation of schools and colleges. In 1583 a Papal Brief empowered the Catholic Primate Creagh and the Jesuit Wolf to erect schools wherever they judged proper, and endowed these with the privileges of a university. Creagh and Wolf were both put into dungeons; but the Lord President of Munster described all the Munster cities, in 1600, as bewitched by Jesuits, Popish priests, and Seminarists. The Jesuits had a dozen colleges in Ireland; and during two centuries and a quarter, from their foundation to their suppression, 300 Irishmen joined their Order. The four Orders previously mentioned were also active; but Ireland was made an especial field of the Society of Jesus.

The establishment of Irish colleges abroad, an effect of the proselytizing policy, forms an important element in the education question. These colleges were commenced to supplement the Irish colleges at home. The first of them arose under the auspices of the Jesuits. They were supported by collections made in Ireland, by the voluntary donations of Irishmen at home and (afterwards) in the foreign services, and by the educational resources of the Order. In the single reign of Elizabeth, whilst the artificial College of Trinity, though State-imposed and State-supported, languished in mendicancy, not only

\* Ware, *Antiquities*, Harris's edition, c. xxxvii.; Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *History of Dublin*, pp. 539-41.

† "Some have children at the Universities or at the Inns of Court or Chancery."—*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1601-1608, p. 412.

did numerous colleges spring up amongst the Irish at home, but six were successfully established abroad. The College of Salamanca was established in 1582, that of Alcalá in 1590, that of Lisbon in 1595, that of Evora in 1595, that of Douai in 1596, and that of Antwerp in 1600.

On the accession of James I. the Celts hoped for a respite from persecution and confiscation. The native poets held a great assembly (their last) in the second year of his reign. But the land-hunger of the adventurers of the colony allowed peace neither to king nor to people. They "discovered" a plot, in which the Ulster Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel were named, and showed unmistakable symptoms of a desire to make a partition of their lands. When they invited the Earls to be judged by them, Tyrone and Tyrconnell thought it best to save their lives at least, by flight. Their judges appropriated large portions of their patrimony, and persistently violated all James's designs for its colonization. He ordered a system of royal free schools—one in each plantation county—to be established "for the education of youth in learning and [the Protestant] religion."\* They evaded the obligation to a considerable extent. He allotted out of the confiscated estates some 100,000 acres as church, school, and corporation lands, and had to struggle against perverse evasions and continual encroachments. Trinity College was still in such a feeble condition that £388, 15s. was given to it out of the Exchequer, besides a large share of the spoils of the Catholic Earls. Nevertheless the plantation officers had found it always easy to empanel a jury to strike boundaries, because a majority of the natives empaneled used the Latin language.† Many of their colleges at home were maintained; abroad, in this reign, they founded the Irish colleges of Tournay in 1607, of Lille in 1610, of Louvain in 1616, of Paris in 1623, and of Rome in 1625.

Charles I., in order to obviate some inconveniences, granted by charter, to the Protestant archbishops of Armagh, the free school lands, to be held for their use, and founded two or three other incorporated schools. The royal schools, though largely endowed, flourished as little as Trinity College. The Lord-Deputy, writing to Archbishop Laud, in 1633, declared that they were "ill-provided, ill-governed in the most

part;" there was a great amount of jobbery perpetrated in reference to them; lands bountifully given were "dissipated, leased forth for little or nothing, concealed contrary to all conscience," and "all the moneys raised for charitable uses converted to private benefits." A curious example of the contradictory result obtained by the proselytizing policy is found in the fact that several of the schools were applied "sometimes underhand to the maintenance of Popish schoolmasters."\* If even from the plantation counties it was complained that the Catholic schools were so large that they were "universities rather than schooles,"† it may be readily imagined that they flourished elsewhere. At the very commencement of this reign a University was erected in Dublin by the Jesuits.

The Graces, or reforms in Church and State, and the general amnesty, granted by Charles secured for the English Government the cordial co-operation of the Irish people, of all classes and creeds. They voluntarily assessed themselves in the sum of £40,000 a year for the King's service. Two-thirds of this sum were paid by the Recusants, or Catholics,‡ who during the previous reigns—under the policy of conquest and proselytism—had incessantly resisted. Their education and religion had been connived at: it was now understood that they might have freedom. Several religious houses were built; and the Catholic university in Rochelle Street (otherwise Back-Lane), Dublin, presented a flourishing aspect.

There was a puritanical class among the Irish Protestants, who were indeed generally of this type. They raised a reactionary agitation; and, as a consequence, fifteen of the newly built religious houses were confiscated. The Catholic university shared the same fate. It was seized, sequestered, and handed over to further enrich Trinity College with the spoils of the Catholics.§ In 1635 it was still in the possession of Trinity College, which had placed in it a rector and scholars, as well as a divinity lecturer, whom the Lords-Justices often countenanced by their presence. For it was a "fair collegiate building."¶ Afterwards, however, it came

\* *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission, 1858*, p. 10; *Strafford Letters*, vol. i. p. 188.

† *The Humble Petition of the Protestant Inhabitants of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, concerning Bishops*, 1641.

‡ *Carte, Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 52.

§ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 53.

¶ *Gilbert, History of the City of Dublin*, vol. i. pp. 240-2. The author observes that the Jesuits after 1620 obtained stations of their own, which increased to eight colleges and residences. There

\* Harris, *Hibernica*: Conditions to be observed on the plantation of Ulster, Part I., p. 167.

† *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*. Afterwards it was to Munster that the "poor scholars" (who could not go abroad) had to repair for classical learning in the 18th and 19th centuries.

again, for a time, into the hands of its owners, and was "disposed of to the former use."\* But it was not thought enough to rob them of their university in 1635: in the same year Strafford issued a proclamation forbidding men of estates to depart the kingdom without license. This, the twelfth grievance in the Remonstrance of the Irish Parliament against him afterwards, is explained to have been intended to prevent the Irish from holding correspondence with their countrymen in foreign service, and "from sending their children to be educated in Popish seminaries abroad."† Carte is indignant at the unreasonableness of the Irish Catholics in feeling discontent at seeing their university suppressed at home, and themselves denied access to their colleges abroad. It is true, His Majesty's Established College and His Majesty's Established Church were there for them; but instead of using them, they had preferred in the first six years of the reign of Charles, to found one college at Rome in 1625, another at Rome in 1628, and another at Prague in 1631.

After the paroxysm of sectarian prejudice came a time of relaxation in political and social life. "And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the Irish had ever been observed to bear unto the English nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections, and mutual obligations passed between them."‡ Naturally, it might be supposed that an institution for the purposes of that learning which makes manners gentle would be the prime agency in this good work of peace-making. It was in fact the prime promoter of discord. Its authorities did not desire to make it a mart of learning, but rather a stronghold of bigotry. It was discovered that its Elizabethan constitution, modelled after the old Catholic constitutions, was too liberal, and that it stood sorely in need of wholesome statutes. Strafford, in order to effect an alteration, got Archbishop Laud made chancellor. He drew up a body of statutes, on an Oxford plan indeed, but "with several regulations, proper to Ireland, wherein he had consulted the primate Usher and other learned Bishops of that kingdom." No regulation could seem

more "proper to Ireland" than an exceptional law to exclude the Catholic people from education in His Majesty's college, after their own had been seized and themselves ordered to desist from seeking learning in the Irish colleges of the Continent. So "the Romish recusants were excluded from the benefit of any education or preferment in the college of Dublin,"\* which stood on the confiscated abbey lands, and had been enriched with the spoils of their patrimony, their churches, and their colleges. This charter was granted in 1637.† Dr. Richard Chappel was appointed provost. His fitness as a reformer of abuses is testified by the fact that when promoted to the see of Cork he still retained the provostship.

The House of Commons took up the question warmly in 1641, appointed a select committee to report on the innovations insisted, in spite of obstacles raised by the provost, and declared null and void a statute forbidding the students to give evidence before any but their college superiors. On the 23d of February a vote was passed declaring that the government introduced into the college by the last provost, and used there, after the procuring of the charter 13 Car., "hath subverted the ancient and first foundation thereof, and doth wholly tend to the discouragement of the natives of this kingdom, and is a general grievance."‡ From this it would appear that Catholics were held to have anciently enjoyed a right to education and preferment in Trinity College and the Dublin University. The Parliament proceeded to vindicate that right. They ordered the provost and fellows to forbear electing to fellowships and scholars' places on the Monday after Trinity; and they forbade them to grant and confirm leases until the House of Commons should give further directions. They authorised their committee to examine the old and new statutes, and "to prepare such a draught out of them to be observed by the college as the said committee should think fit."§ They made a special regulation that natives ready to "sit"

\* Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. pp. 147-8.

† The provost, formerly an elected officer, was now made a nominee of the Crown. The fellows, formerly equal, were discriminated into seven senior and nine junior. The government of the college was reserved to the provost and senior fellows. The Crown deprived them of the power (which it reserved to itself) of making laws and statutes for the college, or of adopting and incorporating any from Cambridge or Oxford, excepting in cases omitted to be provided for by the new statutes.—Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *History of Dublin*, vol. i. pp. 545-6.

‡ Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 148.

§ *Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland*, vol. i. (p. 228) p. 279.

is a conflict of authorities as to the exact dates of foundation and suppression of the university.

\* Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*. Mr. Gilbert states that it (finally) became a Government hospital.

† Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 112. As this writer annexed whole pages, without acknowledgment, from elder writers, his bigotry is not always original.

‡ *The Irish Rebellion, or an History of the Beginnings and First Progress of the General Rebellion*, 1641.

for the scholarships (from which they forbade the college to exclude them) should obtain the customary allowances. The Parliament clearly considered that the fellowships and scholarships were of right open to the Catholics, and that the property of the college was national property; and it is plain that after abrogating Laud's innovating statutes they intended to issue a constitution for the college, in which these principles should be explicitly declared. Unfortunately their next session, in which this was to have been accomplished, was prevented by the outbreak of the Great Rebellion. It is a remarkable fact that the first most active insurgent in the north, and one on whom the execrations of Protestant partisan writers have been most heaped, was Feilim O'Neill, one of the janissaries of proselytism.\*

The insurrection of the Irish barons and gentry was occasioned by the tyrannical interference with the freedom of Parliament by the Lords-Justices, and further caused by the unscrupulous violations of the Graces, their Magna Charta. "Clerks, souldiers, and serving-men" had been packed into the Commons; musketeers with lighted matches stood at the gates to overawe the opposition; the King's message of conciliation was concealed; and dragonades were ordered to drive them into rebellion. The uniformity statute of the 2d of Elizabeth was drawn forth from oblivion. So far from the land settlement being allowed to exist, a hundred and fifty letters-patent had been avoided in one morning. Estates were annulled; and the land swarmed with escheators. The colonial authorities at the Castle succeeded finally, by a double treachery to king and country, and at the expense of treasure and bloodshed to both England and Ireland, in gratifying their land-hunger, by having two million and a half acres declared forfeit. Being identified with the proselyting College, by office and otherwise, they immediately awarded it all the forfeitures of the "recusants" of Dublin county and city.†

Did the educational disabilities imposed upon the Catholics count, really, for anything in the revolt? The very first article of their Remonstrance states, in a combined form, their religious and educational grievances.‡

\* "His education for a great part of his youth was in England. He was admitted a student of Lincolne's Inn, and there trained up in the Protestant religion, which he changed soon after."—*The Irish Rebellion, or an History of the Beginnings and First Progress of the General Rebellion*, 1641.

† *Journal of the House of Commons of Ireland*, anno 1642.

‡ *Curry, Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland*.

They complained that their gentry were "debarred from learning in universities and public schools." Nor can it be asserted that they showed by no measures of their own an inclination to satisfy the wants they professed to feel in reference to education. Owen Roe O'Neill, a student of the Irish colleges abroad, and an officer of the Imperial and Spanish armies, was chosen general of the Ulster Confederates; and having first rebuked, repressed, and punished the excesses of the levies of Feilim, he next allotted places for four colleges to be put under the Jesuits, who in 1640 had eleven colleges in Ireland. The five prelates of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, Meath, Killala, engaged to found eight others; and the Supreme Council of the Confederates undertook to establish a college and university in the name of Jesus, and under the care of the Society.\* Besides, in a general chapter of the Dominicans, in 1644, a decree was made, erecting five universities for the five parts of Ireland †—at Dublin, Limerick, Cashel, Athenry, and Coleraine. Permission was given, however, to choose other places instead of these, if necessary. In 1646 there were forty-three Dominican houses and about six hundred friars in Ireland.‡ Again, the agent of the Irish Confederates at the Oxford negotiations of the former year put forward, among the moderated proposals, one to the effect that an Inn of Court should be erected, and the university and schools made free to the Irish Catholics there.§

That there was amongst the Irish a general revival of letters in this reign is known to Celtic scholars. One fact alone need be adduced to illustrate it. The very year which beheld their university in the east wrested from them, and annexed to Trinity College, saw their learned men assemble with their records, in the west, to compile *The Annals of the Four Masters*.|| The patron of this

Remonstrance of the Confederate Catholics, March 18, 1642.

\* Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, p. 666. *Imago Primi Seculi*, S. J.

† *id.*, Leinster, Thomond (recte, Tuath-Muman, North Munster), Ormond (recte, Oir-Muman, East Munster), Connaught, and Ulster.

‡ De Burgho, *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp. 115-7.

§ Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. pp. 500-1.

|| The patron of this literary undertaking was one of the minor chieftains, Farrell O'Gara, Lord of Coolavin, who, in his quality of Knight of the Shire, represented Sligo from 1634. Michael O'Clery, "a poor brother of the Order of St. Francis," and Chief of the Four Masters, thus speaks in his Epistle Dedicatory: "There were collected by me all the best and most copious books of annals that I could find throughout all Ireland (though it was difficult for me to collect

monument of erudition was one of those Romish Recusants who, whilst this work was proceeding, were forbidden to seek education abroad, and against whom, when it was just completed, Trinity College shut its gates at home. A common oppression had caused the political union of Anglo-Norman and Irish Nobles, in a confederation which chose for its motto the words, "pro Deo, rege, et patria Hibernia unanimus." The triumph of Cromwell fused them in a common calamity. The nobility and gentry were transplanted to the wilds of Connaught. The Irish were expelled the towns, physicians excepted: \* some thousands, men and maidens, were sold off to the West India planters as slaves. To Barbados the gentry were sent who were found not to have transplanted; there also were their clergy deported. Many were hanged. To harbour priest, monk, or nun, entailed forfeiture and death. An equal reward was set on the head of a wolf, a priest, and a "tory." What was the effect of this policy upon Irish society? To leave the clerical element the sole authority over three-fourths of Ireland, by the almost complete destruction of the gentry and learned lay class. The clergy could not be destroyed. Religion here proved itself the strongest of all the forces operating on society. Its priests left their churches in the cities of the Continent for the caves and moors of a land where to be discovered was to be doomed to slavery or death. To minister to an afflicted nation they assumed all disguises, from the uniform of a soldier and the robe of a physician to the frieze of a peasant and the rags of a mendicant. They left their colleges to teach in the midst of bogs and morasses. In 1656 a general arrest was ordered to check their increase; the jails were filled; and a ship was prepared to carry some of them to Barbados.† It is recorded of one professor (as it might be of

many) that, in the same year, "he chose in the middle of a vast bog, a spot harder than the rest, and built a hut on it," for the purposes of a school. "Thither a large number of youths soon flocked, erected little huts all round, learned literature and virtue from the good father, and imitated him in enduring not merely with fortitude, but also with joy, all the inconveniences of their position."\* The Irish priests were the same in spirit as those of whom Spenser said that they spared not to come from Rome and Rheims and Spain to brave death: the Irish people were a nation "whome no reward could invite, no persecution enforce," to forsake their religion, abandon their love of learning, or betray through the peril of any risk or profit of any recompense those who confided in their honour.

Latin was still a common language. Petty, who found the diet, housing, and clothes much the same as the English, adds: "Nor is the French elegance unknown to many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues. The latter amongst the poorest Irish, and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin, where it is very freely spoken."† The disasters inflicted on the country by Cromwellian rule were too severe to allow of the founding of more than two colleges abroad; but foreign monasteries were temporarily thrown open to Irish clergy,‡ and other opportunities created.§ Only in Connaught could Catholic society show recognised representatives of all its three former elements; there, with the gentry and clergy, were mingled poets and minstrels, one of whom, O'Connellan, is said to have equalled in musical skill his successor Carolan. Over the rest of Ireland, lay learned corporations became extinct; the professions of bard and lay doctor became merged in one, and humbled. Ex-candidates for the priesthood in many instances played the part of classical teachers and poets. No Catholic third estate could form in the towns; for the Catholics, with the exception of a few physicians, were expelled their gates. Thus in Catholic society the clerical element stood almost the sole possessor of a superior education, and

them to one place) to write this book in your name, and to your honour, for it was you that gave the reward of their labours to the chroniclers by whom it was written; and it was the friars of the Convent of Donegal that supplied them with food and attendance in like manner."—*Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. lvii. In this one county of Donegal (before the flight of the Earle), it has been computed that the real estate allocated to the maintenance of ollaves was equal to £2000 a year, present currency.—*Irish Penny Journal*, vol. i. p. 229.

\* Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, first edition, p. 188.—The skill of the Irish physicians was in part due to the fact that many of them, by the help of the Irish colleges abroad, studied medicine on the Continent, especially in Paris.

† Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, first edition, p. 161.

\* Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, p. 869.

† *Tracts and Treatises relating to Ireland: The Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1672*, by Sir William Petty, p. 351.

‡ De Burgho, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 117.

§ *Ibid.* p. 118. *Laudatus Rmus Magister Ordinis Literas expediri fecit Patentes, districte ordinantes, ut extranationalia Collegium et Monasterium Ulyssiponensia pro Hibernis duntaxat Patribus et Monialibus essent.* The two colleges mentioned in the text were founded in 1656, one at Capranica, the other at Louvain.—Ware, *Antiquities*, c. xxxvii. s. 4.



thereby naturally tended to become dominant in its civil, political, and educational affairs. This abnormal social state, thus originated, was confirmed and extended over all Ireland by the penal policy which commenced in the reign of William III.

The restoration only restored a portion of the Catholic royalists to their estates. Amongst the Cromwellian adventurers whose cheaply obtained property was now confirmed to them was one Erasmus Smith. Being of a pious disposition, like many of Cromwell's freebooters, he founded and endowed three free grammar schools—at Drogheda, Galway, and Tipperary. His schoolmasters were bound publicly to read the Scriptures, to pray, and to catechise the children in Ussher's catechism. His plan of a proselytizing propaganda was a failure in his lifetime, as may be inferred from his letter of 1682 to the governors. "My Lords," he writes, "my designe is not to reflect upon any, only I give my judgment why those schooles are so consumptive, which was, and is, and will be (if not prevented), the many Popish Schooles their neighbours, which, as succors, doe starve the tree. If parents will exclude their children because prayers, catechism, and exposition are commanded, I cannot help it, for to remove that barre is to make them seminaries of Popery. I beseech you to command him that shall be presented and approved by your honours, to observe them that decline those duties, and expell them."\* Thus it appears that, in spite of all discouragements, the Irish schools had sprung up again, to compete with and conquer the favoured schools, enriched with their spoils. Not only did the Irish successfully wage an unequal educational war at home, but they founded numerous colleges abroad. The prospect of a Catholic heir to the throne did not hinder them in this work, to which they were doubtless urged by the unsettled aspect of affairs during the predominance of Titus Oates. There were also a couple of Cromwellian plots at home. The king, indeed, had expressed his gratitude for the fidelity of his Irish subjects in the Act of Settlement, and empowered the Viceroy† to found and endow another college in the Dublin University, doubtless for their benefit. But the project was stifled. For such reasons therefore, and because of the expansive tendencies of Irish scholastic learning, the college of Toulouse was founded in 1666, that of Bordeaux in 1669, that of Poitiers in 1676, and that of Nantes in 1680.

The short reign of James II. is little noticeable, except for the repeal of disabling Acts and the guarantee of security to Irish educational establishments at home. He opened Trinity College, appointing by mandamus a number of fellows, who did not take the Test Oath. The Established Church and Puritan sections in the college, bitter foes, united to resent this exercise of authority, which was in strict accordance with precedents of Charles I.'s reign. It was also the intention of James to set up colleges in Ireland, to withdraw its youth from foreign education.

The treaty of Limerick in 1691 was a charter of liberties, guaranteeing to the Irish Catholics as much freedom as they had enjoyed in the days of Charles II., securing to them the right to inhabit towns, and restoring to them certain forfeitures. It was immediately violated, as the Graces and all other compacts made with them had been. An ascendancy of Protestant adventurers usurped the place of a government; and every grade of them, from Sprag the coal-porter to Tewkesbury the viceroy, claimed and enforced a monopoly of privileges. They forged a test-oath. They expelled the Irish from all Irish towns and cities, from all guilds and corporations, from all professions and trades, with scarce an exception. They forbade intermarriage with them. They banished their priests and friars, monks and nuns; they seized, plundered, ruined, or appropriated their establishments. In all this they acted, not on a new Protestant policy, but in the spirit of a conquest rule. Their enactments, so far, were only a faithful reproduction of the Catholic Anglo-Norman Penal Code. It might be alleged that the excommunications with which the earlier code was edged by the Anglo-Norman spiritual peers gave it a greater sharpness than any which the anathemas of Williamite prelates could impart to the later one. But, on the other hand, the Irish appear to have treated both with equal disregard. The old code erected and guarded the race ascendancy of Anglo-Normanism; the new code established the sect ascendancy of Protestantism. The spirit, that of conquest-rule, was the same; the names only were changed. But the last code is of infinitely more importance at the present time; because it revived and carried out the Cromwellian policy in an extremely searching and persistent manner, because it held society unrelaxingly in its mould for a century, and because a living remnant of it yet remains to vivify and envenom the recollection of what has been abolished. Before it passed, the Irish army and nation were

\* *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, p. 11.  
† 14 and 15 Car. II. c. 2, sec. ccix.

strenuous adherents of the British government, not merely in the reign of James II., but in that of Charles II. and in that of Charles I.: Owen Roe O'Neill, before his death, was even willing to join, and did actually assist, the Parliamentary forces. From its enactment the Irish people were thrust into an attitude of antagonism to a constitution from the benefits of which they were excluded.

The last manifestation of the proselytizing policy in education began in 1695. It has no parallel for cruel minuteness and harsh persistence. In that year an Act\* was passed which recited that "many of the subjects of this realm have accustomed themselves to send their children and other persons under their care into France, Spain, and Italy," and other parts, "to be educated, instructed, and brought up; and it enacted that if any should go or send another, or transmit money for the support of them or the colleges, he should be disabled to sue in law or equity, to be a guardian, executor, or administrator, to take legacy or deed of gift, or to bear office, and should forfeit lands and goods for life. Deprived of education abroad, the Irish Catholics were not to practise it at home; for "it is found by experience," the Act proceeds, "that tolerating or conniving at Papists keeping schools or instructing youth in literature is one great reason of many of the natives of this kingdom continuing ignorant of the principles of true religion and strangers to the Scriptures," and of not conforming to English habits generally. It enacts: "That no person whatsoever of the Popish religion shall publicly teach school, or instruct youth in learning within this realm, from henceforth, except only the children or others under the guardianship of the master or mistress of such private house or family, under pain of £20, and also being committed to prison without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months for every such offence." It next avows that the competition of Irish Catholic schools had beaten out of the field those by law established, and revives the Act of Henry VIII.† establishing parish English schools, and the Act of Elizabeth‡ establishing diocesan free Latin schools. It orders "them to be enforced by the judges, justices, and grand juries. Four years after, all Catholic clergymen were banished the land on pain of being hanged, disembowelled, and quartered if they returned. Another year, and it was seen that there were "a great number of Papist solicitors," daily increasing:

they were to abjure or fall out of professional rank. But bigotry was encountered by cupidity. Nine years from the enactment of the first bill, another had to be introduced to make the Acts of Henry and Elizabeth effectual. Fourteen years after the first, another Act\* recited that the Act of William had proved ineffectual, because Papists still kept schools, and Protestant schoolmasters, to gain pupils, conspired with such Papists, and entertained Papists, as ushers, undermasters, and assistants. It is therefore decreed that, if any Catholic soever "shall publicly teach school, or shall instruct youth in learning in any private house within this realm, or shall be entertained to instruct youth in learning as usher, under-master, or assistant by any Protestant schoolmaster," he shall be subjected to imprisonment and transportation. All Catholic teachers were banished the land; if they returned, or for a second offence, they were to be hanged, disembowelled, and quartered.

What manner of men were these teachers? Many of them were persons of no common ability; some were true poets, whose songs, mostly Jacobite, abound in graceful imagery and strains of musical pathos. One of their number, as bard though not as teacher, was Carolan, celebrated as the last of the old race of Irish minstrels, the span of whose life embraced the worst years of the penal time. Goldsmith's description of him indicates the kind of men who, if they taught their fellows, were punished as criminals of the deepest dye.† The penalties did not deter them. In the midst of moors, in the dark recesses of woods, hidden in caverns, or lurking in mountain glens, they pursued their educational mission. Then originated the hedge-schools. The hedge or fence was not only a shelter from sun and storm, but it shielded the teacher and his cluster of boys from observation. They could elude scrutiny by fleeing along it, or crossing through it. One or two boys were always posted as videttes to give the alarm; but if the persecutors were too quick for them there was a wide chance of escape; there was no danger of being caught at the door. The laws did not slumber. The rewards advertised in the Act caused a swarm of spies to spring up, whose names of

\* 8 Anne, c. 3.

† When young, he was taken to see Carolan, and was greatly impressed by his venerable appearance. "His songs," he says, "in general may be compared to those of Pindar; they have frequently the same flight of imagination." He composed a concerto "with such spirit and elegance that it may be compared (for we have it still) with the finest compositions of Italy."—Goldsmith, *Essays*.

\* 7 Gul. III, c. iv. † 28 H. VIII. c. 15.  
‡ 12 Eliz. c. 1.

"schoolmaster-hunter" and "priest-hunter" indicated their trade. They even laid dogs on the trail of their victims. And how long are those times past? Men still live whose fathers attended such schools or kept watch against the man-hunter; old men yet survive over whose childhood the full cloud of the penal code hung. They observe that the operation and extent of the code is altered, but not its spirit; they may keep schools indeed, but it still reprobates the "tolerating or conniving at Papists" constituting or keeping a university, "or instructing youth in literature" therein. And in the mixed colleges they point to the comparative exclusion of Catholic teachers as a specimen of modified penal practice.

On the other hand, the engines of proselytism were multiplied and enriched. Frequent thousands and tens of thousands were voted to Trinity College.\* In 1723, exhibitions, professorships, and fellowships were founded in it out of the surplus rents of Erasmus Smith's estates. In 1733 the Protestant Charter schools were founded, obtaining £1000 annually from King George II., and (afterwards) another £1000, from licenses imposed on hawkers and pedlars (generally Catholics) for their support. The charter granted recites that: "there are great tracts of lands almost entirely inhabited by Papists, who are kept by their clergy in great ignorance of the true religion," and that the charter is given to the intent that "the children of the Popish and other poor natives," be bred up Protestants.† This "Incorporated Society" was enabled to receive donations not exceeding £2000 annual value, which was increased to £3000 in 1792. In 1749 it was empowered to seize all poor children found begging. In 1769 George III. chartered the Hibernian school to rescue the sons of Catholic and other soldiers "from Popery" and other evils. There was now a vast amount of property aggregated around the teaching institutions of the proselytizing system; and a great proportion of it was grossly misapplied to the private advantage of managers and teachers.‡

After many years of rigour, connivance began to appear, more or less slowly, in different districts. Fear, cupidity, and compassion promoted its extension. In some places it was dangerous for a spy to pursue his work. Frequently landlords found it more profitable to leave alone their rack-rent

Catholic tenants, whom they preferred to more exacting Protestants. The catastrophe which occurred in Dublin, in Lord Chesterfield's viceroyalty, when a house fell on a crowd of hidden worshippers, induced a certain amount of religious toleration there. It began also to be felt that it was impossible to root out their love of education. The Catholics, on the other hand, availed themselves of every favourable chance to re-establish their schools. In 1732 they had had at least 549; but the discovery of this fact roused the apprehensions of the legislature, because the disproportion "between Popish and Protestant schools is so great" that the continuance of the "Popish interest" was to be dreaded.\*

The struggle of the Parliament of the Protestant colony against that of England for free trade and independence the benefits of which they reserved for themselves, made them feel the importance of conciliating the Irish Catholics. What was at first policy, afterwards, under the impulse of higher minds, became liberality. The exterminating phase of the proselytizing policy was declared defeated, in 1781-2, by an Act† allowing licensed Catholics to teach; for this Act avowed that the penal law had not had the desired effect. It contained a proviso, however, against "the erection or endowment of any Popish University or College."

Policy suggested home education in preference to foreign education for Catholics, more especially for priests. Hutchinson, the college provost, during the debates, made a declaration which, in its widest sense, is applicable still. "If Roman Catholics," he said, "were permitted to receive a liberal education in their own country, where true philosophy is known to flourish, their priests would become more enlightened, their attachment to the State which granted them protection would be strengthened, and the general good disposition of the people would still be improved."‡ This, he thought, should be done at the public expense. In this debate Father O'Leary was mentioned as a philosophic priest who had eminently served his

\* *Journal of the House of Lords, Ireland, 5 Geo. II.* It was found also that 229 mass-houses had been erected since the reign of George I.

† 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 62.

‡ *Parliamentary Register*, second edition, vol. i. p. 206. The words of Grattan are also pertinent: "We all agree in granting the Roman Catholics property, and we agree in granting them the right of acting freely in religious matters; and yet we say to Roman Catholics—be ignorant—be bigots, for while we prevent their receiving a liberal education at home we not only say this, but enforce and command it with our utmost power."—P. 245.

\* *Journals of the Irish Commons*, 1717, 1751, 1753, 1755, 1787-8-9, 1790, etc.

† Warburton, Whitelock, and Walsh, *History of Dublin*, vol. ii. p. 336.

‡ *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, passim.

country. Afterwards the provost spoke again, and detailed his views. Foreign education, he thought, should be uprooted; but Popish colleges should not be established at home. Catholics might be admitted to the university: "they would not be obliged to attend the divinity professor, they may have one of their own, and I would have a part of the public money applied to their use, to the support of poor lads as sizars, and to provide premiums for persons of merit; for I would have them go into examinations, and make no distinctions between them and Protestants but such as merit might claim." "In order to prepare Roman Catholics for the university, I would increase the number of Diocesan Schools, and have Catholics instructed gratis in them."\* This is interesting as an admission that the funds of the university and schools ought to be applied, in part, to the education of the majority of the nation. The policy proposed, however (with the exception of the divinity lecture), was simply the education of Catholics by Protestants, and therefore a penal policy. The proposal of the Secretary of State in 1785, that Catholic physicians might hold chairs in the (new) University School of Physic had to be abandoned.†

Two new educational policies now began to make their appearance. One was a hybrid policy of compromise, which has ultimately produced the Queen's College system: the other was the policy of free development. In 1787 the viceroy promised a liberal education measure.‡ The Commons, in committee, recommended the remoulding of the existing endowed schools, the establishment of new ones, and the erection of a second University.§ Mr. Orde adopted these ideas. "There are many persons," he said, "who do not come to this university who would go to another." "The object of a second university might be completed by taking several of the great endowed schools and blending them together in a new

model."\*\* This indeed is what would be done under a system of free university development. But the system suggested was the hybrid one. Catholics and Presbyterians each required education; and the theory Mr. Orde went upon evidently was that, as both were dissenters in the eye of the law, they should put up with the same colleges between them. He intended that there should be an Episcopalian Protestant University, and a Dissenting University to which Catholics and Presbyterians should be admitted as teachers. Such is now the Queen's University. The Irish Protestants in those days, in and out of Parliament, entertained larger ideas. Mr. Griffith expressed their views, saying of the project: "It does not extend to the education of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian youth of this country. It may be answered, they are not directly excluded; but I say they are virtually so, unless pastors of their own persuasion are appointed to instruct them." "I do not, however, relinquish the hope of seeing Schools and Colleges established under the protection of this House for educating the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian youth of Ireland; and if the right honourable gentlemen will bring forward a plan for that purpose, or include it in the present one, I am fully persuaded he will find himself supported by every man in the nation." Mr. Orde's reply did not negative the idea: "I thank the honourable gentleman," he said, "and assure him that I have no other object but to put this business so far forward as to force it into future consideration."† In 1792 another attempt was made to force open Trinity College. Grattan suggested that, in addition to the clauses of the Relief Bill, the Catholics might get the power to become Professors of Botany, Anatomy, and Chemistry. But it was resisted and evaded. The King's license was to be sought first (although the exclusion rested only on the College statutes). One of the two Members for the University, Dr. Browne, objected that "to admit them, the College should be much enlarged, and additional governors appointed."‡ Sir Hercules Langrishe, after a careful search, found no laws prohibiting Roman Catholics from taking degrees but the rules of the University itself.

The policy of free development was now taken up by the government; the hybrid policy having proved distasteful fell into that oblivion from which it has been drawn in

\* *Ibid.* p. 809. Hutchinson was a layman, and had not been a Fellow, which may probably account for his exceptional liberality. He was Chairman of the Schools Commission which made its final Report in 1791. That Report recommended that in the [Protestant] parochial schools a system of united secular and separate religious education should be introduced; that the middle-school endowments, "grossly misapplied," should be employed to establish "a Collegiate School" in connection with the University, and a "Professional Academy" to train up useful members for the army, navy, and commerce.—*Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, 1858, pp. 17, 18.

† *Parliamentary Register*, vol. v. p. 86.

‡ *Journal of the Lords*, vol. vi. p. 2.

§ *Journal of the Commons*, vol. xii. p. 274.

\* *Parliamentary Register*, vol. vii. pp. 496-492.

† *Parliamentary Register*, vol. vii. p. 508.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. xii. pp. 124-139.

later years. On the 4th of February 1793, Mr. Secretary Hobart, having presented a petition from the Catholic Bishops praying relief, had made this important announcement: "I also would propose that His Majesty might be empowered and authorized to enable the Roman Catholics to endow a College or University and Schools."\* This question lapsed for a couple of years; but the Relief Bill of 1793 enabled Catholics to become professors in Trinity College, and abrogated the statutes of exclusion. Through the power of Parliament Catholic students were allowed to enter its gates: some entered. Parliament enabled the College to appoint Catholic professors: none were appointed. The Government did actually take up and carry out the proposal made by Mr. Hobart. If they did not absolutely erect a Catholic University, they erected a Catholic University College, to which undoubtedly they would soon have given all University privileges, had not the Union taken place. They did, materially, more than was promised: they provided funds to establish, support, and endow this University College. Had it been established in Dublin it would long since have been a Catholic compeer of Trinity College: it was founded away from the capital, at the village of Maynooth, and is now an exclusively clerical institution.

It appears from the records of Parliament that this institution was intended as a College (and University) for Catholics, for lay students as well as for divinity students. This is shown by the emphatic revision of an error in the title of the Bill under which it was founded.† It is also shown by the terms of a petition in which the (Catholic) petitioners pray, in the interest of liberality, that Parliament will not exclude Protestant students from it. This petition is further instructive for the traditional view which it embodies as to the self-dependence and self-completeness proper to a University or University College. Objecting to give trustees the right of regulating the course of studies

which should be left to the caput of the College (*i.e.*, the principal and professors) as their emolument and fame depend on it, the petitioners proceed: "As the general end of education is the full and free development of the human faculties and the formation of a virtuous character, the management of it should be as little shackled as possible, inasmuch as experience has ascertained that, as well in the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland as on the Continent, the improvement of the mind and the extension of science are great only in proportion to their exemption from any external influence or restraint."\*

The Royal College of St. Patrick was founded and endowed: it seemed not so important to establish the Royal University of St. Patrick until there should be students ready for degrees. But in three years' time the insurrection of 1798 occurred; and it was followed by the intrigues that culminated in the Union Act. Castlereagh's policy was one not of government but of subornation. It did not matter to him how the relations stood between Catholic laity and clergy, provided he won back the latter from foreign colleges,† and secured their political adhesion by the oath tendered at Maynooth. This policy prevented the development of lay education, and caused the ruin of the lay department in the College. There were no degrees for layman there. It was, and has been, so to speak, a degree-giving University College for the ecclesiastical students, where they could obtain every requisite grade. The consequence has been that the ecclesiastical department has flourished so much as to absorb the other; and the educa-

\* *Ibid.* 20th April, pp. 111-112.

† At the outbreak of the French Revolution there were 32 students at Salamanca, 30 at Alcalá, 20 to 30 at Lisbon, 40 at Douai, 30 at Antwerp, 8 at Lille, 40 at Louvain, 80, 12, and 13 in the three colleges at Rome, 70 at Prague, 10 at Toulouse, 40 at Bordeaux, 80 at Nantes, and 100 and 80 in two colleges at Paris. Evora, Tournay, and Poitiers were dissolved. These colleges were monuments of the Irish love of learning and generosity. They were endowed, not only by donations from friends at home, but by Irish officers abroad, some of whom founded two and three, some sixteen, bourses for persons of their family, name, or race. At the period mentioned, the Irish college at Paris had received 53 donations, whose annual value was 100,000 francs, besides 40,000 francs derived from initial donations. Its college-buildings were presented to it by an Irish priest. Its students had brilliant successes at the University of France, which conferred some of its own most important professorial chairs on the alumni of the college.—O'Sullivan, *La Bibliothèque irlandaise*. The list is incomplete. There were also Irish establishments at Sedan, Charleville, Rouen, and Boulay, Bilbao, Seville, Madrid, Compostella, and Capranica (near Rome).—Ware, *Antiquities*, c. xxxvii. s. 4.

\* *Parliamentary Register*, vol. xiii. p. 87.

† "Notice being taken that the title of the said Bill differed from the leave given by the House for bringing in the same—it was ordered that leave be given to withdraw the Bill, and it was withdrawn. Ordered that leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion." The order of the 23d day of April: "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for applying the sum of £10,000, granted to His Majesty, or part thereof, for establishing a College, for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, and destined for the Clerical Ministry," was then read and discharged."—*Journal of the Commons*, vol. xvii., 1st May 1795.

tional supremacy of the clergy over the laity has been secured. The law which forbade Catholics to educate their children abroad had been severely felt; yet they managed after a time to evade it.\* But the withdrawal of the clerical students from the Irish colleges abroad completed what the French Revolution had begun, and destroyed the existence of all but a few continental Irish colleges. Thus the education of the laity was subordinated and destroyed at home, limited and hindered abroad. The penal code had torn away the estates from some great Catholic families to enrich "the Protestant heirs;" it had disintegrated those of others by dividing them in equal parts amongst the Catholic children; it had impoverished all by exacting two-thirds of the profit as rent; and it had endeavoured to crush the laity down into a slough of utter ignorance by its laws against education. Over such a community the post-union policy, in disregard of the desires of the laity, set up what was virtually an Ecclesiastical University, in place of the University of St. Patrick for all students. The results are complained of by none so much as those who, in blind prejudice would fain have the policy continued.

The proselytizing system had failed; and its failure had been acknowledged in the Statutes. It was no longer a state-policy to convert Catholics into Protestants. But the change was not carried out to its logical extent; otherwise the funds and endowments which had been allocated by the State for the education of Catholics as Protestants, would have been at once applied to the education of Catholics as Catholics. The intelligent English traveller Wakefield, who has left a description of Ireland at the commencement of the present century, openly advocated this just arrangement. He found the Catholic peasantry poor and oppressed, but eager and anxious to make every sacrifice to secure for

themselves or their children the benefits of education. The hut or hedge-side that served for a school had a multitude of pupils humming about it, like bees about a hive, even amongst the wildest and most mountainous districts.\* Indeed it was a thing not unknown for a schoolmaster, famous in local repute, to be abducted by a foraying party from another district. In winter the exposed hedge-row, or cold damp hut, or poor chapel, was abandoned, and the schoolmaster passed from one tenant's house to another, everywhere received as a welcome guest. Many of these teachers were students preparing themselves for Maynooth—the only "University" for Irish Catholics; others had been there, but found their vocation fail; some had been educated abroad. Thus there was a numerous body of teachers, who gave instruction in the classics as well as in English branches.

On the other hand, Wakefield found the royal free schools, established, in part, for the education of the people as Protestants "possessing 13,627 acres of land, and educating 187 [Protestant] boarders, who pay as dearly as if they were not at schools of royal foundation, and 114 day scholars who," except about 30, "all pay for their education."† The charter schools were established to instruct "the children of popish and other poor natives in the English tongue and Protestant religion; their directors had gone further, and excluded all poor Protestant children in order to gain proselytes. They were execrated by the Catholics as tempters of the poor.‡ Wakefield found their average expenditure to be £30,167 as against the average number of 2093 children subjected to their education. It is probable also that children were counted twice over. As a Protestant, Wakefield desired to see the

\* The Irish Catholics contrasted these colleges with Trinity College, Dublin, to the disadvantage of the latter: "panegyrics on Trinity College are very frequent in this kingdom, but are never heard in any other country upon earth. . . . Trinity College is the most amply endowed of any other college in Europe. The Muses wanted no inducement to visit our clime, and yet Ireland has gained the opprobrious name of Boeotia. Our good neighbours tell the world that we naturally want intellects as well as courage, but the persecuted and exiled Irish have constantly supported under vast difficulties a literary as well as military fame on the most conspicuous stages of Europe. If Trinity college be not answerable for the want of the former at home, I know not what is."—*The Unbiased Irishman* (answer to Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne), p. 71.

\* "The people of Ireland are, I may say, universally educated. Many of my readers will, no doubt, smile at this expression; but I must beg leave to re-assert that I do not know any part of Ireland so wild that its inhabitants are not anxious, nay eagerly anxious, for the education of their children."—Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, vol. ii. p. 897. "Amidst some of the wildest mountains of Kerry I have met with English schools, and have seen multitudes of children seated round the humble residence of their instructor, with their books, pens, and ink, where rocks have supplied the place of desks and benches."—*Ibid.* p. 396. Weld *Killarney*, p. 167.

† Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, vol. ii. p. 409.

‡ "After 1825 it was very difficult to induce Roman Catholic children to attend, and from that time the nature of the schools was changed." They were devoted to Church Establishment purposes with all their endowments.—*Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, pp. 91-92.

Irish Catholics become Protestants from conviction; as an impartial man, he was shocked and disgusted at the misappropriation of endowments intended for national use. He stated a principle which is applicable to all educational endowments in Ireland, from those of Trinity College downwards: "My wish would be to divide the great funds appropriated for national education. Let that portion which, by the terms of the [private] bequest or settlement, is directed to be applied to the education of Protestants, be invested in the hands of a board, consisting of persons of that religious persuasion, to be expended in educating the children of Protestants only. The attempt to instruct children born of popish parents has entirely failed; the remainder of the funds which, in all probability, would amount to three-quarters of the whole (according to the rules of proportion), the *object being to promote education and not to make converts*, should be committed to the management of a committee of Roman Catholics, laity and clergy united; for the great aim should be kept in view—to improve the condition of the Roman Catholic schoolmaster, who, starving on a miserable and precarious pittance, cannot be expected to have any great attachment to a country where he is so ill rewarded, or to entertain respect for a Government by which he is so neglected."\* There was at that time, besides the remnant of the old Catholic aristocracy, an increasing class of rich graziers and farmers, the cultivation of whose minds did not keep pace with the augmentation of their wealth. What was to have been the Royal University of St. Patrick was closed to them in favour of their clergy; and to enter Trinity College was to undergo humiliation, for, as its representative in Parliament accurately defined it, "it was in fact a Protestant garrison in a land of Catholics; and the learned and respectable characters at the head of the government of that College had uniformly acted up to the true spirit of its institution."<sup>†</sup>

Unfortunately, Wakefield's proposal was not adopted; and the consequence has been a series not of systems, but of fragments. The State, abandoning the policy of free natural development, fell back upon Orde's tentative scheme of a neutral, artificial policy. In 1814, two years after, the recently founded Kildare Street Society received a Parliamentary grant, which had to be withdrawn on the Report of the Commissioners of 1825, showing that it dabbled in

proselytism. The neutral policy, as administered by the partisan remnant of penal society, could not be impartial. In 1820 the Catholic Association of Christian Brothers was founded. They depended on no State aid. Nineteen years later the Church Education Society was founded to give a scriptural primary education to Protestants.\* Lord Grey's Government applied the neutral policy to the establishment of national primary schools, which likewise were so much tampered with by the old proselytizing spirit that a distrust, only to be eradicated by judicious reforms, sprang up in the minds of the Catholics.† Their establishment was due to a movement for education, after the Relief Act of 1829, among the wealthy Catholics. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wyse memorialized Parliament on behalf of higher education also for the Catholics. He suggested that Parliament should either (1.) open Trinity College, or add another College to the University; or (2.) endow a Catholic University, placing it in a position of equality; or (3.) establish a college (to be a University) in each of the four provinces.

While the intermediate schools were left untouched, the neutral policy was carried out for higher education, by the foundation, in 1845, of three Queen's Colleges—in Belfast, Galway, and Cork,—and the erection of a directing and examining body in 1850, styled the Queen's University. Their constitution did not prove satisfactory to the Catholics who had sought them, and for whose use chiefly they were granted. In the same year the foundation of a Catholic university was formally resolved upon by the Synod of Thurles; and in 1854 the Catholic bishops in synodal meeting canonically erected this university, on the Louvain plan. Dr. Newman was appointed rector in the year following. Several high-class grammar-schools grew up around the institution. It has had to suffer from the want of recognition by the State; but the Catholic laity of all classes have voluntarily taxed themselves at the rate of several thousand pounds annually to support it.

It is instructive to observe the effect of the State's persistence in riding one educational hobby, irrespective of facts. It has proved most disastrous to the education, position, and uprise of the lay element in Catholic society. As regards Maynooth this has already been shown. But further, the

\* Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, vol. ii. p. 415.

† Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Speech of Mr. J. Leslie Foster, 15 July August 1807.

\* These schools have been declared "miserably insufficient."—*Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, p. 135. Some of them have obtained annexation to Smith's charity.

† *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland)*, pp. 20-220.

establishment of the national system (without other provision made) deprived the lay classical teachers and lay private classical schools of all those amongst their pupils whom the offer of an English education and appliances, under market-price, could take away. The remnant of purely classical pupils could not sustain the schools; and with the exception of a few in the larger towns they dwindled away.\* There is now an urgent want of them. The work of their destruction was completed in many towns by the model schools, the "inevitable tendency" of which was "to destroy private schools within the area from which pupils were attracted to them."† Next, the national school teachers were deteriorated in quality, and the model schools made useless for Catholics, by the conflict with the clergy, as to the separate training for teachers, which is now recommended by a majority of the Commission. Finally, the schools of the Christian Brothers, in whatever town they may be planted, have been made, like Moses' rod, to swallow up almost all the minor national schools. The parents who desire merely an English education for their children are obliged to send them to these schools (unequally efficient) over which the State has no power of inspection.

With regard to intermediate and higher education, the mismanaged endowed schools have been injured by the competition of the Queen's Colleges. These Colleges, not being able to obtain a due proportion of Catholic students in arts, have been compelled to descend to the position of grammar-schools, and to compete with the Protestant schools which might have served in part as feeders, but which cannot stand against the attraction of superior prizes. Considered in reference to Catholics, the Queen's University has had the same success, and proved the same failure, as the College of St. Patrick at Maynooth. It has succeeded as a professional institution (for the training of physicians, as Maynooth of priests); and it has failed in the proper work of a University for Catholics in general. Both St. Patrick's and the Queen's University received and possess the qualifications for professional success: both are deprived of the qualifications necessary for the complete liberal education of Catholics. Moreover, with regard to the Queen's University, the professed intention of the Government, as stated by Lord Clarendon, that "in the council, professorships, and other posts of each college, the Catholic religion will be fully and appropriately repre-

mented," was frustrated by the old ascendancy interest. And in a country three-fourths of whose inhabitants were Catholics smarting under the memory of penal times, these colleges appeared with a list of 60 professors, of whom 53 were Protestants. The professors of French, German, and Italian were Protestants; "and in Catholic Munster there was not a single Catholic appointed in the Faculty of Arts."\*

The Catholics could not endure the deprivation of classical instruction; and, as the neutral policy had cleared away the Catholic lay teachers, their ecclesiastics undertook to supply the want. In 1834 there were 96 superior Protestant schools, with 4240 pupils: in 1861 there were only 60 Protestant schools with 2075 pupils. The difference may represent the number attracted by the various neutral institutions. On the other hand, in 1834 there were 23 Catholic superior schools, with 1484 pupils; whilst in 1861 there were 86, with 4962 pupils. Thus the neutral institutions did not obtain drafts from the Catholic clerical schools corresponding to those they received from the Protestant schools. Again, a comparison between the number of Protestant and Catholic pupils in school attendance, at different ages, gives an equally significant result. In 1861, according to the Census Report, of boys over the age of 5 years and under that of 15 years, there were 3454 Catholics, 3636 Episcopalian Protestants, and 938 Presbyterians; of boys aged 15 and upwards, there were 2270 Catholics, 1330 Episcopalian Protestants, and 298 Presbyterians. Thus more than two-thirds of the Presbyterians, almost two-thirds of the Episcopalian Protestants, and scarcely one-third of the Catholics, are withdrawn from school when the boys arrive at an age to begin business or enter a University. Say that about an equal number of Episcopalian Protestants and of Catholics are absorbed into business, then the difference between the 1330 Episcopalian Protestants and the 2270 Catholics who remain at school on coming of University age explains itself.† Nearly a thousand Catholics ought to have left for the University Colleges, but have been obliged to remain in their grammar-schools, because there is no University College chartered on principles congenial to them, their parents, or their clergy. The Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, Marists, Oblates, Trappists, and Vincentians have twenty superior schools, with 1649 pupils. The Diocesan Seminaries, es-

\* Sullivan, *University Education in Ireland*, pp. 16-19.

† *Modern Ireland, by an Ulsterman*. Priests and Universities.

\* *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, p. 24.

† *Primary Education Commission*, vol. i. p. 484.



tablished by the Bishops for the intermediate education, in the first instance, of clerical students, include also some thousands of lay students. Whilst the clerical students are drafted off to St. Patrick's College at Maynooth, the lay students must, under the present arrangements, remain to be "finished" by the Seminarist teachers.

Now almost all these Catholic superior schools have grown up hastily amongst a community whose elders were born in a period when in the eye of the law no Catholic teacher was supposed to exist, when no Catholic schools did exist except by connivance, and when endowments were impossible. In 1812 it was still complained that endowments for Catholic schools were hindered by judicial decisions which set them aside, as made for "superstitious uses."\* Other impediments still exist. The natural result is that the Catholic superior schools are, with some exceptions, poor in appliances and means of giving high-class instruction. The "seminaries, in consequence of the smallness of the funds by which they are supported, supply to a very inadequate extent the means of education to the middle class of Roman Catholics."†

In considering the whole question with a view to its practical settlement, it is requisite to remember that the desire for education, which has been so strong a force among the Irish people, has always tended to manifest itself in the highest forms of mental culture. In the present time, as at every opportune period since the invasion, the Irish Catholics have proved their anxiety to complete and crown their education by the establishment of university teaching. The foregoing history demonstrates that their present demands are not factitious, that their professed anxiety is not assumed through any reactionary opposition to established institutions, but is the result of the natural evolution of educational vitality. The Irish Catholic clergy have always shown themselves active in promoting the development of the higher education, and that at times when there was no competition to fear, and when, if they had wished the laity to be deprived of advancement in learning, they had merely to cease their own efforts.

University education being thus desired by the Irish Catholics, what hindrances debar them from enjoying it? A remnant of the Penal Code, which past Governments intended to annul, forbids "the erection or

endowment of any Popish university."\* Religious and educational convictions, the sincerity and strength of which are attested by the subscription of £150,000 for the establishment of an organ of university teaching, † prevent them from accepting the Protestant training of Trinity College, or the incomplete learning of the Queen's Colleges, as a satisfactory arrangement.

From an educational point of view the population of Ireland may be divided into three sections:—(1.) the Presbyterians and Nonconformists; (2.) the members of the late established Church; and (3.) the Catholics. The first section, confessedly, have their wants provided for, with the exception of a few minor Latin schools, which they can easily supply by voluntary effort, as the Belfast Academy was established. They have effected a co-operation between their Theological College at Belfast and the Queen's College at Belfast, of such a nature as to content them. This section may consequently be eliminated from consideration. In number, the Presbyterians are 9 per cent., and other Nonconformists 1·4 per cent., of the total population of the country. There remain to be considered only two sections—the members of the late Established Church, numbering 693,357, and forming 11·9 per cent., and the Catholics, numbering 4,505,265, and forming 77·7 per cent., of the total population according to the last census. Under the proselytizing and penal policies all the vast endowments granted by the State for the education of the whole people have been grasped by the small section which now forms little over one-tenth of the population. Overwhelmed by this superabundance, its educational system is an example of misappropriation and mismanagement. On the other hand, the great bulk of the population, deprived of their share, have been hindered from attempting to endow their educational system, by Acts of Parliament, by the decisions of Courts, by the necessity (until 1855) of obtaining the [Protestant] Ordinary's co-operation to acquire permanent sites, by the clauses of the Relief Act of 1829 which make the existence of religious Orders illegal. These Orders

\* Irish Statutes, 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 62.

† "During the session 1868-69 there were over 210 students attending in the University. There were also 376 matriculated students in various schools and colleges throughout Ireland, making a total at the end of the session of about 586 on the books of the University. Twenty-eight colleges and schools have been visited by our examiners at the invitation of the local authorities, and are thus in immediate connection with the University."—*Catholic University Calendar, 1868*, Address of the Rector, p. xciii.

\* *A Review of the Penal Laws* (1812), ch. i. sec. 8, ch. x. sec. 4.

† *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, p. 137.

are accordingly unable to have their schools endowed. As they direct almost all the Catholic intermediate or grammar-schools, the educational system of over three-fourths of the population is starved by law, whilst that of one-tenth of the population is labouring under the effects of a surfeit.

The State, by disestablishing and disendowing the Anglican Church in Ireland, gave a pledge that it ceased to be a partisan enforcing or supporting a policy of proselytism. As the sole reason for the existence of the present unjust and unhealthy state of education depended on the existence of such policy, the State is now in a condition and pledged to disestablish and disendow the established educational proselytism. In so doing it will perform an act of justice, give health to two educational systems, and allay discontent.

As to the manner in which this reform should be effected opinions differ. A large body of the Irish Catholics desired, and the late Tory Ministry offered, a charter for a Catholic University; this plan was, under the circumstances, naturally approved by several Fellows of Trinity College, and by the Queen's University Convocation. It was objected, on the other hand, that such a multiplication of universities would tend to lower the standard of a university degree. The Irish negotiators lost whatever opportunity they had of obtaining their object. The late Liberal Government desired to remodel the constitution of the Queen's University so as to enable it to admit students to degrees who had been educated in Colleges other than Queen's Colleges. This proposal also came to nothing. Four methods of reform remain:—(1.) to throw open Trinity College; (2.) to throw open Dublin University; (3.) to supersede the two existing universities by a common university open to all comers; (4.) to supersede the two existing universities by a university presiding over and developing collegiate education.

1. The project of opening Trinity College has the marks of an illusory scheme. The proposal is that fellowships should be opened to Catholics. Now, a generation ago Trinity College was thrown open to Catholic students; and the result is the present failure. A generation ago Catholics were made eligible for professorships; and the teaching body is unlearned. If Catholics were now made eligible for fellowships, a generation hence the same spectacle would be seen. It is not pretended that there is an equality in the preliminary conditions of the race. Besides, such a measure would be no settlement, and would prove an unfailing source of agitation.

All Catholic students intended for the priesthood would be shut out from university teaching. All Catholic students in the clerical, that is in almost all the intermediate, Catholic schools would be restrained from resorting to the College. Of course, the present accommodation, supposing it adapted to the present number of Protestant students, would be totally inadequate if a large body of Catholic students were added to them. Dr. Browne pointed this out in the debate of 1792. He also observed that the number of governors (senior Fellows) would have to be increased. Hence to open Trinity College to Catholics, if it had any practical effect, would necessitate the erection of additional buildings, in fact, of another college, and the nomination of an equal number of new governing Fellows, who should be Catholics. So plainly has this been seen that, when the last real attempt was made to open Trinity College completely, James II. was obliged by mandamus to appoint a number of new Fellows, who did not take the Test-Oath, just as now in the Senate of the Queen's University, and in the board of Primary Education, one half of the members are Catholics, nominated by the Crown. But supposing the measure were accomplished, what would be the result? The Protestants would complain that they had lost their denominational university college; and the Catholics would complain that a fourth Mixed College had been established, in answer to their protests against the existing three. It would therefore be no settlement, and would create fresh discontent.

2. Trinity College was established by Queen Elizabeth to be "*Mater Universitatis*," but it never produced a University accessible to other Colleges. The same officials have always contrived to be both college officials and university officials. They plead that a monopoly was given to them; but the Queen reserved the power of granting a license to other colleges. In process of time there were embryo colleges formed, as, for instance, when the Jesuits' university was annexed and a lectureship set up there, and when the "*masse-houses*" petitioned for were given and lectureships established, as in "*St. Stephen's Hall*," Bridge Street. But whilst the emoluments were preserved, the possible rivals of the college were allowed to die out; as teaching institutions. It would have been otherwise had the university been created the *Alma Mater*. More than once it has been in the mind of the Government to establish another college, to be incorporated in the Dublin University. Thus, under the Acts of Settlement and Ex-

planations of Charles II., it was provided that "the lord-lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the consent of the privy-council, shall have full power and authority to erect another college, to be of the University of Dublin, to be called by the name of the King's Colledge," and to endow it for ever out of the Crown lands with an allowance of £2000 a year,\* an allowance which would, of course, be represented now by a greatly increased sum. This college must have been intended for Catholics, as the Protestants were already provided for. Again, in the reign of George III. it was ordered that "Papists might graduate and be professors or fellows of any colledge hereafter founded in Dublin University."† It would therefore be quite in conformity with the natural process of historical evolution to grant a charter of incorporation to a Catholic university college, to establish and maintain it by a sufficient endowment out of the surplus lands of the proselytising educational establishment, and to affiliate it to the Dublin University. This of course would make it necessary to remodel the governing body of the University. The charter of Elizabeth was superseded by a less liberal one in the reign of Charles I.: it would congruous to replace that of Charles by a more liberal one in the reign of Victoria.

3. A proposal has been made to revolutionize the educational systems completely, by establishing a university open to all comers, and abolishing the existing universities as superfluous. The question whether one or two universities would better answer the requirements of education and the country is debateable. A single one would secure a high standard of education; and its establishment would be simple, and avoid some difficulties. But, whilst a high standard of education is requisite, it does not follow that uniformity alone secures it, or that uniformity itself is an absolute good. Besides, the university examinations are legitimate prizes of the teaching body; and it might be doubted whether there would be much gain to students to set against such a loss of encouragement to teachers. Apart, however, from these considerations the very practical question arises, whether, in the circumstances of Ireland, a university is required simply to test learning, or whether it should also seek to enforce mental training as evidenced by a college course. The proposed scheme, like most revolutionary measures, has the merit of the simplicity of despair;

but it would be altogether unacceptable. It has been repudiated by the Catholic University section, and by the Queen's University section, whilst it has excited a passion of indignation in the minds of spokesmen of Trinity College. The Catholics would receive it with the complaint that England preserved an educational monopoly for three hundred years, and then proclaimed free trade at a time when the Protestant colleges were firmly established, in order to ruin the development of their Catholic competitors. It cannot indeed be doubted that its effect would be to destroy what is at present known as the Catholic University—the only Catholic institution in which it can be pretended that university teaching has been tried. The small clerical grammar-schools and petty "colleges" (the *petits seminaires* of France) would present their students directly; and a trifling percentage of success amongst the candidates would be advertised, whilst the failures would be ignored. The Catholic students would be consigned (under the absolute control of the clergy) to the care of teachers untrained in university colleges, and unable to purchase or properly employ scientific appliances. If layman, their small stipends would make them regard the post of teacher as only a step to some clerkship, as may be seen in France, and as occurs with regard to primary education in the National Schools of Ireland. Ecclesiastics, able as celibates to do with smaller stipends, would oust them, but would not themselves become permanent teachers. They are subject to be moved about by their superiors; and many of them would simply be ecclesiastical students, using the position as a temporary maintenance, just as in France, where an unfortunate student in such colleges may find his professor changed once or twice a year. The proposed plan also involves the danger of throwing many students altogether into the hands of cram-mers. It has moreover been tried in the department of Medical education with the most unfavourable results. And it is altogether superfluous; for the University of London exists to supply any demand for extra collegiate education, and sends its examiners to Ireland. Finally, with no great University College in Ireland to serve as a centre of intellectual attraction, the question of foreign education would soon again be heard of in connection with Irish Catholics. Not many of them, perhaps, would be likely to resort to France, Belgium, Spain, or Rome; but numbers would be drawn to the Western Continent, far more accessible to them now than the Continent of Europe was to their forefathers. In the United States

\* 14 and 15 Car. II. c. 2, s. ccxix.

† 33 Geo. III. c. 21, s. 7.

their countrymen have already erected some dozen Catholic universities, which cannot fail to grow in influence, since they are supplied by a system of Catholic primary and intermediate schools, which expands yearly.\*

4. But if the policy of establishing a university open to all comers is stamped with the same want of foresight, and of attention to the complex conditions of the education-question, which caused the extinction of the private Latin schools, no argument is to be drawn from that fact against the idea itself of a single university. Undesired results are sure to follow from sweeping measures taken up in despair of an equitable adjustment of conflicting interests. Such an adjustment may be made under a single university. To command the conditions of success, a national Irish University needs only to be established on a plan analogous to that of Oxford and Cambridge. As against simple rearrangement of the Dublin University, this plan would have the preliminary advantage of avoiding, amongst other difficulties, the irritation of a Convocation unequally composed. Under it collegiate education would be recognised; and this, which would be acceptable to existing institutions, would also be welcomed by the Catholics as a real response to their demand. Trinity College would still preside over the education of Episcopalian Protestants, and vivify with the reflected influence of university teaching the grammar schools affiliated to it. The Queen's Colleges would remain intact, to furnish secular education to those who preferred their course. The Catholic University College, being incorporated, would perform for Catholic intermediate and minor schools the function which Trinity College performs for those of the Episcopalian Protestants. It would oxygenate Catholic education. The twenty-eight grammar-schools which its examiners visited on invitation in 1863 testify to the great work to be done. All the intermediate schools and colleges which close their gates to others would throw them open to the regenerating influence of a university col-

lege in which they could confide. The great body of Catholic divinity students, destined to wield an important power, are excluded from university training so long as there is no Catholic university college. It is certain that such a College would reach numbers who could in no other way be influenced by university culture. This scheme therefore, which would intrinsically benefit education by maintaining a high degree-standard, would be willingly accepted. Its popularity, by securing the co-operation of those for whom especially a change in the existing state of things is necessary, would complete the conditions of its practical success. All the university colleges which form the elements of this scheme are already chartered, with the exception of such as Catholics require. They at present have only one, that known as the Catholic University of Ireland, which at all fulfils the necessary conditions; but if any other should grow up and be able to show that, having a competent professor-roll of graduates, it could properly claim to rank as a university college, its right of admission should be recognised. There is no real difficulty in the way of incorporating the Catholic University as a university college. The "Act for the better education of Roman Catholics"\* furnishes a precedent of a similar arrangement on principles satisfactory to the State and the Catholic hierarchy and laity. Bishops and laymen were by that Act appointed trustees to receive subscriptions and donations, to purchase and acquire lands, to erect suitable buildings. They were empowered to nominate the president and professors, allocating to them fit salaries, and to draw up bye-laws, rules, and regulations. Archbishops and laymen were appointed visitors. It is impossible to conceive any valid objection to an incorporation of some such body as the trustees of Maynooth, to be trustees of the Dublin Catholic University College. It would be desirable to make the constitution more liberal in some points than that of Maynooth (where the trustees are self-electing), in order to give to the members of the College a greater interest in its welfare. For this the Catholics petitioned in 1795. The bishops have the charter of Pope Sixtus to incline them to a more liberal provision: politicians have the precedents of Elizabeth's charter and of the charter of the Queen's University, and the example of Lord Mayo's scheme, for giving to the members of the University the right of electing to a fixed number of places on the Senate or Board of Trustees. In such a way the rights of the laity and the privileges of the clergy

\* "Out of their own country (also) there is no people so ready [as the Irish] to avail themselves of the advantages of learning. . . . There are about 370 Catholic churches in the single state of New York, and there is scarcely one of them that has not attached to it a parish school. . . . They have in all the country eleven or twelve Catholic universities, not indeed as well endowed nor as distinguished as either Trinity College or Oxford, but they will grow. The laws of the State have granted them the privileges of universities, in charters such as your Government has just refused to their countrymen at home."  
—*Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D., Archbishop of New York*, vol. ii. p. 367.

might be harmonized. If that were done, and the College were kept free from an external officialism which would destroy its utility, its constitution would be sound and self-acting. The impulse of life and movement would be given by its endowment with a just proportion of the funds which were intended for the education of Catholics, if not for Catholic education. And thus the last remnant of the penal code would be abolished; the presumption that an educated Irish Catholic must be the enemy of the State would be reversed; and some atonement would at length be made for centuries of educational wrongs.

#### CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. Ein Sprachgeschichtlicher Versuch. I. Abth. Von August Fick. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.)
2. *Der Infinitiv im Veda mit einer Systematik des Litanischen und Slavischen Verbs*. Dargestellt von Alfred Ludwig. (Prague: Calve.)
3. *Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et l'Assyrie dans l'antiquité éclairée par l'étude des textes cunéiformes*. Par M. Oppert. (Paris: Franck.)
4. *Die Staatslehre des Aristoteles in historisch-politischen Umrissen*. Von Wilhelm Oncken. Erste Hälfte. (Leipzig: Engelmann.)
5. *The Decree of Canopus, in Hieroglyphics and Greek, with Translations, and an Explanation of the Hieroglyphical Characters*. By Samuel Sharpe. (London: J. R. Smith.)
6. *Albert Dumont De plumbeis apud Græcos tesseriis*. (Paris: Thorin.)
7. *Titus et sa dynastie*. Par M. Beulé, de l'Institut. (Paris: Michel Levy Frères.)
8. *Dicuius liber de mensura orbis terræ a Gustavo Parthéy recognitus*. (Berlin: Effert und Lindtner.)
9. *Saint Anselm*. By R. W. Church. (London: Macmillan.)
10. *Vincencius Kadlubek, Bischof von Krakau, und seine Chronik Polens. Zur Literaturgeschichte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*. Von Heinrich Zeissberg. (Vienna: Gerold's Sohn.)
11. *Select Charters, and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*. Arranged and Edited by Professor Stubbs. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
12. *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland from the Archives of the City of Dublin*. Edited by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A. (London: Longmans.)
13. *Friedrich der Freidige, Markgraf von Meissen, Landgraf von Thüringen, und die Wettiner seiner Zeit (1267-1325). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der Wettinischen Länder*. Von Dr. Franz X. Wegele. (Nördlingen: Beck.)
14. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*. Viertes Band. Herausgegeben von Dr. Leonhard Ennen. (Cologne: Dumont-Schauberg.)
15. *Acta Imperii Selecta. Urkunden deutscher Könige und Kaiser mit einem Anhange von Reichsachen*. Gesammelt von Joh. Friedrich Böhmer. Herausgegeben aus seinem Nachlasse. (Innsbruck: Wagner.)
16. *Deutschland Geschichtequellen im Mittelalter von der Mitte des dreizehnten bis zum Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts im Anschluss an W. Wattenbach's Werk*. Von Ottokar Lorenz. (Berlin: Hertz.)
17. *Die Chroniken der oberrheinischen Städte; Strasburg*. Band I. II. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
18. *Fontes adhuc inediti rerum Rhenanarum. Niederrheinische Chroniken*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Gottfried Eckertz. Zweiter Theil. (Cologne: Heberle.)
19. *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland*. Photozincographed by Colonel Sir H. James, R. E., under the direction of the Lord Clerk-Register of Scotland. Part II. (Edinburgh.)
20. *Andrew Boorde's Introduction and Dye-tury, with Barnes in the Defence of the Berde*. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. (London: Trübner.)
21. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1564-5*. Edited by James Stephenson, M.A. (London: Longmans.)
22. *La Strage di San Bartolomeo* (dalla North British Review) con introduzione ed aggiunta. (Venice: Antonelli.)
23. *The Method of Shakespeare as an Artist, deduced from an Analysis of his leading Tragedies and Comedies*. By Henry J. Ruggles. (New-York: Hurd and Houghton.)
24. *Heinrich IV. und Philipp III. Die Begründung des französischen Uebergewichts in Europa*. Von Dr. Philippson. Erster Theil. (Berlin: Duncker.)
25. *Herman Conring, der Begründer der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*. Von Dr. O. Stobbe. (Berlin: Hertz.)
26. *The Works of Alexander Pope*. With Introductions and Notes by the Rev. Whitwell Elwin. Vol. I. (London: Murray.)
27. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.* By the Rev. L. Tyerman. I. II. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)
28. *Maria Theresia nach dem Erbfolge Kriege*. Von A. von Arneth. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
29. *Voltaire: Sechs Vorlesungen*. Von David Strauss. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
30. *Thugut und sein Politisches System*. Von A. von Vivenot. (Vienna: Gerold.)
31. *Literatur Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Von Hermann Hettner; Dritter Theil, Drittes Buch, Zweite Abtheilung. Das Ideal der Humanität. (Brunswick: Vieweg.)
32. *Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen*. Dritter Band, 1821-1824. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
33. *Hegel der unweiderlegte Welt-philosoph: Eine Jubelschrift*. Von C. L. Michelet. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)

84. *The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston.* By the Right Hon. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, G.C.B. (London: Bentley.)
85. *Co-operative Agriculture. A Solution of the Land Question, as exemplified in the History of the Balahine Co-operative Agricultural Association.* By William Pare, F.S.S. (London: Longmans.)
86. *Lettres du Marquis A. de Custine à Varnhagen d'Ense et Rahel Varnhagen d'Ense.* (Brussels: Muquard.)
87. *Geschichte Italiens.* Von Dr. Reuchlin. III. Theil. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
88. *Die Belagerung und das Bombardement von Strassburg.* Von G. Fischbach. (Strassburg: Silbermann.)
89. *Wie wir wieder ein Volk geworden sind.* Von H. Baumgarten. 2 vermehrte Auflage. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
40. *Capitalismus und Socialismus, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen.* Von Dr. A. E. F. Schäffle. (Tübingen: Laupp.)
41. *Culture and Religion in some of their Relations.* By J. C. Shairp. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
42. *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.* By S. Baring-Gould. Part II. Christianity. (London: Rivingtons.)
43. *Soconarola, Erasmus, and other Essays.* By Henry Hart Milman, D.D. (London: Murray.)
44. *Gesammelte Schriften von L. Häusser.* Zur Geschichte's Literatur. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
45. *Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit.* Von Julian Schmidt. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
46. *Vorlesungen über den Deutschen Roman der Gegenwart: literar-historische und cultur-historische Studien.* Von Fr. Kreyssig. (Berlin: Nicolai.)
47. *The Mystery of Edwin Drood.* By Charles Dickens. (London: Chapman and Hall.)
48. *The Masque of Shadows and other Poems.* By John Payna. (London: Pickering.)
49. *The Earthly Paradise.* A Poem. By William Morris. Part IV. (London: Ellis.)
50. *Rehearsals.* A Book of Verses. By John Leicester Warren. (London: Strahan.)
51. *An Epic of Women, and other Poems.* By Arthur W. E. O'Shaughnessy. (London: Hotten.)
52. *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia.* By the Rev. Alexander Williamson, B.A. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)
53. *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens: Studien und Reisen.* Von Dr. Adolf Bastian. Sechster Band. (Jena: Costenoble.)
54. *Mission scientifique au Mexique et dans l'Amérique centrale.* Ouvrage publié par ordre de S. M. l'Empereur et par les soins du ministre de l'instruction publique. Linguistique, Manuscrit Troano. Études sur le système graphique et la langue des Mayas par M. Brasseur de Bourbourg. (Paris: Maisonneuve.)
55. *Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta.* By Andrew Leith Adams, M.B. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
56. *Report on the Invertebrata of Massachusetts, published agreeably to an order of the Legislature.* Second edition, comprising the Mollusca. By Augustus A. Gould, M.D., edited by W. G. Binney. (Boston: Wright and Potter.)
57. *Beiträge zur Flora der Schweiz.* Von August Grunli. (Aarau: Christen.)
58. *Traité de Paléontologie Végétale, ou la Flore du monde primitif dans ses Rapports avec les Formations Géologiques et la Flore du Monde Actuel.* Par W. Ph. Schimper. Vol. I. II., Pt. I. (Paris: Baillière.)
59. *Die Fauna der Ältern Cephalopoden führenden Tithonbildungen.* Von K. A. Zittel. (Cassel: Fischer.)
60. *Über die Thermoelctrischen Eigenschaften des Topases.* Von W. G. Hankel. Elektrische Untersuchungen, 8<sup>te</sup> Abhandlung. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
61. *Annalen der Oenologie, wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Weinbau, Weinbehandlung und Weinerwerthung.* Von Dr. A. Blankenhorn und Dr. L. Roesler. I. Band. (Heidelberg.)

1. HERR FICK's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* is a revised and enlarged edition of his *Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Grundsprache*, published two years ago. The improvements and additions, however, are so great as to make the book almost a new one. They not only comprise alterations of and appendixes to the matter contained in the previous edition, but, what is still more important, they add five entirely new sections. The work nevertheless still rests on its old basis. The results already attained with regard to the typical Indo-Germanic vocabulary have now been extended and applied to those languages which are usually regarded as original types of this linguistic group; so that the work is important not only for the commencement, but also for the progressive development, of the history of Indo-Germanic speech.

The first section consists of six vocabularies, beginning with that of the Indo-Germanic language as it existed before the separation into Aryan and European branches. The Aryan group here denotes the well-known Asiatic members of the Indo-Germanic family, especially the Indians of Aryan extraction, and the Iranians. This first vocabulary gives in detail the complete contents of the first edition, largely augmented and corrected. Then follow five new vocabularies which give its great value to the present edition. The first is a vocabulary of the common Aryan period, that is, a collection of words belonging both to the Sanscrit and to the Zend. This affords the materials for a knowledge of the basis of both languages; but for the purposes of a more advanced inquiry into the original types of Aryan speech, it requires to be supplemented by a comparative study of other West Asiatic tongues, especially the Armenian. In the next section, which is devoted to the vocabulary of

the European group, the author has collected the words common to the Greek, Latin, German, Lithuanian, and Slavonic, and so laid the foundation for an inquiry into their common prototype; but here also a gap is left, for the Celtic languages have been omitted. The next place is occupied by the Greco-Italic group. This vocabulary is of considerable interest, since the common elements of Greek and Latin have been collected with sufficient fulness to throw light on the phonetic relations of the two languages, as, for instance, in the reflex of the original *a* through either *e* or *o* or *o*. The Slavo-Germanic vocabulary which follows may help to determine the question whether there existed any special connection or previous bond of unity between the Germanic and the Letto-Slavonic (Old Prussian, Lithuanian, Lettonian, and Slavonic) languages. The sixth and last vocabulary is that common to the Lithuanian-Slavonic group. However numerous may be the just comparisons exhibited in the book, it was inevitable that many should occur which are open to objection, and that many more should be overlooked. A few instances may be given. At p. 15, *orka*, a kind of stag, should be added as an original word. This is shown by the Sanscrit *riṣa* (Atharva Veda, 4. 4. 7, generally with the affix *ya*, *riṣya*), a buck of the antelope family, and the old High German *elh elah*, tragelaphus, Anglo-Saxon *eloh*, English *elk*, transcribed by Julius Caesar (*Bel. Gall.* vi. 27) *aloes aloes*, and by Pausanias in the plural form of *ἄλκας*. At page 51 the Latin *rumor* should be added to the typical word *brumman*. At page 82 *kvanta* suggests the Sanscrit *śānta*. At page 160, under *yāra* it would have been well to note the Sanscrit *parāṣṛi* for *para-yāri* (the locative of *yār*); at any rate in the second vocabulary, p. 801, *yār* ought to have been given as the typical Aryan form, since this and not *yāra* is reflected into the Zendic form *yāra*. At page 186 there ought to have been the typical word *caśār*, "dawn of day," and its locative *caśārī*, early, this being reflected into the Greek *ἥρι* for *ἥριος*, *ἥριος* and the Sanscrit *varī* (with *v* instead of *va*, as often happens before an accentuated syllable). When identical words consist of elements which in the languages compared are frequently used to form simple or compound nouns, there may often be a doubt whether they are original, or whether they were formed independently of one another after the separation of the languages. The question is a difficult one; but in many instances probability is in favour of the first view; and Herr Fick has generally adopted it. Thus he traces the Sanscrit *tripṭi* and Greek *τρίπτι* to the typical *tarpti*; also the Sanscrit *satyagrahas* and the Greek *Ἑρεκλῆς* from *Ἑρεκλέτης* to the typical *satyakrahas*. On like grounds the typical *sagara*, proud, ought to have been given at p. 198, as it occurs in Sanscrit in the same form and is regularly reflected in Greek as *δυσυρό*. Of doubtful comparisons it is enough to mention the Sanscrit *araviṇḍa*, lotos, with the Greek *ἑρβινδα*, pulse. The form itself does not offer any difficulty, for the Greek *ῥ* stands properly for the typical and Sanscrit *ḍ* after *n*, for instance in *ῥινδο*, yellow, from

*ῥανδ*, which reflects the typical *skand*; but the Sanscrit meaning appears too remote from the Greek one of pulse. At p. 201 *śas-ṣ* has not been mentioned under *skand*, to glow, as it should have been; it shows how the old anlaut *sk*, transposed into *ś* (*ḥ*), was preserved in this root in the European languages also, at least in this instance. Some alterations might be made with advantage in the form in which Herr Fick gives words of the typical language. Thus at p. 88, *dampatan* would have been better than *dampati*, for it is only in the former that the Sanscrit *dampati* and the Greek *δασπας* seem to meet. In the Sanscrit the sibilant has been lost, as in *pumbhōman* from *puma*, and on modified and weakened into *i*, as in *akāḥi* from *akāḥan*, eye. In the Greek, on the other hand, the nasal is absorbed by the sibilant, as in *μελῆς* for *μελῆνς*. That the latter part of the word was sounded as *patan* in the original tongue is shown by the Greek feminine *κόρνια*, Sanscrit *patāi*, and the Greek *δεσποτῖα* for *δεσποτῖα*.

It is not necessary to point out any further blemishes of detail in a work which contains so much new and valuable matter. The author has rehabilitated many comparisons which had been unjustly rejected. Thus he proves the connection, already surmised by Bopp, between the Aryan *sahasra* and the Greek *χίλιος* (p. 70); for he recognises that the Aryan prefix *sa* corresponds to the Greek *ἑ* in *ἑκατον* as compared with the typical *hantam*. That is to say, the Aryans said "one thousand," while the Greeks said "thousand;" and the Greeks, on the other hand, instead of saying "hundred," like other Indo-Germans, said "one hundred." Hence appears a fact of great importance with regard to the social culture of the Indo-Germans before the separation, namely, that they already counted to a thousand and not merely to a hundred; as has hitherto been supposed; and they must have had to perform the act frequently, since otherwise the numeral word for a thousand could not have been fixed in such a way as to be easily preserved by the widely-separated tribes of Aryans and Greeks. But a frequent counting up to a thousand presupposes a social condition in many respects highly developed. On the other hand, the fact that this numerical term was preserved by Greeks and Aryans, but lost by other Indo-Germanic races, who have substituted for it new formations, shows that the civilization of these other races must have degenerated.

2. PROFESSOR LUDWIG of Prague has shown himself to be a profound classical scholar, thoroughly conversant with Indian languages and philology. He is rich in ideas, happy in his combinations, and acute and clear in exposition, and in reducing a mass of facts to their most general expression; and in any circumstances he may claim a respectful hearing from Indologists and linguists, however much they may differ from his conclusions. The title of his recent work on *The Impurities in the Veda* gives no adequate idea of the task he has set himself in it. Although the considera-

tion of the Vedic infinitive occupies a prominent place in his work, it is nevertheless by no means its leading purpose. In pursuing that purpose he goes into a great many other Vedic peculiarities of declension and conjugation; and these details are accumulated not for their own sake, but to confirm a theory, which he has set forth in previous works, concerning the origin of the Indo-Germanic inflection—a theory in direct contradiction with the generally received view of Bopp and his followers. With an energy of personal conviction which often amounts to violence, he impugns the theory that the Indo-Germanic inflection was formed by agglutination (p. 1), or the putting together of successive words which were once disconnected; and he anti-thetically tries to show that the inflection of nouns arose from the fact that different noun-stems, which originally only indicated the general noun-sense, were by degrees appropriated to the notation of the case-sense, while the inflection of verbs arose from the fact that different expressions of a general verb-sense, which had first appeared in the infinitive form, were differentiated into expressions of verb-relations or verbal forms.

The following extracts from the work will explain this little-known theory, and illustrate the author's way of applying it to particular inflective forms. With regard to the noun-inflections, he says: "Hence it follows that the suffix, in the first stage of its existence, never modified the signification of the stem, but borrowed its signification from the stem after it had lost its own demonstrative meaning. This took place in virtue of a kind of self-adjusting balance; for naturally, while people could not think the word with the suffix to be an indivisible whole, they could not conceive its sense to depend entirely on the whole complex compound, but were obliged to consider that even what was felt to be the subordinate element still had a certain significance of its own. Thus in a spontaneous way there arose a new ramification of meaning" (p. 4, § 5). "In our dissertation on the origin of the A declension it has been shown that the *i* of the locative is no exponent of inflection, but the original auslaut of the stem. . . . Thus the locative becomes an invariable form, and a relic of that distant epoch when languages were still without inflection" (p. 9, § 9). "It thus becomes evident that the locative and the dative, looked at simply in an historical point of view, lose their qualities as inflective forms, and recede into the period of the creation of words. This creative process seems by degrees to have become worn out; and after it there arose another impulse—to find a use for the refuse forms of the creative period. At first the specific distinction of *agens*, *actio*, *actum*, was left on one side; and the demonstrative form, which was then evidently chiefly used, was made to do duty for it; while the language, whenever it had spare words for the purpose, began gradually to pave the way for that distinction which so eminently contributes to the intelligibility of speech. . . . But when this differentiation had proceeded a cer-

tain distance it was no great step to add the expression of number and case" (p. 15, § 19). "There is nothing to be said about any original significance of case; it reduces itself simply to different applications of a stem . . . with which later differentiations were connected" (p. 20, § 25). "In accordance with the evidence we have adduced, the genitive and ablative singular must also be referred to the creative period. That is to say, it is proved that there are no indications of any historical chasm between that genitive formation and the formation of the stems. What then was requisite to draw out the first dim feeling of inflection? Nothing but forgetfulness. As long as a recollection remained of the actual connection in the respective formations stems only existed, but no inflections. When the remembrance of this connection had passed away, it was at once felt necessary to think, or more properly to understand, something about those variations the nature and origin of which was no longer known. Then no doubt by the significations which were attached to the forms it was thought that they might be understood" (p. 24, § 29). "With the gradual growth of forms there naturally arose two distinct phenomena, . . . denotation of grammatical subordination, and co-ordination. It was natural that where there was a relation between terms, there should also exist a tendency to give it an expression indicating the difference or identity of the mutual relations of several terms. Hence also it followed that a certain need arose for the endings called grammatical; the simple termination of the stem was gradually either altogether abominated, or confined to a special field of meaning, where it assumed the appearance of an inflective form" (p. 25, § 31). "In the period the relics of which we are tracing, no meaning could have been exclusively attached to any form; the directive criterion of mutual understanding must have been, much more exclusively than during the time when grammar was complete, the self-resulting intellectual connection of utterances coming one after the other" (p. 35, § 40).

In discussing the origin of verb-forms, the author (§ 54, and seq.) tries to prove that those are original verb-forms which are devoid of definite relations to grammatical persons; and, in answer to the question "what such forms are," he says that "they are infinitives, the application of which has not yet been changed from an indefinite to a definite signification" (p. 79, § 60). He endeavours further to show that the terminations of the singular present of the middle voice, *māi*, *śāi*, *tāi* (which he regards as the original forms, in Greek *μαί*, *σαι*, *ται*), have no other original sense than a merely nominal one, and subsequently an absolute verbal sense, *i.e.*, that of the infinitive, without any relation to grammatical persons, numbers, or distinction of active and middle; and he concludes: "as the terminations (of the active), *mī*, *śī*, *tī* have given the stems for the ulterior formations *māi*, *śāi*, *tāi*, . . . it is proved by implication that the stems of *mī*, *śī*, *tī* were also ori-



ginally and virtually without any such relation—that they were, even more than the forms *māi, adi, idi*, originally nominal, that they subsequently possessed an absolute verbal meaning, and that only a later process . . . accomplished their separation and relation to single grammatical persons of the subject" (p. 145, § 118).

This explanation of the origin of Indo-Germanic inflection is almost entirely based on the deviations from ordinary Sanscrit, relating to inflective forms and grammatical relations which are found in the traditional texts of the Veda. Thus, for instance, at page 9 the frequent absence of *i*, the exponent of the locative singular, in themes in *an*, is used to fortify the assumption that this *i* is no sign of case, but the auslaut of a root-formation; and at p. 78 a few instances of forms where *ae* seems to indicate the first person singular are employed to show that such forms were not at first, as afterwards, used exclusively in Sanscrit as signs of the second person, as is the case with their reflex forms in Greek *ae*, and in Gothic *sa*. Without a lengthened investigation it would be impossible to go deeply into the question whether such isolated phenomena can properly support an induction involving consequences so trenchant, or to refute an hypothesis built up on such stores of knowledge, and with such intellectual gifts. One point however may be indicated. The justification of such deductions from the traditional Vedic texts manifestly depends on a correct estimate of their history, their origin, and the way in which they were handed down till they assumed their present form. However small may be our certain knowledge regarding them—for Vedic science is still in its infancy—it can hardly be doubted that several Vedic hymns belong to a time when the language in which they were sung was essentially the vernacular tongue of a narrow region, and therefore subject to all the influences which are active in living languages. But it is equally certain that other hymns belong to a later time, when this language had become extinct as a vernacular, and was preserved in narrow circles scattered over a wide extent of country, where a variety of national idioms were spoken, some of them nearly related to that of the hymns. These idioms probably had some influence, though a subordinate one, on the language in which the hymns were sung. As for their transmission, it is equally certain that for a long time it was only oral—a kind of tradition in itself incapable of preserving an original faithfully. But in consequence of the wide diffusion of the Aryans over India the tradition had often to be preserved in places where not only different Aryan idioms, but also other non-Aryan languages, prevailed; and through the religious use to which the texts were devoted they were handed down, not only by men who wholly or partially understood them, but also by others who understood nothing or little of them, but had simply learned them by heart for religious purposes. In the light of these facts it becomes clear that they must have been exposed

to all kinds of corruption. Then again, with regard to the men who collected and wrote down the traditional texts. Without undervaluing their zeal in preserving forms of words which could not be intelligible to them without the boldest hypotheses, we may at least be sure that they were not practised or enlightened critics, and that, if they made essentially true transcripts of the texts orally gathered from the singers, they were at any rate unable to detect the many corruptions which had crept into them in the lapse of time.

These facts, well weighed, lead to explanations of the abnormal phenomena of the traditional Vedic texts, widely different from those of Professor Ludwig. Many of these phenomena may prove to be bye-forms of phonetic origin, such as occur in all art-languages which rest on a living vernacular speech. For instance, the occurrence of locatives without *i* by the side of those with *i*, which is shown by the consensus of related languages to be the primordial locative sign, may be illustrated by kindred phenomena in modern tongues. Thus, in modern German the dative termination *e* is sometimes used and sometimes omitted; and in the written language, especially poetry, rhythmical and metrical influences cause both forms to be alternately used. Other phenomena of this kind are easily explained by the influence of vernacular idioms. Others, especially those which contradict not only the Sanscrit but also all the kindred languages, can hardly be anything but corruptions which the Indian revisers with their insufficient critical knowledge and their reverence for the tradition did not venture to amend.

Professor Ludwig, on the contrary, attributes to the traditional text so high a degree of accuracy that he believes he can discover in it the relics of a non-inflected condition of the Indo-Germanic linguistic stock, and arrives at a conclusion which seems enough of itself to show the utter improbability of his theory. The Vedic language seems to him to offer so great a number of non-inflective grammatical forms that he says:—"We can therefore (but only relatively) set down the completion of the grammatical construction of the language of the Aryans as hardly five centuries before the oldest of the Vedas." If we take this Veda, in round numbers, to be about 1500 B.C., then it follows with tolerable certainty that the completion of the grammar must be dated about 2000 B.C. Accordingly the western migrations of the Aryans, who doubtless set out with a completed grammar, must be subsequent to this date" (p. 148, § 120). It may be doubted whether an unprejudiced scholar would be convinced by any argument of so comparatively late a completion of a grammar which is found in essential identity through all the phases of the Indo-Germanic languages, especially when it is borne in mind that the populations by which these languages were spoken separated so early that none of them, not even the oldest, or those whose culture dated the farthest back, as the Aryan Indians, remembered anything of their immigration into their historical

abode. Surely if the grammar, which by the hypothesis was completed only about 2000 B.C., was still, 500 years later, among the Indians, in such an unsettled condition that a multitude of forms could express all relations indefinitely, then the other tribes could not possibly have attained to a grammatical form in such harmonious conformity with Sanscrit and Zend.

Professor Ludwig indeed endeavours to point out analogous phenomena in other languages; but the illustrations are scanty, and are treated in the same manner as the Vedic ones. Scarcely any of his hypotheses can be admitted by careful critics. A single instance will show the rashness with which from the use of one form for several grammatical relations he infers a previous and general meaning not yet confined to one special sense, and then further infers a former uninflected character. With regard to the third person singular *Atmanepada* he says: "To the historical method, which is able to distinguish the later from the earlier, it is evident that the older form, before the later had appeared, must have occupied the whole field of meaning; and the same method without difficulty or hesitation deduces the later more special and definite meaning from the crowding on of more recent forms. We can still trace for *te* the sense of both first and third person in the Gothic *haitada haitadan*" (p. 78, § 59). The Gothic use of the first and third person of the terminative *da* (the reflex of the Sanscrit *te*, which indicates the third person) is thus treated as showing that the reflex of this termination in the primeval mother tongue indicated both these persons. But it is well known that in the Gothic plural there is a single form in *anda* (reflex of the Sanscrit *ante*, third person plural) for all three persons; and if the deduction from the first and third person singular is correct, it would also apply to the first, second, and third persons plural. But if the Gothic had thus, some 2000 years after the Vedic era, or 2500 after the completion of the grammatical inflection, preserved some relics of its original non-flexive condition in the passive forms just quoted, would it not be necessary to recognise a similar phenomenon a few centuries later in the old Saxon use of *sind* or *sindun* (Anglo-Saxon, *sind*, *sindon*) for three persons of the present plural, or in the middle German *sint* for the third person plural, and, less frequently, the second person plural, and in modern German *sind* for the first and third persons plural, or again in the use of the first person plural for the first person singular in the French patois *faimons*? With regard to all these instances, even the Gothic ones, the received opinion is that they come from the extension of meanings originally more specialized, and that they have been taken to replace forms which had been lost in the lapse of time. With regard to the Gothic Professor Leo Meyer (*Die Gothische Sprache*, sec. 141) says: "In the singular [of the Gothic passive] the proper third person is also used for the first; and in the plural the third person proper represents also the first and second." Whatever right Professor Ludwig has to transfer his theory of Vedic forms to

the Gothic, another man has the same right to apply to the Vedic the generally accepted theory of the Gothic, and to explain the few instances of the kind, which after a critical investigation may still be found in the Veda, by the analogy of the Gothic, old Saxon, and the like. While Vedic forms furnish the author with his facts, assumed phonetic transmutations are the materials with which he endeavours to prove his theory of the origin and history of these forms. This is no reproach to him; but the circumstance deserves to be noted, that, while he inveighs against the bold hypotheses of many critics with regard to phonetic changes, he himself is far from being moderate in the use of them.

In that part of the work which deals exclusively with Vedic forms without regard to the theory of inflection, the author has amassed a quantity of valuable matter which no one who occupies himself with the Veda can dispense with. Even here there is much which cannot be accepted; but the preponderance of good is so great that the work takes a very high place in the field of Vedic research. There are many explanations and comparisons of Indo-Germanic forms, which will greatly heighten the author's philological reputation. It is not necessary to give instances of these happy suggestions, which sometimes rise to the level of genius; but it may be useful to show, by referring to a few passages, that even in this portion of the work the student cannot dispense with the exercise of his critical faculty.

At p. 8, *edm* in the hymn to Pushan (*Rigveda*, vi. 55), is taken to be a mutilated form of *yudm*, "ye both." Though the unaccentuated *edm*, the bye-form of several cases of the dual of the pronoun of the second person, has to be thus explained, still the connection in this text shows that we have here a mutilated form of *dvdm*, nominative dual of the pronoun of the first person. The words "éhi vāmāghrine sām sachāvahai" must be translated: "Come here, O Pushan, we both will go together." Compare i. 42, 1, "sākshvā deva prā nas purāh," "go, O god, before us."

In the same page the author is inclined to identify *avās* (*Rigv.* vi. 67, 11; vii. 67, 4; x. 132, 5) with *avās*. The true account may be seen in the additions to the St. Petersburg dictionary under *avā*. It is the dual of the pronoun *avā* which corresponds with the Zend *ava*. Compare *tā dām* (x. 132, 2).

At p. 21 it is said "that the genitive *asya* is a mutilated form of *asyas* (itself an abbreviation of *asyās*) we have already proved. . . . In *Rigveda*, iv. 8, 4, we actually find *asyāh ritāya*."

It certainly is to be found there, but *asyās* does not belong to *ritāya*, but to *pāmyai*, which precedes in this quarter verse. That these forms in *ai* (generally datives of the fem. sing.) not unfrequently occur in the Veda in the sense of the genitive singular feminine, has been long ago remarked. Whether they are

only phonetic changes of the ordinary endings of the genitive singular feminine *ds*, or the dative employed as a genitive, need not be here decided. In favour of the latter hypothesis is the replacement of the dative by the genitive, common in Pāli, and universal in Prākṛit. This replacement was no doubt preceded by the identification of the two cases, of which there are numerous traces in all Sanscrit writings. In later times this may have been caused by the influence of the vernacular languages, in which the dative is absorbed by the genitive. Previously, and in the Vedas, it may have been caused by the tendency to identify the two cases, which gradually brought about the complete obliteration of the dative. Parallel phenomena are found in kindred languages with regard to other cases.

At p. 22 *janiman* (Rigv. iv. 22, 4) is taken as an ablative. Why could it not, as elsewhere, be a locative? "Trembled before the mighty at his birth;" compare Rigv. iv. 17, 2, and other places.

In the same page *sūras* in Rigveda i. 174, 5, is taken to be a nominative form, from *sūra*, in a genitive sense. It is not absolutely impossible to take it in a nominative sense, though that is hardly feasible. But why should it not be the genitive of *sūr*, which it is with precisely the same accentuation in another place (vii. 69, 4, *sūro duhitā*, "daughter of the sun")? Compare the regularly accentuated dative *sūre* (Rigv. iv. 8, 8) and the Zend genitive *hūro* from *hware*, which normally corresponds with *sūr*.

At p. 75 *ūchishe* in the Vājasaneyi Sanhita xii. 49, in agreement with Mahidhara, is taken for *ūchire*, the third person plural. This is wrong; *ūchishe* both in form and sense is the second person singular; and thus it is taken by Sāyana on the Rigveda, iii. 22-3, where the verse appears.

At p. 107 *vareyāt* (Rigveda x. 27, 11) is taken for a conjunctive. But no one who considers the potential in Pāli (e.g., the third person singular *chareyā*, which would correspond with Sanscrit *char-ayet*; compare Lassen, *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, p. 358), and the Attic Optative of the contracted verbs (i.e., of those from the original in *aye*, *eye*, *oyo*, for the still more ancient *aya*, e.g., *φιλοῖεν* for *φιλεῖον*), will hesitate to admit *vareyāt* to be a potential of the 10th conjugation, essentially similar in formation to the Pāli and Greek, that is to say, from *varaya-yāt* with the contraction of *aya* into *e*, as in the Prākṛit. Compare, e.g., the Prākṛit *kūmedi* for Sanscrit *Kam-aya-ti* in epic poetry.





With regard to p. 120, it must be observed that the Gothic *grētan* is not connected with the Sanskrit *krand*, but with *hrād*, originally *ghrad*; and p. 124 suggests the remark that the perfect indicative and other indicatives (e.g., the present) are not employed in an imperative sense because they in themselves convey this meaning, but as a form of courtesy.

The thing commanded is thereby represented as an act of the doer's own will. If, instead of saying "Do this," we say "You are doing this," there is a certain recognition of spontaneity in the phrase.




















8. THE cuneiform inscriptions which refer to Egypt are among the most interesting that have been discovered; but Dr. Oppert in his recent *Mémoire* on the subject has not made the best use of them. Egypt is known in these inscriptions under the name of Muzur, the *μυζυρ* of the Bible. It is usually written Mu-uz-ri, Mu-zur or Mu-zu-ri, and in documents of a late period, Mi-zir. Considerable confusion has arisen from the fact that the Assyrian word Muzur denoted two distinct countries, one being Egypt, while the other was in quite a different region, on the east of the Tigris. In the cuneiform texts there is no difference between the names of the two countries, the first three forms given above being used indifferently for either. It is only by the circumstances and places mentioned in connection with the names that we can judge which country was intended. Neglecting to notice these points in the case of the inscription on the Black Obelisk, Dr. Oppert has been led to attribute the notice on that monument to Egypt; but the accompanying sculpture, which shows the tribute to have included the Asiatic elephant, the single-horned rhinoceros, and the double-humped camel, proves the eastern Muzur to have been intended. In the case of the notice on the Tiglath Pileser cylinder, Dr. Oppert rightly decided on the Asiatic Muzur. Several of the notices of Egypt are not included in the present work: among these are the account on the monolith of Shalmaneser at Kurkh, where it is stated that 1,000 Egyptians assisted in the engagement fought at Gargar, in Hamath, between the army of Shalmaneser and the confederate forces of the Syrians; the notice of Egypt in the expedition of Tiglath Pileser II. to Palestine and Arabia; and the account of the connection between Pharaoh of Egypt and the revolt of the Philistines in B.C. 711, which is given on the cylinder of Sargon in the British Museum.

At page 22 Dr. Oppert repeats the assertion that Sargon king of Assyria was assassinated. He grounds this statement on an erroneous translation of the passage in *Cuneiform Inscriptions* Vol. II. p. 69, Canon fragment, line 10, which he renders (*Chronologie Biblique*, p. 21) "Assassinat de Sargon." The word *ma-dak-tu*, however, cannot bear the meaning he attributes to it, but must be "fort" or "camp." Thus, Sennacherib, on a tablet relating to his Babylonian wars, mentions *ma-dak-ti ya*, "my camp," certainly not "my assassination;" and Paliya the Assyrian general writing to Assurbani-pal (K, 1249), mentions being *ina ma-dak-tu sa sar*, "in the camp of the king."

There is another error in this part of the book. Dr. Oppert mentions the tablet K, 181, as containing a despatch from Sennacherib to his father Sargon, relating to a revolt in Babylonia. Now Sennacherib had no command in Babylonia at all; he was posted on the northern or Armenian frontier; and K, 181, refers to

Armenian and not Babylonian affairs. The mistake appears to have arisen from the fact that the sign  is used both for Babylonian and Armenia, just as Muzur denotes two different countries. This fact must be known to the author, who in *Les fastes de Sargon*, line 81, translates    "Armenium"; and the mention on K, 181, of *Hu-pu-us-ka*, which bordered on Armenia, ought to have shown which country was intended.

The account which Dr. Oppert gives of the principal Assyrian stele at the Nahr el kelb is remarkable. This stele was for many years supposed to be the work of Sennacherib; it has been several times published as belonging to that monarch, and is stated to be his in the present work, p. 37. Three years ago, however, a careful examination was made of the cast of this monument in the British Museum; and it proved to belong to Esarhaddon, and to be a record of his Egyptian expedition. This was published in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1868, pp. 94 and 114, without the fact being mentioned that it was the same tablet which had been formerly attributed to Sennacherib. Dr. Oppert, with a laudable desire to give the latest information, mentions (p. 40) the stele of Esarhaddon; and, not knowing that it was the same one he had already attributed to Sennacherib, speaks of it as "à côté de la stèle de son père."



The principal part of the present work relates to the expeditions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal to Egypt, as described in the inscriptions of the latter monarch. These texts, as copied and published by Dr. Oppert, are very faulty. His materials have not been sufficient to distinguish between the texts of Cylinders A and B. Cylinder C with the list of kings of Cyprus and Syria was not known to him. Cylinder E with the account of Esarhaddon's conquest is absent from his texts. The two tablet fragments which he notices now form part of the same tablet, being connected by the intermediate fragments. And the texts relating to the revolt of Psammitichus and the revolt of Miluhha in conjunction with Saulmugina are entirely unnoticed. In many places he has made conjectural restorations of his imperfect texts; and the present complete state of these passages (the wanting fragments having been since found, and joined to the cylinders and tablets) enables us to judge how far his efforts in this direction have been successful. Of ten lines restored by him in p. 51 only two (the second and seventh) are correct. His texts appear to have further suffered from his manner of copying them; they bear evidence of not being copied directly, the sound of the characters having been written down, and afterwards turned into Assyrian. An example of this occurs at p. 62, line 2. Where the cylinder at the British Museum has                      

only with the two first of these subjects. The work is not severely systematic; but it abounds with interesting and suggestive matter. The author supports with great ingenuity the opinion that the Politics, like the *Nikomachean Ethics* as they stand, consist simply of reports of Aristotle's lectures. Discussing the attack upon the political system of Plato, and on the exaggerated estimate of the Lycinan constitution, he justly regards Aristotle's criticism as a decided rupture with the conservative tradition of Hellenic politics. This rupture was a necessary prelude to the establishment of the new system of ideas which was to spring from the scientific method of Aristotle and the spread of Hellenism through the conquests of Alexander. It may be hoped that Professor Oncken in the second part of his book will enable his readers to discriminate between those portions of the political system of Aristotle which are of national and temporary import only, and those which furnish independent principles, and maintain their efficacy under the conditions of modern life.

5. If Mr. Sharpe had contented himself with giving the correct hieroglyphic and Greek text of the decree of Canopus, together with an English translation of the Greek, his book might have been of some value. The services which his publications have sometimes rendered to the students of Egyptian philology are so considerable as to have hitherto disarmed criticism with reference to his attempts at the decipherment and interpretation of certain texts. The accuracy of his two series of *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other Sources* is beyond all praise. But his new work on *The Decree of Canopus* is simply mischievous to that large and daily increasing class of persons who are beginning the study of hieroglyphics, and are likely to be attracted by what may appear to them an easily accessible elementary work. Such persons can hardly fail, if they consider Mr. Sharpe to be a fair specimen of an Egyptologist, to rise from the study of his book with a conviction that the decipherment and interpretation of Egyptian inscriptions is an utterly hopeless problem. His position is in reality analogous to that of a man who, with an imperfect apprehension of some of Lavoisier's principles, has undertaken to construct a science of chemistry for himself, utterly regardless of what the most distinguished chemists have discovered and written since the time of Lavoisier. He starts with Young and Champollion, hardly gets beyond the first discoveries of the latter, and absolutely ignores everything that has been said and written since the science was in its infancy. The consequence of this is that, whilst almost every one who has for a year or two attentively pursued the method recognised by the school of Champollion has a very fair knowledge of the ancient Egyptian language, and can read and translate any text of average difficulty, Mr. Sharpe is as yet unable correctly to see his way through the decree of Canopus, even though he has the Greek translation of it before him. He cannot even recognise the

separate groups of which the text is composed. He splits into two such well-known words as *Beka-t* (one of the names of Egypt), *secken, hau, rek, ken*; and out of two words like *nets em*, and *nets en*, he makes one.


He is like a man who, taking up an uncial ms. of the *Iliad*, would read *Mη νιν αει δε θεα* as five different words. "If the reader takes the trouble," he says, "to compare this translation with that made by Dr. Lepsius, or that by Drs. Rheinisch and Roessler, he will find that it differs from them in the force given to many of the characters which are less certainly understood, because they are not used in the kings' names. It also differs in its division of the continuous sentence into words, and in the meaning of many of the words. But those gentlemen make no appeal to the Coptic language to support their renderings; and hence we are unable to judge upon what their opinions are founded." Mr. Sharpe here implies that characters which are not found in the names of kings are more doubtful as to their value than others. He is quite mistaken. Such names as Ptolemy, Cleopatra, and a few others, were of immense importance at first starting; but he does not appear to be aware of another and certainly not less trustworthy source of information—the variants. There are hundreds, not to say thousands, of copies of identical texts (e. g., chapters of the *Book of the Dead*) wherein the same word is frequently written with different but equivalent characters. A schoolboy who is only acquainted with the Greek alphabet as he finds it in his Grammar may be puzzled by the abbreviations in an old edition of the *Iliad*; but on comparing this with a modern edition he would very soon learn the value of the abbreviations, and be able to use his knowledge with reference to all other books in which they occur. It is precisely in the same way that Dr. Lepsius, Dr. Rheinisch, and all other good Egyptologists, know with absolute certainty that the

sign  is equivalent, not to CH, as Mr. Sharpe imagines, but to , *am*, and that


, one of the names of Egypt, is exactly

the same word as  *Ta-mer-t*. Mr.

Sharpe proceeds to say that he is unable to judge upon what grounds Dr. Lepsius, Dr. Rheinisch, and Dr. Roessler support their division of the sentence into words, and the meanings which they assign to the different groups. He has surely no excuse for his ignorance. There is hardly a single group in the decree of Canopus which was not perfectly familiar to Egyptologists, and of which the meaning had not been made out with certainty, long before the inscription itself was discovered. A reference to the hieroglyphic dictionaries of Dr. Birch and Dr. Brugsch, or to the vocabularies published by M. Chabas, or those at the end of each volume of the *Zeitschrift* of Dr. Lepsius, will enable him to find the works in which the meaning of each group has been dis-


cussed and determined. The onus lies upon Mr. Sharpe of proving that any one of the results which had been attained before the discovery of the inscription has been contradicted instead of being confirmed and illustrated by it. If he will look closely at the matter he will find that Dr. Lepsius has simply given to each group the sense which had already been determined for it, and has not had in any single place to modify his views of the grammar or vocabulary. Mr. Sharpe further complains that the scholars he mentions make no appeal to the Coptic language to support their renderings. But this has been done elsewhere. A glance at Dr. Brugsch's dictionary will show abundance of references, not only to the Coptic, but to Demotic Egyptian, which is a stage of the language intermediate between Coptic and ancient Egyptian. Mr. Sharpe himself is very far from recognising the Coptic representatives of the easiest hieroglyphic groups. The very first group in the inscription of Canopus is , which, every one knows, signifies

a year. He transcribes this BAI, T; but he gives no proof, and is certainly unable to give any, that the group is so to be read. "The word BAI, for year," he himself says, "is not known in Coptic." The orthodox reading is *renpi-t*, and has direct Coptic authority. The

sign  is ideographic of two phonetic groups,

 *renpe*, and  *ter*. The first of these is exactly equivalent to the Coptic

*renpe*, signifying year, the letter *n* in Coptic being always changed before *p* into *m*. Champollion and all his successors adopted this reading of the group until a doubt was suggested by the fact that the word *renpe*, though common enough, had never been found with the determinative of time, whereas

 *ter*, was very common indeed. The


claims of this latter word were strongly advocated by very eminent scholars until Mr.

Renouf proved, first, that the year  was a


feminine noun, and, secondly, that *ter* was masculine, and really signified, not year, but season. He then produced instances out of Mr. Sharpe's own publications (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, i. 28, and ii. 11) of the full phonetic

group,  *renpi-t*, in the sense of year.

Since this time M. de Rougé, Dr. Brugsch, and all other Egyptologists have considered the question as settled for ever. Curiously enough, Mr. Sharpe had before him a direct proof of Mr. Renouf's rendering of *ter*. The group occurs more than once in this inscription. It is found at line 20, in the plural, *ter-u*. Mr. Sharpe's note here is, "THE SEASONS, *ἔσται*, according to the Greek;" but the Greek does not satisfy him, and he gives another explanation. The next group in the inscription about


which there could be any question is  *setu*.

The meaning of this has long since been determined. In his *Papyrus Magique* M. Ohabas called attention to the expressions *tennu renpi-t*, *tennu abot*, *tennu sesu X*, every year, every month, every tenth [?] *Sesu* is clearly a substantive, and signifies a portion of time. On comparing a tablet in Brugsch's *Recueil*, tom. i. pl. xxii., with the tablet of

Canopus, Mr. Sharpe will see that  *su*, is

another form of the same group, and that Dr. Brugsch had easily identified it with a well-known Coptic word, COY, of which Tattam says, "hæc vox præponitur numero dierum mensis et ordinalis dierum est." The group occurs very frequently indeed in the decree of Canopus, and requires in every place to be explained in this sense.


A little lower down the text speaks of the priests who *s-mâr nuter-u em seti-sen*. This passage, translated word for word, simply means, "array the gods in their robes." The first word, *s-mâr*, is the intensive form of *mâr*, of which the Coptic representative is *ⲙⲁⲣ*, *cingere*, *περικεῖναι*. The prefix *s* in the ancient language corresponds to the Coptic *ⲥ* or *T*.

The next group  has nothing to do with


hymns, as Mr. Sharpe supposes. It is a well-known variant of the word *nuter*, Coptic *NOTTE*, god, and is phonetically written


 *seti*. An example may be found in


Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 268. This word is followed by the preposition *em*, with, governing *seti*. The Coptic representative of the last word is not easy to find, but its etymology is

beyond a doubt. The word  *set*, to

clothe, put on, is a very familiar one in the *Book of the Dead*. The present group is fol-

lowed by the sign  determinative of clothing. And its full phonetic reading is

 *seti-t*, as in an inscription at Aby-

dos published by M. Mariette (*Fouilles*, tom. i. pl. 40), *seti-t-ef* or *pahu-f*, "his robe for his back." The sense of the passage is therefore clear enough, even without the Greek text *πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τὸν θεῶν*. But, according to Mr. Sharpe, the first group signifies "perhaps THOSE WHO SING OR PRAISE," the second is "HYMNS," and the third, really consisting of two words (for he takes the preposition  as the first letter of a word), "perhaps THOSE WHO ROBE THE GODS." All this is mere unsuccessful guess-work.

6. In a dissertation *de plumbeis apud Græcos temeris*, M. Albert Dumont has investigated a problem of numismatics which was discussed in the last century by Ficoroni (*I piombi antichi*, Rome, 1740), and has more recently been

treated by Garrucci (*I piombi antichi*, Rome, 1847), as well as by Salinas and Pastoloka in the *Annals of the Archaeological Institute of Rome* (1864-66). These leaden medals, for the most part cast in moulds, have been variously regarded as coins, tesserae, missilia, or billets distributed to the people, or tickets of admission to the theatre. M. Dumont does not deny the existence of leaden coins amongst the Greeks, such as the diabolon found by M. Mariette; but these coins must have been conventional money, used under particular circumstances, like the obsidional money of modern times, and current therefore only for a short period. As to missilia or billets distributed to the people, they would necessarily bear an indication of the object to be obtained by means of them; and there is no such indication in the present case. Lastly, the tesserae for the theatre would have some specification of the place to be occupied; and this also is wanting. M. Dumont endeavours to establish that the tesserae of which he speaks exhibit the marks of private persons, certain signs belonging to the particular individual. To show this he compares them with the Heracleian tables, where the names of citizens occupying farms are accompanied by certain signs to distinguish them from other individuals of the same name; which signs are also found on the tesserae. He further compares them with the Athenian tetradrachms, on which the name of the magistrate of the mint is accompanied by similar signs. The tesserae in the hands of the persons to whom they belonged were a means of securing recognition. They served also for public purposes—to indicate the members of the senate, tribes, etc. They were also used for the theatres, as commemorative signs, for the public games, the worship of the gods, the colleges, and sodalities. In intrinsic value these medals occupy of course the lowest place in coinage; but this is not a reason for overlooking them, and it was important to determine their object and use. This M. Dumont appears to have done in his short dissertation, which is distinguished both by the accuracy of its method and the extent of its erudition.

7. M. BEULÉ's *Titus et sa dynastie* completes the series of political pamphlets upon the character of Augustus and his successors, to which the author has given the general title of *Le Procès des Césars*. It is the last of the series of monographs on Roman History with which the frondeurs of the reign of Napoleon III. have so long carried on their transparent attacks on the imperial régime. However they may have failed in their real object, these caricatures of Roman history are at least very clever and very amusing. M. Beulé's portraits of the last six of the Cæsars, of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, have a certain resemblance to their originals. Under absurd and impossible proportions they do, no doubt, preserve a strange kind of likeness, which seems to suggest the real character of the sitter more pointedly than a much truer delineation of his actual face and figure. The three first-named Emperors are

here dashed off very rapidly. They occupied the place, though with little of the substance, of power, for but a few months each. They left no mark upon the page of history from any actions of their own, and live only in the few incisive touches of the pen of Tacitus. A crabbed martinet, a frivolous voluptuary, a wallower in the lowest sensuality, deserved no more than a passing mention. M. Beulé takes care that it shall be such as shall urge the moral against Cæsarism. He gives the portraits of his Cæsars; but he does not fill in his picture with the circumstances that surround them. If the three wretched men already mentioned are exceptional, the Flavian Emperors at least, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, had their *raison d'être*. They were the natural product of the times and circumstances, and were not ill adapted to attain to prominence among them. These rulers, too, M. Beulé caricatures, while his delineation is not without truth as well as force. The real man is undoubtedly presented; but his features are violently distorted and exaggerated. The great object is to show how utterly unworthy they all were of bearing rule over the millions of the Roman world. Vespasian was narrow-minded and vulgar, devoid of every lofty aspiration, thrust forward with hardly a movement of his own by the restless ambition of his son Titus. Titus was from the first an unprincipled intriguer, a designing villain, a combination, not very consistent or intelligible, of fervid imagination and calculating artifice. Domitian was altogether a poor creature, a sly schemer, ever baffled in his schemes, and allowed only by the imbecility of his subjects to enjoy by natural succession the inheritance of his brother and his father. Yet even if the truth of this sombre colouring be granted in the main, there can be little doubt, that the city as well as the provinces, the Senate no less than the people, regarded with almost entire satisfaction the public career of Vespasian and Titus, and, for one half at least of his reign, even that of Domitian. The key to the policy of the Flavian Emperors may be read in the word "*Senatus*" which surmounts in the boldest and deepest characters the triumphal Arch of Titus, and leaves, as it were, in the background all the glorification of the Emperor and his victories which follow. Though raised to power solely by their military commands, the Flavii declared themselves the champions of the Senate, and professed to rule for them and by them. As military chiefs, they secured peace in the capital, and maintained the frontiers by bloody and decisive wars. M. Beulé and many others are quite wrong in saying of Titus and of other Roman Emperors that they had no public policy, and thought only of their own personal interests. Of a public policy, indeed, in the modern sense—of great social improvements, of educating and elevating the minds of the people—they had no idea; no ancient had any such idea. But theirs was the great policy of all the true Roman worthies, of maintaining peace at Rome by overpowering all opposition throughout the provinces. This was what Vespasian and Titus



effected by the destruction of Jerusalem, and by the pacification of the legions which had come in conflict in the civil wars. Nor is it fair to sneer altogether at the attempts even of Domitian to control the enemies of the Empire on the Danube. Whatever be the true story of his campaigns against the Germans and the Dacians, he was faithful to the traditions of his family, of the Cæsars before him, and of all the most illustrious of the Roman captains, in undertaking and again and again returning to them.

8. DICUIL was an Irish monk who in 825 compiled a geography, and in doing so made use of some works which have since been lost, particularly of one composed by order of the Emperor Theodosius. On this account his book, notwithstanding its imperfections, is of some importance. It was edited in 1807 by Walckenaer, and in 1811 by Letronne; but both editions are out of print. Herr Parthey has now given his attention to it, and has published a handsome and careful reprint, for which he has made use of a Dresden manuscript hitherto unknown, as well as a Venetian one. He has also consulted the Paris manuscript, on which the former editions were founded. In a short preface he collects all that is known of Dicuil and his work, and gives an account of the manuscripts and editions. An accurate index enhances the usefulness of the work.

9. WHATEVER Mr. Church writes is certain to bear the impress of a scholarlike mind, and to display a rare mastery of English. His power of psychological analysis, of thinking himself into the material attitude and spiritual wants of a different age, gives a special value to all his estimates of ecclesiastical history. His point of view is sure to be suggestive, even if it be not altogether adequate. It is now more than twenty years since he published two essays on St. Anselm, which may still take rank among the best English monographs. The little volume he has now written on the same subject is designedly of a more popular cast than the essays, and yet in some respects supplements them by a greater fulness of detail. There are passages in the author's best manner. The first few pages, in which he explains the relations of Church and State in the eleventh century, the description of Anselm's Italian surroundings, and the analysis of his personal character, are such as could scarcely be improved upon. Mr. Church alludes to the very different estimate which Dr. Hook has taken of Anselm's character. They are views which cannot be reconciled by any compromise; and that which Mr. Church has adopted appears to be the right one.

Nevertheless the present biography, coming from a writer so capable of the highest work, is a little disappointing. The short book is overloaded with matter extraneous to its real subject, and deficient in much personal detail that ought to have found a place. It is an unnecessary distrust of the fascinations of his own subject that has led Mr. Church to insert

a whole chapter on "Orderic the Chronicler," whose sole connection with Anselm is that he was born when Anselm was already aged, and has recorded some notices of his life. On the other hand, Eadmer, to whom we owe almost everything that we know of Anselm, is passed over with very scanty notice, though enough is recorded about him to justify the surmise that his employer's character for meekness was well deserved. A much graver fault is that Mr. Church scarcely seems to have made any use of Anselm's correspondence. This tells upon his work in several ways. The account of the Primate's quarrel with Rufus (p. 189), being taken merely from the *Historia Novorum*, is very meagre in comparison with Anselm's own narrative (Epist. 8. 24). The part Anselm took in defending the monks of St. Edmund's Bury against the intrusion of a Norman abbot, though of the blood-royal, is so characteristic of his whole dealings towards the oppressed English that it ought not to have been passed over; and his remonstrance with Ernulf of Belesme and others against any encroachments upon the Welsh Church derives additional interest from the fact that this very Ernulf afterwards ascribed his escape from shipwreck to Anselm's intercession (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 181). Scattered here and there too are touches of personal history, as in the letter, written when he was yet young, of the noble Norman family, where the mother called him "son" and the children "brother" (Epist. 1. 18); or we light upon passages, as in that wonderful letter to the lady living in fornication (Epist. 3. 157), where the most difficult of tasks is performed with a pathos and earnestness that must have disarmed hostility. Similarly the letters of Osbert de Clare, some of which were written to the Archbishop's nephew, an Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, throw very valuable light on the veneration in which the Primate's memory was held many years after his death. It was not perhaps quite well to glide over Anselm's apology for the Procession of the Holy Ghost with a statement that he was "called upon to defend the language of the Western Creed against the Greeks;" and, unless Mr. Church has some special reasons for doubting the authenticity of the Hymns and Psalter to the Virgin, a part of Anselm's works which throws so much light on the sympathetic element in his character, and in which he rather anticipated than followed his age, should have been alluded to. Eadmer too, it will be remembered, followed his teacher in this matter. Mr. Church is also a little rash in quotations. There is no higher authority than Palgrave on this period of English history; but it must be remembered that he did not live to revise his last volumes; and when he wrote about Rockingham Castle as surrounded by glowing furnaces, and the forgesmen as a "peculiarly barbarous class," among whom Anselm might hesitate to place himself, it is allowable to think that the passage never received his last corrections. Domesday-Book (1 f. 219 b.) shows that the ironworks at Corby and Gretton, which had been worked profitably under the Confessor, disappeared after the Conquest, probably in consequence of the vici-



nity of Rockingham Castle, or because the forest was reserved for the chase, while Towcester and Norton, which perhaps retained their furnaces, belong rather to Whittlebury than to Rockingham Forest, and are at least thirty miles distant from the castle. Anselm's fear from this danger would therefore have been purely fanciful. On the other hand, there is a passage in Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*, containing an excerpt supposed to be from Flambard's unfinished Domesday, which might have served in some degree to vindicate the Bishop's character. It is very doubtful whether he or Rufus designed more than to substitute fuller valuations for those of the Conqueror's survey, and to deprive church lands of their exemption from military service.

10. VINCENTIUS, to whom later writers have given the family name of Kadlubek, was Bishop of Cracow from 1208 to 1218, and then voluntarily retired to the convent of Jendrzejew, where he died a Cistercian monk in 1228. Perhaps his love of literary occupation led him to the cloister; at all events it was probably in the latter days of his life that he compiled his Chronicle, and so became the first Polish historian. His countrymen have valued his work very highly. In their schools it was read, expounded, and commented on in detail. Now they endeavour to keep up its authority. They have brought out two new editions, of which it is difficult to determine which is the worst; and at this moment Herr Bielowski is preparing a third, after committing himself to very peculiar and fantastic assertions, both as to the Chronicle itself and the sources from which it is derived. On the other hand, Professor Zeissberg of Lemberg, the author of several important contributions to the early history of Poland, which have appeared amongst the papers of the Vienna Academy, has there also published a masterly dissertation on it.

The Chronicle of Vincentius is of a peculiar kind. He never came down to his own time, about which he might have given valuable information; but he expatiates on remote periods of which he knew no more than others. He probably obtained his doctor's degree at Bologna; and he loves to display his acquaintance with the canon law, as well as with classic literature. It was probably from reading Cicero that he was led to the idea of writing the first part of his Chronicle in the form of a dialogue, which he professes to have heard when a boy, between his predecessor Matthew and John Archbishop of Gnesen. His language is highly coloured, and sometimes becomes quite unintelligible from his love of archaisms and far-sounding phrases. Polish scholars have now not only interpreted the fiction as though the first books of the Chronicle were really the work of the old Bishop Matthew, but have also attempted to save the fables contained in them. As the history of Justin is used and quoted in the work, whilst very little of what Vincentius puts into his mouth is really to be found in him, Professor Bielowski struck out the idea that Vincentius possessed the lost histories of Trogus Pompeius themselves, which Justin

only abridged; and in 1858 he even published a collection of fragments of Trogus Pompeius, which were borrowed from this Chronicle. Professor Gutschmid immediately issued a sufficient refutation; and Professor Zeissberg has now performed the laborious task of first collecting and critically sifting all that is really known of the author's life, and then thoroughly examining the phraseology of the Chronicle, its relation to the sources used in it, and the trustworthiness of its author. The devotion of so much labour to such an undertaking would seem extravagant if it were not justified by the pertinacity with which the national scholars cling to the authority of their countryman. The arbitrary way in which Vincentius used his sources, and the readiness with which he quoted them for stories which he had invented or completely altered, is clearly proved. The origin of his inventions and fancies may be traced; but history cannot be manufactured out of them by ingenious interpretations. According to Professor Zeissberg, Vincentius was so strangely organised as not to know when he was not telling the truth. Be that as it may, he is not to be trusted on remote periods, and can only be accepted with caution when speaking of those nearer to his own time.

11. PROFESSOR STUBBS's *Select Charters, and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, is something more than an ordinary manual. Even putting aside the very valuable introduction with which he has prefaced his account of the different reigns, the work of selection which he has performed is what very few men could have done at all; and he has executed it in his best manner. From the time of the Conquest to the reign of Edward I. scarcely a document is omitted which could throw real light upon the growth of the English constitution. Two valuable treatises, the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, and the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, which were practically hidden from the student in Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, and Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's little known edition, are now made generally accessible. A vocabulary is given at the end, which is perhaps a little meagre, from the author's desire to avoid subjects of controversy, but which will still enable a student, with ordinary good sense and application, to work out the meaning of almost any passage. Altogether the book thoroughly complements Hallam; and it would be difficult to say which of the two is the more indispensable for a real knowledge of English mediæval history. The plan of excerpts from uncritical chronicles, has proved a complete failure in its application to narrative history. In determining the statesmanship, or describing the great events of an epoch, so much of the necessary work is critical and constructive that it is idle to offer the material instead of the building. But the evidence of laws has a certain character of finality; and they may fairly be trusted to speak for themselves.

The book, if nearly faultless, has a few blemishes and omissions. The first six pages on the origin of the English race seem altogether out of place. The theory they put forward,

that "from the Briton and the Roman of the fifth century we have received nothing," is in complete opposition to Kemble and Palgrave, who are still the highest authorities on the subject. No doubt much may be said against their view, as indeed much may be said on either side of most questions concerning the fifth and sixth centuries. But dogmatic assertion, without argument or proof, is at least hazardous. The fact that the Saxon condition of prædial servitude, the *trinoda necessitas*, and the rights of the Crown, have their counterparts in Imperial codes; the existence of anomalous tenures, such as Borough English, believed to be of Celtic origin, over many hundred manors, mostly in the east of England: above all, the fact that ancestors who, if Saxon, were all free in the fifth century, had descendants out of whom four in five were serfs at the time of the Norman conquest—are strong reasons at least why judgment upon this matter should not be pronounced hastily or without evidence assigned. There are no doubt many institutions which have grown up independently in several kindred nations at concurrent stages of growth, and for which a direct filiation need not be sought. But if it would be rash to assert that certain parts of a constitution were not originated by the less civilized people because they could easily have been derived from the more civilized, it is surely bolder still to assert difference of pedigree in the face of general identity. Above all, the whole of this argument, and the excerpt from Tacitus, have little or no bearing on English constitutional history.

Passing to the statutes of William the Conqueror (p. 80), it is perhaps to be regretted that Professor Stubbs has not given an abstract of the very sufficient reasons he advanced in his preface to the second volume of Hoveden for rejecting the fuller edition hitherto received. It is purely a practical point; but students reading Lingard, or any other text-book, are likely to be puzzled by references to laws which are now known to be spurious, and accordingly find no place in this manual. Again, the second article enacting a direct oath of homage to the king from every freeman in England appears as an innovation, and has been so regarded by several writers, as for instance, by Lingard. It had, however, been anticipated by a law of Edmund's, which Professor Stubbs gives at p. 66. Here, and in many similar cases, as, for instance, in that of the chief provisions of Magna Charta, a slight note of reference would be very useful. It would no doubt add much to the labour of the editor; and, as it would be difficult for him to give it in every instance without swelling the bulk of his work needlessly, his omissions would expose him to some adverse criticisms. But the benefits of the plan would be very great; and, as there is no regular index, though the vocabulary partly supplies its place, some assistance of this sort is doubly needed. Great light, for instance, is thrown on the enactment in Magna Charta, "*Hæredes maritentur absque disparagatione*," by the explanation in the petition of the Mad Parliament, "*videlicet [non maritentur] homi-*

*nibus qui non sunt de natione regni Angliæ.*" Lastly, it would be well if some difficult passages were translated. There are sentences even in Magna Charta (e.g. c. 5), which may not unreasonably baffle beginners. In the excerpts, some passages are omitted that perhaps deserve a place. One is from the *History of the Foundation of Battle Abbey* (p. 66, ed. Brewer), and is doubly valuable as it refers to an important subject, and to the obscure reign of Henry I. It represents the abbot of Battle as asserting, during a lawsuit in Stephen's reign, that Henry I. had introduced many innovations on the old laws by personal decree, but that these had no effect after his death unless they had been agreed to by the common council of the barons. This seems to have been accepted as good law by Stephen and his nobles, and is probably the first trace of that claim to legislate by proclamation, which afterwards bore such bitter fruit in English history. Next, the scheme of clerical taxation propounded to the clergy at Bury St. Edmunds in 1267, and their replies to the articles, might very well have been inserted at length. Their refusal to meet the increasing wants of the exchequer by any surrender of their own immunities was no doubt the great proximate cause of the Mortmain Act in the next reign. Perhaps too the draft of ecclesiastical privileges which Robert of Marsh drew up for Bishop Grostête, and Edward the First's rescript forbidding the bishops to hold secular pleas, would have been an appropriate corollary to the constitutions of Clarendon.

12. MR. GILBERT'S collections of the *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland* will be a little disappointing to those who may have hoped, from the title, that much fresh light would be thrown upon Irish history. The first charter granted in Dublin declares that Henry II. has given it to his men of Bristol to dwell in, and that they shall enjoy all the franchises and customs which the men of Bristol have in Bristol. Succeeding charters follow the same tenor; and the Laws and Usages, as recorded in the 14th century, are substantially the Laws of an English burgh. Mr. Gilbert accordingly goes so far as to say that "the most valuable local records yet known in connection with the constituent elements of early municipalities in Ireland are the rolls of Dublin names of free citizens and guild merchants, none of which have hitherto been published." Yet an analysis of these will scarcely repay the inquirer. It is true they seem to show, as might be expected, that the burgesses of Dublin were largely recruited from South Wales, from the west and the south-west of England, and from France. But many names are sobriquets and tell nothing; while two or three cases in which it can be proved that a man with a French name was of the native Irishry slightly diminish the whole value of the rolls for ethnological purposes. It is suspicious too that "Scandinavians or Ostmans but rarely appear, although in 1215 the latter people were of sufficient importance to have been associated with the English of Dublin by King John, as parties to

an inquiry held there by his justiciary." Mr. Gilbert refers the list he prints, on palaeographical grounds, to the end of the 12th century; and the occurrence of a "William, son of King Godwin" among the burgesses seems very strong evidence of the correctness of this conjecture. If so, it is useful to know that Dublin contained by that time from 1600 to 1700 citizens. The merchant rolls of a later period show that the population comprised physicians, goldsmiths, and representatives of almost every craft or trade from various parts of the British Isles, France, and the Low Countries. The list of commodities in which trade was carried on is tolerably large and varied; and cloths of Irish manufacture were a profitable article of commerce. The word "druggot" is said to be derived from the town of Drogheda, where the stuff was first manufactured.

Meagre as they are, even these records will show that the burgesses of Dublin were encamped in an alien country. A local mortmain law provided that no houses should pass into the hands of a religious order, for fear, amongst other reasons, the city should be impaired of young men to defend it if a chance of war should arise. Some of the most important of Mr. Gilbert's new matter relates to the Scottish invasions under Edward Bruce. The burgesses of Dublin obtained a remission of £80 a year in consideration that a suburb had been burned by the invaders, and repaid the benefit by imprisoning Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, whom they suspected of a design to join his son-in-law's army. The large secular powers of the archbishops of Dublin, who had almost regal rights on their lands, were probably derived in some measure from the necessities of a foreign settlement. The abuse of royal purveyance, which has played so great a part in the histories of England and Ireland, seems to have been fully established by the reign of Edward I. A curious case is recorded during the next reign, when the king's officers were baffled by the ingenuity of a clergyman who had bought the corn that was attached, and who employed some of his clerical brethren to read sentences from Donatus over the men who were threshing it out. The terrified peasants fled, in the belief that they were being excommunicated. But a jury found the chaplains and clerks employed guilty of "contempt and transgression;" and they had to be begged off imprisonment and fine.

13. **FREDERICK the Brave**, Margrave of Meissen, is the subject of a recent work by Professor Wegele of Würzburg, the well-known writer of a life of Dante. This prince played no great part in general history; but his biography affords an insight into that slow process of disintegration by which the empire was dissolved into a loose cluster of diminutive states. When the Hohenstaufen succumbed in their strife against the hierarchy, the history of the Emperors forfeits its interest; the electors raise up one prince after another, not to restore the power, but to conserve the impotence of the empire, and to secure an instru-

ment for their own several purposes. The Emperors in their turn broke their capitulations, and, after Rudolf of Habsburg had failed in his attempt to revive the ancient authority of the crown, used their Imperial power to increase their own family possessions. But the real history of those times turns not on the central policy of the Sovereign, but on the new and teeming life that was developed in the particular territories. The country was too vast and too heterogeneous in its elements to be brought under the dominion of one constitution such as was then growing into shape in England; but what could not be accomplished for the empire as a whole succeeded in detail in its several parts. Here also the task was not easy. The territories of the different princes were made up of fragments held by the most various tenures; and their power was continually checked by ecclesiastical immunities, free cities, and nobles who claimed to hold immediately of the Emperor. Their common bond was the Imperial authority, which was no longer competent to discharge its function as the centre of unity for this mass of dissimilar elements. It was left to each prince to increase his possessions and form them into a state. This was a work of violence, and could only assume the shape of revolt against authority and disregard for law. The immediate motive indeed was often an ignoble greed; but it was a duty as well as a necessity to substitute for the declining empire some powers more efficient in their character though narrower in their spheres of operation. This is the process of which the life of Frederick the Brave presents a picture. It was one long struggle for existence. More than once he was conquered and driven from his home; but he ended by recovering his power, and held it against his own father, against relatives and neighbours who were eager to profit by the reigning confusion, and against the German kings who neglected the welfare of the empire for the separate interests of their own dynasties. He was unable however to enjoy his success; and, exhausted by the long conflict, he spent his last years as a helpless invalid. His obscure and confused adventures are recorded by no contemporary annalist; they can only be gathered from occasional and fragmentary notices which moreover are distorted by fable, and from a great number of official documents which form the substantial basis of Professor Wegele's painstaking and meritorious work.

14. **COLOGNE**, which was long the richest and most powerful city of the German empire, had sunk so low at the time of the French Revolution that it was called a city of priests and beggars. Having become Prussian after its secularization, whereby the many restrictions on its trade were removed, the town made immense progress, and regained its ancient commercial importance. This progress again awakened an interest in the past. A fine museum has been founded; and the city archives, which for a long time were almost inaccessible, have been newly arranged, and intrusted to the care of Dr. Leonard Ennen, a man of scientific cul-

ture. He has very properly made use of his position to investigate the history of the town, and to publish materials respecting it. He has already issued two volumes of a history of the city, and four large volumes of documents from the municipal archives. In the first two volumes of documents he was assisted by Dr. Eckertz; but since then he has continued the work alone. The fourth volume, recently issued, contains 573 documents, extending from 1811 to 1872, with an index, and very beautiful impressions of seals. Of course, for this period only a selection of the numerous documents could be published. Great credit is due to Dr. Ennen for the publication; and his untiring industry cannot fail to be duly recognised.

15. DR. BÖHMER, who died at Frankfurt in 1868, devoted his untiring industry and a considerable part of his fortune to inquiries into the early history of Germany. All historians know the indispensable value of his *Calendars of documents relating to German kings and emperors*, which as time went on he made fuller and more complete. But he collected much more material than it was possible for him to work out; and, in order that his collections might become useful after his death, he bequeathed funds for their publication, and appointed certain scholars to superintend the work. Among these is Professor Julius Ficker, of Innsbruck, who has already issued a supplementary *Calendar*, and now publishes a large volume of *Acta Imperii Selecta*. It had always been Böhmer's wish to publish a complete collection of the imperial charters which have come down to us; and he had even undertaken to do so for the *Monumenta Germaniae*. But the large folio size of that collection was intolerable to him; and having vainly tried to arrange that the charters should appear in a more accessible form, he withdrew from the undertaking altogether. An edition containing all the documents being now out of the question, Professor Ficker has selected those which had not been published, and those which exist only isolated and scattered in very rare works. To the transcripts left by Böhmer he has added the store of his own rich collections; and from these united sources he has produced a work of very great value. Containing 945 charters of German kings and emperors, from 928 to 1399, it affords excellent material for the study of diplomacy; and, in combination with earlier works already well known, will enable students easily to avail themselves of all the documentary matter of this kind bearing on the history of the Emperors. A considerable number of other documents of the period relating to the same subject are added. In the introduction the editor explains minutely, and perhaps at unnecessary length, the principles by which he has been guided in the selection of documents, and in his work generally; and he dwells on the difficulty of making a good *Calendar of documents* for a period which witnessed so many territorial rearrangements. A general rule on this point can hardly be laid down. But in any case Professor Ficker's work gives evi-

dence of his own diligence, breadth of knowledge, and acuteness, and constitutes a lasting monument to Böhmer's memory.

16. PROFESSOR LORENZ of Vienna has provided students of German history with an extremely useful and long-needed manual. In proportion to the growing demand that history should not follow a doubtful tradition, but draw from original and, if possible, contemporary sources, a guide through the labyrinth of these authorities became more and more necessary. As far as regards the first half of the middle ages Professor Wattenbach supplied the want; but there he stopped short. Having prepared these sources for the *Monumenta Germaniae*, he worked only on the period in which he was most at home; and it seemed desirable that the same rule should be observed with regard to the subsequent period, which has now been done. Professor Lorenz is the author of an important work on German history in the 13th and 14th centuries, after the Interregnum; but he only brought it down to the end of the 13th century; and a promised Appendix on the historical sources of this period remained unpublished, like the concluding volumes. It now appears as an independent work. The task could only have been accomplished by a man who had long and thoroughly studied the history of the time concerned. At present there exist but few good editions of these chronicles; they have nowhere been collected; and many are still hidden in manuscript. Doubts are constantly arising as to the credibility of this or that author, and the source of his statements. The general value of the records is less than in the former period. The narrative becomes shapeless; the deeper historical insight grows rare; the writers do not comprehend the real connection of affairs, which must be learned from official documents now becoming more numerous. An event of such importance as the Golden Bull of Charles IV. is mentioned in one chronicle only, and there in the most incidental way. Universal history was written almost exclusively for the use of schools, and for preachers to point their morals with. The Dominicans supplied the want. The compendium of a member of their Order, Martin the Pole, a book without a trace of historical intelligence, and full of fables, was in possession of the field, and was furnished with meagre continuations as they became necessary. The local chronicles are of more value. The empire was resolved into its territories; and its history shared the same fate. Under Rudolph of Habsburg there was an after-bloom of history; and the failure of his attempted political restoration was followed by a general decline of historical art. It is an ungrateful and weary labour to make way through these shapeless chronicles; and Professor Lorenz deserves thanks for not shrinking from the task. He has even succeeded in dealing with his rugged materials in a very readable, and at times even attractive way. Here and there, however, there is a certain flippancy of style, and over-severe judgment of other men's work. The book is not free from

faults or mistakes, which are almost inseparable from such a field. But it will give an impulse to investigation on particular points. Younger historians who have hitherto devoted their attention exclusively to the earlier period, where important results could hardly be attained, will now perhaps turn to these centuries, still involved in so much obscurity and requiring so much investigation. A revision may then make the work perfect. Meanwhile it is a great merit to have taken the first step.

17. UNDER the sanction of the Munich Historical Commission, Professor C. Hegel of Erlangen, the son of the philosopher, and author of the well-known history of the municipal constitutions of Italy, has undertaken the difficult task of editing the chronicles of the German cities. Of these chronicles many manuscripts exist, almost always added to and altered in various ways, so that everything depends on discovering the original, and selecting from the additions what is really valuable. The work of preparation naturally extended over several years; but since its completion nine volumes have been published in rapid succession. Professor Hegel has not restricted himself to the office of a mere transcriber, but has added several valuable dissertations founded on extracts from the documents in the city archives. Nuremberg, Augsburg, Brunswick, and Magdeburg have already been dealt with; and two volumes have now appeared containing the chronicles of Strasburg. In the first of these volumes Professor Hegel gives a rapid sketch of the constitutional development of Strasburg, and then examines in detail the historical literature of the town; next follows the oldest city chronicle in the German language, which was finished by the priest Fritsche Closener in 1362; and to this is annexed the better known chronicle which Jacob Twinger of Königshofen began some twenty years later, and continued up to his death in 1420. This latter chronicle contains the whole of Closener's, which thus became so utterly forgotten that it has only of late been unearthed in a manuscript in the Paris library. The Königshofen chronicle, on the other hand, has always been well known and widely circulated, and is furnished with several valuable continuations. In accordance with the usage of the time, it contained an epitome of universal history, and afforded its reader a body of historical knowledge sufficient for his general requirements. Its simple and old-fashioned mode of expression gives it a peculiar charm for those who are familiar with the old German language. We seem to hear the old priest himself narrating from the rich memories of his own experience how gallantly the citizens of the good town of Strasburg fought for and maintained their freedom against bishop and noble, and how the trade-guilds afterwards, in their struggles with the upper classes, gained their due place in the municipal constitution. The first volume contains the beginning of the Königshofen chronicle: the second, its conclusion, together with dissertations on the constitution and the coins of Strasburg.

Its later continuations would have filled another volume; but they perished in the bombardment of the city. As regards the critical treatment and elucidation of the text the work is highly satisfactory.

18. DR. ECKERTZ of Cologne is among the most zealous investigators of the history of his native country; and whilst others turn their attention to the sources for the earlier centuries of the middle ages he makes it his special care to bring to light the records of the later period. He knows how to track them in parochial archives and all sorts of hiding-places; and in this way he has rescued much information from the destruction to which such writings are exposed. His two volumes of *Fontes rerum Rhenanarum* contain several not unimportant pieces, written sometimes in the quaint Latin of the old clergy and monks, often abruptly interspersed with German words and sentences, and sometimes in the old German dialect of the Lower Rhine. Such a collection would be well fitted to awaken an interest in local history in the country itself, and to bring still more hidden matter to light, if something more had been done in the way of explanation, and the convenience of students had been more carefully consulted. Where there is no difficulty to surmount the work is fairly correct; but the editor stumbles over the smallest obstacle. In page 422 of his new volume, where mention is made of the punishment of an incendiary, he reads "cachonatus ad stipitem," which shows utter thoughtlessness since "cathenatus" was so obvious. In page 14 he comes across the expression "littere protonotariales," and makes it "protonotariales," which is absurd, when the correct word "promotoriales" was patent on the surface.

Among the contents of the present volume the very copious chronicle of the monastery of Brauweiler, near Cologne, deserves mention. Founded in the eleventh century, the community at first showed some literary activity, which then however ceased till the end of the 15th century. The monks were fully occupied with the protection of their property against the many dangers it was exposed to. Among their most precious relics were a finger of St. Nicholas, the patron of the monastery, and a piece of the holy lance which Otto I. had received from the King of Burgundy. A special festival was kept in honour of this lance; holy water touched with it on the occasion was used as a remedy, and silver coins pierced with its point as amulets. In the thirteenth century the monks were transformed into nobles, who gave up living in common, and built separate houses of their own. The election of an abbot gave rise to a general dispute; and two abbots went to law against each other at the court of Avignon. The monastery got into debt; its degeneracy brought down an interdict on it; and the monks were well pleased with a condition of things in which they were not obliged to sing their hours, but could live exactly as they liked. At last the archbishop introduced the new rule of Bursfeld. The monks now sang their office duly

and lived in an edifying way; but the neighbouring nobles, who were thus deprived of a comfortable provision, robbed and fired their dwelling; and the expelled monks derided the sons of peasants and artisans who were now inhabiting the monastery, and set fire to their barns. Gradually, however, things improved; and at last one of the new monks took pen in hand, and, with much painstaking, compiled the history of the monastery from the deeds and papers in the archives.

Other documents in the volume concern the distress caused by the many wars that have visited the country of the Lower Rhine, some of them coming down to modern times. Every local history of this kind reflects an image of general history, illustrates the picture of the past, and enriches it with individual traits.

19. THE splendid volume of *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland* which Sir Henry James has just issued, may seem rather an objet de luxe than of real requirement for a scholar. But it would have been difficult and even wrong to refuse to do for Scotland what has been done for England; and the creditable Scottish patriotism which supports every undertaking in connection with the national annals may be safely trusted to bear the Treasury harmless. Even for historical purposes the publication is not altogether valueless. It may serve to familiarize a large class with the aspect of the old records, and a sense of their value; and beginners may practise deciphering upon these specimens. As the lines of the letters come out a little thick and blurred in the photozincographs, any one who has taught himself to read them may fairly assume that he will be able to do as well by the originals.

The selection has been made by Mr. Cosmo Innes, and seems as good as could be desired. Matthew Paris's map of Great Britain, the earliest known, is given in full. It is curiously inaccurate even for England, placing Portsmouth, which the compiler probably confounded with Exmouth, to the west of Beuli (Beaulieu in Hants) and of Gorham, which probably is Wareham in Dorsetshire. But "the strangest part of the geography," as Mr. Innes remarks, occurs in the north of Scotland. Our own firth marked by Dunfermline on the north, runs up to Stirling, where it is met by another firth of equal importance opening from the west sea. "The islands down the coast are scattered at will, and indeed some of them invented." "All the great historical earldoms, as well as important districts," are omitted; and the compiler is not very strong even in the matter of church establishments. The map is in fact Ptolemy "a little scratched" and modernized. It is curious to notice what prominence is given to the Roman walls, though, as that of Antonine is brought down to Berwick, it may perhaps be inferred that its exact course could not easily be determined. Harding's maps of the fifteenth century, which Mr. Innes gives further on, show a great advance in the English knowledge of Scotland, though Cantyre is placed to the north-west of Caithness! Besides the maps, Mr. Innes has given facsimiles of four mediæval pic-

tures, three of which, the coronation and funeral of Alexander III. and the battle of Bannockburn, are of course of the highest interest. In the last, Bruce is represented swinging the battle-axe in his encounter with De Bohun. The deeds selected are of every kind; Dervorgilla's charter to Balliol, the muster-roll of the English garrison of Edinburgh in 1801, and Gaelic and Norse deeds or transfers of land are mixed up with petitions and declarations by the Scottish people or clergy in the critical moments of national existence. From the end of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century nothing of importance is left unnoticed. The purport of one deed Mr. Innes appears to misconceive. It is an agreement of June 14, 1292, between Robert Bruce and Florence Count of Holland, who were then competitors for the crown of Scotland, that if either of them obtains it, he shall enfeoff the other with a third of the kingdom. Mr. Innes makes this comment: "In the finely written indenture 6, two of the competitors, with the assent of the king of England, are already dividing the spoil—bargaining over the succession—foreseeing that the declaration which was about to be issued in favour of Balliol was not to settle permanently the question of succession to the crown of Scotland, and Edward, the disposer of kingdoms, thought it well to encourage two powerful candidates for the throne which he knew would soon be vacant." This charge seems to be unfounded. Edward I. is not mentioned as any party to the deed; but only as the judge before whom certain proceedings in which both parties are interested are pending. There is not a word that would bind either Bruce or the Count of Holland in any event except that of a royal judgment in the present trial, giving the crown to one of them. The arrangement is of the most ordinary kind. Each of them claimed the crown; and Bruce had a second claim to a third of the kingdom. The controversy was of the most intricate kind; and the pretensions of the two parties were fairly balanced, and as it happened did not clash. Each must have regarded Balliol as his most formidable antagonist. They agree therefore to unite interests against those of all other candidates, and to guard against the total deprivation of either by the provision that the loser is to be compensated with a principality. At first sight it may seem as if the Count of Holland would be the greater gainer by this, as he could not, like Bruce, claim a part if his title to the whole was denied. On the other hand, if the crown went to the Count of Holland, Bruce's claim to the third naturally disappeared; and this contract practically secured him in the only probable contingency that would make it valueless.

20. A CURIOUS volume has recently been issued by the Early English Text Society. It consists of Dr. Andrew Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*, his *Dyetary of Health*, and copious extracts from his companion work, his *Breviary of Health*, and also includes an answer in doggerel rhyme by Barnes to his lost *Treatise on Beards*. Side-notes explain the text, which

is prefaced by a life of Boorde, and supplemented by sketches of the two works, useful notes, and a good index. Mr. Furnivall has illustrated the author by a copious and well-chosen body of quotations from contemporary literature; and his editorial work has been executed with great care and thoroughness. The *Introduction of Knowledge*, which is adorned by facsimiles of the quaint cuts from Copland's black-letter, is a rude forefather of modern handbooks. It treats of the countries of Europe, through most of which the writer had wandered, describes each nation separately, its manners, costume, and money, and gives a specimen of the language in a dialogue. Some of these, that of the vernacular, and "naughty English" in Cornwall, for instance, deserve attention; and although Boorde's linguistic efforts are not always perfect—e.g., letters of the alphabet representing Hebrew numerals are given instead of the numerals themselves—his attempt is not the less noteworthy as the first general experiment of the sort made by an Englishman. The delineations of national character are admirable. They mark the author as a man of shrewdness, humour, and unusual power of observation—qualities which have enabled him to distinguish and realize his typical individuals after a fashion which suggests that, had he not squandered his powers, he might have ranked as a notable character-painter of the period. But on other points he is betrayed into flagrant blunders, which seem hardly compatible with a personal knowledge of some of the places he describes. His Italian geography is full of confusion. He intimates that Jerusalem is out of Asia, and places Salerno in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Writing in 1542, he describes the mosque of St. Sophia as a Christian church. Then, again, his statements, pp. 77, 178, respecting St. Peter's at Rome, will not bear comparison with the graphic account left by his contemporary, Thomas, of the basilica, as it stood in the 16th century, grand and magnificent, though uncompleted (*Historie of Italie*, ed. 1649, fol. 40). Every detail supplied by Thomas, from the "30 steppes of square stone, the solemnest that I have seene," to "the newe buildyng, [which] if it were finished, wolde be the goodliest thyng of this worlde," stamps his description as authentic. The *Introduction* affords ample proof of its author's hearty love and appreciation of his own country. "Were Englishmen true to themselves," he says, "they need fear none." He rates "the maners and manhod" of his countrymen above those of other nations; but he observes—and the remark characterizes the taste of that day—"The speche of Englande is a base speche to other noble speches, as Italion, Castyllon, and Frenche; howbeit the speche of Englande of late dayes is amended." The woodcut of the Englishman doffing his hat to the Latin man illustrates Boorde's notions of "amended" English, a specimen of which, bristling with uncouth Latinisms, is presented by the preface to the *Dyetary*. In this latter work, "Boorde tells his contemporaries how to choose sites for their houses, how to arrange their buildings, spend their incomes, govern

their households, manage their bodies, and what flesh, fish, vegetables, and fruits are good to eat." Such a manual is of course highly illustrative of life, manners, and the state of medicine under Henry VIII.

Both the *Introduction* and the *Dyetary* are so thoroughly characteristic of their author, that his reader goes with a deeper interest to the preface for the facts of his life. Andrew Boorde was born in Sussex some time before 1490, and was probably educated at Oxford. He took the vows as a monk in the Charterhouse of London. But his natural bent was to physic, not theology. He was a born rover, born too with strong animal instincts, which made him chafe sorely under Carthusian discipline; "I am nott able," he says, in a letter to the Prior of Hynton, "to byd the rugorositye off your relygyon." By 1529 he had obtained temporary dispensation from the cloister vow, for the purpose of going abroad to study medicine. Upon his return, the Duke of Norfolk became his patient, through whom he was presented to Henry VIII. After this he went abroad again, when he says he visited all the "unyversyties and scoles approbated" within the bounds of Christendom. By June 1534 he was back at the Charterhouse; for his name stands on the list of the priests who in that month took the oath to Henry's supremacy on conditions. Here he seems to have got into some trouble, and to have been kept closely to his cell, from which he was released by Cromwell, as whose "emissary" he was acting in 1535 on the Continent, while his Prior and some of his brethren suffered for conscience' sake. For the next thirteen years he led a roving life, practising as a physician in different places at home and abroad. The charges brought against him by Bale and Ponet are probably exaggerated; but one thing is certain—that he died in dishonour in the Fleet prison in 1549. It was a sad ending for a genial, kind-hearted, and helpful man, who well deserved Wood's honourable mention as "a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician"—for an ex-Carthusian whose heart, as his writings give ample token, clung through life to the devout teaching and better aspirations of his early days. His career fulfilled only too well Prior Howghton's boding fears for the scattered brotherhood, lest "having begun in the spirit, ye may be consumed in the flesh."

21. THE seventh volume of Mr. Stevenson's *Calendar of State Papers* brings his labours on the reign of Elizabeth to a close. It will not be easy for his appointed successor to surpass him in the patient and self-denying accuracy with which he reproduces the substance of documents, and excludes the colouring of private judgment. In these qualities of a more than Benedictine fidelity and simplicity he leaves a shining example behind him, more especially to those whose dealings are with days of fierce religious strife. His work extends from the accession of Elizabeth to the end of 1565; and the present volume is principally occupied with the marriage of Mary Stuart, and with the interval of peace that succeeded the first Hugue-



not war in France. Randolph's letters, already partly known, are given with great fulness, as they supply a most valuable record of the great Scots drama. The despatches from France are less important. From Madrid we learn (1562) that Philip II. never lost his temper until he heard that the marriage of the clergy and the use of the cup were about to be conceded to the Germans. Several letters refer to the proposed match between Elisabeth and Archduke Charles, upon which the recent publication of Schlossberger has cast so much light. The long and curious letter of the Queen on this subject (1565) appears to be taken from an imperfect draft. At No. 597 it is reported that Ferdinand I. died at Venice—a misprint for Vienna. Nos. 236 and 246 have found their way into this volume by an inexplicable error. They announce the death of the Cardinal of Gonzaga, and describe the Council of Trent as still assembled. At the date of these letters Gonzaga had been dead for a whole year, and three months had passed since the close of the Council. Mr. Stevenson had already recorded both events in Nos. 444 and 1641 of his Calendar for 1563.

22. A TRANSLATION of an article on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which appeared in the *North British Review* about a year ago, has been published in Italy by Signor Tommaso Gar, whose position at the head of the Venetian archives has enabled him to enrich the volume with new despatches. He confirms the statement of the Review, that there is a significant void in the State-papers of Venice for the year 1572; but a volume lately restored by the Austrian Government partly supplies the gap. It is not the official Letter-book, and does not contain all the secret and confidential matter. The instructions of the ambassador Michiel are evidently imperfect, as they say not a word of the real object of his mission. On the whole, the new documents add something to the evidence, if not to the certainty, that the destruction of the Huguenots was premeditated. On the 30th of November 1563, the ambassador Barbaro writes that the Queen was suspected of meditating some such design, and that Paris would be the place for it, where the Protestant leaders were living under the King's roof. At the beginning of August 1572, Michiel writes that Coligny and his friends, in the absence of Catherine, had nearly succeeded in inducing Charles to declare war against Spain, but that she returned in time to prevent it, and held secret council with her two eldest sons, excluding the ministers. The two Venetians write a joint letter, in which they leave it doubtful whether the thing was planned or not. We know from their reports, that one of them believed in premeditation, and that the other did not; in other words, only Michiel was in the secret. A congratulatory letter from the Venetian Senate on the late auspicious event is a prodigious monument of serene and cold fanaticism.

23. A CONTRIBUTION of some value to Shakespearean criticism has been made by Mr. Ruggles, in his book on *The Method of Shake-*

*speare as an Artist*. Dissatisfied both with the German theory which seeks the organizing force of each play in some moral aim or central thought, capable of being expressed in a proposition, and with the English theory which seeks it only in the writer's instinctive sense of beauty and harmony, the author attempts to combine these two methods into one, solving whatever is contradictory in them in a third combination, which fuses the separate reasons of the philosophy of the plays and of their poetic beauty into one, and makes their beauty a result of their philosophy, and their philosophy the rule and organizing principle of their beauty. Hitherto, he thinks, Shakespearean criticism has only established the fact that the plays are organic; but the structure of the pieces has not been sufficiently studied to show the whole ingenuity of their workmanship, and the art of their style, with reference to the idea of each piece—an art which makes the metaphor and diction of each play subordinate to its original germinal principle, and a natural development and reproduction of its organic idea, even in the peculiarities of phraseology and the choice of words.

Mr. Ruggles illustrates this theory by an analysis of three plays, *Twelfth Night*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*. In each he tries to find the germinal idea, which he traces first in the plot and characters and actions, next in the metaphor, and, last, in the lexicon of the play. For he shows (without, however, going into the negative evidence) that in each of these plays there is a great use of special words connected with the main idea of the play, and its immediate branches and derivatives. He seems to have been afraid to lengthen too much the very dry details into which this inquiry forces him to enter. Accordingly, while he shows positively that the words his theory requires are found in the special play in great numbers, he altogether omits the comparative view, and does not show the proportion of such special phraseology to the lexicon common to all the plays; nor does he show that it would be impossible to find such special phraseology in alien plays, for instance the phraseology proper to *Macbeth* in *Hamlet*, or that proper to the *Winter's Tale* in *Twelfth Night*. The question would require a patient use of the concordance to answer properly; but till it is answered, Mr. Ruggles's ingenious theory is only an hypothesis, with the positive reasons for its truth given, but the negative reasons against it not investigated. Sometimes, also, the selection of words seems weak enough; as where, because "valour" belongs to the idea of *Macbeth*, and "valere" or "vale" means "farewell," all biddings of adieu are referred to the organic phraseology of the play. But the reasons for the selection of words are so minute and subtle that a few irrelevant ones are almost necessary lumber. Anyhow, Mr. Ruggles is not so wonderful as Bishop Wordsworth, who argues that Shakespeare must have been a member of the Established Church because, amongst other things, "the familiar use of the response *amen* (the *τὸ Ἀμήν* of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 16) which occurs in our author's plays more than sixty



times, may be regarded as a sufficient indication to that effect."

The essay on *Hamlet* is the longest and most careful in the volume, and is a real contribution to the understanding of that drama. The author's description of the character is, that Hamlet is a generic man, in whom reason usurps the place of conscience—a defect which potentially involves all error, through the destruction of self-government. For the governing power, the reason, loses its office of judge through its excessive activity as disputant, and forfeits the prerogative of governing the man by failing to govern itself. Hamlet's central sin is pride of intellect. Without plan or principle of action, he yet feels equal to every occasion, and looks for the conjuncture to furnish his opportunity. And his opportunity always involves some crafty contrivance. He will plot so cunningly that his ends shall be accomplished by chance, and that the responsibility for them shall attach not to him but to Providence. Thus he will reconcile obedience to the ghost with obedience to his conscience. This general sketch is developed in great detail, and with good success.

Mr. Ruggles has, however, left completely out of view one whole side of Shakespearian criticism—the relationship of the plays to contemporary events and opinions. They have very real and very interesting historical references, which cannot be discovered by any amount of labour upon the mere text.

24. DR. PHILIPPSON'S *Heinrich IV. und Philipp III.* gives an account of the beginnings of French ascendancy in Europe, which the author refers to that period. And indeed, though France did not assert her decided supremacy until the days of Richelieu, nevertheless Henry IV. had laid its foundations; and in his time are already found all the essential features which characterize the later French policy. The rivalry between France and Spain, awakened in the time of Charles V. and Francis I., received under him a new expression; and since then the balance has inclined in favour of France. Under the weak Philip III. and his favourite, the Duke of Lerma, Spain was an imposing power in appearance only. Her pretensions were high, and her vast possessions still afforded ample resources; but the life had gone out of her; there was no means of arresting her internal decay; and the very multitude of her dependencies tended to increase her difficulties, since she was everywhere assailable, and everywhere had to defend herself. In France, on the contrary, a country incomparably smaller, but well rounded off and defined, the internal strength was increased by a skilful and energetic government, and a concentration of power was effected, which soon made itself felt on all sides. Henry IV. endeavoured to exert an influence on the whole field of European politics. Spain had been devoted to the Church, and in her struggle for the restoration of Catholicism exhausted her strength. France, on the contrary, did not allow her policy to be determined by religious considerations, though the large majority of her population still remained

Catholic. She had no hesitation in contracting alliances with Protestant powers against Catholic Spain, or, in order to injure the emperor, even with the Turks, though they were then regarded as the hereditary foes of Christendom. Henry IV., after passing through the rude school of his earlier experience, became a cold, calculating politician, quite as cautious and unscrupulous as Richelieu himself later on; and Dr. Philippson's work discusses this development with complete information. But it remains to consider the consequences of a policy which knew no other principle but the advantage of the State, and whilst appearing tolerant in religious matters, in reality made sport with religion. The power of France increased; but public morality was undermined. This was the reverse-side of French successes since Henry IV.; but this side is not shown in Dr. Philippson's book. For the rest, he enters considerably into detail, grounding himself on his original researches in the archives of Paris, Brussels, and Berlin. The present volume of his work, which is to be followed by another, embraces the period from 1598 to 1605.

25. THE vaunting inscription which was engraved on Conring's tomb by one of his younger colleagues at the university of Helmstadt, understates rather than exceeds the truth:—"Hoc tumultu clauditur regum principumque consiliarius, juris naturalis gentium publici doctor, philosophus omnis peritissimus practice et theoretice, philologus insignis, orator, poeta, historicus, medicus, theologus. Multos putas hic conditos? Unus est Hermannus Conring, sæculi miraculum." In fact, he not only was acute and experienced in political affairs, and almost as conversant as his great contemporary Leibniz with the field of human knowledge; but, though he was wanting in the metaphysical depth of Leibniz, his genius enabled him to make a real advance in many branches of science. His services in the departments of medicine, natural science, theology, and philology, are still mentioned with respect. But, above all, his works opened new paths to juridic and political science. He was the first, according to Roscher, who formed an adequate ideal of political economy, of statistics and of political observation; he was certainly the first university professor who lectured on statistics and defined properly their notion and object. He was also the first who provided clear theoretical points of view for politics as "prudentia civilis." In teaching the public law of Germany he introduced a new method, based on history, and distinct from the precepts of purely private law. But his greatest achievement is his delineation of the development of German law down to the sixteenth century. His dissertation *de origine juris Germanici*, published in 1648, first introduced the intelligent and systematic treatment of the Common Law of the country, which had been thrown into the background by the Civil Law, and defined the manner and extent of the reception of Roman jurisprudence.

Professor Stobbe, the author of the best history of the sources of German law, was parti-

cularly qualified to set Conring before the present generation as the founder of the history of German jurisprudence. His little book, which originated in an academical lecture, is enriched with a number of interesting biographical notes. It confirms the fact, already known, that Conring's character was not equal to his talents. "He belonged to that dangerous class of lawyers who, in political questions, are swayed not by their conviction of right, but by their party relations, and judge not by the standard of legality but by that of expediency." Even considerations of his own personal advantage, the hope of favour and reward from the powerful, often determined his advice and his whole political action. After he became a pensioner of the French Court he repeatedly offered to write in favour of conferring the Imperial crown on Lewis xiv. These drawbacks from his reputation are likely to hinder the production of that comprehensive biography of him which Professor Stobbe desires to see.

26. The first volume of Mr. Elwin's long-promised edition of Pope has at last seen the light. As it consists almost entirely of an introduction by the editor, and of Pope's early poems from the translations to "Windsor Forest," judgment on the work must to some extent be suspended. A first volume is often below the standard of its successors; and criticism upon immature and even second-rate productions is never likely to be altogether satisfactory. But what Mr. Elwin has done is certainly disappointing. He seems to have real knowledge of his subject, and a judicial fairness of temperament. His plan of selecting the best criticisms and illustrations from former commentators, and supplementing these by his own, is perhaps the best that could be adopted. But the present volume at least displays a certain confusedness of arrangement, and an incapacity for stating definite results clearly, which are serious drawbacks to the editor's knowledge and care. Why a list of Pope's departed relations and friends should be inserted between a catalogue of editions collected by himself and Warburton's advertisement to his own edition is, to say the least, not easily to be conjectured. It is even more difficult to see why the introduction to Pope's early poems should consist of criticisms on former editors, and a long inquiry into the circumstances under which his letters were first published in his lifetime. The inquiry itself is a full, even a prolix, résumé of the overwhelming evidence by which Pope's share in the publication he did not scruple to denounce is at last placed almost beyond controversy. But Mr. Elwin cannot marshal his facts as clearly as Johnson or the late Mr. Dilke or even Bowles did. His arguments are probably irrefutable; but their real strength suffers very much from the way in which he has put them.

Stated very shortly, the chief facts concerning the correspondence are as follows:—In 1726 Curll, the London bookseller, published a few letters from Pope to a Mr. Cromwell, which Mr. Cromwell's mistress had obtained and sold. There is no doubt in this case how

the correspondence was procured. Mrs. Thomas acknowledged the sale: Curll, the purchase: and Mr. Cromwell, the indiscretion by which the originals (still preserved in the Bodleian) had passed out of his hands. In 1729 Pope himself published his correspondence with Wycherley, professedly to vindicate his friend's character and do honour to his memory. In May 1735 Curll brought out a further collection of letters between Pope and various friends. As an advertisement had stated that two of Pope's correspondents were peers, the bookseller was cited before the House of Lords. On examination it appeared that he had this time purchased a printed not a ms. correspondence, but had taken the precaution of insisting that some of the letters should be authenticated by production of the originals, and that his copies had been received, through a person calling himself Robert Smythe and dressed as a clergyman, from an unknown P. T., who professed to have a grudge against Pope. Pope lost no time in denouncing the "piratical printers" of surreptitious editions, and very little in bringing out an edition of his own, which was matter of town talk in July 1735, was begun in 1736, and appeared in 1737. But neither indignation nor reprisals secured him from further invasions upon his private life; and his correspondence with Swift was given to the world by Faulkner, a Dublin printer, in 1741.

Pope's explanation of those matters was curious. The printing of his letters to Cromwell had given him a general sense of insecurity. Curll boasted openly that they were a profitable speculation, and advertised for more with so little care to ascertain their authenticity as to give the world translated letters between Voltaire and Mdlle. Rambouillet as originals between Pope and Miss Blunt. The poet accordingly resolved to guard against future piracies, by demanding back his correspondence from his friends. Could he have burned it then and there, all might have been well. But there were some letters too dear to him to be destroyed, and others which incidentally vindicated his character from charges which had been brought. He accordingly preserved the originals of about a fourth of the letters he had written, and for greater security caused these to be transcribed, and the copy placed in Lord Oxford's library (Sept. 1729). More than five years later (March 1735) he was surprised by a letter from Curll, stating that the publisher had a fresh collection of Pope's letters in his possession, but was willing to close all differences if the poet would give him a meeting. Pope's friends advised him that he could not take this step. Probably Curll had no genuine letters in his hands; but, were it otherwise, he could not be trusted to suppress them for any price that might be paid down, and might easily advertise the correspondence, if Pope so much as glanced at it, as "corrected and revised" by him. The poet accordingly replied by advertisements in the public papers, daring Curll to do his worst, and expressing a belief that he had no such collection. When the volume actually appeared, Pope at once

used his interest with the Lords to get Curll committed for breach of privilege. Failing in this, he advertised rewards for the discovery of the affair, denounced some of the letters as sheer forgeries, and privately authorized a bookseller, Cooper, to bring out a new though uncorrected edition which was entered at Stationers' Hall, with a notice that "Edmund Curll or any other printer of the work should be prosecuted." Dodsley, Pope's publisher, filed a bill against a printer, Watson, who brought out a new edition of the letters, and forced him to give up the copies in his possession. Pope himself extracted an apology from Fog's Journal for inserting an advertisement in which Curll charged him with being himself the contriver of the surreptitious publication. It might have been hoped that this earnestness would effect its end, and that the public would be satiated with Pope's authoritative edition of the correspondence. But in 1741 the old trouble was renewed; and his letters to Swift appeared in Dublin, as Pope said, through the indiscretion of the Dean. Pope told Lord Mansfield that he was particularly distressed at this, as it was so long since he had seen the letters that he could not tell what they might contain. He wrote of it to Warburton as one of his two greatest vexations. But he acted none the less with such energy, adopting and improving upon his former tactics, that his own authentic edition of the letters appeared in London in folio, quarto, and octavo, almost simultaneously with the Irish piracy. Such seem to be the main outlines of Pope's case as he would have stated it. It undoubtedly found some credence at the time. Morton the bookseller wrote to Swift in July 1735, as if he accepted the tale of the first publication. It has found some advocates in later times. Roscoe declared that "the treachery of a woman, the rapacity of a bookseller, and the imbecility of a friend," were the sole causes that brought the letters before the world; and Bowles, who refuted him, was assailed by "the whole periodical press" except *Blackwood's Magazine*. There has been a natural disinclination to believe that a brilliant author was capable of the pettiest vanity and the meanest intrigues.

The case against Pope is somewhat as follows:—He had a distinct motive for publishing, and a powerful reason for not avowing publication. Curll's first experiment had shown that the letters sold advantageously, and added to the poet's reputation. The correspondence with Wycherley told so well for Pope, and so ill for Wycherley, that Pope's anxiety to vindicate his friend's character has always been interpreted as a desire to raise his own reputation. The letters of 1735 procured the poet the profitable friendship of Mr. Allen, and were alleged by Warburton as the reason why, having been connected with Pope's enemies, he suddenly became his warm friend and partisan. Nevertheless, the social and literary etiquette of the times would not have allowed Pope to publish in his own name. Under these circumstances no one was better fitted than the rapacious and unfriendly Curll to be made the scape-goat of a fraud. Of the two secret agents

in the matter, it is remarkable that P. T., who professed himself Mr. Pope's enemy, and anxious to do him harm, could think of no better means than by supplying Curll with a false and vainglorious pedigree of the poet's family, and with a series of letters which displayed their writer in the most amiable light. Hence it has generally been inferred that P. T. was no other than Pope. Smythe has been identified with Worsdale, an artist of doubtful veracity, who was employed in clandestine negotiations, and who stated that he was employed by Pope to carry the printed impression to Curll. True, Pope used interest to have Curll summoned before the Lords. But he took his measures so badly that Curll was summoned upon a charge that could not be substantiated, the later copies which P. T. supplied wanting the only letter on which proceedings could be grounded. Nor were Pope's measures afterwards as stringent as they might well have been. He offered a reward for discovery; but this by hypothesis could only be claimed by one agent, whom he might easily buy off. He took or threatened legal measures against Watson and the editor of Fog's Journal, but never against Curll, who was the real offender, and who repeatedly dared him in insulting prefaces or advertisements. As regards the correspondence with Swift, it is certain that Pope applied for it earnestly in 1735-6, and the more earnestly after Swift talked of burning it. Lord Orrery conducted the negotiation, and announced, in July 1737, that "Mr. Pope had his letters." The complaints, therefore, which Pope made of letters withheld by Swift must either refer to the correspondence from 1716 to 1723, which Swift seems to have destroyed, and which has never been printed, or to the correspondence subsequent to July 1737. Finally, there is reason to believe, as Mr. Dilke has shown, that these letters were first printed and first published in London. Take now the history of Pope's dealings with the letters. It is certain that he prefaced the correspondence with Wycherley by a statement that the originals were in Lord Oxford's library, though they were not sent there till the book had appeared. The object of this was that Lord Oxford might seem a prime agent in the publication. Next, Pope denounced the edition by Curll as inaccurate and partly forged. Yet "he secretly authorized a reprint, which was identical with the collection he denounced;" he never substantiated the charge of forgery; and out of seven letters which he instanced as spurious four can be positively identified, and one of these exists in duplicate in his handwriting. It is possible of course that Pope was only mistaken in supposing that he diminished the chances of piracy by making a duplicate copy of his letters; and Swift's difficulty, that he did not understand how letters sent to Pope had been procured, as well as those which he wrote, disappears if we assume that all were taken from a ms. collection. But nothing will explain away the fact that the letters which Curll printed and Pope reproduced as genuine, or as only changed by a little touching up, never quite correspond to

the originals where these can be produced. In a case cited by Bowles, the conclusion of one letter is tacked on to the beginning of another. But most damning of all has been the discovery of the Caryll folio, in which Mr. Caryll, one of Pope's correspondents, transcribed all the letters he received from the poet. Either because Caryll was a Catholic, as Mr. Elwin suggests, or because he was not sufficiently distinguished, Pope conceived the idea of working up this old material into a new form, and compiled from it "four fictitious letters to Blount, four to Addison, two to Congreve, and one each to Wycherley, Steele, Trumbull, and Digby." Not only are the letters of 1737 more or less spurious, but Mr. Elwin has discovered evidence that the correspondence with Wycherley was manipulated, though it seems uncertain whether this was done before 1735. Only one observation need be added. Mr. Elwin says that the letters to Cromwell appeared in 1728, though the title-page bears the date 1727. This explains the complaint in Pope's preface to the *Miscellanies* (May 27, 1727), that "the cabinets of the sick and the closets of the dead have been broke open and ransacked to publish our private letters." But had this sentence appeared first, it would have been difficult, with our present knowledge of Pope, not to suspect that he was preparing the public mind for a piracy on himself.

Such briefly is the case finally established against Pope; and the length of Mr. Elwin's introduction is not uncalled for if only it were as clear as it is long and full. As it is, there is difficulty in following it without constant reference to the sources from which it is mainly compiled. The unfortunate plan by which Mr. Elwin has put his argument in one volume, while much of his evidence is in another, not yet published, becomes doubly inconvenient to his early readers. Passing to that part of his work which is even more distinctly editorial, the first subject for regret is that such irrelevant matter as the *Recommendatory Poems* should have been preserved. Mr. Elwin says with perfect justice of them, that they are, "without exception, dull, insipid productions, which never rise above mediocrity and sometimes fall below it." When this is the case it was not worth while to fill nearly twenty closely printed pages with effusions in which Broome predicts

"Nor till the volumes of the expanded sky  
Blaze in one flame shalt thou and Homer  
die,"

or Lord Lyttelton intimates that

"Envy to Black Cocytus shall retire,  
And howl with furies in tormenting fire."

Next, it is unfortunate that some definite arrangement of the poems has not been adopted. Generally speaking, the chronological is the best. When the smallest fragment left by a great author is reproduced, one of the ends contemplated is that men may trace his intellectual growth, and the development of powers long unsuspected. Pope's innate dishonesty

was such that it is very difficult in his case to be sure that the poems which he says he wrote at twelve or sixteen years of age were not retouched, before they saw the light, in such a way as to preserve little of the original design except the title. Much license therefore might be allowed to an editor if he chose to determine the dates anew from internal evidence, provided of course he gave his reasons for change; and the variations, such as they were, would not be very important. Or, thirdly, an editor might fairly be content with the order which Pope himself arranged for the first two volumes of Warburton's edition. Mr. Elwin gives no reasons for his plan; but as he seems to have begun with translations as of Statius and Chaucer, and gone on to imitative poems like the *Pastorals* and the "Messiah," it seems not unnatural to ask why the "Ode on Solitude," professedly written when Pope was twelve years old, and the imitations of Cowley and others, have been omitted. Nor is it unreasonable to complain of the way in which he has overloaded his author with prefaces and notes. A comparison with Warburton's edition shows that Mr. Elwin's matter is altogether as three to two compared with his predecessor's; or more roughly, that the poet's works made up about two-thirds of Warburton's edition, and not one-third of Mr. Elwin's. Nevertheless Mr. Elwin has not, like Warburton, given the Latin originals which Pope versified, and which would be more valuable than many notes, or even the little epigram of Adolphus, which has had the honour of being expanded by Chaucer in "January and May," and reproduced by Pope and Wieland. In selecting the notes of other commentators Mr. Elwin has generally been happy. Pope's own are of course retained; Wakefield supplies many parallel passages or plagiarisms, and Bowles some tasteful criticisms. Warburton's "barren and oppressive commentaries," as Mr. Elwin calls them, have been very freely and very justly excised. Perhaps it was hardly worth while to reproduce Sir William Temple's peculiar notions about Gothic mythology (p. 210), and Johnson's criticism on the "studied barbarity" of Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar" (p. 263) would scarcely be admitted by modern philologists who consider that poem to be written in a genuine and North-country, though not very pure dialect. In fact, it would now take place naturally in a textbook of early English. But it is the length of Mr. Elwin's original matter, often no doubt judicious and good in itself, but often also not required by any difficulties in the text, that has swollen the present volume so unduly. Sixteen pages of introduction in small type to the *Pastorals* (which contains about 400 lines), besides copious notes and prefatory and other extracts from previous commentators, make up a mass of reading which suggests Sheridan's "thin rivulet of text meandering through a broad meadow of commentary." "Windsor Forest" exhibits the same proportions. Mr. Croker, equally voluminous in his notes, had devoted his chief attention to the *Satires*, and has left his results behind, which Mr. Elwin promises to communicate; and a half threat is

held out (p. xxv.) of printing Warburton's discarded notes in appendices. It is desirable to have a correct text of Pope with all that is required to understand his meaning; but his readers can form their own judgment on inversions like "silver bright" (p. 215), or the numberless frigid conceits of his style, when he wrote not as a satirist. The defects of Mr. Elwin's edition are the more important because, with all its faults, it is good enough to become standard.

27. MR. TYERMAN's reasons for adding a new life of Wesley to the six already in existence are partly that "it has long been confessed that a Life of Wesley, worthy of the man, is a desideratum," and partly that "the spread of Methodism is more marvellous" than the spread of Christianity in the first two centuries, indeed that "*Methodism is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ.*"—[The italics are his own.] The second of these views perhaps partially explains the former. To a gentleman who seriously believes that John Wesley and his first followers did a greater work than Our Lord and His Apostles, and who proves his points by statistical tables of the number of Church members and Sunday scholars whom the Methodist connection includes at present, such a life as that by Southey, written with sympathy and genius, but written after all by one who was not of the fold, must appear wanting in many first requisites of a biography. "My one object," Mr. Tyerman adds, "has been to collect, collate, and register unvarnished facts." No scheme of biography can well be better than this; and it only remains to be seen with what fidelity it has been carried out.

Wesley's previous biographers have not unnaturally attached great importance to his family antecedents, and the very peculiar character of his father. The elder Wesley separated for a year from his wife, because she was not firmly convinced of King William's right to the throne. The whole family was for some time haunted by the visitations of a familiar spirit which wrought purposeless mischief and uttered unmeaning sounds. In other words, the young Wesley's surroundings were eminently coloured by intolerance and superstition. Mr. Tyerman devotes a paragraph to the Sacheverell controversy, which occurred when Wesley was seven years old, but omits all notice of the conjugal quarrel between his parents, and thinks it needless to repeat "the often told story" of the Epworth voices. This however does not prevent him from denouncing Isaac Taylor as "ridiculous" because he laughed at the whole matter, or from hinting his own view that the spirit was unquestionably not "a messenger of Satan sent to buffet" the elder Wesley, but rather, it would appear, a minister of grace, as "the impressions it produced, or rather strengthened, respecting invisible realities, were of the utmost consequence in moulding his [John Wesley's] character." Mr. Tyerman is less reserved in giving the particulars of Wesley's life at Oxford, where his worst offence seems to have been habitual indebted-

ness; and he has disinterred some amusing, though not absolutely conclusive, evidence of early flirtations, which came to nothing. He also admits that Wesley was mistaken in denying that he had ever applied for the living of Epworth after his father's death, though, in speaking of the patron solicited as "Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke," "a politician of great ability and power," he is clearly confounding two very different persons, the obscure John St. John of Bletsoe and the famous Henry St. John, habitually known as Bolingbroke. The latter, it need hardly be said, was the last person to have any influence with Walpole. His prospects in England thus narrowed, Wesley decided to go out as a missionary to Georgia, where his usefulness was presently destroyed by a degrading squabble with a lady to whom he had offered marriage, and whom within six months he threatened with public admonition at the Communion-table, and with excommunication if she did not openly declare a true repentance. Both parties seem to have behaved as badly as was well possible; but the colonists sided with the lady and her husband, and Wesley was glad to make his escape privately. It has generally been remarked that he did nothing, during the two years of his stay, towards the propagation of Christianity among the Indians—neither going among them nor learning any of their languages. He himself only claimed to have taken a few steps "towards publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathens;" and we can trace no better warrant for this boast than that he sent home a colleague to obtain more help for the colonists, recommended dying in the sight of the heathen as a good way of influencing them, and "began instructing two negro boys during his voyage home in the principles of the Christian religion." Nevertheless, Mr. Tyerman includes "steps taken to evangelize negroes and Indians" among the "no mean results" of Wesley's missionary life.

Wesley had failed signally in America; but his was a nature that would not remain satisfied till it had created an appropriate sphere to work and to be supreme in. His course in life was mainly determined by two predominant influences—the rigid Anglicanism of his father's household, and the mystical enthusiasm of Zinzendorf's followers, who repeatedly crossed his path as helpmates or rivals. In 1738 he was what is technically called "converted" by Peter Böhler, who brought three credible witnesses to prove "that a true living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past and freedom from all present sins." The immediate result was a visit to Herrnhut; and Wesley for a moment was overpowered by its influences; but within a few days after his return, he prepared, though he did not send, a letter in which he desires to mention, "in all love and meekness," that he fears the Brethren make the Count all in all, use guile and dissimulation in many cases, and are of a close, dark, reserved temper and behaviour. Nevertheless, it was not till the next year that there was a defined rupture between the two infant

communities—a rupture from which the Methodists may be said to date. The quietism of the Moravians seems to have been the chief doctrinal point of difference. Their desire to exercise an authority which Wesley was not disposed to concede was probably the true occasion of the schism. Southey has observed that “it is not to the credit of Wesley” that the fact that Zinzendorf and the Moravians made zealous overtures for reconciliation is only recorded by the founder of the Methodists in a Latin version of his conversation with the Count, and is not noticed by any of Wesley’s biographers. Mr. Tyerman barely escapes the second censure by a highly-coloured version, in which he represents Wesley as triumphing over the “obfuscated German,” and exchanges his acknowledgment “fratres tui veniam petierunt,” for a passage from a letter written five years later—“fifty or more Moravians spoke bitterly against him; one or two asked his pardon, but did it in the most careless manner possible.” In fact, Mr. Tyerman cannot write calmly about the Brethren, though he often contrives to clothe his attacks in the words of their earlier enemies. “Moravian maggots” (i. p. 68), “the self-ordained priest, brimful of proud wrath and fierceness,” “two grand enthusiasts drunk with the spirit of delusion” (i. p. 279), “heresies,” “the spawn of foolish fanatics, who regarded themselves Moravians” (i. p. 308), “the very essence of the Antinomian heresy” (i. p. 341), “a luscious morsel of Antinomian poison” (ii. p. 96), are expressions, however derived, that do not testify to judicial impartiality. Nor is this reprobation of “Moravian maggots” redeemed by any honest exposure of the superstitious vein in Wesley’s character, except where the superstition is of the Anglican type. Lord Stanhope, in his chapter on Methodism, quotes two characteristic passages of the Journal, in one of which Wesley regards a hail-storm as a Divine reproof for his neglect, while, in the other, he treats a case of religious hysteria as one of possession by Satan. Mr. Tyerman’s plan “to make Wesley his own biographer,” does not carry him into such matters as these. Perhaps the most amusing, though a very small, instance of the spirit by which the whole biography is animated is the judgment on Wesley’s *Primitive Physic*: “It has often been ridiculed, but perhaps unwisely.” This manual, which passed during the author’s lifetime through twenty-three editions, recommended copious bleeding as a specific for consumption, and draughts of tar-water in pleurisies, and stated that a decoction of parsnips usually cured the stone in six weeks. Mr. Tyerman quotes Wesley’s statement that he had made anatomy and physic the diversion of his leisure hours for twenty-six years; but he characteristically omits Wesley’s qualifying remark, “though I never properly studied them unless for a few months when I was going into America.”

Southey has passed a strong censure on Wesley’s intemperate language in his controversy with Bishop Lavington, who had compared the enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists. Mr. Tyerman remarks that the bishop “deserv-

ed all he got,” and speaks of him as “a buffooning bishop” and “a cowardly calumniator” (ii. pp. 94, 153). As those who trust to Mr. Tyerman’s pages will have no idea whatever of the real strength of the Bishop’s argument, which Southey regards as in the main triumphant, it may be well briefly to explain Mr. Tyerman’s two epithets. Bishop Lavington, in the first of his three treatises on the subject, made excerpts from some of the most offensive passages in Whitefield’s and Wesley’s writings, but especially in Whitefield’s, and contrasted them with parallel extracts from the writings of Catholic mystics and the lives of the Saints. “In the morning,” Whitefield had said, “I talked with God in the garden as a man talketh with his friend;” and again, “I sweetly leaned on my Saviour’s bosom, and sucked out of the breasts of his consolation.” Wesley had said in one place, “It was revealed to me that nothing grieved Satan so much as the private societies;” and in another, “My soul was got up into the Holy Mount.” He had practised the lot in emergencies: “I desired my Master to answer for me, and opened his book.” Passages only a little less offensive and absurd than these may be extracted literally by the dozen from Wesley’s and Whitefield’s writings. Nothing can be conceived more alien from the spirit of the Anglican Church in which both were ministers; and it is difficult to understand how they could be exposed except by ridicule. Wesley, in his very first answer, denounces the Bishop as a “buffoon,” and talks of his “fool’s coat.” The “cowardly calumnies” which the Bishop brought were two. He said that he was informed from Ireland that a passage from one of his Episcopal charges, so garbled as to make him appear a favourer of Methodism, had been printed in Cork by Charles Wesley, and circulated, after he had denounced it as false. Wesley replied that the tract in question had been printed at Dublin, not at Cork, and was not issued by Charles Wesley; and he wound up by insinuating that after all it was very likely accurate. The reply, it will be observed, left the point of a false publication under Wesleyan superintendence substantially untouched, and only showed that the informants on whom the Bishop relied had been inaccurate in details. A more serious question related to Wesley’s personal character. The Bishop charged him with having told the wife of a Cornish innkeeper that she was already damned if she was not sure of her salvation, of having hinted that she ought not to charge him for lodging as the Apostles were entertained without cost, and of having put indecent questions to a servant-girl in the house. To Wesley’s flat denial the Bishop responded by producing the testimony of his Chancellor, his Archdeacon, and a beneficed clergyman, who had heard the woman and her husband make the statements in question. Wesley was no doubt innocent of all but the gross want of tact which accompanied him through life; and the woman partially retracted her charges before witnesses whom he took there. But he was compelled to admit that Lavington had authority for his statements; and his only triumph in the mat-



ter was in pointing out an inaccuracy in the Bishop's first version of the story, which professed merely to be on hearsay, and in which the first and second charges were mixed up together. No one will defend the Bishop's carelessness in a matter affecting personal reputation; but if Mr. Tyerman is justified in characterizing this mistake as "a flagrant falsehood," he is not justified in omitting to notice the thoroughness of "the Bishop of Exeter's answer."

The publication of a biography written in this spirit is only to be deplored. From its warm party colouring it is not unlikely to achieve a certain popularity; and from its fulness it may give an impression of adequacy, and for a time close the path to a more competent writer; but it is not even just to this man whom the writer idolizes. Wesley had many faults of temperament; and the details of his private life are often petty and contemptible beyond the ordinary experiences even of religious psychology. But there was withal a real greatness about it, a thirst for action, an utter recklessness of opposition and a power to organize, which enabled him to leave his mark upon his age, while many men of larger brains were powerless to influence it for good or evil. Into all this Mr. Tyerman gives no insight.

28. THE number of living German historians who can unite learned research with a consummate art of exposition is extremely limited. Herr Arneth's work on Maria Theresa is based on an exhaustive search amongst original sources; and the collections of the Viennese archives, accessible to the author in his quality of Imperial archivist, have furnished him with much valuable new matter. But his narrative is as far from being attractive or artistic as his style is from being clear or engaging. His constructions are often clumsy, and his periods lame and indirect; and the reproductions of diplomatic acts, whether in fragments or in extenso, are sometimes lengthy and tedious in the extreme. Apart, however, from these formal defects, the book bears witness to an essential advance in the knowledge of the causes and preparatory events of the Seven Years' War. It deals judiciously with a whole series of polemical questions, which in recent times had been raised by Vitzthum, Schäfer, and Klopp; and it does full justice to the historical character of Maria Theresa. By the aid of her own papers, preserved in the private library of the Emperor, Herr Arneth is able, in his five first chapters, to afford a thorough insight into her internal administration, and to exhibit her endeavours to reorganize the shattered finances of the Empire, and to reform the army. The Empress not only perceived the existence and understood the consequence of the utter misrule, but also discerned the means of reforming it. She openly declared the financial embarrassment to be due to "the extravagant devotion" of her predecessors to the clergy and nobles. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Estates, she succeeded in concentrating the resources of the empire with greater uniformity, in wresting from the nobles

and clergy their ancient privileges of annually granting money and men, in abolishing the immunity of the nobles from taxation, and in setting forth a public valuation of the Austrian land and house property, which proved highly valuable at the time, and even now is not without practical use. Her resolute bearing towards the Catholic clergy did not, however, imply any special tolerance of dissenters; on the contrary, the measures enacted against the Protestants (p. 51), as well as the attempts to expel the Jews from Austria, show that she by no means entertained the maxim proclaimed by her great adversary Frederick—"in my dominions every one may be saved after his own fashion." Neither do her provisions in confessional matters evince that interest in science with which Frederick has been credited. The little that was done for universities and schools of secondary education was confined to the formation of an able body of public officials; the University, the Theresianum, and the Oriental Academy, were placed altogether under the care of the Jesuits; and the Empress refused to listen to any proposals for the foundation of such an academy as might really have served the interest of science, notwithstanding the advice of Gottsched and Petrasch. "There is plenty of time for that," she said; "I have not set my heart upon it" (p. 132). On what, then, had she set her heart? The present work fully establishes the current opinion that she felt the loss of Silesia as an intolerable outrage, and that the strongest motive of her policy was the desire of vengeance on Frederick.

The conference of March 1749, which the Empress commanded to express a written opinion on the future attitude of Austria, is regarded by Herr Arneth as the starting-point of a new policy, by which it was expected not only to secure the empire against further losses, but also to retrieve the old ones. The Emperor Francis thought that the best plan would be to cultivate the friendship of the naval powers, as the only true allies of Austria, and that of Russia and Saxony, in order to provide the strongest possible defence against the three great enemies of Austria—the Porte, France, and Prussia. For some time to come, however, he expected no actual war on the side of France and Turkey. "The danger is that the Prussians will take advantage of the peaceful disposition of Europe in order to strike a blow. This can only be prevented by the proposed alliance, which will compel Frederick, against his will, to keep quiet. We ought not only to show ourselves loyal neighbours, but even to indulge the King of Prussia in matters of minor importance, without any open manifestation of the hatred he deserves, and on all occasions to cast in the people's teeth that they are Prussian, ergo, of no good." The members of the conference in the main acquiesced in the Emperor's view; not so, however, Kaunitz, one of its junior members. In case of a war against Prussia, he observed, it would be of little use to count on the naval powers; and it ought not to be assumed as absolutely certain that Russia and Saxony would take sides against Prussia.

Moreover, it was necessary for Austria to be on her guard against the Porte; and she ought to try to avoid any definite breach of the peace. As to France, notwithstanding all the evil which she had brought upon Austria, a favourable change might perhaps be effected. It might be possible to estrange the court of Versailles from Prussia, since its relations with Berlin were really much colder than appearances seemed to indicate. The King of Prussia was to be ranked first among the natural enemies of Austria. His constant policy was to weaken her; and she ought therefore not only to be always on the watch against him, but also to endeavour to weaken him and to retrieve past losses. But the great enterprise of the recovery of Silesia ought only to be attempted when the chances of success altogether outweighed the hazard of defeat, and when Austria was properly sustained by powerful allies. France, moreover, must be induced, directly or indirectly, to assist the enterprise.

These thoughts of Kaunitz commanded the warm assent of Maria Theresa, and they embody the principles which thenceforth determined the policy of Austria. Herr Arneth shows the falsehood of the rumour once current that the plan was kept secret, and that its discovery painfully affected the Emperor, and gave rise to a scene between him and Kaunitz. The popular myths of this kind probably arose from the divergence which existed between the views of the Emperor and those of Kaunitz. The prevalent belief that Kaunitz at Vienna made preparations for opening direct negotiations with Madame de Pompadour is equally unfounded. The most secret documents in the Vienna archives contain no trace of the fact. On the contrary, when Kaunitz went as envoy to Paris he at first met with such difficulties, and found the attitude of the French court so wavering, that he quite despaired of realizing his programme for separating France from Prussia, and advised the Empress to put away her grief for the loss of Silesia, to free the King of Prussia from all anxiety, and thus to draw him into an alliance with Austria and the naval powers (p. 332). Herr Arneth also shows that the motives for the recall of Kaunitz from Paris did not imply any radical change in the policy of Austria, as Ilwof recently supposed, but arose more from personal than public motives, especially from the incapacity of Ulfeld. Still, the increasing discord between England and France, and the subsequent outbreak of hostilities between the Western Powers, revealed to this statesman, who was thenceforward to lead the policy of Austria, that he must decide either for the French or for the English alliance. Kaunitz, like the Empress, regarded the recovery of Silesia as the only object which should induce Austria to participate in the war. He indeed qualified the occasion as inopportune, and would fain have avoided being mixed up in the concerns of the Western Powers, which were indifferent to Austria; but having been once compelled to take up arms, he thought it best to turn them against the hereditary enemy, from whose grasp the

only satisfactory prize was to be wrested (p. 375). The attitude of the English Government, which demanded with threats and reproaches that Austria should at once send the twenty-five or thirty thousand men she had promised to the Netherlands, provoked an energetic reply from Kaunitz (p. 379), which forms a sort of diplomatic introduction to the rupture that soon followed between Austria and England, though Kaunitz himself called it a touch-stone to prove how far he might count on the alliance of the naval powers. The news of the impending invasion of the Netherlands by France persuaded the Austrian Government to renounce all thought of neutrality, and to prepare for concluding an alliance with France. The point now, according to Kaunitz, was "to endeavour to penetrate a great power with the conviction that all its preceding system had been in contradiction with its true interests, to destroy the old French hostility against the house of Austria, and radically to transform the national character of the whole ministry" (p. 396). Herr Arneth does not deny that to obtain this end all sorts of petty personal services were brought into requisition, and that the imperial court did not scorn the good offices of Madame de Pompadour; but he refers only to a correspondence between her and Kaunitz, not to any between her and the Empress; and moreover he denies that she had any direct influence of importance on the turn of the negotiations. They were brought to a close partly by the Anglo-Prussian alliance of January 1756, partly by the willingness of Austrian statesmen to sacrifice the Netherlands if they were indemnified in return by the restitution of Silesia. "The loss of the Netherlands Kaunitz declared would be richly compensated, if it should be possible, by that means, to secure the weakening of the king of Prussia; as compared with the recovery of Silesia and Glatz, the loss of the Netherlands ought to be held a great gain, and nothing could be happier or more acceptable to the house of Austria." With the threatening appeals of Frederick at Vienna, and the march of the Prussians into Saxony, every hope of a peaceful arrangement between the German powers vanished; the war broke out, which for seven years exhausted the endurance of the populations of Germany. It has been disputed whether Frederick, from what he had discovered about the machinations of his adversaries, was justified in breaking the peace and invading Saxony. The opinion has been maintained that if he had left his sword in the scabbard no war would have broken out. Herr Arneth has very impartially discussed these questions, which have been vehemently debated since the days of Hertzberg to those of Vitzthum and Klopp. The armed invasion of a peaceful neighbour, who had studiously avoided any appearance of military preparation against Prussia, the alleged "harmless march" through Saxony was neither strategically nor politically justifiable. But Frederick might with justice have made a direct inroad into Austria or Bohemia, to thwart the schemes which Herr Arneth has now proved to have



been entertained by the Empress and Kaunitz, and which threatened Prussia with serious danger. That he did not choose to await quietly the execution of the Austrian plans of conquest was perfectly justifiable as an act of political self-preservation. The opinion which Hertzberg set forth in 1787, that the Seven Years' War never would have occurred if Frederick had not been the first to take up arms, is successfully contested by Arneth, who shows that according to the intentions of Austria the war would inevitably have broken out in 1757. Although English gold was employed to prevent the intervention of Russia, it only succeeded in delaying it. Herr Arneth is right in attributing only a secondary importance to the personal motives, even to the irritation of the Czarina; and he shows how strong the anti-Prussian feeling was amongst the upper classes of Russia. The war was inevitable. At Vienna the secret wish was that Frederick should appear before the world as the aggressor, since France would then be bound by the treaty of Versailles to render armed assistance to Austria. The question, however, of who was the aggressor in August 1756, fades before that of the great interests that were clashing; and when Austria and Prussia had once engaged in the struggle there was an end to all questions of technical right about invasion or defence. There was only the presence of an historical necessity; and the hegemony in Germany had to be decided in a struggle for Silesia as it had in 1806.

29. DR. DAVID STRAUSS, having withdrawn more and more from theology, has occupied himself instead with historical and biographical labours, and has recently published a book on Voltaire. The subject was not uncongenial to the cast of the author's mind; and he was sure to approach it with careful study and great acuteness. In determining his point of view, he first invokes the judgment of Goethe, for whom Voltaire was the most typical representative of French literature, and then adds that he symbolizes also the spirit of the eighteenth century. Thus he regards him under French conditions, and in the light of the general development of the time; and accordingly he so depicts his life and character as to bring his literary works into connection with personal events. His aim is to write neither a panegyric, nor an accusation, nor a defence, but an impartial narrative in which light and shade are equitably blended; and on the whole the book corresponds to this design. Not one of the many faults of Voltaire's character is passed over in silence, while many kindly traits and instances of active zeal for the happiness of his fellow-creatures are exhibited; and so also with the defects and the real merits of his writings. In judging the passionate vehemence, so often rude and vulgar, with which Voltaire attacked whatever he regarded as superstitious, Dr. Strauss justly observes that the actual history of the Church in France must be kept in view: "It was the furies of the St. Bartholomew, of the Dragonades, and of the Albigensian crusade, which in Voltaire

turned their torches against Christianity." He also points out that the well-known words "Ecrasez l'infâme" referred not to Christ, as they are often understood, but to the Church. The worst feature in Voltaire's religious position was his contempt for the common people, whom he called *canaille*. For them, he held, the superstition of Christianity was good enough, while the light of philosophy shone for the intellectual and educated classes alone. Dr. Strauss, in censuring this view, does not perceive that it contains the root-secret of the whole philosophy of that age, which despised a revelation addressed to the mass of mankind, and valued only those truths which were attained by the investigation of human reason. The same ground in this respect is occupied by the Hegelian doctrine, which recognizes in religion merely a lower degree of truth, to be perfected only by speculation; and hence the secret sympathy which Dr. Strauss feels for Voltaire and his adherents, in whose writings also other disciples of Hegel have already displayed a special interest. The present book is written calmly, simply, and clearly, but with the same dryness that characterizes all the author's works.

30. HERR VIVENOT's polemical vigour is so well known that no surprise will be occasioned by his beginning his new work on *Thugut and his Political System* by some severe remarks on what he calls the spurious history of Häusser, Treitschke, and Sybel. He has already had the satisfaction of seeing his adversaries retract in some important points, especially Sybel, who, upon a closer inspection of the Austrian archives, was induced to form a higher estimate of the character of Thugut. Probably Häusser, also, if he had lived to read the Viennese papers published by Herr Vivenot, Professor Hüffer, and others, would have modified his judgment of the Austrian premier; and it would perhaps be well if Herr Vivenot were now to put an end to his quarrel with his recently deceased opponent. At any rate, he is hardly justified in quoting and attacking as Häusser's a character of Thugut which was never printed during Häusser's lifetime or with his assent, but is extracted from his lectures on the French revolution, printed after his death. In his German History Häusser has expressed himself more cautiously about Thugut; and he is not responsible for what his pupils may have published from his remains. At least care should be taken to indicate in which of his works the ideas in question are found. Once more, Herr Vivenot goes too far when, in contrast with the dark picture of Thugut alleged to have been drawn by Häusser, he says that Thugut's state papers exhibit in combination the genius of Pitt and of Carnot, or when he argues that the letter of Thugut to Colloredo, of the 5th of May 1799, is sufficient to clear the Austrian premier from the imputation of having organized the assassination of the Rastatt envoys. Thugut may not have been compromised in that matter; but a simple letter in which he expresses his abhorrence of the fact cannot be accepted as

a full proof of his innocence. One fact Herr Vivenot has clearly established by his publication of Thugut's correspondence with Cobenzl, viz., the deep distrust, and even hatred, with which the Austrian premier regarded Prussia. Almost every despatch contains such phrases as this: "cette cour de Berlin qui ne cesse d'accumuler les plus noires perfidies" (13 Nov. 1794); or, "la cour de Berlin regarde dans l'avenir une alliance avec les brigands de la France, comme une vue digne de sa politique, et comme la seule ressource, depuis que les excès revoltants de sa déloyauté lui ont de la part des autres cours ôté à jamais toute confiance" (29 Nov. 1794). By the discovery of the Prussian negotiations at Basle with the French republic (pp. 48, 68), Thugut's animosity against Prussia could only be increased; but the way in which he turned these revelations to account in his relations with Russia, and constantly accused and denounced Prussia to the Czarina, was equally undignified and imprudent. The documents published by Herr Vivenot are of great importance in determining the designs with which Thugut connected the continuance of the French war. Sybel and Häusser were clearly wrong in ascribing to him a wish for a partition of Turkey. He looked on a Russo-Turkish war as a great calamity; such a war, "une guerre où les forces de la Russie seraient occupées contre la Porte, livrerait l'Autriche entièrement à la merci de la Prusse." In the case of France being conquered, he desired to recover the old Netherland frontier, including Artois, Lorraine, the three bishoprics, and the rest of the old Austrian possessions in Alsace. If no indemnification was to be obtained at the expense of France, he cast his eyes on Venice and Poland. He did not however conceal from himself that the assimilation of the former German possessions beyond the Rhine, and the recovery and still more the preservation of Alsace and Lorraine, might involve great difficulties. "Il s'écoulera un temps bien considérable, peut-être toute la génération présente, avant qu'on puisse se flatter de voir renaître la tranquillité et l'habitude de l'obéissance dans des contrées habitées d'un peuple profondément perverti par les principes destructeurs qui ont envahi la surface de la France; on se trouvera par conséquent dans la nécessité absolue d'y entretenir toujours un pied de troupes très nombreux qui absorbera tous les revenus du pays sans ajouter aucun poids aux forces de l'Autriche." The original appendixes, Nos. xviii.-xxv., concern the genesis and contents of the St. Petersburg convention of January 6, 1795, which Sybel has qualified as the greatest act of Thugut's political career, while Herr Vivenot endeavours to prove that, at least so far as the secret declaration of that date is concerned, it was an independent act of Cobenzl, which however was afterwards ratified and approved by Thugut. In a second volume, which is soon to follow, Herr Vivenot proposes to give Thugut's correspondence from January 25, 1795, to the peace of Luneville.

81. THE last volume of Herr Hettner's *History of the Literature of the Eighteenth Century* succeeds, to a certain extent, in relating the rise and progress of classical ideas in the literature dominated by Goethe and Schiller. His account of the friendship of these great men, and the influence which each exercised upon the writings of the other, is, perhaps, the most useful part of the book, which includes also an elaborate chapter on Kant, a shorter notice of the contemporary movement in music and art, and a cursory view of the rise of the new romantic schools, and of the writers who, like Hölderlin, Klingér, and Förster, preserved the traditions of the period of storm and stress long after Schiller and Goethe had become indifferent not to say hostile to its tendencies.

The preceding volume brought Goethe down to the eve of his Italian begira. The *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, the first work composed with his new aspirations after repose and light, was a failure in Germany; and for the rest of his life he remained a sufferer from the want of a public sufficiently educated to be a restraint upon his literary impulses. He had numbers of isolated admirers; but the popular applause and sympathy which greeted *Götz* and *Werther* was withheld from his maturer productions. After the friendship with Schiller began, the effects of this want of harmony between Goethe and his age were not felt; for the two poets were powerful enough, when acting together, to make a public opinion for themselves. But when Goethe was again alone, the attacks to which his moral principles and his political attitude were exposed were only natural expressions of jealousy at seeing one man, self-contained and self-sufficient, following persistently a track which was not that of his age.

Herr Hettner traces, through all their dissimilarity of fate and temperament, a degree of parallelism between the intellectual history of Goethe and Schiller. Both attained an early renown by works on which they soon learned to look with modified scorn; both attached supreme importance to the cultivation of their nature; and both were in part hampered in the pursuit of their ideal by the identity of the object and instrument in self-culture. But the most real point of resemblance is that, at corresponding periods of their career, they both sought and found relief from ideal disenchantments in what seemed the safer region of scientific research. Schiller's historical studies and Goethe's botanical and anatomical discoveries served in some sort to take the place of healthy social or political action; and it was with renewed vigour that they turned from them to fresh poetical creations. Schiller as a historian is separated from Goethe as a man of science by all the difference there is between untaught genius and untrained talent; but both had gained when the maxim, "Willst du ins Unendliche schreiten, geh im Endlichen nach allen Seiten," had taken the place of a vague craving after infinity. Herr Hettner traces the different steps by which they had arrived at the same point of devotion to Greek models—Goethe finding in them his ideal of sensuous beauty

and perfect form, Schiller the satisfaction of intellectual tastes for which the legitimate conclusions of his Kantian philosophy were too severe. Thus Schiller's poetry exhibits the more truly classical ideas, Goethe's the more truly classical spirit, at least where the latter has a subject drawn from living experience or real belief. The joint publication of the *Xenien* forms an epoch rather in literary history than in literature; for though the writers threw down their challenge in the interests of enlightenment, their wit and satire were of a rather sledge-hammer sort, perhaps not too ponderous for its purpose, but not light enough for grace or beauty. For perfection of form Herr Hettner is inclined to place *Hermann und Dorothea* almost in the first place; but this half-epic essay was followed in 1797, which he calls the ballad year, by a practical declaration that the true modern equivalent of the epic is the ballad. Goethe's and Schiller's masterpieces in this kind succeeded each other rapidly, the latter still choosing his subjects chiefly from the antique, the former showing antique power in the treatment of transitional themes. During all this time Schiller is represented as first stimulating and then emulating his greater friend. The climax of their Hellenizing zeal was reached about this time when Goethe translated Voltaire's *Mahomet*, pronounced his own *Iphigenie* "verteufelt human," and decided that Shakespeare's genius was pre-eminently undramatic.

Here Schiller's development ends; and Herr Hettner's detailed criticisms on his different plays rest on the assumption that they are to be tried by classical canons of criticism, though the motives which they borrow from classical belief have lost their power over a modern audience. With Goethe the case is different; he lived too long for continuous growth, and his mental biography fell into cycles. After standing apart from the struggle for political liberty in his prime, he dreamed in his old age of promoting individual freedom by schemes of mystical socialism. But these very schemes are a proof that he was not wilfully out of harmony with his contemporaries; and, in point of fact, Herr Hettner seems inclined to exaggerate the breadth of the interval which separates the two chief figures in his picture from the surrounding multitude. Though Goethe cannot be said to have founded a school, the schools which arose after him would have been different without his influence. This is the principal weakness of the book as a history of literature in the eighteenth century; but, if it fails to estimate exactly the relations and proportions of the many literary tendencies to which that period gave birth, it contains much intelligent criticism, and trustworthy accounts of what may be called the biographical episodes in the history of letters.

32. THE last volume of Schelling's Letters, which has just been issued, begins with his residence at Erlangen, in 1821. He had gone there from Munich, in order to enjoy undisturbed leisure for his studies; and he delivered there a very successful series of lectures. Wherever he went, indeed, this success attended

him; and he was regarded as one of the most brilliant instructors that the German universities had ever produced. In 1827, King Lewis of Bavaria summoned him back to Munich, where he became conservator-general of the scientific collections of the kingdom, and taught in the newly-established university. He was treated with much distinction, and was in confidential relations with the Crown Prince, afterwards Maximilian II., who was his pupil. He now again and again announced the publication of his new system, but as often again delayed its appearance, because the finishing touch seemed wanting; and, in fact, down to his death he published nothing more of importance. Much of his new teaching, indeed, became known through his lectures, but only in a fragmentary and unauthentic way. It was constantly spoken of, but as a secret yet unfathomed. He was still, to a certain extent, a mythical person. Among his special admirers was Frederick William IV. of Prussia, who abhorred Hegel's system as a rationalist-panththeistic philosophy, and hoped by means of Schelling to be able to suppress the school. When Crown Prince, he had tried to draw Schelling to Berlin, but only succeeded in 1841 after he had ascended the throne. The philosopher was now received with eager expectation, and found a numerous and brilliant audience, comprising, besides the students, many professors and men of the world. His lectures on Philosophy, Mythology, and Revelation, which were preceded by a criticism of the whole rationalist philosophy, constituted an event. They at least considerably weakened the authority of Hegel's school, and awakened a new spirit. To publish them, however, no persuasion could induce him; and when one of his opponents, the well-known theologian Paulus, caused some of them to be printed, in order to be able to criticise them, Schelling instituted a prosecution for piracy. The failure of this prosecution vexed him extremely, as he wished to have his system considered his own personal property. He continued his lectures till 1846, from which time he was again silent, being exclusively occupied with his studies. On a journey to Pfeffers in Switzerland in the summer of 1854, he died peacefully on the 20th of August, at Ragatz, in the canton of St. Gall, in his eightieth year. There Maximilian II. of Bavaria has erected a monument to him.

The letters given in the present volume are chiefly on personal matters. Some which relate to philosophy are addressed to Victor Cousin, who, as Schelling explains to him, had a very imperfect conception of his system, though he was regarded in France as the profoundest master of the German philosophy. Others are addressed to various of his pupils and adherents, and are very bitter against the Hegelians. He speaks of Hegel's system as a mere episode in German philosophy, which must be entirely put aside before the right path can be regained. His judgment of Stahl also is observable. Stahl is often regarded as one of his genuine disciples; but the master calls him a vain man, who has understood but little of the system, and has fallen into a nar-

row orthodoxy which, for his own part, he repudiates. It was Schelling's habit to condemn harshly, and often passionately, what did not please him. He held himself supreme in the domain of intellect, and demanded recognition not as a constitutional king but as an autocrat. He accordingly regarded the development of philosophy as his personal affair, so that it depended on his own will how much of the new truth which he believed himself to have discovered should be imparted to the world. Here he manifestly failed, and greatly damaged his own influence. It was not until after his death that his comprehensive writings on positive philosophy were published by his son. And the time had now become very unfavourable for the spread of this new teaching. Generally speaking, the interest in speculative philosophy had decreased in Germany; the course of things since 1848 had pushed all deeper researches into the background; questions of current politics alone excited universal sympathy; and these were the very questions from which Schelling had always stood aloof. Nature, art, and religion were the three great subjects which occupied his mind; and as his earlier philosophy was essentially directed to nature, so his later studies were devoted to religion. His teaching demanded an earnestness of thought in which the age was wanting. Thus political party-feeling warped the public judgment, since the popular liberalism of the day connected his doctrines with political reaction, and regarded him as hostile to freedom. Schelling, however, had himself characterized his new system as peculiarly the system of freedom, in opposition to the purely rationalist philosophy of his predecessors, according to which everything develops from the necessity of thought; and he never sought to limit intellectual development, but always upheld the fullest freedom of inquiry.

33. THE centenary of the philosopher Fichte having been celebrated in Germany some years ago, the disciples of Hegel in like manner proposed to make the centenary of their master, the 27th of August 1870, a national festival. The sudden outbreak of war interfered with the design; but even without this hindrance the interest of the occasion would have been restricted. For Hegel's name has never enlisted such popular sympathy among the Germans as that of Fichte. His authority has always been confined to scientific circles; and even there it is decreasing. This is remarkably the case in Berlin, which was once the headquarters of his school, but where at present he finds few representatives. Amongst these there is no very considerable name; and they are men who have already grown old, while the younger scholars and writers no longer declare for Hegelianism, but many of them, on the contrary, against it.

In anticipation of the festival, Professor Rosenkrantz published, in 1869, his *Hegel als deutscher National-philosoph*, which made little impression; and now Herr Michelet has issued at Berlin a centenary work with the

more pretentious title of *Hegel der unwiderlegte Welt-philosoph*. The author occupies in Hegel's school the position of the old Guard, who "die, but do not surrender." He believes in the unbroken power of the master, and will defend the flag to the last drop of his blood. He has written much in furtherance of Hegel's system; and he even founded a periodical, called *Der Gedanke*, which however developed no original thoughts, and died from lack of interest. He justifies his description of Hegel as the "unwiderlegte Welt-philosoph," on the ground "that for forty years, however many ephemeral pigmies have attempted to scale and overtop this giant of a century, all of them have been miserably repelled by the brazen armour of his intellect, and hurled to earth from the height of his shoulders." This is so far true that since Hegel no other philosopher has attained equal supremacy in Germany, or indeed in Europe; but the fact is not so much an evidence of the truth of Hegel's system as an indication that philosophical speculation is undergoing a change. The purely metaphysical problems which have occupied the human mind since Descartes seem to have been given up precisely under the reaction produced by Hegel's failure to solve them. According to Herr Michelet, on the contrary, the Hegelian system contains the final and absolute truth. For Hegel, he says, was the first who included the principles of all former systems, and thereby rendered his own comprehensive of all, leaving no room for the independent growth of a new system, which could only proceed from and be a further development of his own; secondly, he discovered the absolute method which makes the process of thought so rigorously certain as to insure the accuracy of the result; and thirdly, he explained the development of the world by the development of thought, because thinking and being are identical. No doubt, if these three propositions were conceded the Hegelian system would be unassailable; the net would allow of no escape. In fact however they are mere assertions.

Having in this manner proved his master to be irrefutable, Herr Michelet endeavours to sketch in a few words the chief results of his system. He then turns against Trendelenburg, as one of his ablest opponents, and speaks of his controversy with Kuno Fischer, and his defeat, which however in reality concerned Kant and not Hegel. He further speaks of the young philosopher Hartmann, who tried to found a new system under the name of "die philosophie des Unbewussten," and whose work attracted attention by its paradoxes, though it is based chiefly on Schopenhauer, and ends like him in nihilism. At last Herr Michelet turns upon Professor Harms, whose name is little known and whose works are comparatively unimportant, but who now occupies the chair of Hegel at the University of Berlin. This circumstance has moved Herr Michelet's indignation, and given occasion to the onslaught with which he concludes. His work will contribute nothing to the credit of Hegel's philosophy, but rather constitutes a proclamation of its decay.

34. It is doubtful whether Sir Henry Bulwer's *Life of Viscount Palmerston* would not have been a better book if the writer had adhered to his first idea, and sketched his hero as he had sketched Mr. Canning in his *Historical Characters*. The temptation to avail himself of the large collection of private letters placed in his hands was naturally great; but the limitations necessarily imposed on the use of such materials, within five years of Lord Palmerston's death, detract considerably from their interest, while the length to which the book extends in consequence stands in the way of any comprehensive view of Lord Palmerston's character and position. Another volume of *Historical Characters* would have shown Lord Palmerston painted by Sir Henry Bulwer: a full publication of diaries and correspondence may hereafter show Lord Palmerston painted by himself: the first two volumes of Sir Henry Bulwer's book give a combination which lacks to some extent the characteristic excellencies of both plans.

Lord Palmerston's journal begins when he was twenty-two years old, and deserves notice for the entire absence of most of the qualities which afterwards helped to give him his fame. If his youth were to be judged exclusively by this production, he must be set down as something of a prig. None of his remarks show any humour, and only one any political shrewdness. Of Napoleon I. he says: "It is a singular circumstance in Buonaparte's political conduct that, so far from concealing his designs, he purposely publishes even the most violent of his projected innovations some time before they are put in execution; and the consequence has uniformly been that, instead of being alarmed and prepared to resist, the world has, by anticipating conquests and changes, become by degrees reconciled to them." Even at this early period, however, Lord Palmerston's natural good sense appears to great advantage in the letters relating to his estates in the north of Sligo. On his first visit in 1808, he describes this as a tract of country six miles long by two broad, bounded by mountains on one side and the sea on the other, wholly unimproved, without roads, and infested with middle-men. Some years later he had built a harbour on the coast, had made roads along which to carry sea-sand to the farmers and peat to the fishermen, had begun bringing the bogs under cultivation and turning 600 acres of blowing land into pasture, had established a linen-market and schools, was selling lime to his neighbours at twopence a barrel less than what it could be bought at elsewhere, and yet at a profit of some thirty per cent. to himself, and was on such good terms with his tenants that, on one of his visits, he found one of them "building a good house two stories high, and to have a slated roof, which when finished will not cost him less than £150, upon a piece of ground of which he is merely tenant-at-will." The same common sense was shown in his preference in 1809 for the subordinate post of Secretary at War over the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Sir Henry Bulwer truly says that "nineteen

out of twenty young men either hastily grasp at the highest post they can get, or shrinking from the temptation to be great in their youth, consent to embrace mediocrity in after years." Certainly there was no undue haste in Lord Palmerston's progress to eminence. He remained Secretary at War for nineteen years; and during this period the utmost that his biographer can find to say of him is that, though he "advocated officially the maintenance of a force which was thought necessary to preserve public tranquillity, he never spoke in favour of any of those measures that were adopted to suppress public liberty." His first breach with the Tories was on a personal question, the opposition offered by some of the ministers to his election for Cambridge in 1825. "Liverpool," he writes to his brother, "has acted as he always does to a friend in personal questions—shabbily, timidly, and ill. If I am beat, I have told him he must find another Secretary at War, for I certainly will not continue in office."

The most interesting chapter in the first volume is that which details his five months' tenure of office under the Duke of Wellington in 1828. He joined the Ministry as one of "a party representing the principles, and consisting of the friends of Mr. Canning;" and as such he soon found himself in constant conflict with the section of the Government which inherited the views of Lord Liverpool. His journal during this period is a continuous record of Cabinet disputes. The Ministers quarrelled about Greek affairs, about the Corn Laws, about the mode of dealing with disfranchised boroughs; and upon the last of these questions Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston went out of office. The circumstances of Mr. Huskisson's forced resignation are given in great detail; but the most noticeable fact perhaps in this part of the journal is the repeated tribute it pays to Sir Robert Peel: "Peel is so right-headed and liberal, and so up to the opinions and feelings of the times, that he smooths difficulties which might otherwise be insurmountable;" and on all the points which came before the Cabinet he was found on the same side as Lord Palmerston. It is not wonderful that the Duke of Wellington grew weary of presiding over these divided Councils. Sir Henry Bulwer remarks that "the father of the late Lord Holland, who had lived all his life in intimate acquaintance with Cabinet Ministers, once said" to him "that he had never known a Cabinet in which its members did not dispute more amongst themselves during their councils than they disputed with their antagonists in the House of Commons." But the Duke of Wellington's antecedents were not calculated to make him tolerant of such disputes; and Lord Palmerston's narrative shows unmistakably that the misunderstanding with Mr. Huskisson was merely an "occasion of getting rid of a disagreeable colleague, . . . seized by a Prime Minister accustomed to keep his temper under control, but not accustomed to have his will disobeyed." Mr. Huskisson's letter to the Duke was open to two interpretations. The Duke chose to think

it meant resignation, and ignored every explanation, whether from Mr. Huskisson himself or from others, which went to place it in a different light. Lord Palmerston attributes this determination to the indirect influence of the Duke of Cumberland, who "had been telling the King that the Duke of Wellington had no energy or decision, and was as weak as Goderich. The King repeated this to those about him as his own opinion, and from them it got round to the Duke, and nettled and goaded him on to acts of violence. The King had more than once said to Huskisson that he was much disappointed in the Duke; that he was no doubt a man of energy and decision in the field, but that in the Cabinet he was as weak and undecided as Goderich."

Lord Palmerston's career as Foreign Secretary first under Lord Grey and then under Lord Melbourne is described by Sir Henry Bulwer as "constituting the foundation of that reputation which he still enjoys among foreign nations." Perhaps it would be more accurate to call it foundation and superstructure too; for, though he held the same office from 1846 to 1851, it was under circumstances far less favourable to his fame. The questions which presented themselves during this latter period involved political principles: those with which he had to deal from 1820 to 1841 involved only national interests. It was only as "the Minister of England" that Lord Palmerston had any title to the character of a statesman. His later foreign policy was too often a mere careless adoption of liberal commonplaces which, as he used them, had not even the merit of being truisms. But when he was resisting the designs of France upon Belgium or upon Egypt his energy and boldness were seen to the best advantage. The letters to Lord Granville, then ambassador at Paris, printed by Sir Henry Bulwer, fully explain the impression which his policy left on Continental Governments. "Pray take care in all your conversation with Sebastiani to make him understand that our desire for peace will never lead us to submit to affront either in language or in act," comes in almost the first letter, and forms the key-note of the whole series. "One thing is certain," he writes, when the French had marched troops to defend Belgium against a Dutch invasion and then shown no disposition to withdraw them, "the French must go out of Belgium, or we have a general war, and war in a given number of days." In respect both of Belgium and Egypt he carried his point; but it may be doubted whether, as regards Egypt, he did not make difficulties for himself, by not combining more courtesy with his determination. He paid no peculiar deference to Talleyrand; and the great diplomatist, "accustomed to great consideration and respect in his own country, even when in 'disgrace,'" felt keenly when he had to wait for an hour or two in the anterooms of the Foreign Office, because Lord Palmerston's appointments were not kept with exactness, and is reported "to have left England with an impression as to English arrogance and presumption which induced him to advise his royal master not to

neglect other alliances." The position taken up by Lord Palmerston in 1840—that it did not consort with English interests to allow Mehemet Ali to convert Egypt into an independent kingdom under French protection—was unassailable; and for the most part he had no occasion to defend it by arguments founded on the possible regeneration of Turkey. His convictions on this point, however, were already formed. "All that we hear, every day of the week," he writes to Sir Henry Bulwer, "about the decay of the Turkish Empire, and its being a dead body or a sapless trunk, and so forth, is pure and unadulterated nonsense." It does not appear that this opinion rested on any better ground than the inappropriateness of the metaphor in which the theory he objected to was conveyed. A community differs, he says, from a tree or a building, in that its "component parts are undergoing daily the process of physical renovation and moral improvement." With the substitution of "change" for "improvement," this statement is sufficiently true; and the regeneration of Turkey is certainly not hopeless because, or for the same reasons that, the revivification of an old tree is impossible. But the result of physical renovation and moral change—even when that change is improvement—may be to make the principles on which the community is founded more and more irreconcilable with the new facts to which an attempt is made to apply them.

35. MR. PARE, in his book on *Co-operative Agriculture*, relates the history of an interesting experiment. If the description he gives of the condition of the Irish peasantry in 1830 were quite accurate, and if the co-operative plan which he calls the "New System" had been really a novelty in principle to them, the success of the Ralahine experiment would be one of the strongest proofs of the inherent value and working power of the co-operative system. The state of the peasantry in several parts of Ireland, and especially in Clare, was, indeed, frightful in 1830. But the causes must be attended to. When the Catholics obtained the elective franchise in 1793, one eviction period ceased; and with the wars on the Continent came a rise in produce-prices, which made the landlords, middle-men, and graziers anxious to colonize the dreary unimproved wastes called pastures. Political considerations also induced them to multiply voters, especially of the lowest class (the forty-shilling freeholders), to the greatest extent possible. When the wars ended there was a fall in prices, but not in rents, until the peasantry broke out in frequent revolts. When the Parliamentary franchise had been obtained, chiefly through the votes of the poor freeholders, the three causes which had encouraged the landlords to multiply the number of their tenants ceased. They then began, in obedience to their new interests, political and agricultural, to sweep them off the pastures and lands that had been improved by the unfortunate peasants. There was no law of parochial settlement, no legal hindrance whatever. Party-feeling naturally

was highest in Clare, where O'Connell had been elected; and there, as elsewhere, the process of clearing out the disfranchised freeholders was urged on. There also, where the war upon them was fiercest, the revolt of the peasants was strongest. To make them peaceable and industrious, as they had been before, all that was requisite was to restore to them the conditions under which they had previously lived, or to place them in a position to labour in peace. This the Ralahine system did; but the co-operators, on the flight of the philanthropic but gambling founder, Vandeleur, had to suffer confiscation and expulsion.

Again, was the co-operative system, in truth, a system new and strange in principle to the Irish peasantry? Undoubtedly many of the details of Vandeleur's plan were novel; but the essential principles of co-operative husbandry under a governing committee or council were of very ancient date in Ireland, and a little before this period still manifested themselves over a considerable part of the island. It has been recently shown (*North British Review*, vol. li.) what important work was done in raising the peasantry out of a degraded condition by the co-operative "Knots." In 1812 the partnership system was still common in Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Kildare, Kilkenney, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Tyrone, Donegal, and doubtless in Clare also. The representative elders of the settlement, colony, or "village," were the legislators who established regulations and judged disputes. Such had been the custom in Celtic times; and the co-operative system was probably employed by the early colonizers of Ireland. Where gavelkind existed, co-partnerships existed in Ireland. By English law, the last remaining partner of one of these co-operative associations was entitled to the benefit of survivorship; but the attachment of the Irish peasantry to the system was so strong that this great inducement to seize all was invariably rejected by the survivor. The father's portion was allowed to descend to the sons. The partnership system was also found amongst coast-fishermen, knots of whom co-operated to purchase and to work the boats; and they exhibited much industry in their calling. The carrying out of the custom of gavelkind in land co-tenancies naturally gave rise to inconveniences when the wastes and commons were confiscated by the lords, when emigration across sea was little known, and when the children of peasants, being chiefly Catholics, were excluded from towns and trades. But though in the reign of James I. a decision in King's Bench abolished the custom, the penal laws of William and Anne revived and enforced it, applying it to destroy and degrade the Catholic landholders. These artificial agencies were the causes of most of the inconveniences charged on the Irish partnership system. The attachment of the peasantry to it dated from a time when it was free from them. The system of co-operative industry established by Vandeleur, therefore, harmonized in essential principles with the systems to which the Irish peasantry had been well accustomed and greatly attached. The only thing novel in its govern-

ment was the interest taken in it by the landlord.

Mr. Pare's work gives the plan in full detail, with instructive tables of expenditure, and an exceedingly interesting account of its fortunes and fate. When the flight of the founder became known to the peasantry of the happy and industrious settlement, the grief of the people was unrestrained. "It was afflicting in the extreme to hear in the still of the night the wild wail as if for the dead. . . . At intervals in that ever-to-be-remembered night, the labourers would cry out, in the depth of their sorrow, 'Ohone! ohone! Shaun Vandeleur, why did you go from us? ohone! Vandeleur, why did you leave us?' They were plundered of their improvements and expelled; and "outrages" followed.

86. RAHEL and Varnhagen von Ense are personages whose position in the literature of correspondence is now so firmly established that there is supposed to be a *prima facie* case established for the publication of any series of letters addressed to one or both of them. Because Rahel corresponded with many eminent Germans, to have corresponded with Rahel is a distinction which entitles the Marquis de Custine to the honours of a posthumous volume. Apart from such book-making devices as printing the same letter twice over, in French and German, the volume is interesting as showing one of the outside circles to which the eddying force of German thought had spread early in the century. The writer, born in 1798, was the son of an emigrée. His father had been guillotined; and his education was carried on for the most part in Switzerland and Germany. The results of this are seen in his earlier letters, from 1816 to 1820. There is a great deal of sentiment and moralizing which would have been absolutely commonplace in the land of Werther, but which in that of Obermann showed a certain degree of independence, if not originality, especially as he was quite capable of criticising his instructors. Rahel is made the confidante of his youthful egotism and aspirations; and he is delighted when she praises his style or commends the elaborate portraits he had drawn for her amusement of a fossil relic of the ancien régime, the abbé of the house of Custine, and the not much more modern *ami de la maison*. Some of the letters treat graver subjects, ranging from Spinoza to St. Theresa; and Rahel's liberalism suffered severe shocks from the wilful but very positive religious and political conservatism of her young friend. She was firm on one point—that of declining divided allegiance; and her letters, which failed when Custine's marriage was first discussed, ceased altogether when it at last took place. After a few years he became a widower; and the correspondence was then resumed, but in a cooler tone, for the writer was another man. The confidential "Astolphe" and "Rahel" are abandoned; and the subjects discussed are manuscripts preparing for publication, social gossip, and literary novelties. Custine seems to have been one of those men who contrive to



be at feud with every party; and his criticisms, which to begin with were often acute, grew increasingly bitter as he gained self-confidence. A representative government, he says, is a house in which every one wants to be cook; Emile de Girardin is "l'ichneumon du crocodile Thiers;" George Sand's socialist romance is "le Télémaque des garçons ménagiers;" Victor Hugo's dramatic successes provoke numerous epigrams; Madame Récamier and Tocqueville are elaborately characterized as malicious and insincere; Lacordaire is "un ligueur du xix. siècle;" of Guizot it is said "on n'a jamais pratiqué plus naïvement l'adoration de soi-même;" Balzac "est fou de la richesse qu'il n'a pas;" Italy, the cradle of the arts, has become their tomb, "ce sont les Anglais qui les y vont enterrer;" the "coq gallois" is a "girouette;" and so on through a list of splenetic utterances, sometimes relieved by wit, and sometimes showing real insight. Custine died in 1857; and a short biographical notice by Varnhagen tells most of what is known of his life apart from his own writings.

37. THE third part of Dr. Reuchlin's *History of Italy* embraces the period of reaction, and the national rising of Italy, from the occupation of Rome by the French in the spring of 1849 to the last ministry of Cavour in January 1860. The author despises altogether the graces of style. His narrative is diffuse, confused, and obscure. He accumulates discordant and contradictory images, and falls into bombast when he aims at impressiveness. Notwithstanding these serious defects the book will be read with interest and profit; for the author has acquired, during a long residence in Italy, a more than common knowledge of the country; and the rise and triumph of Italian nationality is one of the most striking dramas of history. In describing the siege of Rome by Oudinot, Dr. Reuchlin exaggerates the merits of Garibaldi (p. 25). He succeeds very well in finding his way through the obscurity and confusion with which the French official reports, and especially Vaillant's *Siège de Rome*, disguised the failure of the first attack, and the gross ignorance of the ground with which it was made. The French themselves afterwards told the Roman historian Coppi that their maps had been 200 years old. On the fruitless attempts of France after the capture of the city to obtain liberal concessions, and their repulse by the Motu proprio of the 12th of September 1849, the book adds nothing to what may be found in Bianchi's *Storia della diplomazia Europea*; and it seems frivolous to quote the testimony of About as evidence of the deplorable condition of things in the Papal States. Dr. Reuchlin's chief authority for the history of Tuscany from 1848 to 1858 is Genarelli, who, though not an impartial witness, is a trustworthy reporter of official documents. He shows how the Grand Duke Leopold had been prejudiced against Piedmont, and driven into the arms of the reactionary party, by the Pope and the Emperor. The correspondence with Francis Joseph, left behind in Florence by Leopold in April 1859,

proves that the Grand Duke hailed the intervention of Austria as an end to the terrorism, but that the Emperor, dissatisfied with the attitude of Tuscany, treated his suppliant cousin somewhat haughtily. On the 27th of March 1849, immediately after the news of Radetzky's victory at Novara, he writes: "I can only sympathize with your wish that a veil may be thrown over the past; for the recollection of it would only awaken painful feelings in my mind. Whatever obligations may be imposed by the position of an Italian sovereign, it ought never to have been forgotten that your title was based on the fact of your being a member of our family. I could not therefore help regretting that the exigencies of the time should have led an Archduke to renounce the banner, and even the glorious name of our house, to take up arms against it, and in the hour of danger to seek aid from its declared enemy, Piedmont." Schwarzenberg said to a confidential agent of Leopold at Vienna: "Tuscany is Austria; we shall not give it up, and our measures are already taken." The Grand Duke's fears were worked on to bring him to the point of abdicating in favour of his son; and he was not spared the humiliation of a military occupation. He and his subjects were to be taught that they did not belong to themselves, but to Austria. The Austrian troops were not withdrawn until a complete reaction had been accomplished in all departments of the State, and Tuscany had paid 81,913,000 lire for her preservation. The Tuscans resented this foreign occupation, and treasured their wrath against the dynasty which had called in the foreigner. At p. 103, Dr. Reuchlin, in his thoughtless and forgetful way, says that there was no distinct written appeal to the Austrians for an armed intervention; but at page 99 he quotes the Grand Duke's letter of the 19th of March 1849, which is an undisguised request for the aid of Austria.

For the restoration in Parma and Modena Dr. Reuchlin relies on the documents collected by order of Farina in 1860, and on the older work of Nicomede Bianchi. The legitimist and anti-French proclivities of Duke Francis are brought out vividly. Such expressions as "those rogues the Western Powers," "the brigand Napoleon and his band," "the crowned Robert Macaire," Tartuffe, "an ill-conditioned wretch," were evidently taken out of the ducal archives and made public with the aim of exciting Napoleon III. against the small Italian sovereigns. With regard to the Austrian administration in Lombardy and Venice, Dr. Reuchlin betrays a certain one-sidedness in the use of his authorities: his description everywhere breathes sympathy with the oppressed and abhorrence of the Austrian barbarians. Haynau's cruel treatment of Brescia is narrated according to the statements of Coppi and La Varenne. Considerable prominence is given to the caricaturists of Milan; and more is said of the satires of Greppi and the jokes of the uomò di pietra than of the efforts of the Archduke Maximilian to reconcile public opinion.

On the other hand, the author, as might be expected, shows a hearty appreciation of the



Piedmontese leaders, Azeglio and Cavour (pp. 158, 161). At p. 194 there is a highly unsuccessful parallel between Cavour and Count Bismarck, in the first of whom he sees a representative of the Hellenic, and in the second of the Roman temperament. But in another place he more correctly admits Cavour's want of idealism, and devotion to practical and tangible objects, and cites his characteristic and unhellenic saying: "I shall never make a verse, but I shall make Italy." The general survey of Cavour's administration, and of the measures by which he prepared Piedmont for the conflict, is written with knowledge and intelligence. The point of his home policy was to carry out the principles of constitutional law against the opposition of the clergy. Abroad it was to seize the opportunity of the Crimean war in order to wipe out the stain of Novara and conquer for Piedmont a voice in the councils of Europe. In November 1854 Cavour told his niece, the Countess Alfieri, that Ratazzi, La Marmora, and the whole cabinet were hostile to the alliance proposed by England, and that his bolder policy was supported by no one but the King. Cavour's position was critical, because he knew that France in December 1854 had offered to guarantee the Austrian possessions in Italy if Austria would withdraw her troops and send them against Russia. He met this combination by placing the integrity of constitutional Piedmont under the secret protection of England, and thereupon joined the western alliance (p. 238). Austrian diplomatists understood the warning. The unfavourable prospects of the Piedmontese cause at the conclusion of peace did not discourage Cavour. At Paris, in March 1856, he expressed the hope that the war of Italian independence might begin before three years were over. In the Congress the English minister supported him with friendly words; and when Cavour declared that he was ready to undertake a war to the knife Lord Clarendon promised the hearty sympathy of England. The language of the Emperor Napoleon was less encouraging. He said, indeed, to Count Buol, that he regretted to be in direct opposition to Austria on the Italian question; but he allowed himself to be easily influenced by the friendly assurances of the Austrian statesman. Cavour returned from the Congress without having gained any tangible advantage, and maintained his position in Italy by holding out the prospect of an imminent breach with Austria. Then began that long and dexterous combination of devices to isolate Austria in Europe, to weaken her alliances, and to set the Western Powers against her. The establishment of the National Italian Union and the pamphlet *Italia e Francia* followed; and the idea of giving Savoy and Nice in return for French aid began to be disseminated.

Cavour announced the war in order to hasten it—he shrank from no means of fomenting hatred against Austria; and in the spring of 1857 the diplomatic breach was effected. Orsini's attempt accelerated the decision of France. Napoleon required measures of restriction on the Piedmontese press; and Buol rejoiced over

the probability of a consequent estrangement. But Cavour extricated himself from the difficulty. He complied partially with the French demands, and openly assumed the offensive by proclaiming the European dangers that were involved in the motives of Italian discontent, the foreign domination, and the wretchedness of the home governments. Dr. Reuchlin makes it appear exceedingly probable, though he does not actually prove, that Orsini's second letter, published after his execution, was concerted between Cavour and Napoleon, to prevent the repetition of such attempts against the Emperor's life, and to bring the two nations closer together. It was in July 1858, at Plombières, that the alliance between the two men acquired solidity, as Cavour then recognised the claim of France to an Alpine frontier, and stipulated in exchange a kingdom of Upper Italy with a population of eleven millions. Napoleon indeed only promised to take part in the ostensibly defensive war; and it was left to Cavour to worry Austria into acts of violence, and so to make war inevitable. The English proposal for a congress, to which Napoleon compelled Cavour's sullen assent, was frustrated by the sudden ultimatum which the Court of Vienna sent to Turin on the 23d of April (p. 317). The war, notwithstanding its triumphs, did not bring with it the fruits which Cavour had expected. The peace of Villafranca checked the movement of Italian unity, and drove Cavour from office. He retired, he said, to spend the rest of his life in conspiracies. His policy of annexation was carried out by Farini in the Duchies, by Minghetti in Romagna, and by Buoncompagni in Tuscany. Their task was made easy by the clause in the treaty, which provided that the princes should only be restored by native arms. In Tuscany there was collision between the French and the Italian policy; Prince Napoleon was sent there to obtain a throne for himself, or, as was said, to save the patriotic feeling of the Tuscans, and to animate their sense of thankfulness for the generosity of the Emperor (p. 448). But the French policy was baffled by the unanimous vote of the Tuscan Parliament, on the 20th of August, for annexation to Piedmont (p. 463). Dr. Reuchlin's account of these transactions, and of the victory of Italian unity over French intrigue, is the most vivid and successful portion of his work.

88. M. FISCHBACH'S *Diary of the siege and bombardment of Strasburg* extends from the 6th of August to the 28th of September 1870, and recounts with every appearance of truthfulness the daily life of which he was an eyewitness. His object was not to describe the operations of either besiegers or besieged, but to record what Strasburg and its inhabitants did, what they suffered, and how they fought. Thus the book is valuable as affording a picture of the Strasburg population during those days of excitement and distress. The narrative is simple, straightforward, and powerful. On every page are the shadows of death, but also the evidence of human self-sacrifice and heroism. The author's sympathies are de-

cidedly French; but he does not conceal the faults on his own side, and he emphatically condemns the war. He begins with a descriptive account of the confusion into which the French were thrown on the 6th of August after the battle of Fröschweiler, and blames the want of any provision or preparation for the scattered masses who were reeling on from Hagenau towards the capital of Alsace, and whose demoralized and stupefied condition made them a very undesirable reinforcement to the local garrison. The fortress had not been put on a war footing, or properly armed; and a single regiment, the 87th, which happened accidentally to be in the city, formed the real nucleus of the garrison, to which were added a few hundred artillerymen, pontoniers, and custom-house officers, some marines intended for the operations on the Rhine, and lastly the broken fragments of M'Mahon's troops. No one believed in a real siege or bombardment. On the 18th of August, when the first shell fell in a kitchen of a house on the Grüner-Bruck, a great crowd collected to wonder at the reach of the missile, and the damage effected by the splinters; but there was no foreboding of anything worse to come. It was supposed that the Prussians, like the Allies in February 1814, would content themselves with throwing two or three shells into the town. The bombardment began on the 23d of August. Its fearful effects, and the courage with which it was sustained, are vividly brought out in M. Fischbach's pages. Even the last tribute of respect to the dead became almost impossible; for the incessant storm of shells made the burial-ground, which was near the citadel, unsafe. Sometimes a few persons would follow behind some coffin, hurrying onwards, and, when a missile fell in the neighbourhood, fleeing into the houses to seek a shelter from the splinters (p. 150). The wretched population was further harassed by demoralized soldiers and thieves who entered the burning houses to plunder, and pursued their work without hindrance, "for there was no sign of police to be seen." The only ray of comfort in this universal distress was the arrival of the Swiss, who came to offer an asylum to the women, children, and old men. But, however great was the suffering of the population, the moment of surrender appeared to them to have come too soon. When the white flag was seen waving from the top of the Minster men would scarcely believe their eyes; and when the incredible fact was confirmed there was a general outbreak of popular indignation (p. 176). M. Fischbach tries to relate the events as calmly and impartially as possible, though he does not conceal his abhorrence of the imperial ministers and partisans, whom he regards as responsible for the calamities of his native city. His diary refutes a number of unauthenticated narratives and anecdotes of the condition of Strasburg during the siege, published in French and German newspapers—amongst others, the statement that General Urich, being urged by the Mayor to capitulate, threatened to shoot him or to blow up the Cathedral. The fact that the honorary citizenship was con-

ferred on General Urich on the 18th of September shows that he remained to the last on the best terms with the citizens and their representatives. M. Fischbach's work will be a valuable authority for the future historian of the year 1870.

39. HERR BAUMGARTEN, the historian who is chiefly known from his Spanish studies, has been roused by the events of the day to review the most important facts of modern German history, and to exhibit the process of the development of Germany, from her religious emancipation in the sixteenth century, through her intellectual and literary movements in the eighteenth, to her political emancipation in the nineteenth. His book, *Wie wir wieder ein Volk geworden sind*, is written with spirit, and has found a multitude of readers. But it is ephemeral rather than historical, and contains more than one bold proposition which needs to be corroborated by facts. The author shows that the reformation of the sixteenth century broke up the unity of Germany, threw the country into an abyss of impotence, poverty, and barbarism, and politically destroyed it by the Thirty Years' War; and he rightly thinks that a creative energy in politics and intelligence was necessary to rescue it from the decadence into which it fell after the peace of Westphalia. But when he seeks for this redemption, this creative political and intellectual impulse, in the house of Hohenzollern, he is obliged to exaggerate in favour of Prussia, and to show a corresponding prejudice against Austria and the small States. He ignores the fact that Prussia, under Frederick William II., Frederick William III., and Frederick William IV., knew nothing of her German mission. He admits that she often went astray, and stopped short in her career (p. 22); but he is inclined to think that the essential character of Prussian development has been one of restless, consistent, and successful national activity. Much, however, as the Hohenzollerns have done for the Prussian state, they always in fact remained Hohenzollerns, and only upon occasion took a lease of the national German idea. This is why they sacrificed the left bank of the Rhine at the peace of Basil. This is why they dragged the heroes of the war of emancipation before the tribunals for their demagogism, and at Spandau and Köpnick afforded ocular demonstration to the youth of Germany that it was easier to die than to live for German freedom. And this also explains why Frederick William IV. declined to accept the German Imperial crown. All these facts recede into the background in Herr Baumgarten's pages; and even in his account of the flourishing period of German literature he seems to extol Stein at the expense of Goethe. His notion, derived from ancient Greek history, that the idea of the beautiful is politically enervating, is altogether arbitrary and narrow. The fall of Athens in the Peloponnesian war is no proof that æsthetic culture had unmanned the Athenians. Thucydides shows that the political corruption of the Demos had nothing to do with the golden age of literature, but already existed before the

death of Pericles, and that the Peloponnesian war was by no means a hopeless one for Athens. In spite of her æsthetic culture, she might have issued victorious from the struggle, if it had not been for that terrible plague which Pericles could not have foreseen, his own death, and the failure of his Epigoni. The high culture of a nation may not strengthen it in a political or military sense; but to speak of its "enervating effects" is to fall into the error of Rousseau, and to oppose two national qualities which have no essential antagonism. The glorification of war as such, which Herr Baumgarten (pp. 77, 101) regards as the judgment of God, and a morally purifying power, recalls the war hymns of De Maistre. There are a few small slips in the book, such as that at p. 81, where the author says of Schiller and Goethe that their "greatest works were conceived in deserted Wolfenbüttel or in little Weimar." He is probably thinking of Lessing; for neither Schiller nor Goethe ever stayed in the "deserted Wolfenbüttel." But such slips are easily accounted for in a hurried production, written to satisfy a patriotic emotion rather than to satisfy a craving for historical science.

40. PROFESSOR SCHAEFFLE'S *Capitalismus und Socialismus*, which originated in a course of lectures delivered at Vienna, is one of the best economic works that have appeared in Germany for some years. Though primarily concerned with the struggle between labour and capital, and with the socialist projects which that struggle has called forth, it embraces questions of the most various kinds in the field of political economy. Addressing the whole educated public, the author avoids any excess of system or erudition, and treats his subject throughout from an eminently practical point of view. Nevertheless he investigates the ultimate principles of his science, and its connection with jurisprudence and ethics; and he reviews the different economic doctrines and schemes of reform with comprehensive knowledge. The book is substantially based on the principles of Marlo, whose remarkable work, *Untersuchungen über die Organisation der Arbeit*, is little known, even in Germany, though it was published many years ago. Marlo contrasts the modern socialistic and communistic schemes with the theories of political economy prevailing since Adam Smith, which seek the welfare of society through the unlimited freedom of the individual. In practice, he says, this individualism leads to the oppression of the weak by the strong; it is, at bottom, merely a system of egotism. Freedom forms only one side of human nature; and the claims of society are not less important. For man is only man as a member of the human family, and lives not for himself, but also for others. In this idea is the basis of communism, which, viewed theoretically, is quite as right as individualism, but also quite as wrong, inasmuch as it over-estimates the claims of the community as its rival does those of individual freedom. The true system must avoid this contrariety; it must reconcile freedom and so-

ciety. Such a system Marlo termed Federalism, an idea which he was the first to introduce into the science of economy. What he aimed at was an active co-operation between independent departments of industry. His views gave a new complexion to the science of economy, and constituted the first thorough and original reform since Adam Smith. From this point of view all one-sided principles lose their power. With them also fall all extreme demands; and the moral nature of man, in which the ideal is blended with the real, becomes the rule. Another aspect is thus given to the struggle between labour and capital. Professor Schæffle contemplates the question from the standpoint of economical progress, and thereby is able to admit the claims of both parties. In like manner he shows how hollow is the dogmatism which, on the one side, would base industry exclusively on private undertakings, and, on the other, would discard all private enterprise, and only countenance associated industry, or even transfer the whole economy of the people to the State. The truth is rather that the two ideas fit into and fulfil each other; and hence he deduces the existence of many different kinds of property side by side with that of private individuals, as the property of the commune, of associations, of corporations, and finally of the State. This leads him to the idea of an economic "morphology," i.e., an indication of the way in which the different forms of business proceed one from another, by what conditions they are bound, and what effects follow therefrom. On the basis of such an inquiry it may be judged, he thinks, with considerable safety, what kind of business is best suited for private enterprise, and what for workmen's associations, or joint-stock companies, or the State itself. All this is treated with great acuteness, and is very instructive and practically important. Lastly, the author discusses also the political reforms which are a condition of economical reform. Where a federative system is developed in the domain of economy, there must be also, he holds, a federative constitution. For political centralization favours the centralization of capital, and calls forth a proletarian class of workmen. Moreover centralized States are always warlike; but frequent wars lead to oppressive taxation, and a pernicious system of debt, with which again are connected the incessant fluctuations of the exchange. Militarism is a special enemy of social reform.

41. MR. SHARP has published five popular lectures on the aim of Culture, according to the various theories of the religious, the scientific (which word in his phraseology is restricted to physical science), and the literary thinker. He concludes that as Religion or the impulse in man to seek God, and Culture or the impulse in man to seek his own highest perfection, both come from God, they must be in perfect harmony at bottom, in spite of their historical divergences from one another, and their not unfrequent collisions. The conclusion is stated as a fact that must be true, rather than reasoned out with a historical demonstration that

it is so. Or rather the author attempts to prove his point in a way destructive of the point to be proved, namely, by almost identifying religion with culture, and by leaving no place in his scheme for the special physico-scientific culture. His first fault is his positive identification of Mr. Huxley's name with a philosophy which is called phenomenism and is materialism, which forbids our putting anything into the universe but what we find there, namely, that which communicates with our nerves of sensation: "the great rule of phenomenism is that we should not do that which we always naturally do, humanize the universe, recognise intelligence in it." Mr. Huxley recognises, just as really as Mr. Shairp, the necessary existence of this view of the universe, and the "apparent conflict" between the "anthropomorphic" and the "physical" aspect of nature—between theology seeking to extend the anthropomorphic view over the whole of nature, and physical science seeking to give the same exclusive predominance to the physical view. Now, he says, Philosophers gird themselves for battle upon the last and greatest of all speculative problems: "Does human nature possess any free, volitional, or truly anthropomorphic element, or is it only the cunningest of all nature's clocks? Some, among whom I count myself, think that the battle will for ever remain a drawn one, and that, for all practical purposes, this result is as good as anthropomorphism winning the day." In accordance with this, Mr. Huxley admits both Idealism and Materialism—the language and philosophy of mere spirit, and the language and philosophy of mere matter. They are two branches of one tree; and the only hope of fertility lies in bringing them together. "Their differences are complementary, not antagonistic; and thought will never be completely fruitful until the one unites with the other." It is not fair then to treat Mr. Huxley as a materialist, nor, when he postulates for his ideal culture respect for others and a tender conscience, to object to him that his philosophy affords no grounds for either of these postulates. His "anthropomorphism," which is as essential an element of his philosophy as his "materialism," does, in positing human freedom, and in admitting the necessity of recognising other free beings besides ourselves, contain and justify both these postulates. Mr. Shairp is more just to Mr. Matthew Arnold; but, though he is right in saying that Mr. Arnold's "dainty and divisive" culture is more allied to pride and exclusiveness than to religion, and that religion is only a subordinate part instead of the dominant harmony of such a culture, it is not certain that these are real objections to his culture in itself. Culture as such must be exclusive. It cannot admit that the barbarism of the religious savage is in any sense cultivated. If the Chinese Empire were Christian to-morrow, as it might be, and yet keep its peculiar civilization, culture could not admit that civilization to be a child of its own. Culture is distinct from religion, and must be so. It is, as it were, a religion for this side of the grave; while religion is a culture to pre-

pare the soul for the other world. They have their analogies; but they are fundamentally distinct. They are capable of being harmonized; but they are independent of each other, and therefore capable also of being at odds. Mr. Arnold's notion of culture is defective rather in its want of force than in any other aspect. A civilization that is all "sweetness and light" might suffice for lotos-eaters, but not for the worthy companions of Ulysses. Sweetness is social, light is critical, but neither of them is the motive force of life. Real culture educates a man to act as well as to think. It is, as Mr. Arnold holds, the thorough and harmonious education of all a man's faculties; and this education results in something more than is comprehended in the two terms sweetness and light.

Mr. Shairp, however, has not attempted to give a systematic or exhaustive treatment of his subject; and, as a popular series of lectures, his little book may be said to be full of good and useful ideas, and generally to be right in the main principle, even when it is wrong in the criticism of particular writers. The faults are faults rather of details than of generalizations.

42. THE first part of Mr. Baring-Gould's work on the *Origin and Development of Religious Belief* was published in 1869, and was devoted to a consideration of Heathenism and Mosaism. It was written, the author said, from a philosophic and not from a religious point of view, and assumed neither the existence of a God nor the truth of a revelation. It also made claims to be based throughout not on hypothesis but on demonstration. The second part, on Christianity, has recently appeared. Though to all appearance conducted on the same method of argument as the first, always appealing to the same principles, and reasoning on the same Hegelian formula, it is yet confessed in the preface to be the history of the author's own religious difficulties and searchings after truth; and he declares his highest aim to be to produce in other minds the same convictions and rest which he has found. This is a modification of the perfectly aimless and indifferent position assumed in the first part, and in fact is the true account of the writer's attitude throughout both volumes. It gives a personal interest to them which, in some aspects, compensates for their want of the philosophic indifference.

The main principle on which the author constructs his argument is that which goes under the name of the Hegelian trichotomy. All truth, he says, is relative. Each truth implies a converse, possibly a contradictory, truth; and the total truth is made up of the synthesis of the two. Thus his method, all through both his volumes, consists in finding two antagonistic truths or principles, rendering to each their due separately, and then combining the two in the synthesis of the indifferentia. Accordingly he begins by contrasting the intellect and feelings, the first as the individual organ, the second as the social organ, and declares the province of religion to be the co-ordina-

tion of the two, in the concurrence of thought and sentiment. Then in religion he sees sometimes the tendency to destroy individuality, and therefore reason, as is the case in theocracies, and sometimes the tendency to exalt the individual unduly, as in pantheistic systems; and he finds the proper term to consist in a synthesis of the two. This system is different from the *via media* of the old Anglicanism. The latter was a process of elimination of incompatible attributes from two extremes, by which an indifferent mean was at last attained. Mr. Gould's is a process of syncretism, in which the incompatibilities are retained and made compatible by assigning them the positions outside which they may not come—as the same plate of metal may be both concave and convex, but on different sides.

Thus he accepts two ideals of God and combines them. "The rational conception of God is that he is—nothing more. To give him an attribute is to make him a relative God. The sentimental conception of God is that he is the perfection of relatives; the tendency of sentimentalism is to deny that he is absolute. Both are true, and both are false: both are true in their positive assertions, both are false in their negations." He considers the Incarnation to be the moment of indifferentia in which these two contrary truths are harmonized. He also thinks that before creation God was simply absolute, *i.e.*, without relations, and therefore without personality. Apart from the question of theological soundness, this position seems false from his own point of view. If the trichotomy is once true it is always true, it is true for every possible object of thought. Now, if "God before creation" can be expressed, it can also be thought, and in being thought it must be thought as absolute, relative, and the synthesis of the two. The Nicene Creed gives this trichotomy; but Mr. Baring-Gould inconsistently forgets it.

It is interesting to see how his philosophic medium colours his views of Catholicism and Protestantism: "In its concentration of attention on God, in its passionate devotion to Him, in its reiteration of His existence as all in all, attesting Him in humanity as the basis of charity, in science as the basis of truth, in art as the ideal of perfect beauty, in morals as the source of virtue, Romanism has exhibited a tendency to forget individual man. It has bidden each man dissolve his personality in God, and disappear as an entity, that God may be all in all. . . . In its concentration of attention on self, in its declaration of the infallibility of private judgment, Protestantism has ended in Atheism. It has broken the link connecting man with man, and the fracture of that link has been the negation of the absolute, and the deification by each man of his own opinion. If Catholicism be the principle of inclusion, Protestantism is the principle of exclusion. The first is the system of conciliation of all verities, the second is the opposition of all verities to their mutual exclusion." This statement seems almost as incompatible with the author's principles as with the *via media*. Protestantism on his principles, so far as it is

thinkable at all, must embody some truth, and cannot be merely a negation as he seems to make it. It has its legitimate place in the ultimate synthesis. But Mr. Baring-Gould distinguishes between "Catholicism" and "Romanism." "The defect of the Roman Catholic system is the neglect of distinction in drawing out man's personality. And the defect of the Protestant system is the conversion of distinction into division. The former has produced an artificial unity, the latter has precipitated mankind into universal contradiction."

With this universal application of the Hegelian trichotomy, it was to be expected that Mr. Baring-Gould would consider that, as the middle ages Aristotelized theology in spite of Aristotle having been condemned previously, so theology is destined to be Hegelized in spite of the condemnations hitherto lavished by theologians on Hegel's system. It is noticeable, also, that the habit of historical generalization, so fostered by his philosophy, has led Mr. Baring-Gould into several ingenious, but of course simply hypothetical, divisions, in which he almost seems to have attempted to compete with Comte. For instance: "The religious history of the Church exhibits three phases. The first when dogma appealed to men and met with a ready response, the second when dogma was forced on man by an authoritative society, and the third when dogma was insisted on upon the authority of an infallible text." The distinction may be necessary to one who wishes to give simply a rational basis to dogma, and who says men formerly revolted against the Church, now they revolt against the text, and then asks, "on what does dogma stand?" But historically, these "three phases" are as weak as Comte's famous trichotomy of scientific thought into theological, metaphysical, and positive has proved itself.

43. THE republication of Dean Milman's *Essays* was an inevitable tribute to his position as a classic in the debateable land between scholarship and polite literature. He wrote much in the *Quarterly Review*; and the volume that has appeared is made up chiefly of his later contributions, dealing with questions excluded from the scope of his greater works. His review of Newman's *Theory of Development* is still remembered, and is a curious, though indefinite, exposition of his thoughts on theology. Most of the other papers resemble desultory studies for a supplement to the *History of Latin Christianity*. Those on Savonarola and Erasmus are superior to the rest; but it is doubtful whether papers designed to be reprinted which were originally designed to present, in an agreeable form, the notions of the day on subjects which have since been more seriously investigated. Traces of haste or negligence are so frequent and so obvious that some revision ought to have been attempted. Milman has bestowed a Cardinal's hat on Bernini (p. 287), and imagines that Pius v., who became Pope in 1566, "was seconded by the exertions of Carlo Borromeo at Milan, and of Giberti, the excel-

lent Bishop of Verona" (p. 185), the latter of whom died in 1548. Voltaire called Bernis "Babet la Bouquetière," after a Paris flower-girl; Milman wrote in his original article in 1848, "Voltaire had called him Babet le Boutiquier, from a vender of flowers at one of the theatres;" and the blunder is now faithfully preserved. He seems to have persuaded himself that Thomism signifies a degenerate sort of mediæval scholasticism (pp. 116-125), whereas it designates a theory of divine grace, which has continued to play a great part in modern theology, and was adopted, for instance, by Bossuet, the most eloquent of divines. In two different notes on the same page (11), he quotes Mansi and the *Miscellanea* of Baluze as if he did not know that he was each time speaking of the same work. Indeed he cannot have looked at it; for he gives a passage of five lines in which scarcely two consecutive words are correct, and in which Savonarola is made to say of himself what was said of him by an enemy. In describing the Bull of Sixtus iv. against Florence, after the conspiracy of the Pazzi, he says, "We presume that it bore the awful prelude, 'in sempiternam memoriam,' for the eternal memory of man" (p. 14). He might have satisfied himself that it chanced to bear a different prelude by reading it in Fabroni or Roscoe. The Pope laid the conduct of Savonarola before a commission of fourteen Dominicans. According to the Dean, "all but one condemned Savonarola as 'guilty of heresy, schism, and disobedience to the Holy See'" (p. 50). The despatch which is the only authority for this transaction was before him. The words which he gives as the decision of the judges were the words of the accuser; and in fact the despatch only says that twelve of the Dominicans were hostile to the great preacher, and thought "che si dovesse fare ogni provisione contro di lui." This passage has been equally misunderstood, though in an opposite sense, by Villari, who describes the whole proceeding as a purely political intrigue. Milman declares that the act of excommunication against Savonarola is lost (p. 53). It is printed in the very book of Perrens that he was reviewing. There is a fundamental error in his whole conception of the friar. "The language of Savonarola," he says, "had long bordered on, or rather been the same with that of, Wycliffe and John Huss, that a wicked priest, bishop, or pope, was no priest, bishop, or pope" (p. 59). If this is true, then Savonarola was unquestionably at war with the Church, and the Pope who condemned him was the champion of Catholic orthodoxy. But far from disputing the doctrine of his Church on orders, Savonarola only challenged the validity of Alexander's election on canonical grounds. The Dean, though he seldom trespasses beyond the region of second-hand authorities, was unfortunate on one of the rare occasions when he consulted originals. He accepts as authentic the report of Savonarola's last examination, published by Emiliano Giudici, which is known to be one of several false reports prepared by the Florentine Government to justify the unjust sentence.

The literary merit of these *Essays* is not of a kind to make up for want of accuracy in facts. The author uses such strange idioms as, "Instantly that he was dead the populace rose" (p. 182); and he speaks of "a crime . . . which struck the whole of Italy with horror, and was propagated with shuddering triumph among the Protestants of Germany" (p. 174). In writing of Erasmus, it would have been better not to overlook the most characteristic of all his sayings, and that which points most sharply the contrast between his easy temper and the sterner spirit of the Dominican: "Cum omnibus bonis viris optavi correctionem ecclesiæ, si sine gravi rerum tumultu fieri posset."

44. In the publication of Häusser's literary remains several blunders have been committed. The work, instead of being intrusted to some of the author's well-known colleagues, was given to Herr Knies, whose department is political economy, and who does not possess the knowledge which is requisite for the thorough and systematic editing of historical works. The two volumes of *Gesammelte Schriften* which have appeared in the last two years afford a very discouraging illustration of this mistake. The reviews published by Häusser in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and other periodicals have simply been printed off; and, in the course of nearly 2000 pages, contributions of critical importance are combined with many others which are only of ephemeral interest. They are generally given in the order in which they appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1841. Now and then, however, for no apparent reason, even this chronological connection has been broken, and articles on Danish, Hessian, French, and English history—on Dahlmann, Rommel, Wachsmuth, and Macaulay—follow one another in a variegated disorder. In the first volume the most important and characteristic essays are those (pp. 352-569) on Thiers's *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*; and it is observable how Häusser's originally severe judgment gradually gives place, as time goes on, to a fairer appreciation of the French historian. In the second volume, the most conspicuous essays are those on the literature of the French Revolution—on Lewitz, Arnd, Kaiser, Zinkeisen, Mallet du Pan, and Sybel (pp. 467-528). A paper on Macaulay's "Frederick the Great" also deserves particular notice. It is reprinted from the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and is a brilliant vindication of the King against Macaulay's somewhat crude attack. Why Häusser's classical letter to Kloppe on Frederick the Great has not also been given does not appear; it is either relegated to the third or fourth volume, amongst the author's parliamentary speeches and political writings, or else it is not to be reprinted at all.

The short preface, which defines the work as only a selection from Häusser's essays, declares that none have been included which are not of permanent interest. Considering how many of an opposite kind have actually been admitted, it becomes doubtful whether the excluded ones may not have had a real value

and significance which the editor has failed to appreciate. It may be a question whether reviews should be republished at all, or as Goethe says in his Epistles:

"Ueber das schreiben,  
Schreibend die Menge vermehren und meine  
Meinung verkünden,  
Dass auch andere wieder darüber meinen, und  
immer  
So ins unendliche fort die schwankende Woge  
sich wälze."

But if such essays are to be collected together, it should at least be done with literary judgment and a due regard for the author's memory.

45. DR. SCHMIDT'S *Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit* consists of a series of pleasant essays, mostly free from the faults and blemishes of his well-known but greatly over-rated history of German literature. In the latter work, his desire to connect the course of literature with the general development of civilization led him to undertake a task which was beyond his power, and betrayed him, in his treatment of the various sciences, into much superficial criticism and many distorted views and incorrect statements of fact, which he veiled as far as possible by dexterity of treatment and expression. In the present essays, however, he has gained a firm hold of his subject by limiting its scope; his judgment rests upon a clear and distinct perception of the object he has in view; and he is less hampered by far-fetched combinations of ideas. His opening remarks on the recent revolution in the whole literature of Europe are sound and interesting. Then follows a discussion "On the Influence of the Prussian State on German literature." The matters of fact are exhibited prominently and clearly—first, the foundation of the University of Halle towards the end of the seventeenth century, followed soon after by that of the Academy of Science at Berlin; next, the period of Frederick the Great, when at Königsberg Hamann and Hippel appeared side by side with Kant; then the school of Berlin Romantics; and, lastly, the establishment of the Berlin University, and the reaction of the War of Independence. In his criticism on these events the author is influenced by political predilections, which are those of the Gotha National Liberals. He falls into a serious blunder when, in his exaggerated estimate of the importance of Prussia, he says of Frederick the Great: "He not only declared that a cannon-shot should not be fired in Europe without his consent, but he gave effect to the resolution." What Frederick really said was: "*If I were King of France not a shot should be fired without my leave*"—a somewhat more modest expression.

The elaborate Essay on Walter Scott is the best of the series. The author's interest in Scott dates from boyhood, and is shown in the careful and kindly analysis of his different works, in the general estimate of his mind, and in the illustration of that wide-spread

influence which made him the great master of historical romance. He justly points out how greatly Scott was aided by the peculiar character of English history, in which the present is closely linked with the distant past. In other countries the want of such a continuous development makes it far harder for a poet to transplant himself into earlier times, and often gives his efforts a laboured and unnatural appearance, as in the case of the German romance-writers. Scott treated history as a poet, but at the same time with such simplicity and truthfulness that his influence was felt on the writing of history. He taught the nineteenth century the vividness of historical conception. In Dr. Schmidt's opinion Ranke has learned much from him in the delineation of personal characteristics; and, in the long list of poets and authors who have developed more or less under his influence, both Manzoni and Victor Hugo are included. In Germany, Willibald Alexis is pointed out as his direct imitator, and Zschokke and Hauff as his immediate disciples. Even Auerbach's *Dorfgeschichten* and Reuter's Low German poems bear marks of his influence, in so far as it was he who first showed how to treat a simple, rural state of society in a manner true to nature.

The other Essays are on St. Beuve, Lord Lytton, George Eliot, Paul Heyse, Ivan Turgenev, and Erkmann-Chatrian. They are all well written.

46. The convulsion of 1848 marks a turning-point in the intellectual as well as political life of Germany; and its effects are traceable in all branches of literature and science. Starting from this idea Herr Kreyssig describes the development of German novel-writing for the last twenty years. Externally, he sees the evidence of progress in the fact that, since 1848, French and English novels, which, in translations, used to be the most widely read of all in Germany, have given way in a great measure to native productions, many of which, in their turn, have been appreciated in foreign countries and reproduced in several languages. Internally, he finds the progress to consist in this, that the German romance, which was formerly concerned with nothing but an ideal or imaginative and artificial world, now deals with real life, and even grapples with the problems of national development. He begins with the historical romance, and cites Willibald Alexis and Laube as its best known representatives. Less conspicuous, but highly original, is Scheffel's *Ekkehard*, in which the writer has achieved the difficult task of working a story of the tenth century into a modern romance. In the objective representation of existing society Herr Kreyssig gives the palm to Freytag and Reuter. Freytag's *Soll und Haben* passed in a few years through fifteen editions, and has been several times translated. *Die verlorne Handchrift* was less successful. Its subject is drawn from scholar life, while the earlier work is concerned with the commercial class. Reuter's Low German poems, partly from the difficulties of the language, are hardly known out of his own country; but there they have obtained extra-



ordinary popularity. Both of him and of Freytag Herr Kreyssig speaks with exaggerated praise. He counts their writings among the best products of German literature, and even declares that Reuter's humour recalls that of Shakespeare. Neither in Reuter nor in Freytag, however, is there really the depth and scope of ideas, or the elasticity of imagination, which are requisite for the production of enduring works. Posterity will soon forget them both. Gutzkow's works, *Die Ritter Vom Geist* and *Der Zauberer von Rom*, are properly described as doctrinaire novels. They were directed against the reactionary current which succeeded 1848, and were extremely popular from their harmony with the sentiment of the time and their palpable allusions to well-known persons and familiar conditions of society. The characters in them, however, are not well defined; the action is without internal connection; and even the style is careless. In Spielhagen, another writer of the same order, the democratic spirit which pervades the modern novel literature of Germany is expressed with special vehemence. His real merit consists in his inectiveness, his lifelike delineation of character, and his easy narrative; but he never ventures into deep waters. Of a different kind, but also written with a purpose, is Auerbach's *Auf der Höhe*. It has had a wonderful success; but a analysis resolves it into the old *Dorfgeschichten*, with which the author began his literary career, and which he has here simply worked up with scenes of Court life. This mixture produces a piquant contrast, the interest of which is enhanced for the German public by various allusions. The backbone of ideas in the book is derived from Spinoza's philosophy; and its great effect is due to that aversion for a positive Christianity which prevails among the middle classes in Germany. Herr Auerbach's last novel, *Das Landhaus am Rhein*, has even less claims to be considered a work of art. The combinations are artificial and improbable, and the reflections are the chief element. At the head of the women novelists Herr Kreyssig places Fanny Lewald, whose productions are numerous enough, though none of them betrays any true poetical inspiration. His book is pleasantly written, and affords a convenient survey of the subject. But his conception as a whole is far too flattering; and he sacrifices criticism to the claims of political sympathy.

47. THE choice of the name of Mr. Dickens's last tale was unhappily felicitous. If he had lived to finish it, there would probably have been no mystery but only a surprise. As it is, the *Mystery of Edwin Drood* will never be cleared. Whether the murdered man is really killed or only stowed away to reappear in the nick of time, no one can say with certainty. Appearances no doubt are in favour of the former supposition. The accumulation of small details which do not appear to be of any other use than to form links in an intended chain of indirect evidence against the murderer, seems to show that he is to be found out and tried; and the impossibility of discovering some of the links in this evidence without the previous discovery of the dead body, seems to prove that

the murder was to be a conclusive and successful one. Here is the only mystery in the book. The character of Jasper, the man who broods over and plans for years in all its details the murder of a nephew to whom he pretends the most passionate attachment, would be a mystery if it had been exhibited by a force kindred to that which conceived and embodied the character of Iago. In Mr. Dickens's hand it could scarcely rise above that of a mechanically constructed fiend. In the very freshness of his strength he tried to paint a monster, redeemed by no touch of virtue, in Ralph Nickleby; but the portraiture was a failure. Jasper is and must have remained an equal failure, especially if, as seems likely, in accordance with the author's later notion of universal restoration, the intention was to lead him through remorse to respectability. The two halves would have fitted like Horace's woman's head and fish's tail. But besides this figure of Jasper, who, as far as he goes, is too revolting for anything but an extremely sensational novel, there are some other figures which show a great deal of Dickens's old force, and raise the torso of *Edwin Drood* above many of his later productions. Of these figures only one need be mentioned—Rosebud's guardian, Mr. Grewgious. The hard man who coldly does his duty to his ward till she comes to lay her troubles before him, when the old family feelings slumbering in the dusty cupboard of the lawyer's breast are awakened by the interview, has many touches of the author's own quaintness. But his unfinished novel, like his earlier ones, shows that he had a calculated power of exciting feelings which he could himself scarcely have experienced. Thackeray may always be credited with having felt what he makes his readers feel. There is a nature, a reality, an absence as of exaggeration so of all other signs of artificiality and factitiousness, in his sentiment, which is wanting in the case of Dickens. Dickens is melodramatic in his weeping: where he is thoroughly real is in his laughter and his fun. And yet by his sentiment he won the very heart of the world. His first triumph was the fun of *Pickwick*; but an age of philanthropy reacted upon him, and roused in him the ambition of being its mouthpiece. And so he learned to mouth, as every orator must who is conscious of speaking to too large an audience. The lines must be coarse and the colours vivid when it is a question of scene-painting for the theatre instead of a picture for the gallery or the hall. And on the whole the advocate of sentimental philanthropy achieved a great success. No one has done more to make the prevailing tone of sentiment kind and tolerant towards weakness and eccentricity. Of course, sentiment is not action; and the man who is a brute where he ought to be most kind may find tears to weep over the fate of a dead donkey. But sentiment is an element of public opinion and judgment; and public opinion and judgment have close relationship with the action of the will.

As for the artistic means used to attain his ends, it must be conceded that Dickens's specialities not unfrequently degenerated into juggling tricks. Like a juggler, he had a wonderful tenderness for gibberish. It was per-



haps a problem worthy of an artist's cunning, to transplant into prose the unmeaning burden of the popular ballad, and to show that inarticulate murmurs and transcriptions of mere noises were sometimes available in speech for other purposes than the simple completion of a rhythm. But in Dickens what should be a subordinate side-dish of the banquet became almost the crowning point, or rather perhaps the universal condiment which gave its peculiar flavour to the whole course. Witness his entire nomenclature and onomatopoeia, which has nothing humorous in association or subtle analogies of sound, as Thackeray's has, but is chosen on the same principles as those by which the writer of a nursery tale would construct intercalary nonsense, rather to make mouthfuls of eccentric sounds than to lay bare any deep connection between sound and sentiment. Witness again the use of descriptive noises as the burden, or rather as the castanets, of a conversation; a good instance is the "crack—crack" in the second chapter of *Edwin Drood*. If this was meant for fun, it is a melancholy failure. But it was probably nothing but a trick of composition, which the inventor prized too highly and used too unsparingly. It was the scene-painter's smudge, not the artist's careful handling.

48. If Mr. Payne's poetry were all his own he would rank high amongst the minor poets of the day; but after subtracting from the account of his merits all that reads like a remote echo of Tennyson, or shows the more present influence of Mr. Swinburne or Mr. Rossetti, the remainder can only be judged in connection with the writings of Mr. Morris. If he had never found this master, Mr. Payne would no doubt still have written verses; but he would not have written the same verses. They might have been neither better nor worse, but there is nothing to show that they would under any circumstances have evinced original power; they would always have shone with the reflected light of some one of the brightest or newest stars in the poetical firmament. The two last and longest poems in his *Masque of Shadows and other Poems* are those which have both lost and gained most by this imitative habit; and the first may serve to explain, and in a degree to justify the author's readiness to seek help from without. It is called "The Masque of Shadows," and in intention would be best described as a rambling "Alastor," which fails of its effect chiefly from the poet's inability to make his material images call up the spiritual emotions with which at the moment of invention they were connected in his own mind. Its subjective interest is not strong enough to atone for a sensible want of fibre and an indistinctness of framework. The master in this is wiser than the pupil; for Mr. Morris never writes except upon a definite theme borrowed from the lively invention of earlier days and consecrated by a long traditional existence. Mr. Payne too is more successful in his other poem, "The Rime of Redemption," a variation of the old Lenore legend, though, like some other recent writers, he weakens its hor-

ror by reversing the moral, or at least depriving it of its grim uncertainty. "The Building of the Dream" is principally inspired by "Ogier the Dane;" at least the conclusion is the same, and the story is similar as far as it goes. Under the heads of "Desire," "Attainment," and "Falling Away," we are told how a certain Squire Ebhardt pursues the study of white magic and alchemy until he reads a spell, in virtue of which he rides on a horse shod with gold for seven days' journey to the setting sun, and finds the lady of his dreams and the realization of all his desires. The song which follows strikes a familiar chord:—

"For here the grief  
And sadness left behind  
With weary life are turn'd to gold  
Of dreams: from stern old memories a sheaf  
Of strange delights unfold  
Their sweets, like flowers we find  
Under a leaf."

In the end, of course, Ebhardt grows weary of superhuman happiness and is allowed to return home to die. The "Romaunt of Sir Floris" deals with Sir Galahad and the knights of the Grail; but, as a second volume is promised in continuation of the present one, it is perhaps premature to say that here too the writer seems to be rather struggling after ideas himself than aiding the vision of others. As regards the mechanical part of Mr. Payne's versification, the only things to be noticed are a slight tendency to breathlessness in pouring out the flood of short rhymed lines, and a not altogether unpleasant partiality for such archaisms as "whenas," "withouten," "some dele," and "hearkeneth" as an imperative plural.

49. On opening the fourth part of *The Earthly Paradise*, the first impulse of Mr. Morris's readers will be to ascertain the fate of the Wanderers. "What further then?" is a question that looms behind every fresh tale; but in this case there need have been no uneasiness as to the answer. Mr. Morris's muse has an equable pace which is a security against the danger of an anti-climax; and, though he sometimes plays many variations upon a single air, he is never guilty of dwelling upon one note long enough to produce weariness.

"What further then? Meseems .  
Whate'er the tale may know of what befell  
Their lives henceforth I would not have it tell;  
Since each tale's ending needs must be the  
same:  
And we men call it Death. Howe'er it came  
To those whose bitter hope hath made this book,  
With other eyes, I think, they needs must look  
On its real face. . . .  
Than that day of their vanished youth, when  
first  
They saw Death clear, and deemed all life ac-  
curst  
By that cold overshadowing threat—the end."

The epilogue is short, and these few lines contain its real burden; but it seems to supply all

that was wanted to complete the harmony of what is now almost an epic. From first to last death is represented as the great enemy, most hated by those who are worthiest of life with all it has to give of love and battle and beauty, rightly rebelled against because it destroys what is good, submitted to by all without dishonour at last, and half vanquished when the struggle has been long and has left something for memory. The old sentiment,

"Ach Gott! die Kunst ist lang  
Und kurz ist unser Leben,"

has seldom inspired more pure and vigorous strains; and though some such idea as this certainly underlies the whole of *The Earthly Paradise*, it must be observed, in justice to Mr. Morris's poetic faculty, that he nowhere gives expression to it as an opinion. By the help of vivid images he conveys an impression which may be so formulated if his readers please; but it is in practice rather than theory that he invites them to hide from the approach of death in the double life of the imagination, since the story lives while generation after generation of tale-tellers is cut off, and ages yet unborn may find comfort in its beauty.

In the "Envoi" to Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet avows a modest hope that his book may live to reach the "Land of Matters Unforgot," and charges it with a pathetic message to be delivered in that case to the indulgent ears of the master. It is to say of its author,

"That howsoever little was my worth,  
Yet was he worth e'en just so much as  
I; . . .  
Thou, keen-eyed, reading me, mayst read  
him through,  
For surely little is there left behind;  
No power great things unnameable to do;  
No knowledge for which words he may not  
find,  
No love of things as vague as autumn wind—  
Earth of the earth lies hidden by my clay,  
The idle singer of an empty day!"

This is the poet's own estimate of what is not to be found in his book; but a more favourable statement of the case would be as true. If the book does not soar into the highest regions of abstract thought or immaterial fancy, the pleasure it gives is real, and almost unequalled in its freedom from disturbing elements. Without prejudging the question whether the simply hateful and disgusting can, under any circumstances or conditions, be a fit subject for art, there can be no doubt that art of all kinds is most truly at home with and most happily exercised upon pleasure-giving beauty. Mr. Morris has forborne to avail himself of the indulgences which Lessing, in the *Laokoön*, was inclined to accord to poetic as distinguished from plastic art; and, in view of some of the excesses of modern writers, he cannot be said to have done other than wisely. He thus secures a degree of repose and perfection of keeping which has been missed by some poets of higher pretensions and perhaps greater genius.

Greek statuary, with its original colouring, may have produced an analogous effect. Keats's poetry tended naturally to the same result; and Goethe's careful self-criticism led by devious routes to what was meant for a similar end. Mr. Morris and his Wanderers see happiness threatened with change and sadness sweetened with beauty: temperate joy and tempered sorrow are the best and worst they venture to know. Death would be too sad if life were altogether joyous; but if the one had no charms the other would have no terrors. In either case there would have been an end of the purely human art in which one evil qualifies another, and the mingling of the two produces a secondary unreal good.

The different parts of *The Earthly Paradise* have been composed within too short a time for the style and spirit of the work to have undergone much change during its progress. The impression of greater subtlety and less serenity, created by the third part, was principally owing to the lengthened development of the single poem of "Gudrun." In the present volume the earlier type is reverted to; and "The Golden Apples" is more free than even "Atalanta's Race" from the echoes of modern reflection. If fairy tales are to find grown-up readers, they must be told, like this legend of Hercules, with dramatic good faith and high poetic finish, which leaves behind it a series of clear and brilliant pictures. The two other classical tales in the volume, "Bellerophon in Argos" and "Bellerophon in Lycia," have something of the same qualities, but are less perfect in as far as they are more complex; of the two the latter is the finer poem, though perhaps rather too long, and, what is rare with Mr. Morris, slightly encumbered by its episodes. The slaying of the Chimæra is so finely treated that it should have come nearer the end: even in its present place it may serve as an instance of the curious tact with which the author rearranges his ancient themes, so that the supernatural shall never go too far or take too crude a shape. The triple monster is only described by the destruction he spreads abroad; of those who see him none live to describe him; and after death the horrid body vanishes to ashes. Thus the conception is left vague, instead of becoming grotesque. "The Fostering of Aslang" exhibits a short passage of happy life, midway between woful birth and cruel death; the poem is pleasanter than "The Story of Rhodope," and the figure of the heroine to the full as fair.

"The Ring given to Venus" is taken, like "The Hill of Venus," from the rich stories of mediæval mythology; but these are not the subjects which gain most from Mr. Morris's treatment. Whether the mixture of Pagan and Christian belief produces a feeling of unreality, or whether the dark ages are too near for the illusion to be complete, it is certain that the handling of at least the first of the poems just mentioned is vaguer and more uncertain than usual. The bridal festivities and the procession of the disinherited gods are in their different ways consistent and credible; but the rest of the legend is indistinct just

where it should be clearest—that is, if it really had enough vitality to be chosen at all for a mission to the land of the Unforgotten. "The Story of Tannhäuser" is not only better known, it is also more homogeneous; nothing but the name of the goddess is classical; all the rest is pure Catholic romance. But though a favourite with poets, the legend of the Venusberg does not suit every pen; and Mr. Morris leaves the spiritual history of the knight unelucidated. He preserves, however, the essential features of the narrative, showing his usual correct instinct for what is essential and characteristic. Where ancients and moderns differ, there can be no question that the original framers of the tale knew best; and since nothing can be added more effective than the blossoming of the staff too late—which, if it had been too late, would surely not have blossomed—Mr. Morris is certainly right to take nothing away. On the whole, he has produced a very complete and a very beautiful work, executed with rare rapidity and faultlessness. With the exception of the songs of the months and the Christmas carol in "East of the Sun and West of the Moon," the lyrical pieces scattered through the volume are less perfect in form than might have been expected and wished; they lack condensation and precision, both of which Mr. Morris could easily add to their other beauties.

50. MR. WARREN'S *Rehearsals* comprise verses of widely various character and aim—dramatic monologues after the manner of Mr. Browning, classical pieces, and studies of landscape. In almost all of them—"How it Ends" and "Regret," being perhaps exceptions—personal emotions and modern sentiments are rendered, within artistic conditions of limit and calm, by means of the classic or dramatic moulds into which they are cast. Doubt and revolt of a kind that, at least when made so prominent, are almost purely modern, come with a remoter and softer sound from the lips of Prometheus or the Siren. In his employment of classic materials, as indeed in the structure of his verse, Mr. Warren almost necessarily recalls Mr. Swinburne. In such lines as these,—

"And now men praise him that he is so great,  
And now they curse him that he lets them die,  
And now they blessing feign, dissembling hate,  
But one and all he lets their moan go by,"

it is impossible not to hear the echo of a grander chorus, just as "A Hebrew Lament after Defeat" suggests and ill sustains comparison with "A Litany." In most of his Greek imitations Mr. Warren seems to side with the Titans, and to hold that "l'art moderne a une tendance essentiellement démoniaque." His verses are more peaceful and happier when, as in "The Nymph's Protest" and the "Ode to Pan," he writes of the consolations of nature, or when, as in "The Death of Heracles," he is content to be purely Greek. "Pandora" too, an allegory of the coming of

Love on earth—not the bitter Love born from the sea-foam, but the purer affection that yet brings with it sorrow and regret—contains many beauties; and there are proofs of clear vision in "Nimrod" and "The Strange Parable."

In a very different strain, Mr. Warren's dramatic monologues are on almost the same level of excellence. They are not wholly original in tone; they have neither the subtlety nor the humour of Mr. Browning's "Lippo Lippi" or "My Last Duchess;" but they are lively and pleasing studies of character. Perhaps it is in Arcadia, the native land of poetry, that Mr. Warren finds his best subject. In his pastoral the shepherds scarcely "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world." Even in Arcady, "la jeunesse n'a qu'un temps." It is thus that Mr. Warren repeats the old burden of Horace and Herrick, of Ronsard and Mürger:

"O fair one, is it wisdom to refuse;  
To make Love laughter, scorn his gracious dues.  
Ay me; time hastens, in whose hand are set  
Sourness for savour, and for song regret,  
For rose-lips wrinkles, for caresses tears.  
There is no sheaf in all his barren years,  
But greyness, and salt waste of broken sands."

It is a pity that the general carefulness of Mr. Warren's verse should be marred by such obvious faults as the undecided form of "A Hymn to the Sun," and by such rhymes as "war" and "saw" in "The Soldier's Return." With such slips corrected, his work would be as thorough in execution as it is often spirited in conception.

51. MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY'S poems have all the qualities and defects of the later French Romanticism. Like the leaders of this school, he chooses by preference subjects remote in interest, and strange or morbid in sentiment. This tendency is particularly notable in the short poems which compose the "Epic of Women," the largest, though not the most successful, part of his work. The motive of these pieces is the sad and shameful love which has lost all belief in its object without gaining strength to reject it. When this love is the love of Antony following, in the most romantic episode of classic story, the flying sails of Cleopatra out of the sea-fight at Actium, the sense of shame is partly lost in the strength of the passion that swayed the Eastern and Western world; but when, in "A Troth for Eternity," a husband about to slay his faithless wife soliloquizes in verse almost affectingly dainty, it is impossible not to regret the moral tone which Mr. O'Shaughnessy has adopted along with the artistic finish of his masters. This completeness, this mastery of verse, is the great merit of his book. His metres are often original, always careful, and almost always musical. The poem called "Lost Bliss" is both in music and matter a characteristic example:

"Think, O Heart, what sweet—had you waited  
 A moment, on such a day—  
 Had yet been to do or to say  
 That shall never be said now or done!  
 Think what beautiful worlds uncreated  
 The clouds then bore back to the sun;  
 What blisses were all frustrated;  
 What loves, that were almost begun!  
 Think, O Life,—had your stream but drifted  
 To this or that holier Past,  
 Or future that must come at last—  
 Think, O sorrowful Life, and repent—  
 How the sorrowful days had been gifted  
 With solace and ravishment,  
 And year after year slowly lifted  
 To heavens of golden content."

The somewhat commonplace sentiment of these lines is concealed by their beauty of form, just as the same beauty in "Cleopatra," and "A Troth for Eternity" palliates the morbid tone, itself a commonplace in the school of Latouche and the younger Dumas. But the melody of the "Fountain of Tears" has no such alloy; and the poem called "Bisclavaret," giving coherent utterance to the passions which may possess men smitten with the epidemic *θηριότης* of the were-wolf shows remarkable qualities of imagination. The peculiar cast of sensual sadness is so usual in the literature which Mr. O'Shaughnessy seems most lately to have studied, and is for the moment so infectious, that to drop it would not be to cease to be himself. With his command of music, and with a manner tone, he may expect to interest hearers no longer few.

52. Few Europeans in China are disposed to admit that the Chinese can have any right to determine the terms on which foreigners shall be allowed to enter their country: and the author of *Journeys in North China* sees nothing in European immigration but "a tide of enlightenment directed by Providence." He regrets that the Chinese should be "ill-informed" enough to dislike this immigration; but this regret does not make him question the perfect wisdom of Lord Elgin's treaty. Every privilege which this instrument secures to Europeans, ought, he maintains, to be rigidly insisted on, not only "in view of the lives and properties of foreigners in China," and "in the interests of the manufacturing classes at home," but also "for the good of the Chinese themselves, and in the name of humanity." That so long as the treaty remains in force no essential infraction of it can be safely permitted is probably true. But both the justice and the prudence of forcing the Chinese to trade with Europeans in a way and to an extent which they would reject if left to themselves, may fairly be questioned. As an agent of the "National Bible Society of Scotland," Mr. Williamson is hardly an unbiassed witness to the superiority of Protestant over Catholic missions. But he seems to be borne out by other evidence in attributing the greater unpopularity of the latter to the efforts which they, or their protectors, the French Government,

have made to gain political influence, and to establish the predominant position they formerly held in the Chinese empire. He seems to think that if Protestant missionaries had not suffered from a reflected discredit on this ground they would already have obtained great results by reason of the Chinese "openness to conviction." That the Chinese are ready to accept any religion imposed on them by their political superiors is likely enough; but the example of the Tae Ping rebellion, on which he lays great stress, goes rather to show that a religious movement only takes firm hold of them when it assumes a political shape.

Mr. Williamson has brought together a large amount of geographical and commercial information about Northern China, especially the province of Shan Tung. He is greatly impressed with the agricultural and mineral wealth of the whole district. The climate of Shan Tung resembles that of the north-eastern States of America, with the difference that it is a little more moist. The alluvial lands in the west and south of the province are extraordinarily fertile. The people understand the rotation of crops; but the rudeness of their implements prevents their skill from meeting with its full reward. Wheat is largely grown; and the flour produced is often as good as the best American millet. It is planted both for food and for the sake of its stems—the latter serving many of the purposes answered by the bamboo in the south. A good deal of cotton is grown; and Mr. Williamson believes that Shan Tung silk, which has hitherto been in little repute, will soon become an important article in the foreign market. Throughout North China coal and iron ore are widely distributed, though neither has yet been much worked. This is due in some cases to the superstition of the Fung Shui, a class of evil spirits supposed to be confined in the earth, especially in burial-grounds, from which they are liberated by mining or road-cutting.

Eastern Mongolia, which lies to the north of the Gulf of Pechili, is an example of the adaptive character of Chinese industry. The country consists for the most part of a great plain producing only prairie grass; but the Chinese have for some time been migrating thither in increasing numbers; and after some initial difficulties from the strangeness of the soil, they now contrive to raise very good crops of millet, pulse, and opium. Mongolia is also the scene of a very energetic missionary effort on the part of the Russian State Church. Manchuria, which lies to the east of Mongolia, has a flora which curiously resembles that of Great Britain. The common dock-weed and the dandelion are found everywhere. The prevailing wild-flowers are the daisy, the bluebell, the hawthorn, and the dog-rose. Ferns are found under rocks and trees; and the trees themselves are mainly such as are common in Great Britain. Opium has been lately introduced; and now more land is every year laid down with it. It is sold for about half the price of the Indian opium, and is more valued as being more free from adulteration. In face of these facts it will hardly be safe for the In-

dian government to regard opium as a permanent source of revenue.

53. The sixth volume, now published, closes Dr. Bastian's comprehensive and very interesting travels, the first volume of which was published in 1866. The work is quite different from ordinary books of travel, and though defective in many points, especially in its formal part, its defects are redeemed by excellencies which give it a high value.

The itinerary embraces a period of five years (1861-1865), and extends over Transgangetic India, comprehending Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin China, together with the Archipelago, Japan, China, and Mongolia. Excepting the introductions to some of the volumes, the work consists almost entirely of raw materials regarding the nations visited. These materials are, as a rule, derived from the writings which Dr. Bastian found in the possession of the different nations, completed however from European and other sources, and often with superfluous abundance and iteration. The author's reading in almost every sphere of knowledge has afforded him an opportunity of accumulating a mass of information, sometimes relevant, sometimes irrelevant, which interrupts and confuses the narrative. Many of these excrescences, however, are extracts from rare and almost inaccessible books, and may serve to call attention to recondite facts and opinions. But even in these the author has generally omitted to give any exact indication of the sources from which he quotes, though his good faith is evident. When he does furnish a reference he ordinarily confines himself to giving the name of the writer, without the title of the work, and of course without particulars of chapter and verse. Notwithstanding his conscientious fidelity, therefore, a scrupulous investigator cannot rely on his materials, but must go through the labour of verifying them. But though in their present condition they are insufficient for an authoritative conclusion, still they are so far worthy of confidence that they may help to enlarge existing knowledge and to correct erroneous views.

Apart from its general interest, the work derives its individuality from two special branches of investigation which are never lost sight of. One is psychologico-ethnical, and the other is a research on Buddhism. The first seems to be Dr. Bastian's special province, and the object he has principally in view in his travels and his other inquiries. He collects and investigates the facts and forces which seem best fitted to explain how peoples build themselves up, what elements constitute their individualities, what laws govern the growth of ethnological differentiation, what intelligence chiefly forms the life and the creations of each nation, and consolidates it into a harmonious unity, and what spirit supplies as it were the root of its common life. Together with language, the religious instinct is that in the evolution of which the psychological life of a naturally-formed community of men may be seen most powerfully and clearly developed; and Dr. Bas-

tian accordingly devotes his chief attention to the religious life in its external phenomena of dogma and superstition. Of the nations which he has visited, those of Transgangetic India, Japan, China, and Mongolia have almost all accepted Buddhism, which thus occupies so prominent a place in his investigation that the work becomes indispensable for any one who desires to acquaint himself with Buddhism as a living phenomenon and a practical system. The introductions are chiefly devoted to these two branches of inquiry, especially those of the fifth and sixth volumes. In these the author has done his best to render his narrative, unlike that of the body of the work, spirited if not always clear; and his various attainments in natural and psychological science are a foundation upon which he erects theories and thoughts on the scope of psychology and ethnology, which are worthy of all consideration, and seem likely to contribute to a transformation of both sciences. The book leaves no field untouched where anything seems likely to be gleaned, and is rich in new information, concerning the more obscure languages. An index, almost indispensable for such a work, is promised.

54. By his travels and long sojourn in America, M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, a Catholic priest, has acquired a considerable knowledge of the languages, antiquities, and history of that continent; and several works have borne witness to his zeal for researches connected with the ancient civilization of Central America. Unfortunately his capacity is not on a level with his zeal or with the task which he proposes to himself. His works exhibit such slender powers of criticism and judgment that their value is almost wholly confined to the raw materials they contain. If he contented himself with simply setting forth these materials his publications would be extremely useful; but he generally manipulates them, at the bidding of an undisciplined imagination, in such a way as to make the extraction of the ore a matter of considerable difficulty. In his last work, however, the two elements are fortunately more distinct, so that it is easier to separate what is worthy of recognition and gratitude from what is comparatively or absolutely useless.

To the former category belongs the careful reproduction of the manuscript which has furnished the title of the work. It is in the possession of Don Juan de Tro y Ortolano, a Professor at the University of Madrid, from whose name it has been called the Troano manuscript. The facsimile of it, in thirty-six plates, is worthy of Kingsborough's famous reproductions of American documents, and gives more general access to the study of a manuscript which may greatly contribute to the illustration of American antiquities. The work contains also an alphabet of the Maya language, already published by the author in 1864, together with the signs for the days of the month and for the months themselves, according to a manuscript work of Diego de Landa, which exists at Madrid. They will be useful, though

not in the manner contemplated by the author, for the elucidation of the Troano and other kindred manuscripts. The same end will also be served by a portion of the contents of the second volume, namely, a French translation of a Spanish grammar of the Maya language by Anton Gabriel de St. Bonaventura, printed in Mexico in 1684, and now extremely rare. To this is added a Franco-Spanish dictionary of the Maya language, meritorious in itself, and not without value for the deciphering of the manuscript, though from its unphilological structure it can only be used with caution.

The rest of the work is so seriously impaired by the author's characteristic failings that it has little scientific interest. The most important part consists of his endeavours to explain the contents of the Troano manuscript. They are all infected by a crotchet which constantly recurs in his works, and according to which not only the present manuscript but many other documents and traditions, both of the new world and of the old, treat of a primeval deluge, and expound its geological history. This story he finds in the hieroglyphic signs, and in the Maya names for the days of the month and for the months, in the alphabet, in the Troano manuscript, and in a multitude of other things. He has even discovered (t. i. p. 97) that the names of the Greek alphabet from Alpha to Omega translated through the Maya language form a complete poem, which relates the events of the deluge in an abridged form: "ce qui est plus remarquable c'est que les noms de l'alphabet grec d'*alpha* à *omega* traduits simplement à l'aide du Maya nous ont donné un chant complet, bien qu'abrégé des événements du cataclysme." In order to find in the Maya names of the months, days of the months, etc., a sense in accordance with his crotchet, he regards them not as designations of the days and months, but as a sort of rebuses, the meaning of which he tries to discover by etymological interpretation. For this purpose he resolves them into their syllables; and from these, by means of their hieroglyphic form, the application of arbitrary hypotheses, and an etymological fancy which submits to no critical and scientific restraint, he at last extracts a sense conformable to the requirements of his theory. The groundless meanings thus obtained are then brought into connection by a process of interpolation, and not infrequently of transformation. Thus, on the name of the second day of the month Chicchán (t. i. p. 74), after having given its hieroglyph according to Landa and the Troano manuscript, he continues: "Le vocable chicchán . . . n'aurait pas de signification actuellement dans la langue Maya, au rapport de Pio Perez: en le décomposant, on arrive, toutefois, à lui en trouver une parfaitement d'accord avec l'ensemble de ses symboles. *Chia*, primitif du verbe *chicapahal*, 'accroître, augmenter,' en est la première syllabe; *chan*, de *chanchanbel*, 'peu à peu, lentement,' nous donnerait 'chose lente qui croît ou augmente.' Mais en prenant le vocable *chan* avec un h composé de *cha* 'porter, recevoir, etc.' et de *an* signe du participe passé, ayant en particulier le sens de support,

d'aide, de secours, nous trouvons alors 'ce qui est soulevé accru, augmenté, porté ou donné comme secours,' idée merveilleusement d'accord avec la terre des Antilles, qui, en s'élevant, porta secours à ceux qui cherchaient un refuge contre les flots. Dans la langue Tzendale, *chic-chán* signifie serpent qui se manifeste en s'élevant, *chán* serpent, permutation du mot *can* maya et quiché. Ainsi la terre, déjà signalée par l'œil jaune du volcan dans le signe *kan* [of the first day of the month], reparait dans le seconde signe du calendrier *chic-chán*, où elle a porté secours, en se soulevant d'avantage. L'hieroglyphe, qui en est l'expression ici, est particulièrement remarquable: c'est un fond réticulé, symbole lui-même de la terre encore inondée ou à fleur d'eau, comme un marais; mais ce fond est entouré d'un cercle de dents, signifiant elles-mêmes les gouttes de l'eau qui l'enveloppent." Even the numeral signs are converted into rebuses of this kind by means of the words that express them. Thus (t. i. p. 149) the sign for eleven, the form of which (—) clearly proclaims its numeral character, is read *buluc*; but this word the author does not regard as the expression of the numeral, but as a participle perfect passive of an adjective of *bul*, meaning noyé, inundated, and converted in translation into bouleversé, overthrown.

It is obvious that an arbitrary method of this kind can throw no real light on such an obscure document; and it would scarcely be too hard a judgment to deny all shadow of probability to the author's interpretation of the manuscript. On the other hand, the book contains much interesting matter with regard to external questions, especially the objects represented by the hieroglyphic signs and their analysis. This matter, and the wealth of knowledge which the author possesses in American antiquities, render the work, notwithstanding its shortcomings, indispensable to the study of the manuscript. In the second volume, an "Introduction aux éléments de la langue Maya" and the dictionary already mentioned contain a good many philological observations, of which some are valuable, but the greater number rest on a fantastic theory of the author's, that Greek and Maya are homogeneous tongues (t. ii. p. 24). The manner in which he tries to establish this needs no detailed criticism in the present condition of philological science.

55. It is possible to conceive a more attractive method than that adopted by Mr. Adams for narrating the facts contained in his *Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta*. But, though the book may lack continuity, it has the freshness and reality of descriptions made on the spot, and therefore possesses a characteristic value of its own. The author is an army surgeon; and whilst his regiment was stationed at Malta he found opportunities not only to subject that island to examination, but also to investigate the natural history of the Lower Nile. His companion in this excursion was Mr. Rhind, whose object was to elucidate the historical levels of the Nile, as indicated by the monuments upon its banks.

With his assistance, as Egyptologist, Mr. Adams hoped to be able to identify the objects of natural history depicted in the hieroglyphs, and compare them, as to characteristics and number, with those at present in existence in the country. The project might have proved fruitful in many ways, and served not a little the cause of what may be called historical zoology; but Mr. Rhind's death prevented the joint publication which had been intended, and the present work is a record of the observations of Mr. Adams alone. They are interesting, and even valuable; but it is quite plain that this section is insufficiently worked out. It is labour wasted to discuss the probable reason of the ancients in selecting certain birds to represent certain ideas, without knowing whether or not the mere similarity in sound of names was not enough to decide their choice. The author is happier in his notes on the familiar birds of Egypt and Nubia. The winter migratory birds take ground on the Delta first; but a living current presses inland, narrowing and thinning as it goes. After passing Asowan, the geese, ducks, and waders disappear, though below the first cataract they had crowded the shallows. Falcons, desert-chats, and sand-birds, rare below, now begin to abound; the acacias give cover to the bush-thrush; whilst from the palm-groves of Wadai Halfeh the call of the bulbul is heard. A covey of the pigmy red-legged partridge surprised the author by their sudden flight, at Dendor, in Nubia. The relations of flora and fauna, always of importance, deserve a little more attention than Mr. Adams has given to them. He says the chief and almost sole trees of Egypt and Nubia are the sycamore (meaning *Ficus sycomorus*), acacias, and palms, with tamarisks and a few willows. "The palm," he adds, "forms an eligible perch for the raptorial birds and their allies." Is this quite accurate as a general statement? It can hardly be denied that *Hyphæne thebaica*, the Doum palm, is, on account of its branches, much more suitable for the resting-place of such birds than either *Phoenix dactylifera* or *Borassus æthiopum*. The distribution of the former about the Upper Nile, and southwards, would therefore tend to induce birds to resort thither. The river cliffs of nummulitic limestone and silicious sandstone give, in their excavations and tombs, homes and retreats to the hawk, cormorant, and others of like tastes. The woodpecker is absent, and is replaced by the wryneck. It is to be found in sufficient abundance farther south, in Abyssinia, together with the swallows and bee-eaters. Mr. Adams sees in the coronation scene of Rameses III. (B.C. 1297), delineated on the ruins of the temple of Medinet Haboo, a proof that pigeons were trained for domestic purposes three thousand years ago. The king proceeds to the temple to offer thanks; "and whilst certain priests in their gorgeous robes are casting incense about, and offering up sacrifices at many a smoking altar, others are employed in letting off carrier-pigeons to announce the glad tidings to every quarter of the globe." In the enthusiasm of the moment the author

forgets to prove that this liberation of winged captives might not have a simpler secular meaning, and could not be analogous to the religious custom of the Jews. "Thus," he next proceeds, "more than thirty centuries ago, pigeons were so far domesticated as to be used for the purpose of conveying information," just as if it had been thoroughly demonstrated that they did take the message of Rameses to "every quarter of the globe." A more satisfactory proof of the antiquity of the Nile shell, *Paludina bullmoides*, is given, in its discovery in the stomach of an embalmed sacred ibis. The domesticated cattle of the ancients appear to be extinct. The long-horned ox has disappeared, but is still found in Abyssinia. A smaller short-horn, which Mr. Adams considers to have been perhaps the progenitor of the degenerate race of the moderns, and the humped or Brahmin bull, seem to have been domesticated in Egypt 2000 years B.C. The author adds: "The buffalo, now fast displacing the short-horn of the country, has lately come from the East, and was not seemingly known to the ancients; and perhaps the sacred animal of the Hindus may have found its way to Egypt in the Pharaonic times from the East, and finally to Abyssinia and Ethiopia, where it is said to exist at the present day." On the other hand, he should have pointed out that herds of buffaloes are to be found in Abyssinia, whilst the Abyssinians, some centuries ago, made such use of the elephant as the people of India still do. To a note on the encroachment of the sands on the cultivated land in Nubia is appended an account of an excursion to some reputed caverns in the desert. They turned out to be rock-cut tombs; and the author is annoyed to find only "the scribbles of the early Christian monks of the second century." These, which were "in the form of litanies, written on the walls with red chalk in the Coptic dialect," he did not take the trouble to transcribe. The second portion of the work contains a very thorough account of Malta, where Mr. Adams's excavations have enabled him to add considerably to the accumulated knowledge of natural history by communications to scientific societies. His work, considering its scope, is valuable, from the pains he has taken to be accurate as to facts, and the practical knowledge he possesses; but his inferences require to be tested.

56. GEOLOGY is not the only branch of science which receives the direct patronage of the Legislature in America. Several of the State Legislatures have had reports made upon the floras and faunas of their respective States. The late Dr. Gould of Boston prepared such a report on the Invertebrata of Massachusetts, which was published in 1841. Since then, however, a good deal of progress has been made in this branch of American zoology, chiefly through the labours of De Kay, Lea, the two Adams, Leidy, Mighels, Linsley, Packard, L. R. Gibbes, Professor Agassiz, Alexander Agassiz, Halde-man, Tryon, Morse, Prime, W. G. Binney, and especially Dr. Stimpson. A new edition of Dr. Gould's work was ordered in 1865, for the



purpose of bringing it up to the then state of the subject. The preparation of it was however interrupted by the author's death in 1866. In the following year the Governor and Council, having been authorised by the Legislature, appointed Mr. W. G. Binney, well known by his *Land and Fresh-water Shells of North America*, published by the Smithsonian Institution, to complete the book. Dr. Gould did not propose to make much change in the classification; and the editor has respected his views. The first edition was illustrated by fifteen coloured plates, which were to have been reprinted and added to. With this view Dr. Gould had prepared some drawings of nudibranchiata; these and many others supplied by Professor Agassiz, as well as several of Tunicata and Cephalopoda, have been printed on 12 coloured plates, which are numbered from 16 to 27 in succession to the 15 plates of the first edition. The latter could not, however, be found; and in the meantime, Dr. Gould's collection of shells had been sold and removed from Boston, so that the editor had to replace the intended reprinted illustrations by new ones, which he has had engraved on wood, from drawings chiefly by Mr. E. S. Morse. These illustrations, which are generally from better specimens than were available to Dr. Gould, are admirably executed. There are often however discrepancies between the new figures and the old descriptions, chiefly as regards measurements. Owing to the expense of the illustrations, the new edition only embraces the Mollusca; the Bryozoa, Radiata, etc., being omitted. The editor has added some notes and a very valuable bibliography of each species, which greatly increases the usefulness of the book. The careful study of the recent Mollusca of the eastern coasts of North America is of very great importance just now in connection with the fauna of the tertiary epoch, and consequently with biological theory; and it may be hoped therefore that the other local faunas of America will be brought up to the present state of science.

57. THE great variety of forms of the Rubi or brambles, and especially the great number of them which form intermediate links between some of the more or less well characterized species, make the study of the genus *Rubus* very difficult. How many of this multitude of forms are to be regarded as definite permanent species, and how many as mere varieties? Again, how have the varieties arisen? Are they due to the effects of soil, climate, and other physical agents permanently or casually acting upon parent plants of the same species, or are they hybrids or crosses between parents of different species? The answers to the first question go from one extreme to the other. Thus Spenner considered that there was but one species of fruticose bramble in Europe. Mr. Bentham reduced all the British fruticose brambles to three: *Rubus idæus*, *R. fruticosus*, and *R. caesius*. Among German botanists Herr Otto Kuntze reduced all recorded German brambles to nine species: *Rubus fruticosus* (Lin.), *R.*

*candicans* (Weihe), *R. sanctus* (Schreber), *R. idæus* (Lin.), *R. caesius* (Lin.), *R. radula* (Weihe), *R. hybridus*, *R. saxatilis*, and *R. chamæmorus*. Professor Babington, on the other hand, in his recent works on *The British Rubi*, has described forty-five species, of which forty-one are fruticosi, and would therefore be included in Mr. Bentham's *R. fruticosus* and *R. caesius*. Herr Gremli thinks there are 150 species of Rubi in Switzerland, while Herr P. J. Müller is said to have described no less than 500 species, and thinks that in France alone there are 2000 species.

Even those who admit a large number of distinct species are obliged to admit also a considerable number of varieties; but the greatest diversity of opinion exists as to the origin of the latter. Some deny that any of them are hybrids, while others admit both physical causes and crossing as producing such causes. Professor Babington, whose work supplies evidence enough, if such were wanting, of the extreme difficulty of determining what is, and what is not, a species in the genus *Rubus*, thinks that the production of hybrids is as repugnant to brambles as to most other plants: "Those who think that Rubi have an inclination to produce fertile seeds so strong that it results in frequent hybridity make no attempt at proof." He goes on to say that "the assumption of hybridity in difficult cases seems merely a mode of escape from, not the removal of, a difficulty. It is often nothing more than the concealment of ignorance under a bold exterior." This is often true; but the same language may, with even more justice, be applied to the "manufacture" of species. Dr. Kuntze, in addition to the nine species of German Rubi, admitted the existence of twenty-three well-marked varieties, the result of hybridization. Professor Babington says of these hybrids: "In many cases the supposition seems to me to be very rash, for in this country the supposed parents have not been observed growing in company."

Since the publication of Mr. Darwin's views the question of hybrids has entered on a new phase, and naturalists are endeavouring to work out the subject in a much more thorough way than formerly. Since the publication of Dr. Kuntze's work in 1867, Herr Focke of Bremen has made many interesting observations which, if they do not absolutely establish the existence of numerous natural fertile and barren hybrid brambles, prove that something more than an assertion of individual belief in the distinctness of species, or a flippant charge of ignorance or worse against those who hold an opposite view, will be necessary to get rid of the arguments recently put forward. Herr Gremli, who is known for his *Excursions Flora der Schweiz*, and who shows himself so thorough a believer in distinctness of species as to admit 150 species of Rubi in Switzerland, has been working out the ideas of Herr Focke in a study of the Swiss brambles. Selecting only localities which he could repeatedly visit, and where he could see the plants at several stages of growth, especially when in flower and in fruit, he detected about 150 forms of bram-



bles. Rejecting the less characteristic of these, he has published descriptions of thirty-two species, some of which are new, and twelve of which at least are among those described by Professor Babington, and twenty-one hybrids of which he thinks the parentage certain, besides five or six whose parentage is uncertain or unknown. Of the hybrids several had been already noticed, notably by Herr Focke; but several appear to be now for the first time described.

The Rubi which appear to have the greatest tendency to produce hybrids are the Tomentosi, represented by *Rubus tomentosus* (Borchausen), and the Corylifolii, represented by *R. caesius* (Lin.) The Glandulosi, on the other hand, either produce no hybrids, or the numerous forms of that group are fertile, and pass into permanent races, or fall back into one or other of their parents. As a general rule, the greater the development of hairs on the underside of the leaf the fewer occur on the upper surface, and the converse. Where, for instance, the lower side is covered with a white or whitish felt or tomentum the upper is naked. *R. tomentosus* forms however an exception to the rule. The leaves of that plant, as was pointed out by Dr. Kuntze, have on their upper surface, between the venation, very small compressed stellated hairs, which can only be distinguished under a magnifying power of sixty or seventy times. These microscopic hairs afford a means of detecting hybrids between *R. tomentosus* and other species. *R. suberectus* (Anders.), a form looked upon by Professor Babington and most botanists as a distinct species, is considered by Herr Gremli as a hybrid of *R. fruticosus* and *R. idæus*. The arguments which he adduces are certainly very cogent; but the verification by direct experiment is still wanting. Herr Gremli admits that the fertility of hybrids is weaker than that of their parents, but that nevertheless many of them can be propagated by seed, as Herr Focke has already done in the case of several of the supposed natural hybrids. The objection urged against admitting that varieties are largely due to hybrids, namely, that there ought to be thousands of them annually produced if fertile hybrids are naturally produced at all, is not of much value, because the number of conditions which must concur to produce from two plants of different species a seed capable of germinating is so great, and the circumstances so complicated, that it very rarely happens. Still rarer must be the production of a fertile variety. This subject is of great interest in connection with physiological theory. Herr Gremli's present work is a modest but substantial contribution to it.

58. PROFESSOR UNGER'S *Species et Genera Plantarum*, the second edition of which was published in 1856, afforded geologists a systematic account of all the fossil plants known up to that date. Since then, however, a great number of important works on fossil botany have been published, besides many memoirs and notices scattered through the transactions of learned societies, and scientific journals, which are not always to be met with even in

the great libraries of Universities. The extent of this new palæontological literature may be judged from a mention of some of the principal works on tertiary floras which have appeared since 1856:—Unger's *Sylloge Plantarum Fossilium*, containing descriptions of 827 species of the tertiary fossil plants of Austria; Professor Oswald Heer's very important work on the tertiary flora of Switzerland; Herr Rudolph Ludwig's investigation of the plants that formed the lignites of the Wetterau; M. Gaston de Saporta's splendid work on the tertiary floras of the south-east of France, and his previous work on the tertiary flora of Provence. It is not too much to say that these works have created tertiary vegetable palæontology. And that the investigation of the floras of the other geological epochs has not been neglected is shown by several recent memoirs of the veteran Göppert, especially his floras of the Transition and Permian periods, Dr. Oldham and Professor Morris's fossil flora of the Rajmahal Hills, Professor Schimper's memoirs on the plants of the variegated sand-stone and transition rocks of the Vosges, the important investigation of Professor Constantin von Ettingshausen on the form and venation of leaves of living and fossil plants, especially his great work on the comparative form and venation of the leaves of living and fossil ferns, and M. L. Lesquereux's numerous contributions to the knowledge of the coal plants of the great American coal-fields.

It is evident from this enumeration that Unger's work, however complete and satisfactory it may have been sixteen years ago, no longer supplies the wants of science; and that a book which should co-ordinate all this mass of new material with the old, and give a systematic epitome of the present facts of fossil botany, was wanting. Professor Schimper of Strasburg, well known by his own researches on living and fossil plants, has undertaken such a work in two volumes, illustrated by 100 folio plates. The first volume and 50 plates appeared in 1869; the first part of the second volume, and 25 additional plates, were issued immediately before the commencement of the present war. When the rest can appear it is now impossible to say. The descriptive part of the work is preceded by a succinct, useful introduction, embracing a sketch of the history of fossil botany, the state of preservation of fossil vegetables, their distribution according to formations, the different modes by which they have been preserved, the principles to be followed in their determination, the changes which have taken place in the vegetable kingdom from its first origin to the present epoch, under the two heads of disappearance of species and renewal of floras by the appearance of new types, the characteristics of the floras of different epochs, and the application of vegetable palæontology to the climatology and geology of the globe. Notwithstanding the very questionable, if not absurd, expression of "*La Flore du Monde primitif*" which forms part of the title of Professor Schimper's book, his ideas on biological theory are of the most advanced character. He not only rejects the doctrine of the

immutability of species, and the sort of compromise, which some naturalists have proposed, of two kinds of species—homologous species, or those produced by gradual transformation, and analogous or specially created species—but also the primitive or generative types of Mr. Darwin. He says that, the moment we search for the origin of organic beings at all, it is illogical to halt until we reach the primordial cell, or even the primitive protoplasm itself.

In the section on the disappearance of species, speaking of the gradual disappearance of the *Pinus Cembra* from the Alps, where it formerly was abundant, he says that, as this tree exists nowhere in Europe, the species will be entirely extinct when the last tree shall have perished on the Alps. Unless he is of opinion that the Alpine tree known as the *Pinus Cembra* is different from that of Siberia known by the same name, and certainly representing the Linnean species, the *Cembra*, or *Zürbelkiefer*, is to be found in European Russia, as well as all through Siberia, up to a height of nearly 6000 feet, for instance on the Sajon, and other mountains of Eastern Siberia. The European Russian region of the *Pinus Cembra* comprises the basin of the Kama in the northern half of the government of Perm, and parts of the neighbouring governments of Vologda and Vjatka, extending along the Ural chain from lat. 57° N. to 61° 20', the most western limit in Vologda being Solvytshegodsk, about 47° E. Long. It is found about the head waters of the *Petschora* and the *Mylwa*, a tributary of the *Vitchegda*, the principal eastern feeder of the *Dwina*. In this region it never forms continuous woods, or is a chief constituent of tracts of forest as in Siberia. Although the gradual disappearance of this tree from the Alps will not extinguish the species, the phenomenon is nevertheless well worthy of attention. It is said to have formerly existed on the Carpathians; but we do not know whether it has entirely perished there or not. The *Pinus Cembra* is an essentially glacial tree, and very probably existed throughout middle Europe, along with the rein-deer, during the glacial period, but gradually retired in recent times, leaving islands on the Alps and Carpathians, which are fast perishing. That it should perish where the conditions of temperature and moisture are otherwise favourable seems to indicate an important law in the geological life of a species.

Professor Schimper has given very full bibliographical references throughout the descriptive part of his work, which will render it of great use for reference when the index has been published with the last part. Here and there he might however have been more specific with regard to the formation to which the rocks belonged from which the specimens were obtained. Every reader cannot be supposed to have the geological maps of the several European countries always at hand. Having compared the figures of Professor Schimper with a considerable collection of fossil plants, containing specimens from several of the localities whence the plants figured by him were ob-

tained, we are convinced of their general truthfulness and utility.

59. EXCEPTING the region of the Alps, there is a complete break in the succession of organic life at the end of the palæozoic epoch in Middle Europe; at the end of the Trias an entirely new flora and fauna begin in the Lias; the same thing takes place at the end of the Jurassic period, and, though in a less striking way, at the close of the Cretaceous period. These gaps interpose almost insurmountable obstacles to the development of biological theory; and therefore the filling of them would confer a great benefit on science. The intercalation of the Rhætic beds between the Trias and Lias has contributed in some measure to fill up one of them. Considerable progress has also been made within the last few years to fill the wide gaps between the Jurassic and Cretaceous periods, by a series of beds containing a comparatively rich and hitherto almost unknown fauna. Herr Oppel was the first to include these beds under the name "Tithonic Stage;" and already in a very few years, they can boast of a considerable literature, so active has been the controversy about their position—a controversy in which almost all the foremost Continental geologists, Pictet, Hébert, Lerz, Marcou, Chaper, Boutin, Coquand, Oppel, Zittel, Moesch, Waagen, Benecke, C. Mayer, etc., have been more or less engaged.

Rocks of this Tithonic stage are found in the Carpathian mountains, among the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, in the Italian Alps, in Savoy, the basin of the Isère, the Cevennes, about Marseilles, and even in Spain. Professor Zittel divides the stage into two groups: 1. The limestones of the northern of the two remarkable parallel chains of escarpments of the Carpathians, most characteristically developed in the white limestone of Stramberg, and the *calcaire supérieur de la Port de France*, in the department of the Isère, etc.; 2. The white and red Crinoidal limestones and breccias of the southern chain of escarpments of the Carpathians, especially at Rogoznick, and at Czorstyn on the Dunajec, on the frontiers of Hungary and Galicia; the *Diphyra*-limestone, a red limestone rich in *Ammonites* and *terebratulæ*, forming the upper part of the well-known *Ammonitico rosso* of the Venetian Alps; the greenish-grey hard fossiliferous marble of the Central Apennines, most characteristically developed at Monte Catria north of Gubbio; and isolated masses of red limestone in the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, etc. The red limestone containing *Terebratula diphyæ* of Cabra in Spain, and in the white and grey limestones rich in corals and gasteropoda, with *Terebratula janitor* and *T. Moravica* in North Sicily, probably also belong to this horizon. Besides these defined groups there are a number of deposits of doubtful position, but probably belonging, at least in great part, to the same horizon as group 2. Such are the limestones of Innwald, Rocznyn, Wimmis in Switzerland, Mont Salève near Geneva, and the couches à *Terebratula Moravica* in the south of France.

The first group, which Professor Zittel proposes to call the "Stramberg beds," contains a rich fauna, which approaches in character very much to the cretaceous. He published some time ago, under the title of *Cephalopoden der Stramberger Schichten*, a monograph of the fossils of this group. He has now added a well illustrated monograph of the forms occurring in the rocks of group 2, or rather of those of the three well-established localities—the Carpathians, Venetian Alps, and Central Apennines. He proposes to call these beds the "Rogozniker beds," or the zone of *Terebratula diphyia*. The fauna of these beds consists almost exclusively of the Shelled Mollusks and delicately organized Crinoids, a small number of Echinoids and isolated corals. Besides a crocodile skull, now in the museum of Padua from Treschè in the Setta Comuni, which Cuvier compared to the gavia of Honfleur, and the teeth of fish of the genera *Lepidotus*, *Strophodus*, and *Sphenodus*, there are mentioned or fully described in his monograph 7 Dibranchiata, 79 Tetrabranchiata, 3 Gasteropoda, 12 Elatobranchiata, 23 Brachiopoda, 6 Echinoidea, 5 Crinoida, 2 Corals—making a total of 137, or, including the fish, 140 species. Of these species 107 occur in the Carpathians, 17 in the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, 70 in the Venetian Alps, and 59 in the Apennines. The preponderance of species in the Carpathians is due to the Brachiopods and Elatobranchs, which occur only sparingly in the other districts. Excluding the Austrian and Bavarian or Northern Alps, there are only 9 species peculiar to the Venetian or Southern Alpine *Diphyia*-limestone, and 6 to the Apennines. Of the 70 South Alpine species, 44, or 63 per cent., occur also in the Carpathians, and 39, or 55½ per cent., in the Central Apennines. Of the 59 species forming the entire fauna of the latter, 40 are common with the Carpathians, or nearly the same as with the Southern Alps.

The Rogozniker beds cannot be palaeontologically equated outside of the Alps; stratigraphically, however, their position is well defined. They are bounded above either by beds of the Stramberger group, or by lower cretaceous beds; below they are bounded by the zone of *Oppelia tenuilobata*, or, as Professor Hébert proposes to call it, the zone of *Ammonites polylocus*. This zone has been recently traced, independent of its more eastern extension, at different parts of the Carpathians and Alps, along the whole northern margin of the south European sea, from Streiberg and Passau, through Franconia, Suabia, and the Swiss and French Jura. It follows the ancient northern shore along the southern declivities of the French central plateau, where, at Valence and in the Cévennes, it is typically developed. Further to the west the horizon becomes uncertain; but, as the zone of *Ammonites transversarius* is developed at Niort, almost as at Birmensdorf, Professor Zittel thinks that the zone of *Ammonites polylocus* may be sought for with considerable probability of success in the Coralline and Kimmeridge beds of La Rochelle.

Adopting the view of most geologists that

d'Orbigny's Etage Corallien must be regarded as only a coralline facies recurring in several different horizons, and keeping in view the intimate connection of the Rogozniker beds with the zone of *Ammonites tenuilobatus*, and their sharp stratigraphical and palaeontological separation from the lower chalk, these beds may be considered to be (1.) in any case, younger than the upper Oxford group, and corresponding consequently to the whole or a part of the overlying Jurassic rocks, and (2.) younger than the Kimmeridge series (if the zone of *Amm. tenuilobatus* be equated with the newer or the whole Kimmeridge group), and corresponding therefore either to the highest strata of this stage or the Jurassic deposits between it and the lower cretaceous rocks. If the Tithonic stage be considered as a whole, Professor Zittel thinks that the relations of the older portions with Jurassic rocks are more numerous and definite than those of the Stramberger or upper beds with the lower chalk; and he consequently makes the stage the last division of the Jurassic.

60. THE places where the opposite electricities appear on the faces of crystals when they are heated or cooled are generally spoken of as poles which may be supposed to be connected by lines considered as electrical axes. In those cases where the electricity is developed in a terminal polar form, these opposite poles coincide with the ends of diameters of the crystals. Reiss and G. Rose concluded from their experiments that when topaz and prehnite were heated, only poles of the same name were to be found on their surface, and that consequently the opposite poles should be assumed to be in the centre of the crystal. Hence they called such crystals centro-polar. Herr Hankel on the contrary held that there was a peripheric distribution of the poles in those minerals also. The full details of his experiments on the pyro-electricity of Topaz are now published as the eighth of his memoirs on electricity, two others of which also treated of the pyro-electricity of crystals (boracite and quartz). While these experiments fully confirm the view of the peripheric distribution of opposite electricities, they show that that distribution is by no means so simple or symmetrical as the usual assumption of electrical axes implies. The experiments on topaz have increased and extended the knowledge of the general subject in other respects also.

The following are the general conclusions to which Herr Hankel has arrived:—1. The thermo-electricity of crystals is not caused by hemimorphism, but seems to be a generic property of all crystals, whenever their other physical relations allow of the occurrence of electrical energy, and its accumulation to a measurable extent. 2. As both ends of the same axis in holomorphic, or at least in non-hemimorphic crystals, are crystallographically of the same value, they must exhibit similar electrical behaviour, and therefore exhibit the same polarity where they really attain to an equal development. 3. The distribution of electricity on non-hemimorphic crystals de-

pends not only upon the molecular structure, but also upon the whole external form, and can be modified in a certain way by changes of the latter. 4. As hemimorphism is an exceptional phenomenon in crystals, the existence of oppositely electrical polar axes is also an exceptional physical phenomenon produced by the hemimorphic structure. So far as existing experiments go, no qualitative change in the distribution of the electrical poles can be brought about in hemimorphic crystals by changes in external form; polar electricities in such crystals is consequently due to the dissymmetry of the molecule.

61. THE cultivation of the vine is a most important and exceptionally peculiar branch of the rural economy of Europe. Irrespective of its purely agricultural side, the harvest, after the vintage, still demands a protracted and careful treatment, before it becomes ready for the market; and, on the other hand, wine is to such a degree an article of consumption and luxury, and so hampered by the regulations of the Treasury and the Exchange, that the greatest circumspection is needed to maintain its market prices against rival and artificial products. Up to the present time less attention has been given to wine than to other agricultural products. The *Annalen der Oenologie* is a periodical intended to remedy this evil in a systematic and rigorously scientific way. The work is aided by eminent German chemists and vinegrowers, and is connected with professional French, Italian, Austrian, Russian (Crimea), and American cultivators. The results already obtained reach beyond a merely professional sphere, and

claim a position in the field of science. It is clear that in the manufacture of wine there is room for experiments of general chemical import. Pasteur had already shown that shaking up the must with air had a peculiar influence on the vinous product. Experiments in this direction were for several years conducted by Dr. Blankenhorn and many others, and further developed on a large scale by means of a very simple apparatus for forcing the air through the liquid. They afforded this remarkable result, that the must when saturated with air fermented more quickly and completely than in its unaltered state. The wine so obtained had a finer and purer flavour, it was sooner clarified, and was less liable to after fermentation, than that obtained from must which had not been aerated; that is, it acquired in a shorter period all those qualities which give older wine its value. Accordingly, the process is not one simply for obtaining a better and stronger product, but it is also useful in economizing capital and interest, since the wine so made is sooner marketable, and is not subject to the accidents and loss inseparable from long keeping. This is probably due to the influence which the additional quantity of air exercises on the albuminous elements of the fermentable fluid, which are known to be concerned with the development of the dregs and similar organisms. It seems also to have to do with the fact that aëration is found to be useful in several wine diseases. These results are connected with the general phenomena of fermentation; and it may accordingly be presumed that important applications of the discovery are possible in other fermentations besides that of the must of grapes.

# INDEX TO VOLUME LIII.

A. L. W.—Der Feldzug am Mittelrhein; insbesondere die Sprengung der Gebirgspostenlinie der Alliierten zwischen Edenkoben und Kaiserslautern am 13 Juli 1794, reviewed, 137.

Adams (Andrew L.), Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta, reviewed, 321.

Arneth (A. von), Maria Theresia nach dem Erfolge Kriege, reviewed, 298.

Baring-Gould (S.), The Origin and Development of Religious Belief: Part II., Christianity, reviewed, 311.

Bastian (Dr. Adolf), Die Völker des östlichen Asiens: Studien und Reisen, vol. vi., reviewed, 320.

Baumgarten (H.), Wie wir wieder ein Volk geworden sind, reviewed, 309.

Beulé (M.), Titus et sa dynastie, reviewed, 282.

Blankenhorn (Dr. A.) und Dr. L. Roesler, Annalen der Oenologie, wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Weinbau, Weinbehandlung und Weinverwerthung, vol. i., reviewed, 327.

Böhmer (Dr.), Acta Imperii Selecta. Urkunden deutscher Könige und Kaiser mit einem Anhang von Reichssachen, reviewed, 87.

Borgius (The) and their Latest Historium, 182-191; Renaissance literature, 182; pontificate of Alexander vi., 182-183; occupation of Rome by the French, 184; a council demanded, ib.; a scheme of reform drawn up, 185; danger of Alexander's position, 186; the theory of the Papal prerogative, ib.; means by which he disarmed enemies, made friends, and got money, 187; Indulgences, 188; his nepotism, ib.; the relations which existed between Alexander and his son Cæsar, 189, 190; collapse of Cæsar's principality, and death of the Pope, 190-191.

Brasseur de Bourbourg (M.), Mission scientifique au Mexique et dans l'Amérique centrale, reviewed, 320.

Brink (B. Ten), Chaucer: Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung, und zur Chronologie seiner Schriften, Part I., reviewed, 124.

Brown (Henry), The Sonnets of Shakespeare solved, and the Mystery of his Friendship, Love, and Rivalry revealed, reviewed, 129.

Büdingen (Max), Lafayette: Ein Lebensbild, reviewed, 141.

Bulwer (Sir Henry Lytton), The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, reviewed, 304.

Burton (John H.), The History of Scotland, vols. v. vi. vii., reviewed, 132.

Carcano (Giulio), Lettere di Massimo d'Azeglio a sua moglie Luisa Blondel, reviewed, 148.

Cherbuliez (Victor), L'Allemagne politique depuis la paix de Prague (1866-1870), reviewed, 151.

Church (R. W.), Saint Anselm, reviewed, 283.

Commercial Crises, 233-247; their periodicity, 233; can anything be done to prevent their recurrence? ib.; the nature and symptoms of the disorder,—its suddenness, 233, 234; what is the real seat of the malady? 234; it is not a monetary panic, ib.; a great loss of national wealth, by itself alone, does not constitute a true commercial crisis, 235; the essence of the disorder a phenomenon of banking, ib.; what is a bank?—features characterizing the debtor side of a bank's position: (1.) debts payable on demand, 235-236; (2.) numerosness of its

creditors, 236; (3.) liability to fluctuation to which the amount of deposits is subject, ib.; credit side of a bank's balance-sheet, and the processes connected with it, 237; the reserve, ib.; importance of a correct view of its true nature, 237-238; the rate of discount and its fluctuations, 238; nature and origin of a bank's resources, 239; significant facts furnished by an analysis of these, ib.; commercial bills, 240; system of discounting, ib.; the forces which govern crises—the receipts and advances of bankers, 240-241; causes which make the receipts of bankers dwindle away, 241; railway construction and bankers' resources, ib.; dangers connected with entering on new enterprises, 241-242; the lendings of bankers, 242; who the borrowers are, a matter of great moment, 242-243; the Bank of Amsterdam, 243; processes described as "credit," ib.; what remedy can be applied to heal a crisis? 243-244; that relief can be obtained by an increased issue of bank notes, a fundamental error, 244; the rate of discount governed generally by the law of supply and demand, 245; responsibility of bankers, ib.; the money-market not dependent on gold, 246; gold held by the bank as a guarantee against loss, 247.

Custine (A. de).—Lettres du Marquis A. de Custine à Varnhagen d'Ense et Rahel Varnhagen d'Ense, reviewed, 306.

Dauban (C. A.), Paris en 1794 et en 1795, reviewed, 186.

Dickens, (Charles), The Mystery of Edwin Drood, reviewed, 315.

Dumont (Albert), De plumbeis apud Græcos tesseriis, reviewed, 281.

Dumont (Albert), Essai sur la chronologie des Archontes Athéniens postérieurs à la cxxii<sup>e</sup> Olympiade, et sur la succession des magistrats éphébiques, reviewed, 122.

Eckertz (Dr. Gottfried), Fontes adhuc inediti rerum Rhenanarum: Niederrheinische Chroniken. Second Part, reviewed, 288.

Elwin (Rev. Whitwell), The Works of Alexander Pope, vol. i., reviewed, 293.

English Diplomacy, Uses and Requirements of, 84-95; crusade against the diplomatic estimates, 84; causes of the unpopularity of the service; it is to a large extent unpaid, ib.; the place that patronage holds in it, 84, 85; the existing organization unfavourable to a policy of non-intervention, 85; a difficulty on the threshold of the subject, 85, 86; dangers ward off by diplomacy, 86; business of a diplomatist, 87; open and secret diplomacy, ib.; use of the telegraph, 87, 88; second great function: to communicate information to Government, 88; importance of missions at small Courts, 89; the press and diplomacy, ib.; choice and training of diplomatists, 90; diplomatic expenditure, 91; position of Great Britain towards the Continental powers, ib.; influence exercised by an English representative, 92; the exercise of hospitality as a requital for affording information, ib.; circumstances from which the exclusive character of the service is said to flow, 92, 93; salaries of junior members ought to be revised, 93; competitive examination gives no security that the candidate pos-

- assesses the necessary qualifications, *ib.*; further objections, 94; importance of the possession of social qualifications, *ib.*
- Ennen (Dr. Leonhard), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, vol. iv., reviewed, 286.
- Fick (August), *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen: Ein Sprachgeschichtlicher Versuch*. Division I., reviewed, 273.
- Fischbach (G.), *Die Belagerung und das Bombardement von Strassburg*, reviewed, 303.
- Foisset (M.), *Vie de R. P. Lacordaire*, reviewed, 145.
- Frantz (Constantin), *Die Naturlehre des Staates als Grundlage aller Staatswissenschaft*, reviewed, 153.
- Furnivall (F. J.), *The Minor Poems of William Lauder*, reviewed, 123.
- Furnivall (F. J.), *Andrew Boorde's Introduction and Dyetary, with Barnes in the Defence of the Berde*, reviewed, 289.
- Gilbert (J. T.), *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland from the Archives of the City of Dublin*, reviewed, 285.
- Glennie (John S.), *King Arthur, or the Drama of the Revolution*. Vol. II., *Play the First*, Opera 1, reviewed, 157.
- Gould (Dr. A. A.), *Report on the Invertebrata of Massachusetts*, reviewed, 322.
- Greinli (August), *Beiträge zur Flora der Schweiz*, reviewed, 323.
- Grote (Prof.), *An Examination of the Utilitarian Philosophy*, reviewed, 159.
- Hamilton (N.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, reviewed, 122.
- Hankel (W. G.), *Ueber die Thermoelektrischen Eigenschaften des Topases*. (Elektrische Untersuchungen, 8<sup>te</sup> Abhandlung), reviewed, 326.
- Häusser (L.), *Gesammelte Schriften*, reviewed, 3.3.
- Hawthorne (Nathaniel), *Passages from his English Note-Books*, reviewed, 149.
- Haym (R.), *Die romantische Schule; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, reviewed, 138.
- Hegel (Prof. C.), *Die Chroniken der oberrheinischen Städte; Strasburg*. Vols. i. and ii., reviewed, 288.
- Helfert (Baron), *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgang des Wiener October Aufstandes 1848*, vol. ii., reviewed, 146.
- Hettner (Hermann), *Literatur Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts: Das Ideal der Humanität*, reviewed, 301.
- Huss (John).—*Documenta Magistri Johannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi Concilio actam et Controversias de Religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1418 motas illustrantia, quæ, partim adhuc inedita partim mendose vulgata, nunc ex ipsis fontibus hausta edidit Franciscus Palacky*, reviewed, 126.
- Huxley (Prof.), *Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews*, reviewed, 160.
- Idealism (The) of Berkeley and Collier*, 191-196; Collier's system the same as Berkeley's, but discovered independently, 191; circumstances in which each wrote, 191, 192; process of thought by which they reached their conclusions, 192, 193; analysis of the evidence by which their theories were supported, 193; vulgar R alism—hypothesis of self-evolution, 194; the argument from the law of parsimony, 194, 195; psychological Materialism and Atheism, 195; Time and Space, *ib.*; Kant, *ib.*; Collier and Catholicism, 195, 196.
- Irish Education, History of*, 248-272; ancient love of learning in Ireland, 248; the three principal powers of the Irish social system, and the relations which existed between them, *ib.*; the monasteries founded by St. Patrick, 249; Ireland the asylum of learning in the ninth century, *ib.*; irruptions of the Normans, 249, 250; the Anglo-Norman invasion and its consequences, 250; chief agencies by which the Hibernicising of the Anglo-Norman nobles was effected, *ib.*; reasons for the failure of Anglo-Norman universities, 251; various abortive efforts to found a University in Dublin, 251, 252; the proselytizing policy in education, and its results, especially as regards the laity, 253; professional lay law schools, 253, 254; important events with reference to education in the reign of Elizabeth, 254, 255; establishment of Irish colleges abroad, 255, 256; royal free schools of James I., 256; erection of a University in Dublin by the Jesuits in Charles I.'s reign, *ib.*; reactionary agitation against Charles's reforms, *ib.*; inquiry of House of Commons into alleged grievances, 257; insurrection of the Irish barons and gentry, 258; compilation of *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 258, 259; state of Ireland during the Commonwealth, 259; three grammar-schools founded by a Cromwellian adventurer, 260; Irish colleges abroad founded in Charles II.'s reign, *ib.*; reign of James II., *ib.*; the treaty of Limerick, *ib.*; harshness of the Act of 1695—the last manifestation of the proselytizing policy in education, 261; the hedge-schools, *ib.*; property belonging to the institutions of the proselytizing system, 263; Act of 1781, allowing licensed Catholics to teach, *ib.*; new educational policies; the hybrid policy of compromise, 263, and the policy of free development, 263, 264; College of St. Patrick at Maynooth, 264; the University of St. Patrick, *ib.*; description of Ireland at the beginning of the present century, 265; Wakefield's proposal, 265, 266; foundation of three Queen's Colleges, 266; the Queen's University, *ib.*; the Catholics and classical instruction, 267; hindrances to their enjoying it, 268; the three sections of the population of Ireland educationally considered and how the necessities of each are met, 268, 269; four methods of educational reform, 269-271.
- James (Sir Henry). See *National Manuscripts of Scotland*.
- Johnson (Prof. Samuel), *How Crops Feed*, reviewed, 162.
- Korn (G.), *Breslauer Urkundenbuch: Part First*, reviewed, 125, 126.
- Kramer (G.), *Carl Ritter: Ein Lebensbild nach seinem handschriftlichen Nachlass*, vol. ii., reviewed, 144.
- Kreyszig (Fr.), *Vorlesungen über den Deutschen Roman der Gegenwart: literar-historische und cultur historische Studien*, reviewed, 314.
- Lauder (William), *Minor Poems of*, reviewed, 128.
- Lorenz (Ottokar), *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter von der Mitte des dreizehnten bis zum Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*

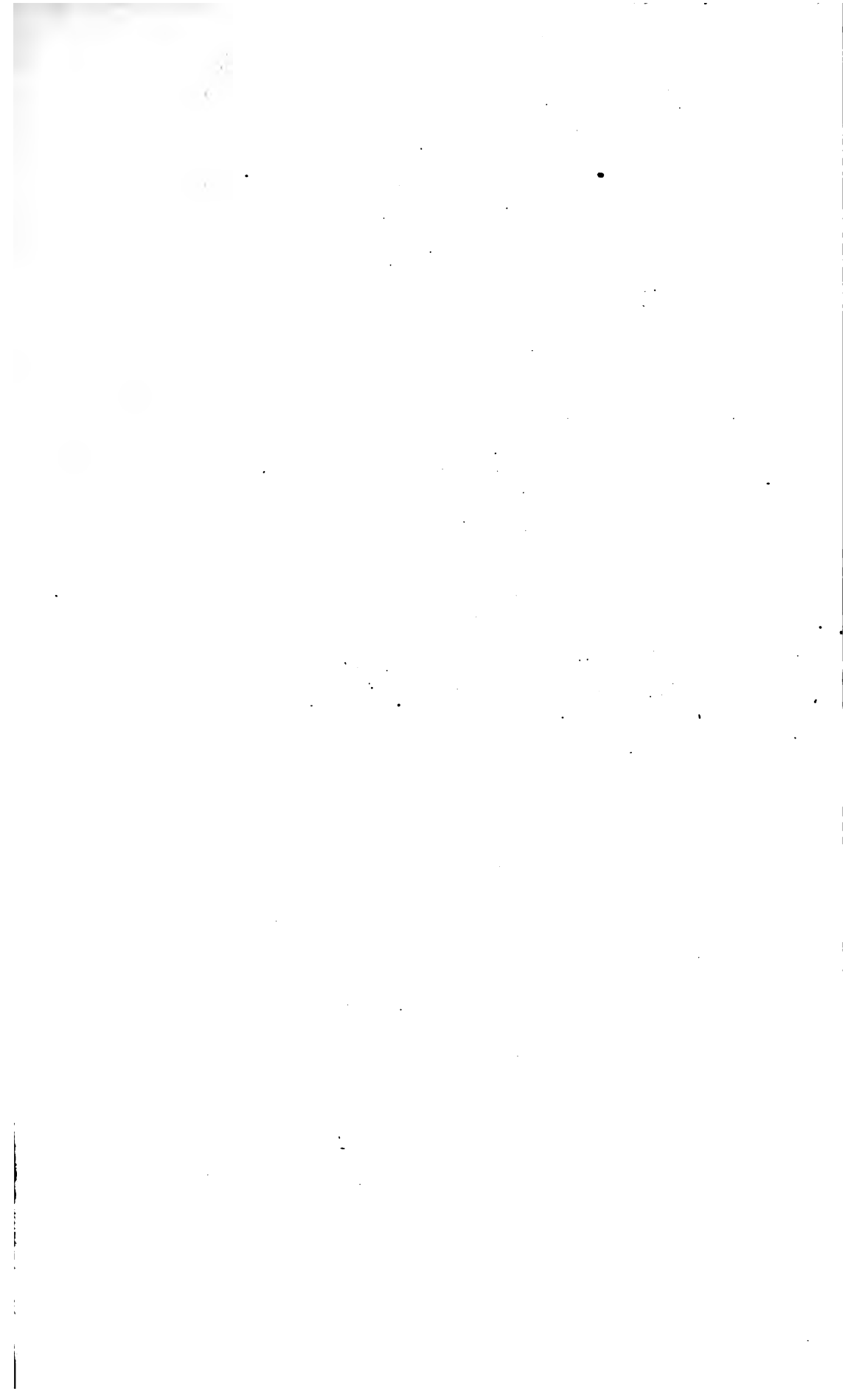
- Im Anschluss am W. Wattenbach's Werk, reviewed, 287.
- Ludwig (Prof.), Der Infinitiv im Veda mit einer Systematik des Litanischen und Slavischen Verbs, reviewed, 274.
- M'Coah (Dr.), The Laws of Discursive Thought, reviewed, 158.
- Malmesbury (Earl of), Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury, his Family, and Friends, reviewed, 142.
- Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Prof.), Geschichte Griechenlands von der Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken bis auf unsere Tage, vol. i., reviewed, 143.
- Mercer (General Cavalité), Journal of the Waterloo Campaign, reviewed, 141.
- Michelet (C. L.), Hegel der unwiderlegte Welt-philosoph: Eine Jubelschrift, reviewed, 303.
- Milman (Dean), Savanarola, Erasmus, and other Essays, reviewed, 312.
- Moabite (The) Inscription*, 1-15; circumstances connected with the discovery of the stone, 1, 2; its palæographical interest, 2; language of the inscription, 2, 3; articles and pamphlets on the stone, 3; transcript of the inscription, 3, 4; translation of it, 4, 5; commentary on it,—section first: Dedication\* of the high-place constructed by King Mesha at Dibon to his god Kemosh, 5, 6; section second: retrospect,—the oppression of Moab by Omri and his son Ahab; his deliverance by Mesha, 6, 7; section third: campaign of Mesha against Israel, 7-10; section fourth: the public works of King Mesha, 10-12; section 5th: Mesha's expedition against Horonaim, 12; interesting grammatical points of the inscription, 12, 13; historical data afforded by it, 13-15; its probable date, 15.
- Mongr-dien (Aug.), Trees and Shrubs for English Plantations: With Illustrations, reviewed, 161.
- Morris (William), The Earthly Paradise. A Poem. Part IV., reviewed, 316.
- Morhuer (P.), Flore Analytique de la Suisse, reviewed, 163.
- Mortimer-Ternaux (M.), Histoire de la Terreur (1792-1794) d'après des Documents authentiques et inédits. Tom. VII., reviewed, 135.
- National Manuscripts of Scotland, Fac-similes of. Photozincographed by Colonel Sir H. James, R.E., under the direction of the Lord Clerk-Register of Scotland. Part II., reviewed, 289.
- O'Donnell (F. Hugh), Mixed Education in Ireland. The Confessions of a Queen's Collegian. Vol. I. The Faculty of Arts, reviewed, 152.
- O'Shaughnessy (Arthur W. E.), An Epic of Women, and other Poems, reviewed, 318.
- Oncken (Wilhelm), Die Staatslehre des Aristoteles in historisch-politischen Umrissen. First half, reviewed, 279.
- Oppert (Dr.), Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan (Khorsabad) provenant des fouilles de M. Victor Place, déchiffrées et interprétées, reviewed, 121.
- Oppert (Dr.), Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'antiquité éclairés par l'étude des textes cunéiformes, reviewed, 278.
- Pare (William), Co-operative Agriculture. A Solution of the Land question, as exemplified in the History of the Ralahine Co-operative Agricultural Association, reviewed, 305.
- Parthey (G.), *Dicui liber de mensura orbis terre a Gustavo Parthey recognitus*, reviewed, 283.
- Parthey (Gustavus), *Mirabilia Romæ*. (E codicibus Vaticanis): accedit Ichnographia Romæ ab Heinricho Kiepert delinecta, reviewed, 127.
- Payne (John), The Masque of Shadows and other Poems, reviewed, 316.
- Peter (H.), Der Krieg des Grossen Kurfürsten gegen Frankreich, 1672-1675, reviewed, 131.
- Philippson (Dr.), Heinrich IV. und Philipp III. Die Begründung des französischen Ueberwichts in Europa. Part First, reviewed, 292.
- Philosophy, Psychology, and Metaphysics*, 59-72; definition of philosophy, 60; the nature of the philosophical impulse, ib.; the idea that there is any single secret of nature, the bane of philosophy, 60, 61; that it is specially connected with the science of mind, an error, 61; all true philosophy seeks to be universal,—mind and matter, 62; metaphysics not the only philosophy—it has ever been at work among the sciences, 63; its aim, to bring all knowledge into harmony, ib.; it is not alien from science, 64; Newton, Kepler, the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy, ib.; philosophical speculation and separate sciences, 65; characteristics of philosophy, ib.;—definition of psychology, 66; reality and solidity of psychological science, ib.; its primitive aim, 67; logic, the science which deals with the highest and most universal abstractions of mind, 68;—metaphysics defined, ib.; the connections between it and philosophy, and psychology respectively, 68, 69; reality of the parallelism between the phenomena of the external world and the different personalities that make up the spiritual world, 69; extension of the principle involved in the facts of the outward indication of feeling or faculty, to regions where we can only conjecture, ib.; substance and qualities, 69, 70; force, 70; questions arising from the fact, that the offspring of every animal resembles the parent, not merely in outward appearance, but in habits and faculties, ib.; degrees in the vividness of our consciousness, 71; facts pointing to the conclusion that each individual is not an independent being, but a dependent portion of a greater spiritual whole, ib.; the spiritual whole which constitutes the real universe, 72; the aim of metaphysics in relation to this, ib.
- Plitt (Prof.), Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen, vol. ii. (1803-20) and vol. iii. (1821-24), reviewed, 189, 302.
- Provençal Versification*, 165-182; definition of rhythm, 165; Greek and Latin poetry, 65, 166; who first used rhyme, 166; the Roman poets, 167; rhythm and rhyme in early German poetry, ib.; poems in the Romance tongues, 167, 168; the troubadours of Provence, 168; *Las Leyes d'Amors*, and Dante's treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, 168, 169; quotations from and references to these works, 170, *et seq.*; French heroic verse, 171; the decasyllable in the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, 172; rhyme as defined in the *Leyes d'Amors*, 173; illustrations of the various kinds of rhyme and their relations to the stanza, 174-176; formation of the stanza, 177; its divisions—pedes and cauda, 178; frons and cauda, 179; the tornada in Provençal poetry, 180; the concatenatio, 181, *et seq.*
- Reuchlin (Dr.), Geschichte Italiens, vol. iii., reviewed, 307.
- Richey (Alex. G.), Lectures on the History of

- Ireland (Second Series), from A.D. 1534 to the date of the Plantation of Ulster, reviewed, 127.
- Rock (Dr. D.), Textile Fabrics in the South Kensington Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue, reviewed, 155.
- Ropiquet (Charles), Les tarifs de chemin de fer devant l'Opinion publique, reviewed, 155.
- Rozière (M. de), Liber Diurnus ou Recueil des Formules usitées par la Chancellerie Pontificale du V<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Addenda, reviewed, 131.
- Ruggles (Henry J.), The Method of Shakespeare as an Artist, deduced from an Analysis of his leading Tragedies and Comedies, reviewed, 291.
- Ruprecht (F. J.), Flora Caucasi. Pars I., reviewed, 163.
- Ruskin (John), Lectures on Art, delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1870, reviewed, 156.
- Russian (The Church and Clergy, 73-84; essential difference between the Russian Government and the Russian nation since Peter I., 73; conditions of the European middle age and the consequent gradual development of its modern epoch, wanting in Russia, ib.; main-springs of culture and national life in the period preceding Peter, 73, 74; formal organization of the Russian Church, 74; the governing body—the Holy Synod, 75; the Russian Clergy, and its three main classes, 75, 76; numbers of Orthodox believers, and of the sectaries, 76; the aristocracy of the Orthodox Church—the black or monastic clergy, and how they have maintained their hierarchical supremacy, ib.; relations between them and the white or secular clergy, 77; wealth of the monks, 78; the convents and the lay world, 78, 79; the secular clergy and their characteristics, 80; the ecclesiastical schools, 80, 81; regulations as to seminary examinations, and the disposal of benefices, 81, 82; the office of a pope, 82; efforts of the Alexandrine reformers to emancipate the secular clergy from the despotism of the monks, 83; utility of these efforts, ib. See Sects.*
- Schaeffle (Prof.), Capitalismus und Socialismus, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschäfts- und Vermögensformen, reviewed, 310.
- Schimper (W. Ph.), Traité de Paléontologie Végétale, ou la Flore du monde primitif dans ses Rapports avec les Formations Géologiques et la Flore du Monde Actuel. Vols. i. ii. Pt. I., reviewed, 324.
- Schmidt (Jullan), Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit, reviewed, 314.
- Sects (The) of the Russian Church, 220-233: Russian sectarianism and its influence, 220; high antiquity of the Raskol, 221; is the Raskol the manifestation of the national want of a spiritual reform in the Orthodox Church? 222; considerations showing that it is really a natural growth of Russian nationality, 223; writers on its history, ib.; wherein its powerful moral influence lies, ib.; political bias of the sects, 224; difficulty of classification, ib.; the two main divisions of the Raskol, 224, 225; sect of the Skopzi or Eunuchs, 225; and others with them, 226; the Morelshiki or Self-immolators, ib.; and the Soshigateli or Self-burners, ib.; the Spiritualistic sects: the Sabbatniki, 227, the Malakani, 227, 228, and the Duchoborzi, 229, 230; the Old Believers or Staroveri, 230; deterioration of the Russian clergy, 231; Peter's reforms, ib.; recent history of the Raskol of the Old Believers, 232.*
- Shairp (Principal), Culture and Religion in some of their Relations, reviewed, 310.
- Sharpe (Samuel), The Decree of Canopus, in Hieroglyphics and Greek, with Translations, and an Explanation of the Hieroglyphical Characters, reviewed, 280.
- Shelley, The Poems of, 15-30; his personality still a riddle, 15; impossibility of separating his personality from his poetry, 16; influence of Berkeley on Shelley's speculations, 17; Goethe and Shelley, ib.; Shelley's protests against political injustice, ib.; his views on Art, 18; influence of Æschylus and Calderon, ib.; Shelley's point of departure as a poet, ib.; influenced by Lewis and Moore, ib.; and by Southey, 19; "Queen Mab," ib.; Shelley and Bacon, 20; influence of Southey's "Thalaba" on the production of Shelley's "Alastor," 21; Milton and Wordsworth, ib.; quotations illustrative of "Alastor," 21, 22; "The Revolt of Islam," 23, 24; "Rosalind and Helen," 24; "Prince Athanas," 25; drama of "Prometheus Unbound," 25, 26; tragedy of "The Cenci," 27, 28; "Hellas" Shelley's attempt to embody the passion of the world, and "Epipsychidion" his attempt to embody the passion of the soul, 28; "Adonais," a lament on the death of Keats, 29, 30; minor poems, 30.*
- Staats streich (Der), vom 2 December 1851; und seine Rückwirkung auf Europa, reviewed, 147.
- Stanley (Dean), Essays chiefly on Questions of Church and State from 1850 to 1870, reviewed, 150.
- Stevenson (J.), Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Elizabeth, 1544-5, reviewed, 290.
- Stobbe (Dr. O.), Herman Conring, der Begründer der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte, reviewed, 292.
- Strage (La) di San Bartolomeo (dalla North British Review), con Introduzione ed aggiunta, reviewed, 291.
- Strauss (David), Voltaire: Sechs Vorlesungen, reviewed, 300.
- Stubbs (Prof.), Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, vol. iii., reviewed, 123.
- Stubbs (Prof.), Select Charters, and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History, reviewed, 234.
- Sylvester (Prof.), The Laws of Verse, or Principles of Versification, exemplified in Metrical Translations, reviewed, 158.
- Tennyson's Poetry, 106-230; Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 196; Keble and Tennyson, ib.; "higher Pantheism" of Tennyson, 197; imagination: Wordsworth, Milton, 197, 198; characteristics of his youthful poetry, 198; meditative symbolism of the Lake poets, 199; Tennyson imbued with this when he began to publish, ib.; epigrammatic language, ib.; quotations illustrating the poet's ideal of art: stillness of repose, 199-201; his ideal capable of pathos, 201; its culminating point in "The Lotus-Eaters," 201, 202; political pieces, 202, 203; the poems of 1842, 203, 204; the idylls, 204, 205; poems of a psychological class, 205; "Locksley Hall," 203, 207; ballads, 207; "The Princess," 207, 208; "In Memoriam," 208-211; "Maud," 211, 212; "Ode on Wellington" and "The Brook," 213; the "Idylls of the King," 213-215; "Enoch Arden," 215, 216; "Aylmer's Field," 216; miscellaneous pieces noticed, 216, 217; "The Holy Grail," 217, 218*



- Trades-Union, The Growth of a*, 80-59; judgments on the organization of trade-unions necessarily divided and passionate, 80; Dr. Brentano's inquiry into their historical origin, ib.; craft-guilds of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 80, 81; Continental journeymen's associations, 81; the three phases of development through which trade-unions have passed, 81, 82; reports of the Social Science Association and of the Royal Commission on Trade-unions, 82; the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in England, ib.; the two stages of its history: first, that of its development, 83; societies amalgamated, ib.; branches and their government, 84; entrance-fees, fines, and contributions, 85; rules adapted to raise the moral tone of the members, 86; establishment of a sick-benefit society in connection with the trade society, ib.; benefit-scheme abandoned, ib.; movement in 1886 against overtime, 87; difficulties as to the registration of rules, and ultimate abandonment of the idea, 87, 88; important changes adopted in 1889, 88; appointment of a General Secretary, 89; measures taken for providing the labour market, ib.; features subsequently introduced, ib.; institution, in 1843, of a special executive council, ib.; three objects afterwards pursued by the society, —(1.) its financial affairs, 89, 40; (2.) some regulations of trade for preventing and abolishing abuses as to period of apprenticeship, proportion between apprentices and journeymen employed, piecework, and systematic overtime, 41, 42; (3.) the increase of the society by embracing all branches of the trade, 42, 43; delegate meeting of the three largest associations in the trade, 43, 44; proposals adopted which had hitherto been foreign to their organization, 44; meeting at Birmingham of the delegates of seven societies, 45; amalgamation agreed on, ib.; —second stage of its history entered on by the completion of the amalgamation, ib.; future progress and success, 46; the Oldham dispute as to overtime, 47; its results, 48; doings of the Amalgamated Society since 1852, —(1.) as to its expansion, 49; (2.) as to delegate meetings, ib.; the position of the Council, 50, and general secretary, ib.; and attention to statistics, 51; (3.) the relations of employers and employed, 51-54; (4.) assistance afforded in case of want of work, 54, 55, and in case of sickness and death, 55, 56; special forms of relief, 56; (5.) sources of its funds, ib.; incompatibility of the alliance between productive associations and trade-unions, 57; proposal to invest in land or buildings, 58; deposits in Post Office Savings Banks declared illegal, but afterwards regulated by Statute, ib.; several points as to the external aspect of the society noticed, 58, 59.
- Treischke (Herr von), *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, reviewed, 150.
- Tyerman (Rev. L.), *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, M.A., vol. i., reviewed, 296.
- Vatican Council (The)*, 95, 120; reception of the idea when first broached, 95; preliminary history, 96, 97; previous efforts to establish the doctrine of papal infallibility, 98; preparations for the Council, 98, 99; attitude of the Catholic powers, 100, of Germany, England, 100, 101, and Italy, 101, 102; position of Hungary, 102; political auspices under which the Council opened, 103; attitude of the press, ib.; Scripture and tradition, 104; division between the Roman and the Catholic elements in the Church, 105; the Fulda pastoral, 105, 106; opposition of the Bishop of Orleans, 106; policy of the Holy See regarding the opposition created, ib.; the Pope and the Germans, ib.; the bull *Multiplices inter*, regulating the procedure at the Council, 107; state of feeling produced by it, 107, 108; the French and German bishops the only ones whose position made them capable of resisting, 108; Cardinal Schwarzenberg, 109; the Archbishop of Paris, ib.; the first congregation, ib.; what was gained by the exclusion of ambassadors, 110; election of the Commission on dogma, ib.; strength of the Roman party as tested by this election, 111; the Council Hall, ib.; early measures, ib.; debate on the dogmatic decree, 112; petition prepared, demanding that the infallibility of the Pope should be made the object of a decree, 113; counter petition, ib.; reply by the Archbishop of Mechlin to the letter of the Bishop of Orleans, 114; Gratz's letters, ib.; opposition of Döllinger to infallibility, ib.; defects in the mode of carrying on the Council business—a new regulation introduced, 114, 115; the principle of it contested by the minority, 115; contention as to whether unanimity was necessary to the validity of any decree, ib.; Strossmayer interrupted in his speech by a furious tumult, 115, 116; restoration of harmony, 116; by the unanimous adoption of the decree Archbishop Manning contended that they had implicitly accepted infallibility, 117; circulation of pamphlets against the dogma in the Council, ib.; what makes a Council oecumenical? ib.; speeches of Archbishops Conolly and Darboy, 118; the general debate closed by an abrupt division, 119; passing of the decree and promulgation of the infallibility, 119, 120.
- Vivenot, (A. von), *Thugut und sein Politisches System*, reviewed, 300.
- Warren, (John L.), *Rehearsals. A Book of Verses*, reviewed, 318.
- Wegele (Prof.), *Friedrich der Freidige, Markgraf von Meissen, Landgraf von Thüringen, und die Wettiner seiner Zeit (1267-1325). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der Wettinischen Länder*, reviewed, 286.
- Williamson (Rev. Alex.), *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia*, reviewed, 319.
- Willis (Dr. R.), *Benedict de Spinoza; his Life, Correspondence, and Ethics*, reviewed, 180.
- Winter (A.), *Ueber die Bildung der Ersten Kammern in Deutschland*, reviewed, 153.
- Wolowski (M.), *L'or et L'argent*, reviewed, 154.
- Zeissberg (Heinrich), *Vincentius Kadlubek, Bischof von Krakau, und seine Chronik Polens Zur Literaturgeschichte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, reviewed, 284.
- Ziegelauer (F. v.), *Harteneck, Graf der Sächsischen Nation, und die Siebenbürgischen Partikämpfe seiner Zeit, 1691-1703*, reviewed, 134.
- Zittel (Prof.), *Die Fauna der Aeltern Cephalopoden führen den Tithonbildungen*, reviewed, 325.







THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
GRADUATE LIBRARY

DATE DUE

ONE WEEK  
OCT 28 1972

OCT 28 1972

DEC 08 1979  
DEC 31 1980

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 03009 7318

**DO NOT REMOVE  
OR  
MUTILATE CARD**

